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INTERSTICES 20
Journal of architecture and related arts

editorial / FARZANEH HAGHIGHI & NIKOLINA BOBIC

Political matters

This thematic issue of *Interstices*, Political Matters, approaches architecture beyond aesthetic analysis, and more than a mere branch of traditional art history or a civilisation's will to form (Kwinter, 2001). Nor do we consider it as utilitarian space to maximise particular behaviours (Bentham, 1843), or in an essentialised way whereby inhabitation and place-making are contextually and ontologically given (Heidegger, 1927), or historically predetermined. Instead architecture, and more broadly urban space, are understood as political forces in and of themselves, meaning that they can enforce sociopolitical changes. The urgency of engaging with the political significance of architecture and urban space is because we can no longer *afford* to reduce them to neutral backdrops of political realities. The ongoing and increasing global crises are explicit evidence of the inherent role of architecture and urbanism in the structural racism embedded in urban planning, the brutal treatment of asylum seekers, the desire for spaces of commerce to accumulate capital for the few rather than civic spaces to enable the agency of citizenship, the micropolitics and surveillance of social distancing during the pandemic, in addition to global warming, food scarcity, maritime territorialisation, and modern forms of slavery. As such, architecture can no longer be understood as that which is built on stable ground; economics is not static and neither is state power, the urban fabric is stretched across the globe (Lefebvre, 1970). Likewise, architecture and urbanism cannot be removed from their connections to digital technology, mass media, the military and the law. Politics is spatial. Moreover, architecture and urban space can be deployed as tools for radical and revolutionary changes, since collective awareness, resistance and social movements have a spatial dimension (Harvey, 2013). The premise of change is undeniably enveloped in the rethinking of *what* architecture is by questioning its role, influence and ethical responsibility, as well as addressing *how* architecture and the urban can help articulate global concerns, and possibly offer alternatives.

The nexus of politics and architecture is a growing topic of discussion. The recently co-edited *Political Theory and Architecture* (Bell and Zacka, 2020) tackles this nexus by showing that the political role of architecture/urban space should be sought in *how* certain changes can be implemented. They argue that the relation between politics and architecture is often understood as deterministic through these three common ways: channelling occupants' behaviours and

informing the meaning of their action (for example the arrangement of parliament seats); symbolic representation of values (for example, the Pantheon in Paris celebrating the French revolution); and fostering a social ethos (such as the modernist belief that architecture can cure all socioeconomic ills). Instead they invite us to examine how architecture and urban space shape human experience, how they develop civic consciousness and how they limit or expand social or political infrastructures. Understanding the political processes and effects of architecture—the *how*—is also taken up as an anthropological research project by Albena Yaneva in *Five Ways to Make Architecture Political: An Introduction to the Politics of Design Practice* (2017). By analysing a series of projects from OMA, AZPA to Moshe Safdie, and contexts from Birmingham, Vienna, Osaka and Singapore, she unpicks the consequences of design and through this process reinvents the sites of political action in a way that are not limited to ideology, state, nation, government, policies, and activism (2017: 4). A way out is proposed through actor-network-theory (ANT) methodology where architecture is not defined, stabilised, or fixed but rather it is a complex set of processes which all occur in a dynamic and incomplete relation to each other. Another attempt to define architecture beyond a political symbol or a physical by-product of the political economy of neoliberalism, is offered by Graham Cairns in *Reification and Representation: Architecture in the Politico-Media-Complex* (2018). He sees architecture as a "mediated political hybrid". That architecture is a complex, interdisciplinary and multifaceted field is explored in the co-edited *Spatial Violence: Studies in Architecture* (Herscher and Siddiqi, 2018). Here, the common denominator of politics—the *what*—is violence, where the line between war and peace is blurred in themes that range from military targeting and incarceration to urban planning and refugee camps, and in contexts as wide as Sri Lanka, Serbia, Congo, Italy, France and the US.

To address what it means for space to be political beyond it merely being an expression of hegemonic orders, *Political Matters* call for papers drew upon specific studies in philosophy, political and cultural/critical theory by Hannah Arendt, Chantal Mouffe, Paul Virilio, Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze. Arendt (1955) not only suggests that political questions are far too serious to be left to politicians, she also considers *action* as the highest manifestation of *vita activa* (which designates fundamental human activities including labour, work and action) which occurs in a public sphere (Arendt, 1958). However, Arendt's account of action in the public realm is limited, because she frames public space through ancient Greek texts, where the exercise of action is based on freedom-to-act rather than necessity-to-act. Freedom-to-act may be better framed as keeping control at a tolerable level. More so, the elimination of the necessity-to-act was foregrounded by exclusion (in Ancient Greece, that would have included the slave, woman, foreigner). Indeed, for Chantal Mouffe, Arendt's envisioning of "public space as a space where consensus can be made" is flawed since all forms of consensus do and will exclude certain opinions (2013: 10). Thus, Mouffe proposes the notion of *agonism* and the impossibility of a final reconciliation in thinking the political. She suggests that the *political* is inherent to all human societies and can take many forms and relations, but *politics* is a set of practices that arrange people by establishing certain orders (2013: 2). Her theorisation of the difference between politics and the political has informed the ways in which we employed *politics* as a set of relations in which architecture is restricted, or used as a means of oppression or control, whereas *political* is approached as more hopeful and

constructive by giving architecture *agency*. This is not to say that oppression and agency cannot overlap. A well-placed spatial implication of this is seen in Tina Engels-Schwarzpaul's paper on contested public debates and protests on land ownership in Ihumātao, which halted the construction project of a private company from building houses on indigenous land, since no consensus was made between those involved in the debate.

Another perspective that informed this issue is the re-conceptualisation of the notion of power by Michel Foucault (1975, 1976). Simply put, we often understand power as being negative and oppressive, "a power to say no; in no condition to produce, capable of only posting limits, it is basically anti-energy" (1976: 85). Foucault dismantles the habitual link between power and domination, by suggesting that we obey not because power is oppressive, but because power is productive. Shifting from oppression towards production, one is encouraged to investigate what power relations give rise to. For example, walls are common architectural archetypes of segregation, however, Daniel Grinceri's paper shows that the construction of border walls is based on creating a perception of security. By deploying Wendy Brown's thinking (2010), Grinceri indicates that physical borders are often erected to perform a theatrical role by giving the perception of the government being in control even if the border wall does not perform the given role, such as the Mexico-US border.

To make sense of contemporary forms of power, Deleuze (1990) extends Foucault's notion of disciplinary society to the society of control. This is the subject of Ian Buchanan's paper. He suggests that we need to understand how our desires are captured in specific ways. If we do not identify these ways and forces, we will continue to be complicit in the production processes that maintain control societies. Here, desire is seen as social and productive, rather than the psychoanalytic stance where desire reproduces *objet petit-a*. Thus, comprehending the complex forms of surveillance and governance in the age of contemporaneity requires us to shift our attention to examine the new ways by which corporates handle money, profit, and humans in control societies (Deleuze, 1990). Buchanan shows that today, when architecture is built for software and data storage rather than people, when a human is nothing other than a code and dividual, when governing associated with the Panopticon is child's play compared to the information held by corporations which we freely give with our purchases, likes and movements, when information is the new property and data is the new oil, it may be safe to say that IT and the media permeate every pixel and second of our lives. As Buchanan observes (2008), and in line with the thinking of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1972, 1980), we need to search for different types of tools that capture human desires. Indeed, this may require a different placing and questioning of ideas, events and spaces than may be associated with the normalised identification of architecture and accepted way of living.

For Paul Virilio, speed is pivotal in the engagement with and understanding of reality. The substitution of one reality with another has been possible due to the historical focus on space rather than time, the impact being that the speed of weaponry and displacement of information drive history (1977). The shift from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment and the current period is driven by the constant acceleration of speed, and militarisation of the urban as well as our shifting perception of space (Virilio, 1977, 1984, 1989, 1996). Virilio's

thinking differs from Mouffe's, for whom the current society, including the very association with democracy, is correlational to the exchange processes of neoliberalism. For Virilio, land, things, information, perception—and democracy and citizenship, although not directly stated—are connected to, and driven by, militarisation. For him, time rather than space is the driving factor. Our perception is indeed framed by, and dependent upon, the military-information-media-entertainment complex—MIME (Der Derian, 2009), since the conflation of the media and technology can help disguise possible acts of crime, and also because such iterations of violence are operationalised in the name of "security and peace", "civil values" and "humanitarianism". That our cities have become the new battleground of borders, wars, surveillance, and terrorism is explored in *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism* (Graham, 2011), a topic of discussion in Daniel Grinceri's paper. The significance of 9/11 is that it was the first internecine war and the first war of globalisation (Virilio and Lotringer, 2002). The dismantled and reconstructed media frame of 9/11 was relentlessly replayed in order to perform the politics of MIME. For *Political Matters*, engaging with the contemporary world is enmeshed in the complexities of politics engulfed in corporate capitalism, normalised archaeologies of knowledge, repression of urban struggles, and militarisation of information. It yields the investigation of the regimes for which architecture is a necessary tool, whether this be for civil ordering, or the way in which control is enabled through mining personal data, manipulation of data, producing ignorance through media entertainment, and affecting memory and perception. In our age of mass media, not only the distinction between fake/real news and true/false information is ever-more blurred, but more importantly, the revelation of truth does not change anything (such as the scandals of Donald Trump); the political is hijacked.

However, it is not that the media image has replaced the real image of truth. For Baudrillard, reality is obliterated; copy precedes and determines the real (1981, 1991). The interplay between war, media, truth, and architectural representation is investigated by Endriana Audisho in "Liveness, mediation and the simulated: Effects of the digital screen on architectural representation post 1990." The underlying theme of this paper pertinent to politics in that digital technology has not only had a significant impact on pedagogy and the design processes in architecture, but also on the globally instantaneous circulation of images of featured buildings. Audisho specifically engages with the digital turn by examining three case studies: the tension between the simulated and the real in CNN's 1991 coverage of the Gulf War as the first live reporting of a conflict in the world; experimental Paperless Studio and Media City at GSAPP (Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation), Columbia University' in 1994 using computers in studios; and finally, the United Architects' 2002 World Trade Centre (WTC) design competition proposal. Audisho links these three moments together by suggesting that architects were following how the Gulf War was mediated, and that these techniques were deployed in their teaching and practice. The adoption of the digital screen for purposes of experimentation by Greg Lynn, Bernard Tschumi and Hani Rashid happened when the architectural discipline was experiencing a crisis of representation. By drawing upon the WTC design competition entry of United Architects, Audisho suggests that the screen was reduced to a fetishised image dissociated from sociopolitical reality of architecture. Consequently, what we are now left with are simulated images solely concerned with aesthetics and market economies.

With the increasing death of refugees trying to reach the fortress of Europe, or asylum seekers imprisoned in Australia's offshore detention centres, or detained children at United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), it seems to be more important than ever to theorise the critical nexus between politics and space. Daniel Grinceri's "Tracing the border: Excursus on the wall" specifically engages with wall borders from a theoretical point of view. By drawing upon the works of Wendy Brown, Zygmunt Bauman, Giorgio Agamben and Saskia Sassen among others, Grinceri argues that the proliferation of walls worldwide highlights the declining authority of nation-states, which in itself is a consequence of ever-increasing economic control of multi-national corporations under capitalism. Border walls, he suggests, do not create a more secure and safer environment. They are instead a means of controlling who can benefit from the free deregulated market and territorial mobility, and who should not. This paper also extends the discussion of physical walled borders into contemporary digital surveillance and opens up a debate around the current state of pandemic and the state's role in managing the health of the population which requires some levels of state-sanctioned surveillance and control. However, Grinceri shows that even during a pandemic and lock-down in Melbourne, Australia, policing the population does not solely operate for health protection, but is implicated in the segregation and stigmatisation of immigrants. Despite the pandemic evading the conventional understanding of territorial borders, new ones are being created by using the pandemic to stigmatise and separate those who are contagious and ill (migrants and impoverished) from violating the safe zones of the wealthy and privileged. Undeniably, the pandemic is used to mark wealth, race, and the Other.

That segregation imposed by borders should be also examined against the right to territory and ownership is addressed by Tina Engels-Schwarzpaul in "Peripheral territories: Imagining common worlds differently". She argues that questions of territory are undeniably tied to formulating identity as fixed, central and concrete. More so, her thinking is aligned with our focus on thinking of the periphery not as that which is oppressed or backward, but rather opportunistically situated as a frontier that can offer alternatives. For Engels-Schwarzpaul, we can no longer afford to perpetuate assumptions of Western superiority in terms of centre/periphery, individualism perpetuated by neoliberalism, nor national identities bounded to territories by sovereign borders. As such she calls for the concepts that can allow us to engage with a multi-centred world. The spatial conflicts caused by inadequate and dangerous colonial concepts of identity are examined through two scenes in her paper, CARA di Mineo, a refugee camp in Italy keeping refugees out of Europe, and occupation of Ihumātao, a Māori ancestral landscape Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. Disputes over land-ownership led to the closure of the camp and brought a halt to the construction of a housing project by a private company on ancestral land. Two different conceptualisations of relation-to-land in western imagination and the Māori world are compared with each other; the former presumes unambiguous/unequal relationships through inflexible boundaries, whereas the latter is reciprocal and holders of the power over land are to care for the well-being of everything there. Simply put, one is based on exclusivity and the other on association. By drawing mainly on the works of Hannah Arendt and Edward Said, the paper addresses these differing positions of territorial conceptualisation and examines the protest in Ihumātao by suggesting that a common world based on plural perspectives is not

only possible, but an urgent necessity.

Incorporating plural perspectives requires a different methodology that can go beyond the *business-as-usual* politics. Methods that offer real alternatives can be found in the independent spatial practice of Forensic Architecture (FA). Led by Eyal Weizman, FA is a research-architecture practice based at Goldsmiths, University of London. Comprised of architects, journalists, film makers and software/game developers, FA cross-cuts architecture, art, journalism, law and science in an investigative way to provide evidence for new types of public truths. FA unpicks the ways in which state or government-initiated violence has attained a new level of acceptability and legality. The research uses the trace (ranging from witness accounts and image-based footage to bullet holes) to reconstruct the event in reverse. Their work advocates for progressive egalitarian causes including transparent access to information, whilst also reflecting Alain Badiou's position that the ethics of human rights and humanitarian interventions conceals an ideology of imperialism and invariably control (1993). In this issue of *Interstices*, Anthony Brand interviews software developer Lachlan Kermode of FA. We learn about their design methodology and the dynamic of the practice itself. For example, the investigation into the Saydnaya prison in Syria by reconstructing places of tortures through sound and sensory experiences of the interviewed detainees.

Addressing the political in relation to architecture and urban space is incomplete without noting the right of the public to the city, both in design processes and in decision making. The necessity and complexity of social participation is addressed by Christina Deluchi in "The politics of social architecture in Medellín: A reading of the Parque Biblioteca España". She examines the construction of a library to highlight two important aspects pertinent to *Political Matters*. The first shows how buildings are used as tools to represent certain ideologies, and the second highlights how the emergence of buildings is intertwined with complex socioeconomic forces and politics. This paper offers an engaging history of the transformation of Medellín in Colombia, from a city known for violence, corruption and drugs, to what has been globally presented as a successful case of urban renaissance. Deluchi lays out how socio-geographic planning schemes, decentralised politics, participatory mechanisms, educational reform, economic partnerships and public works projects created the structural changes necessary for the emergence of social urbanism. More importantly, she further demonstrates that the language of social inclusion for the construction of this library was entangled in contradictions. Ultimately the library was deployed as a symbol for the city's renewal project, yet not only were the protocols for increased local participation and civic trust undermined, but the source of economic support and motives behind this project remain questionable. Construing a new global image for Medellín, and invariably Colombia, was an attempt to disguise economic and softer versions of corruption, despite it being hailed as an example of a renewed sense of identity and belonging in the local community. That its image of success was short-lived is also evidenced by the fact that the building which officially opened in 2007 was closed indefinitely in 2017 for repair.

That buildings can no longer be seen as autonomous objects, or that they are not only shaped by economic or ecological forces, is the main trajectory of investigation for Gerard Reinmuth and Andrew Benjamin in "Autonomy-within-Rationality." They argue that the political in architectural discourse has been

wrongly sought within the object itself or in the context in which the object was conceived. Instead, architecture should be sought in the relations that produce the object. The notions of object and relation are discussed by drawing upon Pier Vittorio Aureli's idea of *autonomy* and Nishat Awan, Tatiana Schneider and Jeremy Till's work on *agency*. Embedding the theoretical framework is done through the evolution of Coop Himmelblau's projects since 1960s, Zaha Hadid's and Patrick Schumacher's projects, and Alejandro Zaera-Polo's consideration of the politics of the building envelope in architectural practice. In the aftermath of the global financial crisis, Reinmuth and Benjamin argue that the profession and practice started to rethink their relations with each other, that is, to identify the parameters of architecture in a deregulated neoliberal economy in which the autonomy of architecture is reduced to the minimum layer of a façade or eye-catching forms for a consumer society. Their response to this crisis is to acknowledge autonomy-within-relationality, through which architectural autonomy cannot be understood without the wider ever-changing relations in which it is embedded .

That architecture should be ethical and deliver what it promises is addressed by Sandra Kaji-O'Grady in a review of *Critical Care: Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet* (eds. Fitz and Krasny, 2019). Whilst Kaji-O'Grady acknowledges the showcasing of 21 successful projects as examples of care in resisting the exploitation of global labour and resources in this book, she indicates that none of the examined projects can live up to their promise when analysed in detail, because the forces of capitalism are extremely pervasive in architecture and urbanism. She likewise asserts, that questions of *care* need to be understood beyond programme and tectonics. One of the projects examined in greater detail is the Psychiatric Center Caritas in Melle, Belgium. The argument is that the project holds to the value of care due to its preservation of an existing building, however, Kaji-O'Grady suggests that care needs to extend to questions of *who* funded the project, and *how* the project came about. That the centre was funded by PC Caritas, the so-called "care" arm of the Catholic Church, brings into question the historical role that the church has played in global conflicts and questions of colonisation.

From a slightly different perspective, Stephen Walker's review of the encyclopaedic *Routledge Companion to Critical Approaches to Contemporary Architecture* (eds. Chattopadhyay and White, 2019), argues that contemporary global approaches in architecture need a greater level of criticality and careful consideration of the world in which we live and how we intend to shape it, rather than simply providing a collection of examples from various locations around the globe.

A more connected global thread is present in Sarah Breen Lovett's review of a documentary *Human Shelter* (Bertram, 2018), in which shelter is understood and dwelled in around different contexts, from the NASA camp on the edge of a volcano in Hawaii, to the tree house in Uganda, the refugee camp in Iraq and how a MOMA curator lives in New York City. Whilst the film traverses many different climatic, social and political contexts, it looks at everyday rituals shared by all humans.

That sense of commonality finds presence in Cameron Logan's review of the public Green Square Library and Plaza, Sydney (designed by Hollenstein Stewart in association with Steward Architects), which celebrates the civic nature of this

building at a time of continuing privatisation. For Logan, this library offers moments for solitary thought and scholarship amidst books, as well as opportunities for collective play and learning due to its adaptable programme.

This thematic issue of *Interstices* originates from the international conference *Political Matters: Spatial Thinking of the Alternative* that was held in 18-19 July 2019 at the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Auckland, in collaboration with Auckland University of Technology and the University of Plymouth, UK. Conference participants were selected from fifty double-blind peer-reviewed submitted abstracts, with participants from many different parts of the world (Australia, Canada, China, Iran, South Africa, United Kingdom and the United States). The invited keynote lecture by Professor Ian Buchanan from the Wollongong University, Australia, introduced the conference by questioning how our contemporary society of control operates, whilst Professor Felicity Scott from GSAPP, Columbia University, US, presented the relationship between alternative and counter practices of 1960s-70s architecture in the US. The conference yielded rich and plentiful discussion among many scholars, practitioners and students, which also informed the international call for this issue. Scholarly papers submitted for consideration came from Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Spain, Iran, UK, and the US. This issue also includes peer-reviewed, postgraduate, creative design projects by Frank Liu (with Susan Hedges) and Xavier Ellah (with Carl Douglas). Their selection occurred in parallel with the main issue.

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IAN BUCHANAN

Architecture and control society

We're told businesses have souls, which is surely the most terrifying news in the world (Deleuze, 1995: 181).

This audio includes the symposium keynote talk recorded on 18 July 2019 in addition to an interview with Ian Buchanan in December 2019.

The influence of Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1975) in the humanities and social sciences cannot be overstated. Its two core essentially architectural theses, that (a) sites of confinement and (b) practices of surveillance define our era, are largely treated as both factually correct and inarguably true.

In the four decades since its publication, the consensus view seems to be that evidence of the continuing pertinence of Foucault's theses can be seen with the naked eye in the built environment of practically every city in the world. However, while it is true that sites of confinement are proliferating (there are literally more prisons today than there were when Foucault wrote his book) and practices of surveillance have attained a level of intrusiveness and scrutiny that Foucault himself (a gloomy pessimist on this issue) could not have imagined, that does not mean our age is unchanged from the one Foucault documented.

In his essay "Postscript on Control Societies", *Post-Scriptum sur les Sociétés des Contrôle*, Gilles Deleuze (1995) argues that contrary to appearances, things have indeed changed—sites of confinement are breaking down even as they are proliferating, and surveillance practices, although they have increased in intensity, no longer follow the old pattern. This is testament to the extent to which Foucault is seen to have grasped something essential about our time.

Deleuze's challenges to the received status of Foucault's theses have either been ignored or simply batted away as mistaken because, to put it bluntly, any fool can see that sites of confinement and practices of surveillance are as much a part of today's society as they were in Foucault's time, if not more so. In what follows, I want to suggest, firstly, that this response is wrong inasmuch as it stems from a misreading of both Foucault and Deleuze, and secondly, that it is a missed

opportunity to cast a weathering eye over our current situation, and more particularly the state of contemporary architecture.

My real starting point, though, is the observation that when you read Foucault and Deleuze side-by-side, there is an obvious gap in Deleuze's essay. While Deleuze argues against the view that the architectural categories of confinement and surveillance are the defining categories of our era, he offers no thoughts on the transformations the built environment has undergone since the disciplinary forms Foucault identified began to break down. The question that interests me, then, is precisely the one Deleuze neglects to ask: has control society given rise to its own architectural forms?

I use form here in the sense that it has in literary studies (my background), where it refers to precisely defined discursive entities like novels and poems, which nevertheless remain open to considerable variation. There are, however, real limits to this variation: there is a point at which a novel ceases to be a novel and becomes either meaningless gibberish or a poem or a play. The forms themselves have their own history—the novel in the eighteenth century is quite different from the novel of the twenty-first century, both in terms of the language used, but also the formal structure. Wholly new forms are rare, and most often they are permutations of existing forms that are "strong" enough in their own right to be counted as new.

In order to answer the question of whether control society has yielded new architectural forms, I will try to do two things—I will briefly explain how (according to Deleuze) control society differs from disciplinary society; then I will try to determine which (if any) new architectural forms have arisen in the transition from discipline to control. I will go through the specific empirical differences between the two modalities in more detail below, but first I want to spell out the main conceptual difference because it appears from the arguments against Deleuze that this is not generally well understood (it is often Foucault as much as it is Deleuze who is misunderstood).

The key to both of their positions is this: discipline concerned *the correct training and placement of individuals*, whereas control is concerned with *the maximum exploitation of what Deleuze calls dividuals* (nameless, faceless, data points), regardless of their formation or placement. So, while it is true that sites of confinement and practices of surveillance continue to shape contemporary existence, *they do not function in the same way* as they did in disciplinary society.

The title of Deleuze's essay offers a useful, albeit cryptic clue as to how it should be read, because while he titled it "Postscript on Control Societies", he did not specify what it is a post-script to. The fact it is appended to his book *Negotiations* (1995) makes it seem it was intended as a discursive addition to a collection of his interviews, but I think this is just a matter of publishing convenience. It had already appeared in *L'autre Journal* (1990), so it clearly wasn't written solely for the occasion of his book. In my view, it makes more sense to read it as a postscript to Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1975), and not his own book, because its aim is quite obviously to speculate about what his friend might have said, were he still alive to write it himself.

This is not an idea I'm going to try to defend with either biographical or bibliographical information, though I will note that Dosse (2010: 330) gestures in this

direction, without putting it in so many words, in his biography of Deleuze and Guattari. I merely offer it as thought experiment (if you will) that reframes the way we think about the relation between the two pieces of work, which despite their differences cannot really be thought in antagonistic or polemical terms.

Deleuze's essay functions more as a continuation of Foucault's book than a critique, albeit a continuation that begins by drawing a definitive line under what went before. One could say that it is tributary in both senses of the word—it flows from Foucault as the original source, and it is offered in homage to a great thinker. It is important to stress, too, that Deleuze does not claim that Foucault is wrong, or in error; his claim is that during the course of the twentieth century the world entered a new era, one that is organised differently from disciplinary society, and he insists that Foucault himself knew this and was already saying that the disciplinary society he had written about had ended and that a new kind of society was emerging to take its place. As Deleuze describes:

> Foucault has thoroughly analysed the ideal behind sites of confinement, clearly seen in the factory: bringing everything together, giving each thing its place, organising time, setting up in this space-time a force of production greater than the sum of component forces. But Foucault knew how short-lived this model was: it succeeded sovereign societies with an altogether different aim and operation (taking a cut of production instead of organizing it, condemning to death instead of ordering life); the transition took place gradually […] But discipline would in its turn begin to break down as new forces moved slowly into place, then made rapid advances after the Second World War: we were no longer in disciplinary societies, we were leaving them behind. (1995: 177-178)

In a more critical voice, Byung-Chul Han (2017: 23) agrees that Foucault "recognized that disciplinary society did not reflect the times in every respect", which is why he turned to questions of biopolitics and population (which are implicitly post-disciplinary in their construction). In doing so, however, he failed to grasp what is distinctive about neoliberalism in Han's view because in contrast to biopolitics, neoliberalism "is not primarily concerned with 'the biological, the somatic, the corporal'. It has discovered the psyche as a productive force" (2017: 25).

Here I think one can agree with the conclusion, that neoliberalism is focused on the psyche, without necessarily accepting the premise, because it is false to say that biopolitics concerns the body in the same way discipline did. As Agamben (2000) has clarified, biopolitics is interested only in the bare fact of life itself, not the body.[1]

Its aim and function is to reduce the subject not merely to a body, but to a set of attributes that can be quantified and ranked (Agamben, 2000: 7-8). Public health campaigns targeting obesity, to take a contemporary example of biopolitics in action, are not concerned with whether or not bodies are fat or thin, but only whether they are at increased risk (which is calculated statistically rather than by any actual assessment of actual bodies) of particular diseases, which are expensive to treat (Berlant, 2011: 106-114). As Deleuze (1995: 182) puts it, the new medicine will have neither doctors nor patients, just cases and subjects at risk.

I mention Han (2017) here because despite his misdirected criticisms of Foucault and Agamben, his theses are not only compatible with Deleuze's account of

control society, they update and clarify Deleuze's insights in a number of quite useful ways. He argues persuasively that our situation now is very different from disciplinary society because: (a) it concerns the psyche rather than the body—it is our imagination not our body that is subject to capture; (b) it is permissive rather than inhibitive—we are constantly exhorted to be "ourselves"; (c) the pan-opticon is perspectival—it relies on an embodied viewer, whereas control does not (it sees patterns not people); (d) disciplinary society lacked the means of keeping records, whereas control society records everything, down to the most trivial; and lastly (e), it is business rather than the state that controls surveillance (Han, 2017: 25; 14; 56; 62; 65).

It is surprising, therefore, that even though he acknowledges Deleuze's concept of control, he does not embrace it in his account of the effects of contemporary forms of surveillance, but instead speaks of it as a form of digital panopticon (Han, 2017: 38). This is a regressive step, it seems to me, because it blurs the very distinction he—and more importantly Deleuze—is trying to make between two very different specular regimes. In point of fact, as Han seems to be aware, the panopticon is child's play compared to the digital technology we are immersed in today, and which is unprecedented in history in its surveillance capacity.

In disciplinary society, surveillance was coercive, hence the need for confine-ment, but today we willingly carry surveillance technology (as Han notes) with us at all times, allowing it to record our every movement, our conversations, our financial transactions, our health data, and even how we feel about a wide variety of subjects. Not only that, we willingly pay for the privilege of giving all our data to private corporations (Zuboff, 2019). This is the true face of control society. We have entered an era in which surveillance is desired rather than feared and priva-cy has lost most, if not all, its meaning as an organising concern.

One key difference between Foucault and Deleuze, which is essential to under-standing the latter's formulation of control society, is that whereas Foucault tended to shy away from speaking directly about capitalism, Deleuze did not. Control society is explicitly defined as a mutation in capitalism:

> nineteenth-century capitalism was concentrative, directed toward produc-tion, and proprietorial. Thus it made the factory into a site of confinement, with the capitalist owning the means of production [...] But capitalism in its present form is no longer directed toward production [...] It is directed toward metaproduction [...] Thus it is essentially dispersive, with factories giving way to businesses. (Deleuze, 1995: 180-181)[2]

I would argue Deleuze does not go far enough here in his account of the transfor-mation of capitalism, and he doesn't adhere closely enough to his own insights. In *Anti-Oedipus* (1983), he and Guattari complain that not enough importance is attributed "to banking practice, to financial operations, and to the specific cir-culation of credit money which would be the meaning of a return to Marx, to the Marxist theory of money" (230). Deleuze's essay is guilty of the same failing, in-asmuch as he focuses on changes to manufacturing—the shift from production to metaproduction, which can be grasped simply as the movement away from in-house production towards outsourcing, and even more so as the shift from local production to offshoring—rather than changes to the structures of ownership, which are more far-reaching in their effects. Today, corporations are owned by shareholders, those shareholders are very often other corporations such as hedge

funds and pension funds that are themselves owned by shareholders who purchased the shares using money borrowed from credit institutions. What matters now is not who owns the means of production (the pivotal factor in Marx's analyses), but rather who controls the platforms (Srnicek, 2017).[3] Ours is the age of bankers, derivatives, hedge funds, and debt, but above all it is the age of data and its crucial complement the algorithm.

Deleuze identified three paradigmatic differences between disciplinary society and control society:

(1) *Confinement is an analogical system, whereas control is digital.* In disciplinary societies, one is constantly starting over, as one moves from school to the army to work and so on, but in control societies, one is never finished—lifelong learning has replaced the idea of graduation with a perpetual cycle of training. In disciplinary society, school, the army, the factory, were analogous, inasmuch as they were organised along similar lines and according to similar principles but remained essentially different—the student was not a soldier, the soldier was not a worker, and so on. But in control society, the school, the army, and the factory, along with virtually every other aspect of society, have become businesses, measured in terms of their financial bottom lines rather than their outputs. Success in education, to take only one example, is measured in economic not pedagogic terms. What matters is not whether the student has learned their curriculum and graduated with specific capabilities and genuine expertise, but whether that curriculum was delivered in a cost-efficient manner and according to protocols recommended by employers.

(2) *Confinement is a form of moulding, whereas control is modulation.* Deleuze says this can be seen most clearly in the breakdown of trade unions, and the corresponding breakdown of the wage-bargaining process that has been replaced by individual workplace contracts (i.e., the "gig economy" beloved of platform corporations like Uber and Deliveroo) that pit worker against worker in a situation of infra-class antagonism rather than infra-class solidarity. As he puts it, "if the stupidest TV game shows are successful [and let's not forget that it was literally a stupid TV game show that helped put Trump into the White House], it's because they're a perfect reflection of the way businesses are run today" (Deleuze, 1995: 179). In contrast to the old duality of management and trade unions, today's businesses "are constantly introducing an inexorable rivalry presented as healthy competition, a wonderful motivation that sets individuals against one another and sets itself up in each of them, dividing each within himself" (179). Competition for its own sake is affect driven, it lives and thrives on the intermittent highs of transitory victories (e.g. employee of the month), and never concerns itself with whether or not these victories add up to something meaningful like competency or a vocation. Not even education, to continue with my previous example, is immune from this trend, Deleuze laments. Schooling has been replaced "by *continuing education* and exams by continuous assessment" (179). To which he adds, showing uncanny prescience: "It's the surest way of turning education into a business" (179).

(3) *Control mechanisms have replaced disciplinary apparatuses.* Disciplinary society is organised by the signature (of the individual) and the number (one's place in a social hierarchy), whereas control society is organised by codes (algorithms, metadata, GPS, and so on) and it takes no interest in either individuals or social

entities. Control society is far more advanced in its development today than it was when Deleuze first penned his essay. The more we come to understand the power of the major platforms like Google and Facebook, the more we realise that there is still so much they could and probably will do to infiltrate, shape, and ultimately monetize our daily lives.[4]

If confinement has broken down, it is because new technology has facilitated vastly more intrusive and exploitative forms of what I will call "open capture". This amounts to a new iteration of primitive accumulation that treats culture—or more specifically cultural practices—in the same way extractive capitalism treats nature (Jameson, 1991: ix). As Shoshana Zuboff (2019) argues, Google's co-founder Larry Page understood that human experience could become (as indeed it has) Google's natural resource, which it could extract at almost no cost.

How have these changes been reflected in the built environment? In a necessarily preliminary way, and aggregating the work of several theorists, I will suggest that control society has yielded four key architectural forms: the mall, the theme park, the cloud, and the camp.

The Mall. The mall is arguably the first architectural form control society gave rise to in the immediate aftermath of World War 2, when the commodity-led boom began in America. It inaugurated a new kind of space that is, as Chun puts it, public but privately owned. People are encouraged to enter the space, but most do so according to the terms laid out by the mall's owners (2006: 38). The mall has been theorised as a panopticon by Mike Davis (1992: 242-243), among many others, because of the tight security measures many of them deploy, both to keep out so-called "undesirables" (i.e., poor people) and prevent theft.

But these measures were not part of the original design idea that sought to combine the galleria (Milan's famous Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II is the prototype), the department store (which is modelled on the museum), and the piazza, to create a self-contained space that functioned as a city within a city, in which people could mingle freely with commodities. In contrast to the panopticon, the primary purpose of the mall is to facilitate "looking".

As part of this, the mall fosters the kind of display (by both its vendors and customers) that encourages the look. Covert surveillance is in this sense anathema to its central organising premise. Mall-goers want to be seen! The mall is essentially a machine and its day-to-day operations are utterly dependent on machines too—it cannot function in the absence of the transport networks that connect it to its customer base, which is implicitly greater than the immediate vicinity can supply; it also depends on long logistics chains that invariably stretch around the globe; and it depends on air-conditioning, escalators, and bar codes for the comfort and convenience of its customers.[5]

The Theme Park. Related to the mall and born at almost the same time, the theme park is nevertheless distinct because it is predicated not on physical commodities, but rather on the intangible commodities of film and television. If the mall was built to enable people to mingle with commodities, then the theme park was built to enable people to enter the imaginary space of their favourite films and TV shows and mingle with the characters.

The extension of this idea into every aspect of daily life was accomplished when it was realised that the imaginary space did not need to originate with a movie, it

could build on fantasized notions of the past and the future and in a sense fanta-sized versions of films that have not yet been made, as was the case with Disney's *Pirates of the Caribbean*, which was a ride long before it was a movie, but was clearly built as though it replicated a movie.

Other examples include Starbuck's coffee shops, which have spread their fanta-sized simulacrum of an American corner café, that probably never existed, all over the world like a virus.[6] This style of architecture and design has been theorised as "hyperreality" by Umberto Eco and Jean Baudrillard. It can be understood as an absolute reversal of Benjamin's notion of aura because its key principle is pre-cisely that the replica triumphs over the original, not merely as its replacement or substitute, but as the preferred object. The pinnacle example of this is perhaps the franchised "fake" Irish pub which was invented outside of Ireland but has lately been imported there, doubtless because the tourists expect to see such places and not the actual more modern pubs that evolved in the decades since the "fake" ver-sion was fixed as the image of what a pub should look like.

The Cloud. Platform capitalism is enabled by computer technology, which, far from being weightless and frictionless as techno-utopians like to proclaim, ac-tually sits rather heavily on the earth. As Benjamin Bratton (2015) puts it, the cloud is a "terraforming project, covering the globe in subterranean wires and switches and overhead satellite relays, simultaneously centralizing and decen-tralizing computing and data storage and the social relations that depend upon them" (116).

It has very specific infrastructure demands too. Among other things it needs "cheap energy, cheap space, proximity to ocean passage, lax regulation on data storage, earthquake and flood avoidance, perimeter security, ideal temperature control" and so on (116).[7] In many ways, the server farm is the most typical ar-chitectural form of control society. Undoubtedly, it is also the least noticed. In part this is because it is usually hidden from view, built into old coal mines, ice caves, disused shopping malls, and office buildings, but also because it is often very drab and looks like an ordinary warehouse. But there can be no question that these structures are among the most important buildings on earth: global communications would collapse without them. If they look like ordinary ware-houses, it may perhaps seem wrong to suggest they are a new form. In one sense this is obviously true, but only if we look at them from the outside.

When we consider what goes on inside these buildings, it is clear they are in fact a new form and one that is going to proliferate as our global use of the internet and data processing services increases (Carroll, 2020). Their most important characteristic, which perhaps makes them unique, is that they are not designed with humans, or indeed any living creature, in mind, yet they contain within them a vast record of human activity. They are windowless, airless, dark ("lights out" is their dream), soulless places where machines hum and whir and humans are on hand solely to attend to the needs of the computers. Control spaces are ultimately ahuman spaces.[8] I include under this category so-called fulfilment centres (Amazon's word for its distribution and warehouse centres—it is perhaps worth adding that Amazon is one of the largest providers of cloud services, which constitute nearly a third of its business), too, because they are similarly designed for robots, even if they still employ humans, and offer nothing but blank walls to the outside observer. If the mall was the first form of control architecture, then

the cloud may well be the last, because it is the single most powerful threat to the urban fabric yet produced. People who shop online, work online, entertain themselves online, and so on, do not need or want malls, theatres, stores, or even high streets.

The Camp. The commodities boom underpinning the aforementioned spaces has its dark but nonetheless "open secret", which is the fact that it is premised on camps. Contemporary society exhibits several varieties of camp—refugee camps, asylum camps, workers camps, sweatshops, and slums, to name a few. As Deleuze puts it, "[o]ne thing, it's true, hasn't changed—capitalism still keeps three quarters of humanity in extreme poverty, too poor to have debts and too numerous to be confined: control will have to deal not only with vanishing frontiers, but with mushrooming shantytowns and ghettos" (1995: 181).

Camps are not recent inventions—as Agamben (2000: 38-39) notes, historians debate whether the first concentration camps appeared in Cuba (1896) or South Africa (1899-1902)—but they have become ubiquitous in the period since the Second World War and as Mike Davis (1992) documented with care in his book *Planet of Slums*, they are proliferating. They are defined by their hostility toward life. In most cases, they only barely meet the minimum requirements for sustaining life. What sets them apart, though, from the slums and prison camps in times gone past is the fact these places exist amidst absolute abundance—we have more than enough wealth, food, and resources on a planetary scale for all people to live well (this does not mean to a so-called "American standard" necessarily, but it does mean to a standard capable of sustaining a good life). We might blame religion and racism and geopolitics, but ultimately it is simply a failure of hospitality toward the other. It is the ultimate form of the closed door.

Lastly, these four forms are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive—doubtless other forms could be adduced: for example, I am tempted to nominate transport hubs like airports, or freeway interchanges (à la Banham), as possible candidates, and I expect there are other plausible candidates too. By the same token, the line between malls and theme parks is blurred, as Michael Sorkin's great collection of essays *Variations on a Theme Park* (1992) demonstrated. But so is the line between the cloud and the camp inasmuch as each tends toward the inhuman in their own way. If disciplinary society yielded spaces designed to survey and form humans into subjects, then we can say by way of contrast that control society is yielding spaces that transform those subjects into customers, data points, and finally redundant bodies that can be piled on the scrapheap.

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ENDNOTES

1 Han (2017: 24) taxes Agamben (unjustly in my view) for failing to recognise that contemporary technology is no longer disciplinary in its mode of operation.

2 By business (*l'enterprise*), Deleuze means what we would today refer to in English as a corporation, which is a very different kind of entity from the organisations that existed in the disciplinary era, for which Marx was both poet laureate and vivisector.

3 I do not necessarily agree with all of Srnicek's arguments, but there is no doubting the insightfulness of his notion of platform capitalism.

4 Writing almost two decades ago, Wendy Hui Kyong Chun (2006: 6-9) argues that Deleuze gives too much credit to the powers of control society's capabilities. While there may be some truth in that, I would say that the issue isn't whether control society can do the things we imagine it is capable of, but whether it would do the things it might be capable of. In other words, I think the ethical question is more important than the technical question, which is in any case in a constant state of being overcome. On this score, it is clear that there are no implicit moral or ethical limits to the lengths data companies will go in pursuit of profit. This can be demonstrated in any number of ways, so I will just offer one particularly egregious example of a drug company, Mundipharma, using Google searches to identify possible opioid users suffering from constipation by tracking their search and then sending them targeted ads for their laxative laced product. See Branley (2019).

5 It is has been theorised in these terms by Koolhaas and Jameson, among others, as I discuss in Buchanan (2006).

6 I have written more extensively about the simulacrum and space in Buchanan (2005).

7 In 2015, it was estimated that the world's data centres combined used 3% of the world's electricity supply, which is greater than the total amount of electricity consumed by the UK (Bridle, 2018: 63).

8 For example, Amazon, which is both the largest retail company on earth and the largest provider of data services, organises its fulfilment centres according to a machine logic known as "chaotic storage" that is impenetrable to the humans, though not the robots, who work there (Bridle, 2018: 114-115).

A.-CHR. ENGELS-SCHWARZPAUL

Peripheral territories: Imagining common worlds differently

Introduction

At the beginning of spatial struggle is separation: a perception of what is in, or outside, one's body, one's house, intimate group, kin, neighbourhood, and polity. We all have vague or even detailed ideas of that separation—but that this *we* performs the very separation we imagine often goes unnoticed.[1] For instance, we tend to associate a *territory* with a nation state and a homogenous population, while a *periphery* appears to lack connection and substance. Thus, Aotearoa New Zealand was for some time peripheral to a colonial centre in the Atlantic world, from where non-Western worlds were attributed "congenital and even delinquent peripherality" (Said, 1994: 317).

Then as now, metropolitan centrality relied on urbanisation and industrialisation, involving "massive and multifarious movements, migration and transfer of people" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 157). Ignoring this history has contributed to xenophobia in Western societies, and—together with prejudices grounded in religion and *scientific racism*—eventually led to events like the 2019 Christchurch and Halle terror attacks. Yet, supposedly homogenous nations have always resembled "archipelago[s] of small islands" more than coherent land-masses; today, those sharing a territory are mostly "fated to coexist" (Hobsbawm, 1992: 157). Many societies find this a difficult challenge after forty years of global neoliberal politics. Natural catastrophes and violent conflicts have displaced an estimated 92.8 million people worldwide (Pladson, 2019; Suliman et al., 2019; UNHCR, 2019), while marginalised groups in the *developed* world fear globalisation for its impact on the "existential frailty and precariousness of their social standing and prospects", and migration for "yet more competition on the labour market" and diminishing chances for improvement (Bauman, 2016).

If architecture is "thinking applied to the space [...] we inhabit" (Biennale di Venezia, 2017), then these issues are deeply relevant for architecture. They concern freedom, because "freedom of movement is historically the oldest and also the most elementary", but also a certain free space that is necessary to establish a world where many voices tell the "events and stories that develop into history" (Arendt, 1955: 9).

Against this backdrop, this paper explores the politics of place and mobility,

exemplified by one site each in the Mediterranean and the Pacific, to raise an urgent contemporary question: how can a balance be found between the freedom of movement, on the one hand, and the protection of Indigenous land rights and self-determination, on the other?

Sovereign borders

In settler societies, in particular, populist demands for sovereign borders are beset by internal contradictions. For example, the very nation conducting Operation Sovereign Borders and deporting immigrants to extraterritorial camps, namely Australia, owes its sovereignty and territorial control to a violent land appropriation still contested by Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders (Chambers, 2015: 412). The settlers, who, by a cruel irony, themselves arrived by ship, had no claim to citizenship under the legal fictions of *jus solis* (citizenship by birth) or *jus sanguinis* (citizenship by bloodline)—by which they now deny refugees entry. Rather, their rights, under the now universal Kantian principles (first published in 1795), would have been those of all citizens of the world, namely "restricted to conditions of universal hospitality", the mere right to visit (Kant, 1897: 115). Today, Australia's national presence in the Pacific demonstrates the paradox of the *nation*, which "makes nativity or birth (that is, of the bare human life) the foundation of its own sovereignty" (Agamben, 1995: 116). This dilemma was exasperated by the initial denial of citizenship precisely to those who were born on Australian territory. Australia also demonstrates a connection between "the cruelty of a policy that interns refugees in hellish Pacific-island camps" and devastating, authoritarian environmental politics: protesters against the causes of bushfires (which environmentally impacted the Pacific region) "face up to 21 years in jail for demonstrating" (Flanagan, 2020).

In the longer term, mass migration from Europe to the colonies (not only to Australia, of course) caused counter currents.[2] Paradoxically, the migrants from the peripheries are perceived as the avant-garde of ominous global forces at their destination and remind locals "irritatingly, infuriatingly and horrifyingly, of the (incurable?) vulnerability of [their] own position and of the endemic fragility of [their] hard-won well-being" (Bauman, 2016). And so, border patrols (sometimes calling themselves "hunters", Agier, 2016: 5), operate camps and detention centres, at the US-Mexican Wall, on the Mediterranean and in the Pacific, filtering friends from enemies.[3]

Border walls indicate failures across zones of "in-between, exception and uncertainty" (Agier, 2016: 36), where relationships are articulated and negotiated. Normally, such negotiations institute individuals' places in relation to their environment and produce varying constellations of inside-in-relation-to-outside, inscribing "a given collective, a 'group' or 'community' of humans in the social" (Agier, 2016: 18) and establishing relationships with others. Walls, like other non-negotiable lines of in- and exclusion, are intended to bring these negotiation processes to an end. Michel Agier argues that the "obsession with borders" is really the obsession with identity, producing a "desire for walls" (2016: 17) and cements identity-based distinctions and discriminations. For populations bearing the brunt of neoliberal politics, collective experiences of feeling insulted, ignored, or humiliated can erode self-worth and increase vulnerability. They may compensate by asserting a special, superior identity which is, by definition, "closed to others"

(Mazlish, 1999: 25). Thus, Western Identitarians use white identity to vindicate exclusion and *remigration* of non-white migrants.[4] In Aotearoa New Zealand, the mythical unity and purity of a European people served to justify the terrorist attacks on the Al Noor Mosque and Linwood Islamic Centre in Christchurch.[5] The terrorist's argument is absurdly twisted: the European culture he wanted to defend was imported to Aotearoa—and chronically operates in breach of the Treaty between Māori tangata whenua (people of the land) and the British Crown.

The "massive [nineteenth- and twentieth-century] out-migration of Europeans to the Americas, North and South, and in lesser numbers, to Africa, Asia, and Oceania" not only "sealed off 'native' populations in enclaves or compartments" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1055), but created political boundaries that led, more or less directly, to today's "push factors" of migration (Casas-Cortes & Cobarrubias, 2019). Furthermore, while ethnic identity movements may often be "reactions of weakness and fear, attempts to erect barricades to keep at bay the forces of the modern world" (Hobsbawm, 1992: 170), these responses are structurally and substantially different in different constellations.[6]

Specifically, the respective prevalence of individual and collective aspects of identity may well play a crucial role in border negotiations. Liberal and neo-liberal thought is "blind to the political because of its individualism" (Mouffe, 2013), which leaves scant room for plural identities and connections with the natural world that still prevail in large parts of the globe. Yet, grasping worldly reality from a single perspective is impossible:

> If someone wants to see and experience the world as it 'really' is, he can do so only by understanding it as something that is shared by many people, lies between them, separates and links them, showing itself differently to each and comprehensible only to the extent that many people can talk *about* it and exchange their opinions and perspectives with one another, over against one another. (Arendt, 2005: 129)

Relational conversations also facilitate collective identifications across different positions and temporalities. Crucially, not everyone can talk to everyone else at all times, and conversations at the centre often differ from those at the *peripheries*: what can be talked about in each case depends also on the conceptual apparatus available. Recall Said's (1994: 317) above argument that the Atlantic world once seemed central and that "congenital and even delinquent peripherality [was assigned] to non-Western regions". Such attribution of stable power to *territory*, and diminishing power and significance to *periphery*, is typical of imperial practices.

Today, we cannot afford to perpetuate assumptions of Western superiority; we need adequate concepts for a multi-centred, globalised world. The etymological relationship of the German word for territory with the cultivated earth around a settlement (Pfeifer, 1993) might provide clues; or the surprising association of periphery with movement (*peripheria*, "carrying around", from *peripherēs*, "rounded, moving round, revolving", see *periphery* (n.), in Harper, 2001-2017). Then, relationships between regional centres can emerge—across space, through "ocean and deserts"—creating "zones of transition" to neighbouring and distant others (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1045). In the Pacific, Epeli Hauʻofa (2008) has vividly described how Polynesian peoples traditionally built and sustained vast relational networks between multiple centres; for millennia before colonisation,

the ocean was their highway in a "sea of islands". Elsewhere, regional autonomies, "maintained by spatial distantiation and linked by specialized mediators and interlopers, organized the world at least until the middle of the nineteenth century" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1045). Each part of this world was in relationship with others, but the connections looked different from every vantage point (1047).

Transitional zones have shrunk significantly. First, colonialism brought massive waves of European migrants to the colonies; then, the industrial metropoles (built with colonial resources and labour) received immigrants as recruited labour migrants or as part of the "boomerang effect of imperialism" (Arendt, 1950: 155).[7] In the process, "the gaps between the West and the rest, once established by distance" morphed into transnational exchange channels, along which "migrants move back and forth across borders" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1056). Regional migration also affects settler societies, so that Aotearoa New Zealand residents, for instance, are increasingly born overseas (25% in 2013, 40% in Auckland). The country is the fifth most ethnically diverse in the OECD (NZ On Air & Research New Zealand, 2018), with visible and firmly established diaspora cultures. Globally, the "basic human condition" seems to be returning as mass migration—under industrialised and environmentally precarious conditions (Mazlish, 1999: 23). To think in terms of national identities, bounded to territories by sovereign borders, has become utterly inadequate; a global consciousness of "relationships of interdependence and overlapping" (Said, 2005a) is no longer just a conceptual possibility, but an experience shared by the millions traversing borders, too often forced by violence and catastrophe.

Catastrophe

Like the imperial boomerang effect, catastrophes in the human world can be an effect of human fabrications striking back (Arendt, 2005: 107).[8] Some, though, are not simply misfortunes but turning points: impactful reversals of expected trajectories and unanticipated unfoldings. The two catastrophic scenes I want to present here both changed direction during the drafting of this paper. The first is CARA di Mineo, a camp in Italy that—as part of Europe's extended system of sovereign borders—*processes* refugees. The second is Ihumātao, a Māori ancestral landscape south of Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) and the scene of occupation since 2016. On both sites, opposite movements of keeping-in and keeping-out converged in attempts to deal with, but also to evade, the consequences of earlier histories.

At its peak, CARA di Mineo in Catania Province (Sicily), one of the largest *migrant reception centres* in Europe, housed over 4,000 migrants in facilities designed for 2,000 (Garelli, 2015). The name reflects an Italian discourse of hospitality (DeBono, 2019): CARA stands for *Centro di Accoglienza per Richiedenti Asilo*, and *accoglienza* means welcome or reception. Yet, it was established in 2011 to curb the "human tsumani" (Silvio Berlusconi) from North Africa, and to keep (most) migrants out of Europe. The Italian Civil Protection, in its *North Africa Emergency Plan,* presumed not that "the body of the refugee" was vulnerable first and foremost, but that Italy was at risk from "the refugee influx" (Garelli & Tazzioli, 2013: 1008). The policy developed a "precise formula for spreading the refugee influx over the vulnerable body of the nation" but little to assist the

refugees (1009). The "territorial border workers" (DeBono, 2019: 351) receiving the migrants too often practice a "plastic hospitality" that masks Europe's implication in the push factors driving migration. It renders hospitality as cosmopolitan, paternalistic and voluntaristic benevolence: "By definition, the guest can never be the one dictating" (DeBono, 2019: 351). By contrast, Ahmed, a refugee from Sudan, appeals to something much closer to pre-modern traditions of European hospitality (Murphy, 1965: 13, 42): "what kind of hospitality is this? Where I come from, guests are treated well, they are given the best seats at table. But [...] I have to beg for closed shoes because I feel cold with these flip flops" (DeBono, 2019: 340).

The guests at CARA di Mineo lived in 404 pink-and-orange houses, with front

Davide Mauro, Wikimedia Commons (2017). CARA di Mineo [Photograph]

and back yards. Idyllic looking from a distance, they were overcrowded and under intense surveillance. As in other refugee camps, migrants were reduced to mere bodies (Luhmann, 2013: 26) or "bare life" (Agamben, 1995) and made to spend their lives waiting, their indeterminate status stretching out indefinitely.

In circumstances where everyone creates a place of their own in a new situation, stable identities dissolve and new communities emerge—if only momentarily (Agier, 2016: 154). This condition, which Hannah Arendt knew from experience, can be exemplary for a "new historical consciousness" (Agamben, 1995: 114): refugees, having lost all rights, yet unwilling to assimilate at all cost, gain "one priceless advantage: history is no longer a closed book to them"; "expelled from one country to the next [they] represent the avant-garde of their people" (Arendt, 1994: 119). Arendt, for whom politics is an art in which subjectivity arises through the performance of deeds (1998: 206), draws attention to the power of "moments of initiation" and unexpected new beginnings: when CARA di Mineo residents joined locals in demonstrations in the streets of the nearby port of Catania, claiming space and rights, they and their allies "created

Davide Mauro, Wikimedia Commons (2017). A closer view of CARA di Mineo [Photograph]

Hiruka komunikazio-taldea (2018). Expanding Borders demonstration, Catania [Photograph, flickr.com/photos/hirukaeus/29716416658/in/album-72157698946704594/]

relational spaces of freedom [...] where none existed before" (Beltrán, 2009: 3). In these moments, a momentary space of appearance arose, in which those reduced to "bare life" (Agamben, 1995), as new emerging subjectivities, regained initiative to influence their place in the world (Agier, 2016: 18).

Residents in Catania (where 100,000 rescued migrants went ashore in 2014 alone) were "largely sympathetic to the migrants' plight", remembering Sicily's own history of poverty driven emigration (Williams, 2015). Conversely, descriptions of the camp's operations are a chilling read. Mafia boss Salvatore Buzzi remarked that "[d]rug trafficking is less profitable" (in Garelli, 2015: 109)—unsurprisingly, several managers were charged with embezzlement of public funding in the *Mafia Capitale* scandal.[9] In July 2019, using the violent operations of Mafia Capitale and associated Nigerian gangs in Mineo as pretext, far-right minister, Matteo Salvini announced the camp's closure—returning Sicilian territory, in his words, "to Sicilian citizens" (Paynter, 2019).[10]

A return of territory was also the goal of the SOUL (Save Our Unique Landscape)-led occupation of Ihumātao, a Māori ancestral landscape south of Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland), in Aotearoa New Zealand. Another commonality between the two antipodean sites is the institution of new beginnings.

In July 2019, when police moved in to evict, one might have felt reminded of Operation Sovereign Borders were it not for the different directions of these forces: offshore detention centres are to keep migrants outside of territorial borders, so that, inside, "the life of trade may continue to grow, accelerate, and intensify, with as little impedance as is possible" (Chambers, 2015: 432). The role of police at Ihumātao, by contrast, was to remove tangata whenua (local people) and their supporters from the territory, so that international capital could operate undisturbed (McCreanor, Hancock, & Short, 2018: 147). The term *territory* may, however, be ill-fitting: until Ihumātao was confiscated, its relationship with Auckland was neither territorial nor peripheral, even though tangata whenua in the 1850s cultivated the land to supply Auckland settlers; there were different forces at play.

In a nutshell, Ihumātao belongs to the oldest continuous human settlement in the area, dating back about 800 years. It is tūrangawaewae (place where one belongs, with a right to stand and speak) for several groups who were evicted by colonial troops during the 1863 Waikato invasion. The Crown confiscated the land in 1865 under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and granted it to a settler in 1867 (Waitangi Tribunal—Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1985). In 2014, his descendants sold Ihumātao to Fletcher Residential Ltd, conditional on a re-zoning as a Special Housing Area—a scheme created in response to Auckland's affordable housing shortage.[11]

Tuputau Lelaulu (2020). Kaitiaki (guardians) and protectors karanga (call) towards tūpuna maunga (ancestral mountain) Puketaapapatanaga-a-Hape during day seven of the reclamation [Photograph]

SOUL intends to preserve public access to the land as a heritage site. As the controversy unfolded, it became obvious how the original violent dispossession is everything but a dead fact, and how current business, local, and government politics repeat colonial patterns: misinformation, duplicitous dealings, and threats. It also revealed the weakness of government vis à vis the demands of (national and international) capital.[12] Indeed, it articulated "the tensions, irresolutions, and contradictions in the overlapping territories" that Said identified as consequences of imperialism (1994: 332).[13]

The notion of overlapping territories seems crucial here, yet Western imaginations of territory and periphery simplistically presume unambiguous and unequal relationships. There is no space here to explore this dilemma adequately; suffice it to say that, before the introduction of "inflexible boundaries" through Anglo-settler courts, relationships in Aotearoa were regulated by an intricate system of "layered and overlapping whanau, hapu, and iwi rights" (Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, 2009: 107), in which iwi and hapū (extended kinship groups) negotiated land rights—be they in perpetuity, or temporal occupational or usufructuary rights (197).[14] However, even those sophisticated protocols could not satisfactorily regulate relationships after Ihumātao's misappropriation through the Crown. Intense overcrowding—compressing "two iwi and several hapū into two marae" (Taonui, 2019c)—overstressed already complex webs of mutual rights and obligations. Eventually, both council officials and Fletcher ended up consulting with the wrong people and ignoring others, and misleading media reporting replicated an erroneous comment by a former Minister, that he had signed a 2014 Treaty Settlement including Ihumātao (Taonui, 2019b).[15]

Power and place work differently in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). Mana (power), for instance, is fundamentally reciprocal (Mika, 2017). *Mana whenua* (power relating to land) both derives from the land and obligates its holders to care for the well-being of everything there. Thus, significant differences exist between *whenua* and the instrumental conceptions of land underlying Fletcher's, local council's, and the New Zealand Government's strategies. *Mana tangata* (power relating to people) "recognises and validates the overlapping kin rights possessed by different hapu and iwi over certain lands" (Waitangi Tribunal—Te Rōpū

Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, 2009: 87). For Māori, people and land as *taonga* (a kin group's treasures)[16] belong to each other in various ways—in contrast to colonial and neo-colonial systems, where people own land and relationships between land and people are regulated through exclusive possession and capitalist exchange. The occupation at Ihumātao has brought into focus questions about the relationship between tūrangawaewae and mana whenua under the conditions caused by confiscation and subsequent, ongoing Treaty breaches. However, as public discussion has amply demonstrated, Māori tikanga facilitates the confrontation of hoariri (angry friends) over diverging positions. This is one crucial difference between Ihumātao and CARA di Mineo: at the refugee centre, a face-to-face encounter of the two sides of hosts and guests, to put it euphemistically, was difficult even to imagine.

Tuputau Lelaulu (2020). Police defensive forces encroach upon kaitiaki sleeping quarters, two days after kaitiaki and whānau (extended family) were evicted from their whenua [Photograph]

Another difference concerns the relationship to territory: Fortress Europe, with its deep pockets of processing centres, relies on exclusive access rights (and their defence through borders), even at the cost of human life and human rights violations. At Ihumātao, two contrasting forms of relationship clash—one based on exclusive property rights consistent with an extractive, individualistic world view, the other claiming self-determination of a collective (though still allowing public access) consistent with historical precedent, current plural identities and a reciprocal relationship to land. The first approach resembles the establishment of non-negotiable border lines in that it tends to end negotiations as soon as possible. The second approach aims at indefinite negotiations based on reciprocity. These sets of relationships rely on very different forms of identity. They produce different understandings of *we* (e.g., Matteo Calvini's versus SOUL's) and thereby different filters through which to conceive the world.

Cosmopolitanisms

With some re-rigging of terms, the occupation at Ihumātao fits with Agier's observation that territorial struggles are about "opposite legitimacies" between "an

open world versus protection, or national sovereignty versus cosmopolitism" (2016: 6). To begin with, the state protected international capitalist interests in real estate at Ihumātao—this type of cosmopolitanism was put back on the agenda by neo-liberal globalisation (2016: 155).

However, there are other forms of Western cosmopolitanism that focus on practical morality and global justice (e.g., Nussbaum, 2019), or human rights and cosmopolitan ethics and politics (e.g., Benhabib, 2006). They recognise, after Kant, a "common possession of the surface of the earth", on which humans cannot spread indefinitely "but must finally endure living near one another" (1897: 115). In his seminal text, "Eternal Peace", Kant laid out the conditions for peaceful cohabitation: in a world approaching "a state of world-citizenship", people must have visiting rights, which include the right not to be treated with hostility or to be expelled if that could cause destruction. However, guest rights depend on the "degree of social intercourse with the old inhabitants" (115).[17]

Since Kant, competing forms of cosmopolitanism claim to respect global plurality, yet many foreground a (Eurocentric) universalism.[18] Martha Nussbaum, for instance, identifies some flaws of classical cosmopolitanism, like the omission of a duty of material aid (2019: 5) or problematic aspects of Kantian personhood (2002-3).[19] Her proposed alternative, the *capability approach*, nevertheless centres on a list of capabilities that takes their (unacknowledged) Western basis as universal and ignores contextual particularity (Charusheela, 2008; Menon, 2002). It also disregards alternative, sophisticated models of rights, like the laws granting legal personhood to land, mountains, or rivers in Aotearoa (Winter, 2019) or Bolivia and Ecuador (Mignolo, 2011). Nussbaum overlooks that "globality has always been organized [and articulated] locally, in one place after the other, according to particular circumstances and conditions" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1057). That most Western intellectuals took this unacknowledged Eurocentric basis for granted, and lacked interest in the objections of their colleagues from the Global South,[20] did not help the reception of cosmopolitanism outside the West—nor that its reinvigoration ran parallel with the neoliberal advocacy of globalisation (Mignolo, 2011: 13).

Hannah Arendt and Chantal Mouffe offer alternative versions of cosmopolitanism—that is, of politics as active engagement with differentiated perspectives and positions, involving particular kinds of space. Arendt, in contrast to Nussbaum, was concerned that Kant's moral imperatives are based on a single truth and cannot take account of the plurality and embeddedness of human life. Nevertheless, she discovered plurality in his work on aesthetic judgement, where he first "consider[ed] men in the plural, as living in a community" (Arendt, 2003: 1420). Their *in-between*, as she calls it, first makes worldly reality possible. The in-between is bounded, yet its borders are constantly reconsidered from positions that are open to all sides and from standpoints that can be (ex)changed. Training one's imagination to go visiting across borders is part of a politics that includes many perspectives and opinions. By strengthening, but also constantly transforming, identity and plurality, it changes the world (Herzog, 2004). Whenever the power of people to act and speak together is actualised, a space of appearance arises from infinitely complex, "intersecting and interfering intentions and purposes" (Arendt, 1955: 147)—as long as words are used "to disclose realities", and deeds "to establish relations and create new realities" (1998: 199-200).[21] Action, operating on the world, creates relationships—of which each

enters "a web of ties", triggers new links, and changes "the constellation of existing relationships" (2005: 186-7).

Mouffe argues that Arendt, despite her emphasis on political plurality and difference, fails to acknowledge plurality as a source of antagonistic conflict. The consensus by persuasion producing public space has hegemonic traces and at some point inevitably leads to antagonism (Mouffe, 2013: 15), often fuelled by collective identities. Hence, no understanding of democratic politics is possible without "acknowledging 'passions' as the driving force in the political field" (13). In fact, *us/them distinctions* are constitutive of politics—in question are their compatibility with pluralism and the recognition of conflicts arising from pluralism. It is crucial that:

> the others are not seen as enemies to be destroyed, but as adversaries whose ideas might be fought, even fiercely, but whose right to defend those ideas is not to be questioned. To put it in another way, what is important is that conflict does not take the form of an 'antagonism' (struggle between enemies) but the form of an 'agonism' (struggle between adversaries). (14)

This corresponds to the conceptual underpinnings of the Māori notion of *hoariri*, as someone with whom one fights but "whose mana in defending their position is respected" (Hoskins, 2012: 94).

Every political act involves a moment of decision, the "determination of a space of inclusion/exclusion" (Mouffe, 2013)—and this is what Mouffe thinks Arendt overlooks, thereby failing to recognise a necessary closure and to address thorny questions about the conditions of radical democracy. In Mouffe's view, cosmopolitan approaches generally postulate "the availability of a world beyond hegemony and beyond sovereignty" and consequently negate conflict and antagonism. If the political is always concerned with the formation of collective identities (every identity is relational, every "us" requires an opposing "them", Mouffe, 2013), politics must include a degree of antagonism: "consensus around one single model eliminates the possibility of legitimate dissent, thereby creating a favourable terrain for the emergence of violent forms of antagonisms". However, Mouffe notes new types of cosmopolitans that recognise the realities of power and foster political solidarities, bringing "cosmopolitanism down to earth" (Mouffe, 2013).

Walter Mignolo, for instance, urges that cosmo-politics must be geopolitically diversal and pluricentric and connect the former peripheries from below:

> If you can imagine Western civilization as a large circle with a series of satellite circles intersecting the larger one but disconnected from each other, diversality will be the project that connects the diverse subaltern satellites appropriating and transforming Western global designs. (2000: 765)

No longer will territory and periphery be organised in relation to a single centre; rather, the movements circling the peripheries, and traversing overlaps with the territories of other centres, become discernible. In Māori thinking, this is not unusual or novel, as we know from Waitangi Tribunal reports (2002, 2009) describing overlapping regimes of simultaneous usages, rights, and obligations by different groups.

Agier explores an ordinary cosmopolitan condition "born in border situations"

(2016: 137), arising de facto, without intent, from the uncertain relationships and in-between spaces of the borderland. It intersects with "the debate on cosmopolitism and cosmopolitics" (8), yet the contestation here is not about global integration generally, but about who determines the terms and conditions (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1058). Another *cosmo-politics* is born in occupied or settled territories, where people exist "between the old empire and the new state", with the tensions and irresolutions caused by imperialism layered onto already overlapping territories (Said, 1994: 332).

All these writers (including Arendt, Mouffe, Mignolo and Agier) are still oriented by or against a Western perspective. Comparisons with local, Indigenous perspectives and decolonial approaches are required that offer conceptions of plural, relational, and embedded identities, cognisant of the realities of power and the importance of political solidarity. The remainder of the paper explores some implications of this situation.

Common worlds

If globalisation, climate change, and mass migration extinguish the transitional zones on the earth's surface, and if personal and collective identities need some form of territorial base (Mazlish, 1999: 22), our global challenge is to imagine the world differently. Respecting already existing home-lands, we need to create new, non-exclusive, locally specific, and reciprocal relational spaces. If there are to be common worlds, they will not be found ready-made but have to be built from multiple existing and anticipated ones (Latour, 2004: 455). *Overlapping territories* and *interdependent relationships* not only exist factually but offer a useful metaphor for thinking about a world in common.

Climate change currently creates a greater and more inclusive sense of urgency to understand local and global relations in a shared world. When the "great oceans were opened up" by and for Europeans (Schmitt quoted in Chakrabarty, 2015: 150), Europe's (previously land-based) division and distribution of space changed. A desire to know and to master led to the expropriation of land and sea, and to the subjugation of Indigenous peoples. Exploration of the ocean, however, does not have to take this path. Polynesians, who crossed the Pacific on their waka centuries before the Europeans, retained in their cosmologies connections to sea and land that function very differently from the political and spatial boundaries "carved out in Europe from the seventeenth century" (Waitangi Tribunal - Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1999: 133-4). These latter, though, were subsequently imposed on colonial territories.

The re-negotiations of a common world at Ihumātao are thus also about the rejection of an alien, simplistic spatial order, which cannot adequately reflect complex changing spatial relationships over time. More generally, a greater "awareness that we are not always in practical and/or aesthetic relationship with this place where we find ourselves" (Chakrabarty, 2015:

Tuputau Lelaulu (2020). After seven days behind police borders, kaitiaki and protectors gain access to their whenua, where they join in karakia (prayer) and waiata (song) [Photograph

183) is required to curb indifference, alienation, and homelessness.

The occupation/reclamation at Ihumātao is also an attempt at prising open a public space of freedom, an active, agonistic, and relational border space arising out of confrontations about indigeneity. Debates about definitions, lineages, and formations (the *em*placements and *dis*placements Agier refers to) highlight questions about how cosmo-politics might accommodate all people on the surface of the Earth. The New Zealand Human Rights Commission (2019: 6)[22] recommends strengthening mana whenua and continuing the 26 July 2019 halt on construction to create space for negotiation. It recognises that Ihumātao can be "a turning point for the protection of indigenous rights in Aotearoa New Zealand" and "a real opportunity to move the nation forward" on a new trajectory.

Many have observed manaakitanga (hospitality) during the occupation at Ihumātao: looking after participants and visitors took place beyond monetary concerns. By all accounts, the occupation also generated extensions of personal and collective identity through whakapapa (genealogy, lineage), whanaungatanga (relationships), utu (reciprocity), and reciprocal connections with Papatūānuku (the earth, the natural world, see Mika, 2016 for a more complex discussion)—that is, "between people (past, present and future generations)" and natural resources (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2019: 10). Another outstanding feature was the acceptance and cultivation of plurality: difference featured as strength rather than weakness. Not surprisingly, the occupation was supported by many different ethnic, political, and cultural groups, who often recognised not just a particular injustice but the systemic failure of a neo-colonial, neo-liberal society.

Tuputau Lelaulu (2020). Waves of protectors meet the boundary demarcated by police officers. Protectors join in waiata as they show their support for the whānau of Ihumātao [Photograph]

Both CARA di Mineo and Ihumātao can help identify blind spots in Western societies and develop new imaginations.[23] The migrants moving towards Europe's borders are in "places of encounter, crossing and conflict", where a cosmopolitan reality takes shape (Agier, 2016: 156). There, relationships "require unprecedented translations and exchanges" through which the border can regain its "fundamental role as a space, time and ritual of relationship" (156). European

locals' engagement with alterity, their participation as official or volunteer border workers in these relationships, decides not only individual migrants' fates but that of a common world. If "global foreigner[s], invisible and phantom-like" (156) transform into persons to whom we relate in spatio-temporal continuity, their perspectives may disturb the prevailing consensus and help us to see our world in new ways.

In a different local constellation, Māori have already dealt with displacement in their own country and developed survival strategies. Pre-colonial Māori communities did not rely on dividing boundaries but on whakapapa (genealogical ties), and their organising principle was not exclusivity but association. The determination of "dividing lines was usually a matter of last resort" (Waitangi Tribunal—Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1999: 131).[24] In recreating local worlds after colonisation, Māori shared with other colonised peoples selective patterns of collaboration and resistance. At times, they appropriated the colonisers' ways to their own ends, "creating in the process a more integrated world", though not "as Western imperialists had intended" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1049). Throughout those transitions, they retained a common ground in which "the individual is understood as integrally woven into a collective fabric based on *whakapapa* (kinship) and relationships" (Thornley, Ball, Signal, Lawson-Te Aho, & Rawson, 2015: 30) including "trees, rocks, birds, reptiles, fish, animals or human beings" (Salmond, 2003: 244). Kinship of this sort includes environmentally responsible relating—in imagining, planning, and action.[25] Within such relationality, space is neither clearly delimited nor definitely limited, and the possibility of a different, more generative, and energetic way of imagining space opens up. With space no longer perceived as a finite, contested resource, migrants no longer have to be experienced as a threat and can instead help cultivate a shared territory, bringing with them new knowledge, or wisdom the locals may or may not have lost sight of. Indigenous and land-based traditions across the globe (including some pre-modern or minor European ones and some alternative modernities) share approaches to land, people, and the entire cosmos that have been forgotten in dominant Western thinking.

Arendt provides a hint at the possible recovery of forgotten European traditions; for her, the meaning of past events "remains potentially alive in the reproductive imagination" and can be activated, shared, and experienced vicariously, revealing the "past's presence in the world" (Kohn, 2005: xii). Thus, the inspiration Pacific people can provide might help Europeans to retrieve aspects of their own history that diverge from currently prevailing versions of Western thinking. Andrew Benjamin argues that the latter's "founding form of singularity" leaves forms of primary plural relations unthought (2015: 1). Yet, relationality is not a lost possibility, for through the "almost archaic presence" (2) of an original mode of existence, "being-in-common [...] and being-in-place" (219) can be recovered. Simultaneously, the recognition of the social (non-natural) foundations of borders, as a condition of being in the world, is as crucial as the "reciprocal recognition of self and others" (Agier, 2016: 16). Only in relationships do Self and Other, Us and Them, arise; politics is established *between people,* in the "back-and-forth of exchanged speech", in the "space in which everything else that takes place is first created and then sustained. What in political language is called a 'breakdown in relations' is the abandonment of that in-between space" (Arendt, 2005: 193).

Even if both CARA di Mineo and Ihumātao result from a mixture of politics

serving a (Western) will to power and possession, and an unwillingness (and/ or inability) to comprehend overlapping territories (see Taonui, 2019a; Berbner, 2017), and even if neither are simply misfortunes but also unexpected turning points, their stories nevertheless unfold differently. Little is known about the *guests* at CARA di Mineo because, while some reports mentioned protests (2014) and demonstrations of solidarity (2019), the overall media coverage rendered "undocumented people's existence 'invisible and inaudible'" (Rinell2016: 45). By Cruz and Forman's criteria (2019), and by comparison with the successful model of Riace, Calabria (2018), the CARA *hosts* stayed on the gestural side of hospitality, falling well short of manaakitanga. And yet, in the few reports discussing details of the migrants' situation, there are glimpses of the irruption of other subjects in changed contexts, of regained initiative through political action—influencing places, lives, and communities – the very opposite of victimhood imposed by circumstance (Agier, 2016: 154).[26]

Reporting on Ihumātao became more nuanced, detailed, and conceptually informative since July 2019, due partly to the occupants' media savvy and their ability to engage with public institutions and stake holders. Their successes at re-telling and re-casting the story, and garnering support from varied sources, are exceptional and will influence history at Ihumātao and beyond. Political action at Ihumātao has highlighted how, in our global age, "the world's pasts are all simultaneously present, colliding, interacting, intermixing" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1042), and demand intelligent and generous understanding and solutions.

By contrast, Australia's so-called "Pacific solution" (deporting migrants to extraterritorial outposts) is neither a solution nor informed by Pacific values. Clearly, in a world where too many people are already compressed into place and/or displaced, such imaginations of territory and periphery are deadly for migrants and dead ends for most people. We need better ways of realising connections between people and place, and, to develop alternatives to a politics of blame or hostility, we need to understand overlapping territories (Said, 1994: 19), collective, plural identities and rights (Mouffe, 2013: 12), and relational selves (Strathern, 1999: 40-41). The Waitangi Tribunal's report on the Te Rohe Pōtae, a nearby district on the West Coast of the North Island, makes an interesting connection between commonly overlapping and interwoven territorial rights and roles in Māori nineteenth-century social organisation (2018: 53, 60) and the perception and intention of rangatiratanga (leaders) who signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi: in the pre-settlement order, each hapū had "their own kāinga and spheres of influence", yet "the boundaries were fluid, resources were shared, and responsibilities overlapped" (55). By extension, the Tribunal found, rangatira saw the Treaty as providing "distinct Māori and Crown spheres of influence within a single state [...] for 'two authorities, two systems of law, and two overlapping spheres of population and interest'". The areas of overlap were to be managed "through dialogue and negotiation, in a spirit of partnership" (175). The aspiration was a "mutually beneficial alliance with common and overlapping interests" and benefits, providing a place "for both peoples—and for their cultures, traditions, systems of law and government, and relationships with the natural world. It was an arrangement that allowed both forms of authority to co-exist" (187-8). Such fluid forms of spatial separation between Us and Them would allow for a different and better appreciation of the relationships of interdependence that are part of the human condition.

However, naïve expectations of a world beyond hegemony and sovereignty are

not likely to bring about peace—the unavoidable antagonisms that plurality also produces need to be brought into a space of appearance where the effects of power are visible and solidarities possible. Māori tikanga for the confrontation of hoariri (someone with whom one fights but whose mana and diverging position one respects) is a local example from Aotearoa, but there are other Indigenous perspectives and decolonial approaches that offer new concepts and processes as solidary alternatives to the cosmo-politics of power and control.

A contrapuntal approach, perceiving intertwined and overlapping historical experiences like a polyphonic work rather than a dominant (imperial) melody accompanied by (peripheral) background arrangements (Said, 2005b), expands overlaps between metropoles and ex-colonies. It gels with Arendt's emphasis on the importance of plural perspectives. It is also sympathetic to her idea that humans appear in the world equipped with the capacity for beginnings. Rather than remaining victims of the consequences of past deeds, our ability to ask for, extend, and receive forgiveness liberates our capacity for action and allows us to make new beginnings (Arendt, 1990: 211).

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ENDNOTES

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We (like *here*) is a shifter, and changing positions are a characteristic condition of our times and, indeed, central to this paper.

2 The destabilisation of whole regions like the Middle East, another effect of "miscalculated, foolishly myopic and admittedly abortive" interventions by Western powers from nineteenth-century colonisation to present day trade wars (Bauman, 2016), add to the flows. "We are here, because you were there" (Benhabib, 2011: 191; Varadharajan, 2000: 146) proclaim those who have reached the (post)colonial centres.

3 Globally, border walls have tripled since the Cold War (Vallet, 2016: 2).

4 The Identitarian movement spread, after the 1960s, from France across Europe and then the US, Australia, and Aotearoa New Zealand.

5 The shooter's manifesto was entitled "The Great Replacement" claiming that "black and brown migrants are invading Europe to destroy white culture" (Darby, 2019). The Great Replacement assumes that, due to European women's low birth rates, an ethnic replacement by migrants from Africa and the Middle East will ensue. (Schwartzburg, 2019).

6 Agier does not really consider Indigenous resistance against colonialism, or today's neo-colonial regimes. He claims that "no human has ever been 'indigenous'" (2016: 34). By contrast, UNESCO endorse criteria for indigeneity proposed by WGIP in 1995 (Stavenhagen, 2002: §99). Carolin Emcke, who thoughtfully distinguishes between collective identities based on (1) difference (in the field of tension between universalism and particularism), (2) individual self-determination (in the tension between liberalism and communitarianism), and (3) issues concerning the rights of ethnic-cultural group rights of Indigenous peoples in the US, Canada and New Zealand (2010: 17), still does not engage with the difficult question of descent-based identity and connection with land as an important aspect of Indigenous forms of identity. There is a substantive difference between appeals to traditions by Indigenous populations resisting neo-colonial encroachment and attempting to regain misappropriated lands, on one hand, and nativist, white supremacist claims to territorial rights, on the other, under which non-whites exist only on sufferance. James Baldwincalls "the Negro problem", an invention by white Americans to "safeguard their purity", motivated by "a guilty and constricted white imagination", a "bottomless and nameless terror", perhaps related to unacknowledged crimes of slavery and to the uncomfortable fact that the US infrastructure and economy have only become what they are due to the forced or cheap labour of generations. "My blood, my father's blood, is in that soil" (Baldwin & Peck, 2017).

7 Effectively, they have "become host to growing numbers of the world's poor" (Geyer & Bright, 1995: 1056)

8 Arendt, whose concern is primarily the human world, would presumably agree that other-than-human elements of the world participate in collective human fabrication.

9 See https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/emcc/erm/factsheets/cara-di-mineo.

10 Some residents protested against the closure – partly out of solidarity, and partly over the loss of employment generated by the CARA.

11 Given the type of projected residential units, increased real estate value is a more likely motivation for development (Malva, 2018).

12 Rod Drury, ex-CEO of tech company Xero, reported that all senior US VCs he has met "own property down here […] billionaires in the US do treat New Zealand as a bit of a bolthole" in anticipation of a global catastrophe. Murtola (2018) attributes to Aotearoa New Zealand the role of canary in the coal mine, whereby the intensity of the global elites' interest indicates the general outlook for the world.

13 For overviews of the developments prior to occupation, see Waitangi Tribunal—Te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi (1985), McCreanor (2018) and O'Malley (2019). Documents concerning the claim (number 2547) to the Waitangi Tribunal can be accessed at https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/WT/.

14 Additionally, the status of land could and can change from noa (unrestricted, ordinary) to tapu (restricted, sacred) and back.

15 The media reported partially erratically and, in the early years of occupation, sparsely.

16 English renderings of *taonga* have evolved over the last decades to "include all resources of the land and seascape, prized, tangible, material items such as canoes, carved meeting houses, cloaks and other woven items, and intangible things such as knowledge and tikanga [...] encapsulates notions of ancestral associations and reciprocity" (Kawharu, 2000: 364-5).

17 In this text, Kant (though racist elsewhere) condemns colonialism and the colonisers' assumption of *terra nullius* and the fact that "the [old] inhabitants they counted as nothing" (115). In a world in

which the community of men is no longer separated by distance and time, "an injustice in one part of the world is felt in all parts", so that cosmopolitical rights become necessary to regulate the coexistence of states and peoples (116).

18 For a detailed critique of universalism, see Appiah, Benhabib, Young, & Fraser (2007), Benhabib (1992, 2006, 2011), Appiah (2006), Mignolo (2011), and de Sousa Santos & Rodríguez-Garavito (2005).

19 Nussbaum comes frustratingly close to the possibility of recognising flaws in her own conception of social justice, for instance its unreformed individualism and Eurocentrism.

20 See Nussbaum's comment about the merely ancillary role of cross-cultural discussion (2001), as well as Carusheela (2008) and Menon's (2002) analysis.

21 While Rancière parts ways with Arendt over what he regards a repression of politics in her thinking (Schaap, 2012)UK</pub-location><publisher>Continuum</publisher><urls></urls></record></Cite></EndNote>, he nevertheless shares with her a conception of necessary disruptions and new beginnings. These happen through politics, which he defines as a disagreement over the distribution of the sensible, about what counts as speech and who can share in "what is common to the community" (Rancière, 2004: 12) and thus affect reality.

22 See the UN Special Rapporteurs on the Right to Adequate Housing and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

23 Social theories of modernity wrongly assume universal developmental paths. This false universalism "cannot be uncovered by looking at Europe from a European standpoint" but only from non-European perspectives, "that is with 'Asian eyes' (or 'African eyes', etc.), in other words by practising methodological cosmopolitanism! Methodological cosmopolitanism not only includes the other's experiences of and perspectives on modernization but corrects and redefines the self-understanding of European modernity" (Beck and Grande,

2010: 424). Migrants can, in a meeting of alterities, not only highlight the particularity of assumed universalism but also help locals to imagine differently.

24 Many of these factors also applied to the pre-colonial social organisation of many of the migrant groups now present at Italian CARAs.

25 It also helps, after some re-articulation, to build resilient diasporic communities, able to respond to public crises better than mainstream society. This was evident when Te Puea Marae took the lead in housing the homeless during the winters of 2016-8.

26 As one of my interlocutors pointed out, the comparison of Māori and refugees in Europe could be seen as a reinforcement of colonial ideology if it suggested that "all people of colour are homogenous and engaged in struggle, or incapable of expressing xenophobic attitudes themselves". This is clearly not the case, and there are many differences between and amongst them. However, there are some values and practices that most in the first two groups would subscribe to, distinguishing them from the advocates of international capitalist freedom of movement.

DANIEL GRINCERI

Tracing the border: Excursus on the wall

Introduction

In June 1989, as Cold War tensions were in decline, authorities in Budapest began dismantling the electrified fence on the border with Austria, inspiring thousands of East Germans to seek refuge in Hungary in the hope of migrating to West Germany. Soon after, Czechoslovakia also opened its borders, placing increasing pressure on East German authorities to follow suit. People began protesting all over East Germany, with an estimated 300,000 gathering in Leipzig and another half a million in Berlin to demand democratic reform (Judt, 2010: 613).

Exasperated by the government's inaction, the full East German cabinet resigned. In an attempt to stabilise the situation, Gunter Schabowski, the Socialist Unity Party chief in Berlin, held a press conference where he inadvertently announced the immediate removal of travel restrictions for all East German citizens (Sarotte, 2014: 127-128). Evening protests were by now a regular occurrence, but the announcement served to send thousands more demonstrators into the streets and to the wall. Overwhelmed by the sheer size of the crowd, the guards stood down and on 9 November 1989, the wall was breached for the first time in 28 years (1961-1989) as thousands of East Germans flooded into the west. In celebration, Germans climbed atop the wall and took to it with sledgehammers in what is now a symbol of the collapse of communism in Europe.

Schabowski later explained that authorities saw opening the border as a "relief valve" that might potentially secure more time for authorities to propose reform and secure some popularity amongst East German citizens (Moulson, 2015: 56). As historian Tony Judt appositely identified, "The Wall was opened for much the same reason that it was erected and closed a generation earlier, to staunch a demographic haemorrhage" (2010: 615). In 1961, the wall was erected to keep East German citizens from leaving for the more economically prosperous West Germany. However, in 1989, a western vision of freedom and economic well-being abetted eastern desires for modernisation, so the German Democratic Republic gambled that a taste of liberalisation and token economic reform would be enough to maintain the status quo. Instead, what resulted with the demise of the Berlin Wall, was the principle catalyst for the collapse of East Germany.

Three decades ago, it was believed that the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reconfiguration of international relations would open an age of globalisation, ushering a new age of freedom of movement, free trade, and borderless states. Instead, we are witness to the emergence of border walls and barriers, to an extent not heretofore seen; razor-wire fences, concrete security walls, offshore detention centres, security checkpoints and surveillance systems at airports, roadways, or anywhere that crosses international lines (Nail, 2016). Yet the advent of soft border controls in the early twentieth century, such as passports, visas, and customs, provided the means for effectively regulating civilian movement (Zimmermann & Vernon, 2019). As a consequence, solid forms of border control in the period leading up to and during World War 2 were not seen as effective means for preventing immigration, but rather were built primarily as defence against invasion. Between World War 2 and end of the Cold War (1945-1989), a further nineteen border barriers were built, with their main purpose to prevent citizens from escaping, like the Berlin Wall or barriers between Hungary and Austria, Czechoslovakia and West Germany, as well as between North and South Korea. (see Table 1)

Even in the decade that followed the collapse of European communism, walls did not significantly increase, with only ten constructed mainly due to rising tensions in the Middle East (Table 1). However, in the wake of the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, the implementation of surveillance and security proliferated, and legal measures were established allowing for illegal immigrants to be detained and treated like criminals (Parker & Fellner, 2004), while borderlands became a theatre for violence and war (Gregory, 2011). At the same time, soft forms of border control, like e-borders and e-passports embedded with biometric information such as facial, fingerprint, and iris recognition, have become a normalised part of international travel (Graham, 2003). Although largely ineffective, solid borders have become a visible means for governments to be seen to be in control. In fact, in the two decades following September 11 and the ensuing conflict in the Middle East, which triggered a flood of refugees seeking asylum in the West (Cammack & Dunne, 2018), 81 border walls or security fences have been built and many more planned (Table 1) (Vallet, 2017: 2). The refugee crisis in Europe (2015) has seemingly justified the erection of an ever-increasing number of electrified barbed wire fences and virtual walls, equipped with high-tech surveillance systems, drones, and weaponry, presenting an image of division many hoped had disappeared at the end of the Cold War. Walls and fences reinforce borderlines all over the globe, demarcating boundaries that were once cartographic in nature as closed, solid barriers.

Walls are not simply about security and keeping immigrants out, they are not even very effective or, in many cases, visible to the general public. Nevertheless, their presence provides a symbolic effect in favour of preserving identity, which explains why governments are so quick to build walls as a solution to unwanted people movement as opposed to tackling issues at their source (Jones, 2016). The "war on terror" provided justification for increased securitisation, and although this event may have sanctioned wall building as a political instrument, their rapid proliferation suggests the existence of an underlying predilection or fear that authorities were able to leverage in their favour (Aly & Green, 2010). While border security might provide some sense of protection from the outside world, their effects are tokenistic, rather, they seek to reinforce differences and construct an image of national identity by casting outsiders as dangerous, drug smugglers, and terrorists, and a threat to traditional ways of life (Brown, 2010).

Table 1.

Border walls between the world wars (1918–1945)

Dates denotes construction and demolition dates. Absence of a second date means the wall still exists as at the time of writing.

1920-1940 Finland constructed two lines of fortified defence on the Soviet border. The Mannerheim Line built with fallen trees and boulders, and the Salpa Line, which consisted of 3-ton rocks.

1929-1938 France constructed the 380km Maginot Line comprising bunkers, tunnels, tank obstacles, artillery casements, and machine gun posts along the German and Italian borders.

1930-1942 Italy built the Alpine Line, a system of defence fortification along its borders with France, Switzerland, Austria, and Yugoslavia.

1935-1938 Czechoslovakia built border fortifications with infantry blockhouses and antitank obstacles.

1936-1941 Greece built the 155km Metaxas line to protect against Bulgarian invasion.

1938-1945 Sweden built the Skane Line on its borders and coastline with barbed wire and concrete bunkers.

1942-1944 Germany built the Atlantic Wall equipped with batteries, artillery, and positioned troops along the coast to protect against invasion.

Border walls from the end of WW2 to the collapse of the Berlin Wall (1945–1989)

1945-1991 The "Iron Curtain" was a self-imposed physical, legal, and informational barrier between the Soviet Union and the West, intended to prevent trade and stop immigration. It also included 240km of electrified fencing between Hungary, Austria, and West Germany. Other walls to come down at the collapse of communism in Europe include Hungary-Austria, Czechoslovakia-West Germany, Russia-Finland, and Russia-Norway.

1953 North Korea-South Korea: The Korean Armistice Agreement made provision for a buffer zone or demilitarised zone (DMZ) between North and South Korea, which is still heavily fortified.

1957 France built the Morice Line, an electric fence with minefields to prevent the rebel guerrillas from entering Algeria from Tunisia and Morocco.

1961 Cuba-US Guantanamo Bay: Cuba built a barbed wire fence with landmines to prevent Cubans from escaping to the US naval base.

1961-1989 East Germany-West Germany: The Berlin Wall built by East Germany was a 150km long system with sensors, barbed wire obstacles, anti-tank ditch, access road for vehicles, 186 guard towers, a control strip of raked sand, and a 3.6m high concrete wall. 140 people lost their lives attempting to cross.

1962-2018 Hong Kong-China: Consisted of barbed wire strung into a maze. The wall was removed in 2018 as Hong Kong has transitioned to Chinese rule.

1967 Israel built a 150km defence system known as the Bar Lev Line, a massive sand embankment supported by a concrete wall along the Suez Canal.

1969 Northern Ireland: The "Peace Wall" is a separation barrier keeping Catholics separated from protestant neighbourhoods in Belfast.

1973 Oman built a 50km mined Hornbeam line against guerrilla insurgents.

1974 Cyprus—between the Turkish and Greek halves: a 2m high wall dividing the city of Nicosia.

1975 South Africa-Mozambique: During apartheid South Africa erected a 3,500-volt electric fence that is said to have killed hundreds of people.

1980 Morocco-Western Sahara: The structure is a 3m high sand wall or berm with bunkers, fences, and landmines built to prevent the movement of guerrilla fighters.

1985 South Africa enforced border controls against illegal refugees and guerrilla infiltration by installing a 2,800-volt electrified fence on its borders with Zimbabwe and Lesotho.

Border walls from after the collapse of European communism to 9/11 (1990–2001)

1990 US-Mexico: Construction began in 1990 on a section of the border. However, barriers had commenced as early 1910 and have been continuously added to throughout the Bush, Clinton, and Obama administrations.

1990 Iran-Afghanistan: Iran commenced construction of a physical barrier to stop the transportation of narcotics into the country.

1991 Kuwait-Iraq: Post-Gulf War, the UN established a demilitarised zone to separate the two countries. The border barrier is 4.6m high, consisting of an electrified fence, concertina wiring, and an earth berm.

1993 India-Bangladesh: India constructed a 3m high, barbed-wire electrified fence along its 3,406km border with Bangladesh to deter illegal immigration, smugglers, drug couriers, and human trafficking.

1994 Israel-Gaza Strip: A security barrier intended to control the movement of people between Gaza and Israel and to stop the entry of arms into the territory. In 2019, Israel began construction on the third and last phase of a new barrier. President Netanyahu said the fence is to "protect ourselves from wild beasts". The wall is constructed of three layers of galvanized steel barriers, sensors, and underground walls.

1998 Spain-Morocco: Spain constructed border walls at Ceuta and Melilla adjoining Morocco, which is seen as a gateway for African migration into Europe.

2001 Uzbekistan-Afghanistan: Uzbekistan built a barrier along the Afghan border consisting of barbed-wire fence and a second taller 380-volt electrified fence, and mines and armed patrols over fears of Taliban insurgency.

2001 Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan/Kazakhstan: The Turkmenistan President ordered completion of a border fence to keep out illegal migrants and smuggling.

2001 Israel-Lebanon: Started constructing a 9m high concrete security wall on its Lebanon border.

Border walls since 9/11 (2002–2020)

2002 UAE-Oman: The UAE announced that it was installing a 4m high barbed-wire fence along the Oman border to curb the flow of illegal migrants, illicit drugs, and terrorists into the country.

2003 Bagdad Sunni-Shiite Barrier security wall. Built by the US military to prevent suicide bombers and death squads from launching attacks across sectarian lines.

2003 China-North Korea: Chinese authorities began building wire fences on major defection routes along the Tumen River, and in 2006 added 20km of concrete and barbed-wire fencing, 4.6m high, near Dandong. In 2007, North Korea started building its own fence along the Yalu River. More walls have been built on either side over the past decade.

2003 Botswana-Zimbabwe: Botswana started erecting an electrified fence on part of its border with Zimbabwe to stop an influx of humans and livestock.

2003 Saudi Arabia-Yemen: After the deterioration of security on the border with Yemen, base of al-Qaeda, the Saudis built a "giant" razor-wire fence from the Red Sea to Oman.

2005 UAE-Saudi Arabia: The UAE erected a fence along its border with Saudi Arabia to block extremists from entering the country.

2006 Kazakhstan-Uzbekistan: Kazakhstan announced the commencement of work on a 2.5m high barbed-wire fence along the Kazakh border with Uzbekistan, to keep smugglers out of the towns and villages.

2006 Italy Padova: Constructed a 3m high "ring of steel" to divide African immigrants from other areas of the city.

2009 Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan: After Islamic militant incursions 1999, Uzbekistan sealed its border and commenced constructing a barbed wire fence along its border with Kyrgyzstan. In 2009, authorities decided to strengthen security on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border by digging 3m deep ditched and 5-7m high walls.

2009 Russia-Georgia: Facing political unrest, border guards from Russia began constructing a fence to demarcate the "international border" with Georgia. The territorial line has since been in dispute.

2009 Egypt-Gaza: With support from the US, Egypt started building a steel wall along its Gaza border. In 2020, Egypt started construction on another 7m high steel wall equipped with electronic sensors and another concrete wall 8m away.

2010 Israel-Egypt: Israel built a barrier along its Egyptian border aimed at stemming the flow of African immigrants into the country.

2010 Myanmar-Bangladesh: Construction began to prevent illegal entry. Tensions have increased at the border due to the treatment of the Rohingya.

2011 Pakistan-Iran: Pakistan commenced construction in areas of the border with Iran, to stop human trafficking, smuggling, and cross-border militancy.

2012 Greece-Turkey: Greece completed a 4m high fence to stop immigrants from entering.

2012 Israel West Bank barrier: The Israeli government claims the barrier's purpose is to prevent violent attacks by Palestinians in Israel. Land for construction inside the West Bank was requisitioned from Palestinian landowners and impedes access to many services and resources, disrupts family and social life, undermines livelihoods, and compounds the fragmentation of Palestinian territory. The structure consists of a multi-layered fence system with pyramid-shaped stacks of barbed wire on the two outer fences and lighter-weight fence with intrusion detection equipment in the middle, an anti-vehicle ditch, patrol roads on both sides, and a smooth strip of sand for intrusion tracking. On average the wall contains a 60m wide exclusion area. The width of exclusion zones is 3m in urban areas where there is an 8m high concrete wall.

2013 Israel-Syria: Israel constructed a border defence system with Syria to protect from military insurgents.

2013 Oman-Yemen: The Omani government stated it would initiate a project to build a fence along the border with Yemen to deter the possible treat of conflict.

2013 India-Myanmar: India commenced construction of a border fence with Myanmar to counter insurgents.

2013 Namibia-Botswana: Namibia proposed the erection of a border fence with Botswana to prevent spread of disease in livestock.

2013 Brazil announced its border protection programme to create a virtual wall with all ten of its shared borders (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, French Guiana, Guyana, Peru, Paraguay, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela) to prevent illegal immigration, drug smuggling and other illicit activities. The virtual border, which will consist of satellite technology, electromagnetic signalling, tactical communication, drones, and increased army presence, was chosen because of the difficulty of the terrain. A pilot project began along the Bolivian and Paraguayan borders in 2007.

2014 Ukraine-Russia: Ukraine announced a defence border with Russia, but lack of funds prevented completion, with only 15% completed in 2018.

2014 Turkey-Syria: Turkey commenced construction of a 3m high concrete and razor-wire wall on their Syrian border as part of measures to increase border security and combat illegal smuggling and illegal border crossing. The wall consists of an electronic surveillance system, thermal cameras, land surveillance, remote controlled weapons systems, line-length imaging systems, and seismic and acoustic sensors.

2014 Turkmenistan-Afghanistan: Turkmenistan's government clarified its border policy, with Afghanistan adopting the same approach as its neighbours and sealing the border to keep out the Taliban.

2014 Tajikistan-Afghanistan: Security fence to keep out Taliban insurgents.

2014 Turkey-Iran: Turkey built a concrete wall on the Iranian border to secure its border against smuggling, illegal immigration, and militant infiltration.

2014 Saudi Arabia-Qatar: Border tensions between the Saudis and Qatar has resulted in the construction of a barbed-wire fence to prevent immigrant workers entering the country.

2015 Austria-Slovenia: Border fence to stem the flow of refugee migration through Slovenia.

2015 Slovenia-Croatia: Erected a razor-wire fence to stem flow of migrants.

2015 Latvia-Russia: Started construction on a steel fence for protection against illegal immigrants.

2015 Estonia-Russia: Estonia announced construction of a 2.5m high barrier on the border with Russia for security and protection from illegal border crossings, smuggling, and human trafficking.

2015 Hungary-Serbia: Electrified fence barbed wire divides Hungary from Serbia to stop immigrant flow.

2015 Hungary-Croatia: Hungary finished building a fence along its border with Croatia to shut out migrants moving across Europe.

2015 Hungary-Romania: Hungary started construction on a razor-wire fence on its Serbian boundary across the main land route for migrants from the Middle East.

2015 Macedonia-Greece: The Macedonian army constructed a fence on the border with Greece to control the flow of migrants.

2015 Saudi Arabia-Iraq: Saudi Arabia built a combined fence and ditch to separate the country from Iraq, with five layers of fencing, night vision cameras, and radar cameras, as well as 30,000 troops positioned at the border to prevent raids by Islamic State in Saudi territory.

2015 Israel-Jordan: Israel began construction of a security fence along its border with Jordan as part of Israel's "national security interests".

2015 Algeria-Libya: Amid heightened security Algeria announced it would build an electrified fence with its northern neighbour, Libya.

2015 Kenya-Somalia: The Kenyan government announced construction of 700km long wall along its border with Somalia to put an end to terrorist infiltration. After three years only 8km had been built.

2015 Namibia-Angola: Namibia proposed erection of a border fence with Angola to prevent spread of disease in livestock.

2015 Argentina-Bolivia: Argentina proposed construction of a giant dirt mound along the border with Bolivia to prevent the flow of illicit drugs.

2015 Brunei-Malaysia: Brunei built a security fence along its Malaysian border to control illegal immigration.

2016 US-Mexico: In his presidential campaign Trump promised the construction of a "big beautiful wall" on the southern border to keep out illegal immigrants and drug smugglers. To date, 177kms have been completed. In 2020, Trump stated he wants the wall to be black and covered in spikes..

2016 UK-Calais: The British government announced a 4m high wall in the French port city to prevent migrants stowing onboard trucks crossing the English Channel.

2016 Sweden-Denmark: Border rail fence built to prevent illegal immigrants attempting to avoid security checks by crossing the tracks at railway stations.

2016 Norway-Russia: 4m high steel fence built to tighten security and prevent illegal immigration.

2016 Finland-Russia: Agreed to temporarily close border restrictions due to illegal immigration. The border is patrolled by guards and electronic surveillance.

2016 Austria-Hungary: Border fence built to prevent people claiming asylum.

2016 Austria-Italy: Austria announced plans to erect a fence at its Alpine border with Italy (South Tyrol) to prevent the flow of immigrants. Troops gathered at the border in 2017 to stop migrants from crossing.

2016 Bulgaria-Turkey: Bulgaria constructed a 3.5m high razor-wire fence to prevent migrants trying to cross from Turkey.

2016 Czech Republic-Slovakia, Hungary and Poland: Began discussion to construct border fences to keep illegal immigrants out during the refugee crisis.

2016 Bulgaria-Greece: Bulgaria constructed a 1.5m high razor wire fence due to concerns that other border closures could force migrants entering the EU through Bulgaria.

2016 Tunisia-Libya: Tunisia announced completion of barrier along its border with Libya, designed to deter Islamic militants, consisting of water trenched and sand banks.

2016 China-Mongolia: Border is entirely fenced to prevent the flow of people and sex trafficking. It presents a significant barrier for the movement of large herbivores.

2016 Thailand-Malaysia: Thai leaders agreed to boost security by building a border wall to combat transnational crime and smuggling.

2017 Lithuania-Russia: Steel fence built to prevent Russia from conducting military exercises on Lithuanian territory.

2017 Lithuania-Belarus: Lithuania announced it would reinforce its Kaliningrad border with a static barrier, a 3m high fence built alongside the barbed wire Russian fence built five years previously to deter smuggling.

2017 Turkey-Iraq: Same wall as the Iran border.

2017 Iraq-Syria: Built to prevent jihadists and smugglers from illegally entering the country from Syria.

2017 India-Pakistan: India commenced construction of a new steel fence along its border with Pakistan, employing Comprehensive Integrated Border Management System (CIBMS) that entails deployment of smart fences, advanced surveillance, and anti-infiltration alarms.

2017 Ecuador-Peru: Ecuador built a 1km long 4m high concrete wall alongside a canal on the Peruvian border, which they say is to protect against flooding.

2017 Malaysia-Indonesia: Reports surfaced that Malaysia planned to build a wall on its border with Indonesia in Sabah to ensure its borders are secure.

2018 Latvia-Belarus: Officials in Latvia said they would construct a 120km 2m high barbed-wire fence along the border with Belarus to deter the smuggling of illegal immigrants from Afghanistan.

2018 Poland-Belarus: Poland decided to build a wall on its border with Belarus, which they claim is to restrict the movement of disease-carrying animals.

2018 Poland-Ukraine: The Polish government is building one of the largest fences in the world to protect against disease-carrying wild boar.

2018 Bosnia-Serbia: Border police setup a fence to stop migrants and refugees entering the EU.

2018 Jordan-Syria: US funded, Jordan built an electrified fence to stem the flow of refugees and stop ISIS.

2018 Jordan-Iraq: US funded barrier wall.

2018 India-Bhutan: the Indian government decided to erect a barbed wire fence along "sensitive" sections of the Bhutan border to control insurgent and militant groups.

2018 Algeria-Morocco: Algeria announced it had deployed a barbed-wire fence along its border with Morocco, equipped with surveillance cameras and control towers, as well as mobile radars and drones to protect against extremist groups inside Morocco.

2018 Costa Rica-Nicaragua: Costa Rica commenced construction on a "containment wall" in response to an increase in migration

2018 Belize-Guatemala: Belize announced the commencement of works to improve border security with Guatemala.

2019 Denmark-Germany: Denmark erected a 1.5m high border fence to prevent the movement of wild boar carrying swine flu. However, many have suggested that the fence is to appease the growing anti-immigrant sentiment.

2019 Croatia-Bosnia: Croatian authorities raised a high metal fence on the border with Bosnia to prevent illegal immigrants from entering the country.

2019 Pakistan-Afghanistan: Built in response to increasing concerns about the security situation, to stop militants and drug traffickers from entering Pakistan.

2019 Mexico-Guatemala: Mexico has deployed forces at its southern border to prevent migrants entering after Trump threatened tariffs if it did not prevent migrants from crossing through the country from Central America.

2020 South Africa-Zimbabwe: South African authorities said they will build a fence along its border with Zimbabwe to prevent undocumented migrants from entering and spreading coronavirus.

2020 South Africa-Mozambique: South Africa commenced construction on a concrete wall along its Mozambique border in an effort to curb theft and the movement of illicit goods across the border.

2020 Bosnia-Srpska: The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina Inter entity boundary declared that the Republic of Srpska could use border instead of boundary

I argue that border walls are the consequence of liberal markets: despite the evocation of global mobility and economic prosperity, the state has ceded control to multinational corporations and thus turned its focus to identity politics and the securitisation of territory to maintain the vestiges of sovereign power. The aims of privatising government existed well before 11 September 2001, but the attacks on the World Trade Centre accelerated the process and further weakened government control by outsourcing surveillance, security, and warfare to the private sector (Klein, 2007). For example, the Australian government privatised offshore detention centres for asylum seekers on Nauru and Manus Island to international security companies like Serco and G4S. These multinational corporations, based in Britain, were not able to be held accountable to the Australian parliament, despite their failure to achieve adequate standards of care for detainees and thus relieved the Australian government of responsibility for mistreatment of asylum seekers (Loewenstein, 2015: 277).

Seeking new markets, the private sector, looking to step in where government failed, has also sought to fund and build sections of the US/Mexico wall (Schwartz & Trevizo, 2020: 3). Through this lens, this paper locates the current political climate, with its penchant for the theatrics of border walls, as the consequence of globalisation and neoliberalist regimes making for the rise of what has been given varying labels; the populist (Müller, 2017), authoritarian (Sunstein, 2018), autocratic (Gessen, 2020), fascist (Stanley, 2018), or mafia state (Magyar, 2016).

Liquid modernity

Globalisation was supposed to inaugurate an era of unprecedented physical and virtual-electronic mobility: free trade and personal freedom were supposed to grow together. Instead, the global triumph of neoliberal capital has stimulated the greatest wave of wall building and border fortification in history. (Davis, 2005: 88)

Timing the publication of his book, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, with the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1989) contends that the Holocaust was only possible in modernity. He argues that modern society generates an ambivalence to suffering that occurs almost on a daily basis, to the point where genocide becomes conceivable. Here, the use of the term modernity, which Bauman subsequently labels as "liquid modernity", signifies society's transition from solid structures to fluidity and fragmentation. In other words, from state-sanctioned systems to privately owned corporatised systems of governance. Modernity, therefore, sustains a system where the ability to act freely within the global community is only available to those who can afford it. This highlights the dichotomy between the fluidity of capital and its proponents, the wealthy elite who are unbound by territorial constraints, and the settled majority who have limited capacity for movement. By extension, the world's poor and those seeking asylum are least afforded extra-territorial mobility, making their exclusion, via means of securitisation, detention, and border walls, permissible.

In a study on the language of populist leaders, in particular Hungarian Premier Victor Orban, the international relations expert Bruno Mendelski (2019: 1-24) argues that Orban deliberately misrepresents complex issues by defining them within a bipolar discourse of inside vs. outside. Outsiders are typically immigrants, or the "EU left-liberal elite", who represent all that is threatening to

Hungarian identity. Orban describes these people as anti-nation, in the sense that they "hate Hungary" and anti-border, because they are willing to allow "terrorists and criminals" into the country (Mendelski, 2019: 6). The outside is an anathema to the establishment of Hungarian identity as Christian and peaceful. Thus, Orban presents himself as the protector of the Hungarian people, shielding them from the outside and whose xenophobic policies affirm Hungarian sovereignty by closing its borders to outsiders. This language, displayed by Orban, has much in common with other populist leaders, such as Trump, Bolsonaro, Erdogan, and Johnson, all of whom have border security as one of their main platforms. Reading from the same playbook, Hungary in 2015 commenced construction of security fences on the borders of Croatia, Serbia, and Romania in order to stave off immigrations from its southern neighbours and further isolate itself from the EU.

For Bauman (1998), the apparent insecurity brought about by globalisation is reduced to issues of "law and order" in which personal safety is overwhelmed by anxieties generated by the other. Globalisation is thus negative, in that it seeks to extinguish barriers relating to global capital, the movement of goods, information, and privacy, while at the same time placing greater restrictions over individuals through the deregulation of privacy laws and increased surveillance of daily activities. Making things worse, the traditional political and judicial establishment is not equipped to deal with the range and consequences of globalisation, essentially allowing the market to prioritise its own interests as opposed to more humane yet unprofitable considerations. Indeed, early acolytes of globalisation anticipated wealth and prosperity stemming from the free circulation of capital via deregulated markets or the decentralisation of the internet (Ferdinand, Souch, & Wesselman, 2020: 4). However, the economic prosperity as forecast by trickle-down economics has not eventuated (Byttebier, 2019: 54). Instead, the type of anxiety associated with globalisation today has emerged as the consequence of inadequate government regulation and the potential of global economic collapse, like the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2008 and the Coronavirus Pandemic of 2020 (Judge, 2020). Major corporations, like Australia's banks, were given taxpayer funds by the government to guarantee record profits during the GFC (Johnston et al, 2010). The sense of insecurity in times of crisis has its apotheosis in border security, which is supported by multinational corporations looking to profit from the commodification of personal information and *surveillance capitalism* (a term coined by Shoshana Zuboff). Take, for example, the Syrian refugee crisis in which multinational companies, such as European Homecare (a German housing company exporting shelters to refugee camps) or ORS Services (a Swiss company running the migration reception centre), disguise expansion opportunities into new markets as contributing to humanitarian aid (Loewenstein, 2015a). The World Bank has been enticing Western companies to launch "new investment" opportunities in Jordan and Syria, in order to profit from the labour of stranded refugees (Lazare, 2016). Speaking of the Zaatari Syrian refugee camp in Jordan, a spokesperson for the Overseas Development Institute proudly declared: "There is a new breed of corporate involvement in humanitarian work targeting refugees where they realise there is a real potential for profit" (Gavlak, 2014). A London-based private equity firm also touted a new opportunity with "promising organic acquisitive growth potential" by investing in the management of refugee camps (Troianovski et al, 2015: 1-13). These multinational companies argue that refugees benefit from having access to services

like mobile phones, money transfers, social media, and other commodities, but it also renders their behaviours and digital footprint increasingly susceptible to surveillance and therefore more predictable and easier to control, while companies profit from these so-called new markets (Kaplan, 2018).

Cultural theorist Mckenzie Wark (2019) argues that globalising technologies produce a specific kind of apparatus that farms people's information so that it can be used to control, measure, and predict what they will do, how they behave and what they consume. Wark revises Marx's thinking by arguing that the ruling class no longer maintains power through ownership of the means of production, but rather through the control of information (2019: 79). Globalisation, deindustrialisation, and outsourcing have allowed capital to expand beyond the constraints of the labour market and create a new kind of production facilitated by the financialisaton of everyday life. In this framework, all aspects of everyday life have value so long as they can be monetised, for example, social relations have become mediated through social media, which enables behaviours to be observed, analysed, and commodified. This information is essential for what might seem less nefarious, on the one hand, like targeted advertising, but on the other, a threat to democracy, as demonstrated by Cambridge Analytica's influence over numerous elections. Similarly, for social psychologist Zuboff, *surveillance capitalism* encompasses market-driven processes that commodify personal data that is captured and produced via the mass surveillance of the internet (2019). Zuboff also revises Marx's outmoded image of capitalism as the exploitation of labour, instead arguing that we are now faced with a new economic order that exploits every aspect of the human online experience, including social media, internet search history, purchases, and emails. Commonly the image of surveillance is overt and coercive, like Orwell's *Big Brother*, however, instead of using violence and fear, *surveillance capitalism* distracts us from any sense of exploitation by having us voluntarily hand over our personal information. It does not require human labour, but rather, access to our private data, so that it can nudge us in the direction of its predictions.

Thus, *solid* forms of border barriers are not the only means employed for border security. More successful but less overt strategies identify illegal immigrants via tracking digital data and other forms of social media. A recent *New York Times* article shows the extent to which, just like so much else in the modern sphere, the citizenry is defined by surveillance and data collection for the specific purpose of immigration control (Funk, 2019: 1-15; Graham, 2003). Journalist McKenzie Funk (2019) claims that ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement), like other federal agencies not only in America but throughout the world, has access to information from hundreds of disparate databases, from government to private brokers and social networks, in order to create a complex profile of individuals in a particular area. The article reveals the monitoring of mobile phones as well as the use of facial recognition technology for determining a person's legal status and whether they should be detained and/or deported from the US. Here, the control of information and the collection of data are used not only to influence consumerism, but to determine the composition of society, the type of people who are permitted to live in a community, and who should be excluded. Strict border security reconciles the effects of capital with the working class because it works to determine the individual's rights to mobility and social inclusion. Specifically, *surveillance capitalism* through commodification of personal data

Fig. 1 Justin McIntosh (2004). Israel West Bank Barrier [Photograph]

prevents disruption to market growth as it regulates people's conduct by developing ways to reward good behaviour and punish bad (Zuboff, 2019a: 2). This kind of capital is derivative of what is perhaps best described as *authoritarian neoliberalism* (a term coined by Wendy Brown) and remains unregulated by government and therefore exploits surveillance, security, and border control to predict and control human behaviour. These activities disadvantage the most vulnerable. Most people, through their active participation and use of "smart" technologies, are unwitting participants. Liquid modernity, as defined by Bauman, creates inequality whereby the most defenceless, those affected by poverty and conflict, become the subjects upon which governments might implement strict measures of population control and surveillance in order to be seen as self-guarding national identity and individual freedom. Wall building and border security play a significant role in attempts to invoke and justify a sense of lawlessness and insecurity in times of crisis. However, this combined with neoliberal ideologies of privatisation, deregulation, and the free market, has resulted in the rapid rise of multinational corporations, in particular tech giants like Google, Facebook, and Amazon (Kari & Rushe, 2020: 1-4), at the expense of governance and democracy, placing the interests of profit making over that of the people.

Waning sovereignty

The work of political theorist Wendy Brown provides useful commentary on how the rise of multinational corporations, aided by neoliberal regimes, have engendered a narrowing sense of national identity, inducing insecurity in the interest of self-preservation. Brown (2010) argues that traditional views of sovereignty have been eroded as a consequence of the removal of representative control over the market, due to deregulation and privatisation. Accordingly, the nation-state is placed in the role of "entrepreneurial decision maker", which she argues, "displaces legal and political principles (especially liberal commitments to universal inclusion, equality, liberty, and the rule of law) with market criteria, and

demotes the political sovereign to managerial status" (Brown, 2010: 22). Writing after the attacks of 9/11, philosopher Giorgio Agamben argues that politics has been steadily neutralised due to the gradual surrender of traditional roles typically carried out by the state. For Agamben (2002), security has quickly become a state priority and the sole criterium for political legitimacy. The role of the state is therefore relegated to the creation and protection of conditions that produce the most effective political climate for capital growth. Typically, this involves the implementation of laws that advantage profit-oriented, market-mediated accumulation, with the capacity to stamp out unfair competition. Such favourable conditions are contingent on being able to maintain economic stability and social cohesion, yet as neoliberalism mutates into authoritarianism, the state deprioritises social cohesion over profit-making (Jessop, 2019).

This one-sided emphasis on profit inevitably leads to financial crisis, as the 2008 GFC demonstrates, following which the state invoked exceptional powers to bail out companies *too big to fail* rather than letting them go into administration, as the standards of capitalism would normally dictate. During this time, the population should have (rightfully) focused their resentment on CEOs and the corporate elite. Instead, the people facing low wages, job insecurity, inequality, and exclusion were persuaded by wealthy media owners to impugn immigrants, Muslims, and other externalities for the loss of jobs and decreased wages (Monbiot, 2020: 1). In many cases, technology companies and media outlets stoke anxieties and fears by perpetuating misinformation as justification for tougher border security, the construction of walls, and even military intervention. In this scenario, distrust in expertise grows because it potentially contradicts the economic interests of the market (Nichols, 2017). Thus, misinformation perpetuated by otiose media and foreign governments enters the popular rhetoric, promoting conspiracy theories and extremist movements. At the same time, politicians create chaos as a distraction from their failures to serve people.

Thus, in an attempt to maintain authority, the nation-state places increasing emphasis on the demarcation of territory, strict border control, and the exclusion of those considered a threat to its perceived *way of life*. The Berlin Wall, however, provided an obvious demarcation of East German territory through strict border control by preventing its citizens from escaping, in order to preserve the body politic from the globalised free market. By contrast, Brown (2010: 42) argues that border walls post the collapse of the Berlin Wall are an illusory projection, or at the very least, a bid at securing the very power that eludes the state due to the ungovernable forces of globalisation. Paralleling Brown's work, sociologist Saskia Sassen (1996) also proposes that the state is being destabilised by globalisation. Sassen claims that sovereignty is being decentred and redistributed to other entities, particularly multinational corporations, international accords, and human rights commissions that limit state autonomy. Neither Brown nor Sassen suggest that states do not continue to play a significant and powerful role in world affairs, but rather, that the role and status of states in domestic and international politics have been transformed as a consequence of "denationalised economic space and renationalised political discourse" (Brown, 2010: 66). As the sovereign comes apart from the state, it begins to prioritise its own interests, despite its obligations to the international community. For philosopher Jacques Derrida, this status constitutes the "rogue state", in that it neither "respects its obligations as a state before the law of the world community nor the requirements of international law,

a state that flouts the law and scoffs at the constitutional state or, state of law" (Derrida, 2005: xiii). Under this framework, the state may renege on its commitments to human rights and international treaties on refugee in order to detain undocumented arrivals and turn back boats using armed naval vessels as exemplified by Australia's Operation Sovereign Border under the Abbott government in 2013.

As sovereign political power deteriorates, states indulge in the theatrics of wall-building, as political expert Joan Cocks reminds us, so that people who feel threatened can identify with its possible strength and fortitude (2014: 27). Indeed, border walls endeavour to project an image of sovereign jurisdictional power and the appearance of a bounded and secure nation. Yet, as opposed to the physical manifestation of the nation-state's strength, border walls are icons of its attrition. Indeed, walls are a theatrical display of sovereign power that conceals the racialised violence they intend to inflict (Denman, 2020). Ultimately, border walls define both conceptually and materially their contradictions, like defence and safety, and globalisation and nationalism. Still, border walls are not always physical. As urban theorist Stephen Graham (2010, XI) argues, "e-borders" too signal the "militarisation of civil society" as much as concrete border walls do. Much like surveillance capitalism and the commodification of information, border security represents the sovereign's dramatic attempt to transmute long-standing aspirations of dominance and control into a high-tech program for governing modern society in competition with the free market.

Without digital technologies, surveillance, and the militarisation of the border, walls would not be nearly as effective, for these barriers are not necessarily a successful means of preventing border crossings as they have always been breached. Outsiders do not get in because borders are lax, rather they simply find another way through, often increasing their risk of fatality by doing so. Despite inherent dangers of migrant journeys, millions of people continue to cross borders all over the globe without authorisation. The fact that this continues to occur, despite the plethora of new walls, suggests walls are not necessarily a practical prevention. Borders are often very long and extremely difficult to fence as well as requiring the necessary maintenance for their continued upkeep. As at February 2020, only one-third of the US-Mexico's 3,170km border had been completed (Miroff & Blanco, 2020). Even the heavily fortified 708km Israeli-West Bank barrier was only two-thirds finished after 15 years of construction (Jones, 2016: 4). In addition, border barriers are not effective because terrorists or drug smugglers do not enter through the land border, but rather, a significant share of unauthorised arrivals in OECD countries enter with a valid visa and never leave (Krishnadev, 2019: 1-9). Likewise, illegal goods enter through shipping ports and airports as well as through tunnels built underground. To this end, Israel has started construction of a subterranean wall along the Gaza strip to prevent people from tunnelling under (Estrin, 2018: 1-6). In fact, the tunnels into Gaza supply everything from building materials to food, clothing, computers, and livestock, as well as weapons. Work in and around the tunnels is believed to sustain 15,000 workers, and trade through the tunnels is estimated to raise as much as $750 million a year in taxation alone for the Hamas government (Verini, 2012: 42). Given these barriers are designed to prevent, but ostensibly to deter, smugglers and immigrants from attempting entry into the country by making their journey as difficult as possible, the deterrence effect has ostensibly failed, as the number of

people embarking on migration journeys has not declined. In fact, the number of people risking their lives in dangerous journeys has been increasing. Between January 2014 and October 2019, the Missing Migrants Project recorded 33,686 migrant fatalities around the world (Migration Data Portal, 2020). These deaths are not accidental but directly related to the construction of border walls and implementation of high-tech border security to not only physically prevent potential crossings, but also deter people from attempting in the first place.

Fig. 2 Mani Albrecht (2019). US-Mexico Border Wall, Construction on the Replacement Wall, Tecate [Photograph]

State of exception

Writing on border walls, geographer Reece Jones (2012) argues that neighbouring countries are portrayed as ungoverned spaces with uncivilised populations where modern sovereign-state practices of order and stability are essentially non-existent. He states: "The borders of the state come to be seen as the margins of modernity, as the last place to mark the boundary between the modern, civilised world and the perceived barbarity on the outside" (2012: 2). Although borders have always been in place in some way, shape, or form, growing fear and uncertainty has provided legitimation to sovereign-states to accelerate the securitisation process of their borders. Jones further speculates that not only is sovereignty waning, but also, the mass movement of people globally who have no option but to defy border restrictions represents a transition of the old order and potentially the beginning of a new system; a world without borders at all (Jones, 2019: 2). However, in the wake of Covid-19, such optimism appears grossly misplaced, and for good reason, as global movement has ground to a halt. Following multiple travel bans from China and other countries around the world, Agamben published his reaction in February 2020, and received heavy criticism for wrongly declaring the epidemic to be a fabrication designed to spread panic and to invoke a state of exception. He writes: "in a perverse vicious circle, the limitation of freedom imposed by governments is accepted in the name of a desire for security that has been prompted by the governments themselves who now intervene to satisfy it" (Agamben, 2020: 1). Although Agamben's remarks understated

the gravity of the virus, his broader point raises the question of just how many of the limitations placed on the daily lives of individuals during the pandemic were necessary to stop the spread of the virus. For example, the inability to peacefully protest, and keeping safe distancing, might be seen as serious infringement of democratic rights, of which their prevention serves to render authorities less accountable.

As of writing this paper, Australia's second largest city, Melbourne amid a resurgence of the coronavirus has enforced strict lockdown measures in suburban areas with outbreaks in new cases. In one public housing tower, home to some 3,000 people, mainly immigrants of African descent, 500 police were deployed to prevent anyone from leaving their home. However, outbreaks in more affluent areas have not been met with the same restrictive policing measures, with residents saying they are being targeted and "treated like criminals" (Murray-Artfield, 2020: 1-6). Here, the invocation of the state of exception to prevent the spread of the virus has resulted in never seen before levels of state-sanctioned surveillance and control, which, despite the attempt to contain the virus, contributes to the perception of the public housing system in which residents have been neglected and stigmatised by the government and media for decades (Kelly, 2020: 1-5). To make things worse, the populist political figure Pauline Hanson, appearing on morning television, claimed that most social housing residents are drug users and alcoholics, "from war-torn countries who know what it's like to be in tough conditions" (Yussuf, 2020: 4). This sentiment suggests that these individuals and families should be treated differently from those from predominantly white *English*-speaking neighbourhoods, thus, warranting the police presence and the strict quarantine of these already stigmatised people.

By contrast, populist administrations like the US and Brazil seemingly bear little regard for the health of their citizens, preferring to downplay the threat of the virus in preference of *reopening* the economy. Considering this, journalist Masha Gessen is concerned with our inability to adequately communicate such inconceivable events, even though they appear to have become part of daily life. Gessen asserts that the difficulty with absorbing this kind of information comes down to the limitation of words, "which have a way of rendering the outrageous ordinary" (2020: 6). Similarly, sociologist Balint Magyar, who while attempting to describe the rise of the national conservative party after the collapse of communism, realised that the language used by the media and intellectuals alike was not sufficient to appropriately describe what was happening. He argues that after the fall of the Berlin Wall, political commentators adopted a language of liberal democracy and assumed that concepts such as free elections, legitimacy, the rule of law, and public opinion had meaning to those who had never experienced them (Magyar, 2016). At the end of the Cold War, it seemed inevitable that Eastern Bloc countries would become like Western states. However, Hungary's representative form of government is under threat, leading the EU to describe the state as a "systematic threat to democracy" (Lehotai, 2020: 3). Drawing similarities with other authoritarian nations like Russia and Israel, Gessen notices that there is not necessarily one single event to explain such a turn, but rather, the rise of authoritarianism in Hungary occurred through the gradual disintegration and failures of government institutions. Similarly, in the US, government institutions have been slowly undermined by the neoliberalist didactic, resulting in growing distrust in politicians and the consequential rise of a *strongman*, whose status is

built on the cult of personality and absolute contempt for government processes.

Regarding this scenario, one might invoke Brown's notion of the "theological remainder" (Brown, 2010: 26) and a merger of Carl Schmitt's "state of exception". The "exception", a concept introduced by political theorist and Nazi jurist Carl Schmitt in the 1920s, is, he posits, not part of the existing legal order, but best described as a case of extreme peril and a danger to the existence of the state. The exception exists outside the law and since the rise of the modern state, it provides relevance to the question of sovereign authority (Schmitt, 1985). Liberalism disguises who the real sovereign is and allows for the allusion of freedom so long as "others agree with us" (West, 2019). The hope of liberalism, Schmitt declares, is to eliminate the sovereign and undermine the community's political existence, making for a constant state of exception. This is no more evident than in the United States, where the declaration of a state of emergency has triggered exceptional presidential powers to redirect military funding to the construction of the southern border wall.

To conclude, despite their pretensions, walls do not result in a more secure and safer environment (as those who seek to legitimise them claim). Rather, they are the apogee of declining sovereignty in comparison to the ever-increasing economic control of multi-national corporations. Border walls and tough border policy, and all that it entails, so it is assumed, provide legitimacy to the sovereign at a time when its ability to govern wanes. While walls propound a physical demarcation between us and them, as well as security and protection, they only serve to dichotomise division and promote a discourse of exceptionalism and national unity that projects sovereign strength. Ultimately, border walls are a physical manifestation of authoritarian trope and largely ineffective at preventing immigration, but perhaps more successful at solidifying national identity. Walls do not quell violence and criminal behaviour, but serve to cause harm and stoke political unrest, as in the case of the Hungarian border walls, the Israeli-West Bank barriers or the US-Mexico southern border wall discussed in this paper. Border control can be a complex proposition, as there is need to balance contradictory issues of openness and transparency with security and protection. Therefore, I acknowledge that some form of border control is necessary in certain situations, like during a pandemic, in order to prevent the human transmission of the virus between states. However, the prospect of improved international relations as a consequence of cross-border cooperation due to globalisation, post the demise of the Berlin Wall, has not eventuated. In the wake of September 11, surveillance and security have proliferated, and governments have managed to perpetuate irrational fears in order to stay in power. Border walls reinforce division wherever they are located, transforming an arbitrary line between states into a closed, solid border wall.

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CHRISTINA DELUCHI

The politics of social architecture in Medellín: A reading of the Parque Biblioteca España

Introduction

Colombia's contemporary urban identity is often described as a tale of its two largest cities: Bogota and Medellín (Castro & Echeverri, 2011; Webb, 2011). Spanning over two decades (1996-2020), this tale outlines the country's two distinct approaches to urban renewal. Discussed in parallel, both approaches are centred around progressive leadership and large-scale social projects that respond to issues of governance and spatial violence.[1] In Bogota, the capital, incentive-based social experiments restructured everyday civic and cultural behaviours and generated a mutual respect among citizens, thus altering the local experience of the public realm (1995-2000).[2] In Medellín, changes to educational and cultural programmes embedded in new architectural projects transformed the urban image of precarious areas in the city (2004-2012). Differentiation between these two urban approaches lies in architecture, particularly in Medellín, where buildings have rapidly changed perceptions of the city's urban reality.

From 2004, architecture has been used as a strategic visual and material tool in the implementation of Medellín's dramatic urban renaissance. This architectural narrative, which has spread through global media, attributes the change to a collaboration between politicians and architects, who were dedicated to rehabilitating the urban environment through social projects. The collaboration arose from public criticisms regarding the local government's failed efforts to curb urban violence and oversee social investment. In response, both of Medellín's first independent mayors, Sergio Fajardo, a mathematics professor (2004-08), and Alonso Salazar, a journalist (2008-12), worked with architects on violence prevention and political participation strategies to establish equity in city-wide distributions of public space, local development networks, and public goods and services. At the same time, Medellín saw a decline in spatial violence after paramilitary and narcotics groups were demobilised in 2006. Thus, Medellín became an urban paradigm for progressive upgrading strategies. A "globally recognised effort", the *Medellín model* integrates marginalised areas in its city-wide strategy to increase liveability standards for its citizens (Abello Colack & Pearce, 2015: 199). The model emphasises architecture's ability to incite social change and focuses on a selection of key political actors and architectural works to significantly

shift dialogues on the city toward more positive descriptions. These descriptions of Medellín are underpinned by a narrative of historic violence comprised of the narcotics wars, and urban transformation linked to innovative development. This binary image of the city–violence and transformation creates a tension by separating Medellín's traumatic past from its progressive future.

By examining architecture's role in the changing perceptions of Medellín's urban condition, this paper reviews how architecture has been co-opted into the city's narrative of violence and its image of transformation. The Parque Biblioteca España Santo Domingo (the Spanish Library) is used to explore this image. It underscores the structural changes brought on by architecture's tectonics and its mediation in mass media. The examination of the library attempts to demonstrate how the spatial and symbolic characteristics of architecture have a distinct connection to Medellín's political anxieties and its present-day socio-cultural ambitions. By exploring the tensions that occur when capital flow, governance, and mass media intersect, the library unfolds Medellin's landscape of power. Likewise it helps dismantle Medellín's urban binary by offering a pluralistic understanding of the city's transformation.

Narratives of transformation

Medellín, once the "murder capital of the world", is known as the birthplace of the narco-bourgeoisie and the professionalisation of gangs. But in 2012, it was named the world's most innovative city: a city that instrumentalised state-of-the-art architecture and urban projects to overcome social exclusion. Forming a binary realisation of the city, urban violence and transformation, architectural publications such as the *Architectural Review*'s "Special Issue on Colombia", *Architectural Design*'s "Latin America at the Crossroads", and the *Harvard Design Magazine*'s "Architectures of Latin America", associate Medellín's striking recovery with architectural intervention, as seen with the MetroCable (Fig. 1) and the library parks. For example, Iñaki Ábalos recounts Medellín's "triumphal creation of public space", where architecture creates a visible economic, social, and political optimism (2011: 23). Likewise, Justin McGuirk's *Radical Cities* (2014) reflects on the collaborative efforts of architects combatting violence to reunite the city's citizens, who were disengaged due to discontinuous short-term leadership

Fig. 1 Christina Deluchi (2020). The Medellín MetroCable Line [Photograph]

(1970-92) and controlled by increasing urban militias through new and established tactics of intimidation (1992-2002).

Three reoccurring themes appear across the readings of Medellín's binary image. Firstly, the political instability and territorial conflicts of Colombia's contemporary wars (from the 1960s onwards) are used to frame Medellín's urban crisis through descriptions of localised, citywide, and regional corruption, drug-related terror, and socioeconomic disparity. Here, a compilation of socioeconomic, institutional, and political violence is described through distributions of power and its spatial effects such as neighbourhood feuds linked to youth gangs, street crime, robbery, kidnapping, social cleansing by police or vigilante groups, assassinations, and guerrilla or paramilitary warfare (Moser, 2004: 2). This framing establishes a discourse about "areas of disorder", making violence an important precedent for the success of Medellín's urban renewal (Capille, 2018: 129). Secondly, transformation is positioned in relation to the progressive politics of Mayor Sergio Fajardo (2004-08) and his social urbanism project—a strategy committed to rebuilding civic pride and reducing crime through architectural interventions with a social purpose (McGuirk 2014: 236). By planning for structural change to "change the skin" of the city through educational, cultural, and entrepreneurial programming, Fajardo's leadership effectively marks the beginnings of Medellín's urban transformation (Castro & Echeverri, 2011: 100). Lastly, descriptions of Medellín's transformation are underscored by countless international awards for design excellence and innovation in praise of social architecture. These honours include the Curry Stone Design Prize in 2009 for social impact design; *Citi*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the Urban Land Institute gave Medellín the honour of 2012's Innovative City of the Year; the Harvard Veronica Rudge Green Prize in Urban Design; and Medellín hosted the seventh UN World Habitat Forum in 2014. These awards strategically place Medellín amid the global cities (such as Valparaíso, Mexico City, Beirut, Tel Aviv, Durban, and Cape Town) that shape the trajectory of urban growth and the contemporary economy through a display of innovative practices and efforts to address social issues.

There is an ongoing debate whether architecture's creative actions might indeed effect change, or whether architecture might only be an operation within a social structure (as stated in Awan et al., 2011: 31). This tension is founded on the socio-political understanding of agency as the dialectic pairing between agency (individual) and structure (social). The built projects attributed to Fajardo appear to operate outside of the city's traditional civic structure, strengthening ideas of architectural agency and concealing underlying political forces. Here, the dialectic of agency and structure reinforces the city's binary through powerful built expressions of transformation. Consequently, Medellín's governing body could shift dialogues about the city by using photogenic accounts of socio-cultural projects—such as the MetroCable (Fig. 1), the library park projects (Fig. 2) and the Juan Bobo I+II and La Herrera rehabilitation—to reorient ideas of Medellín's urban reality through images of good culture, inclusivity, and participatory design as a triumph over violence. These images are observed in the participatory actions implemented through planning schemes such as Proyecto Urbano Integrales (PUIs) carrying out local design consultations and civil budgeting priorities to establish a good culture around educational capital, mobility, and infrastructure in marginalised areas.

Social urbanism

Henri Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space*, positions spatial production in a more expansive social context by stating "(social) space is a (social) product" (1991: 26). Jeremy Till, in *Architecture Depends*, explores this notion as a twofold message. Firstly, that the introduction of the social in understandings of space eliminates it being treated, or observed, as an abstract form devoid of social content; and secondly, it erases any assumption that space is, or might be, produced by a single person (Till, 2009: 126). Redefining space in this way reveals a shared authorship in spatial production that moves beyond the disciplinary edges of professionals such as architects and planners. Thus, social space is formed by broader and more dynamic methods of spatial production that take influence from overlapping societal agencies with conflicting interests. This exposes space to political consequences, creating a politics of space, and its production. Awan, Schneider, and Till's *Spatial Agency* extends this notion. For them, social space is "inherently political", a lived space continuously effected by the politics of everyday life and "charged with the dynamics of power/empowerment, interaction/isolation, control/freedom" and so forth (Awan et al., 2011: 30). Similarly, Doreen Massey (2005: 59) conceptualises space as an open, multiple, relational, and unfinished set of histories and their fundamental conditions. For Massey, simultaneity is space's social dimension. Continuous cycles of spatial production reconfigure heterogeneity, and in turn, provide the endless opportunity for politics to unfold across multiple fields of engagement.

Unravelling the ebbs and flows of social urbanism in Medellín looks to Till, Awan, Schneider, and Massey's interpretations of the social in spatial production to move beyond the singularity of Fajardo's ambitions as imposed by its binary image to unpack a more pluralistic understanding of urban transformation. This broadened interpretation of the social in space also engages David Harvey's idea of collective right to the city. Harvey, in *Rebel Cities*, argues that the right to the city claims shaping power over the making and remaking of cities through urbanisation processes (2012: 5). But, the control over these processes, in Harvey's Marxist perspective, is tied to the production of surplus value. The development of both urbanisation and surplus value are perpetually contingent and/or codependent on each other (Harvey, 2012: 5). As a result, the idea of the right to the city arises from the streets, from neighbourhoods, as a call for help from oppressed peoples (2012: xiii). For Lefebvre, revolutionary social change is constituted out of the urban rather than from the working class (Harvey, 2012: xiii). Here, change is a political task, one that can reconstitute the city, but cannot occur without first transforming daily life through anti-capitalist movements (Harvey, 2012: xvi). We see similar ideas in Fajardo's social urbanism. It addresses the notion of the urban as a network of agents and as a political task by embedding grassroots operations, participatory actions, and educational reform in architecture to incite transformation. But it also borrows from decades of broadminded urban practices in early modern city planning—the concept of a social urbanism is not new in Colombia.

Since the 1920s, issues of governance, industrialisation, social mobility, and urban sprawl have called for the implementation of urban plans across Latin America. Emerging from collaborations between municipal and national governments, professional associations and research centres, these urban plans

placed great confidence in foreign experts from Europe and the United States (Almandoz, 2010: 88). In 1933, the Austrian academic and urban planner Karl Brunner was hired by the municipality of Bogota, Colombia's capital, as the principal advisor of its new Department of Urbanism. Brunner took influence from Camillo Sitte's complex morphological and typological organisation of masses in city planning and his interest in progressive social movements that bridged various themes "from sanitation, improved housing and workers' rights, to economic and political theory" (Bohl & Lejeune, 2009: xvi). He also drew from Viennese planning models such as Otto Wagner's *Grossstadt*, the Garden City (in an Austrian context), and the *Siedlung* social housing movement. Echoing these interests, Brunner published two volumes of his *Manual de Urbanismo* (1939-40) whilst in Bogota. The manual observed the "science of town planning" in relation to socio-graphic matters by bringing together "historical and epistemological considerations" to generate an "urban sociography" (Almandoz, 2016: v). Rather than redesigning cities from scratch, Brunner responded to their political, sociological, technical, and artistic conditions. It was an attempt to integrate its fragmented urban structure by introducing an axis that linked peripheral neighbourhoods to the city centre and broke the traditional Spanish grid system using public space as an anatomic element.

Brunner's urban plan for Medellín integrated the city's formal centre to the periphery. However, displaced rural populations caused a dramatic expansion of informal housing settlements on Medellín's fringe after Colombia's civil war, *La Violencia* (1946-57). The city encountered new challenges such as illegal subdivisions, a lack of infrastructure and public services, and the intensification of politicised crime, urban warfare, and conflict economies linked to narcotics trafficking and armed groups—Medellín did not develop as planned. Years later, in an attempt to address these key urban issues and remodel itself as a metropolis, the city established one of Colombia's first Plans de Desarrollo (Metropolitan Development Plans) in 1985. This plan arose after popular protests that spurred the construction of new national-civil organisations, such as Coordinadora Nacional de Movimientos Cívicos, which mobilised diverse social and political sectors to campaign for improvements to public services. In response, Medellín's plan was founded on eight "positive trends" including: "a recovered sense of credibility in public institutions and the city as a whole, renewed solidarity, new forms of employment, institutionalised public participation, fiscal recovery, lower mortality rates, more and better public transport, and improvement in the state of the environment" (Brand & Thomas, 2005: 185).[3] Since 1985, Medellín's municipal leaders and non-governmental organisations have studied and implemented development plans with each new political term. Each involves "the allocation of public resources [and] improving the state and the coverage of infrastructure" such as roads, public space, and transportation, to incorporate marginalised communities into the city's formal urban fabric (Echeverri Restrepo & Orsini, 2012: 138). The most commonly recognised of these plans is Sergio Fajardo's social urbanism.

Alejandro Echeverri (2004-08), Sergio Fajardo's chief advisor on urban renewal and head of the Commercial and Industrial Enterprise of the Municipal Order (EDU), describes social urbanism in Medellín as "a tool to mitigate serious problems of inequality and segregation, and to connect, integrate and coordinate the city through an instrument of physical and social inclusion" (Castro & Echeverri,

2011: 100).[4] Similar to Brunner, Fajardo concentrated on reducing the "profound social debts" linked to systemic issues of urban violence and exclusion that are implicit in Medellín's social structures (Echeverri Restrepo & Orsini, 2012: 138). Accumulated social debt appears as infrastructure and public space deficits, the absence of public amenities such as healthcare and education, and discontinuous or non-existent mobility services—all of which left illicit economies to operate undisturbed, escalating the level of segregation experienced in peripheral communities. In pursuit of reducing social debt, Fajardo harnessed the power of architecture. For example, Fajardo deployed teams of interdisciplinary professionals to execute the "best-quality designs" to improve the relationship between social programmes, buildings, and their context (Castro & Echeverri, 2011: 100). These include a series of five library parks and ten schools on the city's periphery as well as an array of projects in Medellín's centre. These projects materialised the policies of Medellín's governing body—political participation and educational reform—and its social urbanism strategy through pilot planning projects like PUIs. The city's cultural practices and civic behaviours transformed because of the changes to physical space. Social urbanism underscored the importance of architectural intervention in Medellín's marginalised territories: architecture represented a more dedicated and unified local government capable of implementing structural transformation.

Fig. 2 Iwan Baan (2013). The Parque Biblioteca España Santo Domingo and forecourt [Photograph]

The Parque Biblioteca España Santo Domingo

The Biblioteca España—or the Spanish Library—consistently appears in readings of social urbanism and architectural innovation in Medellín (Abalos, 2011; Castro & Echeverri 2011; Webb, 2011; McGuirk, 2014; Dolan, 2018).[5] Opened in 2007, and comprising three black geometries that stand over Medellín's Aburra Valley, the Biblioteca España is "folded and clipped" like the contours of its mountain site (Figs. 2 and 6) (El Equipo Mazzanti, 2020). Designed by the Colombian architecture practice El Equipo Mazzanti, it "is a project of urban, cultural and social transformation in one of the poorest and most violent sectors

of Medellín" (Mazzanti & Schenk, 2014: 14). Clad in black stone, the library's three architectural volumes house a series of public amenities, including a library, classrooms, exhibition hall, auditorium, and office space. Its volumes are joined by an expansive public balcony that overlooks the city and are surrounded by an open forecourt intended for participatory community events (Figs. 2 and 5). The Biblioteca España's spatial, symbolic, and programmatic characteristics underscore architecture's direct impact on shifting perspectives of Medellín's urban reality and its role in shaping the city's contemporary ambitions centred on culture, liveability, education, and progress.
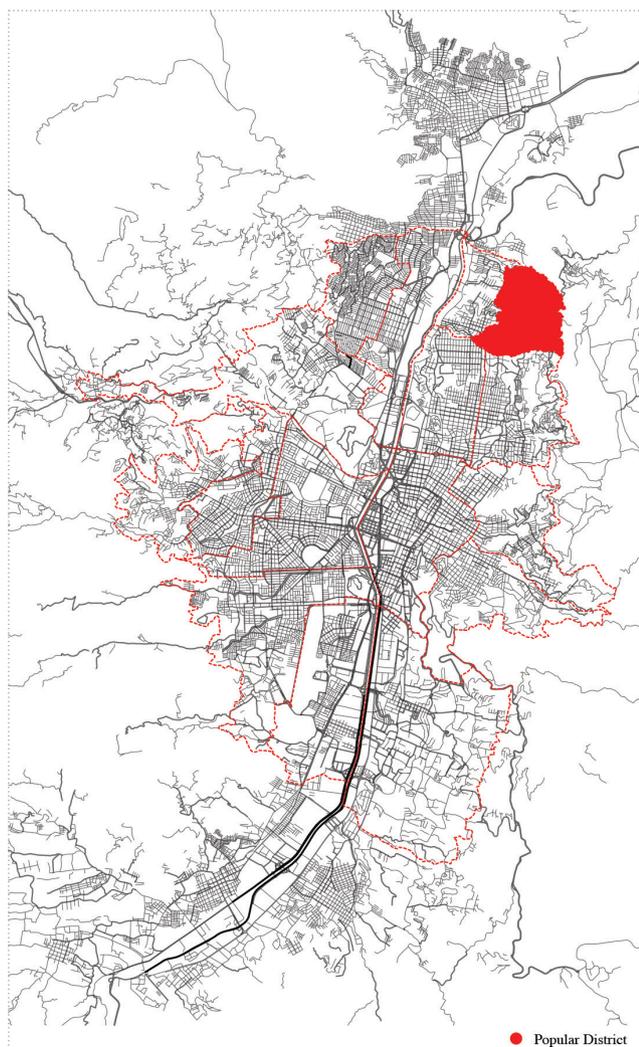

Fig. 4 Christina Deluchi (2020). Location of the Biblioteca España and Northeastern PUI [Drawing]

Fig. 3 Christina Deluchi (2020). Map of Medellín indicating the Popular District [Drawing]

The Biblioteca España is located on Medellín's north-eastern hillside in Santo Domingo (Figs. 3 and 4). A notoriously dangerous informal neighbourhood, Santo Domingo is known for narcotics trafficking and gang activity. Historically the government has been absent in this territory. Consequently, the Parque Biblioteca España is frequently used by political actors and in media to describe architecture's physical and programmatic effects in marginalised communities. It is one of the first of seven library parks to be completed by Sergio Fajardo's administration as part of its social urbanism strategy. Library parks continue to be fundamental to the development and implementation of social urbanism across Medellín: each consists of various public facilities built in precarious

neighbourhoods, which aspire to foster educational, cultural, and social practices in their surroundings (Capille, 2018: 126). This is achieved through programmes and events designed to increase human capital in marginalised areas, such as political leadership workshops for women and information points (CEDEZOs) offering training services and advice for small/micro entrepreneurs. The Biblioteca España is also understood through its alignment to Alejandro Echeverri's pilot project as head of the EDU, named Proyecto Urbano Integral (PUI). A PUI is "an instrument of planning and physical intervention in zones which are characterised by high indices of marginality, segregation, poverty and crime" including homicide rates, poor quality of life, access to public services, mobility, overpopulation, informality, high density, and sanitation (Echeverri Restrepo & Orsini, 2012: 143). Addressing the physical and social aspects of a defined territory through targeted urban upgrading strategies, PUIs are designed to foster civic development through new public facilities and infrastructural networks of both large- and small-scale actions in areas of heightened exclusion. Proyecto Urbano Integrals and library parks are part of the key strategies administered by Medellín's Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial—a long-term development plan of three mayoral cycles—that has sustained Fajardo's social urbanism project by ensuring the continuity of its vision.

Fig. 5 Iwan Baan (2013). The Parque Biblioteca España Santo Domingo balcony. [Photograph]

Medellín's first PUI, the Northeastern Urban Integration Project, was initiated in 2004, and Santo Domingo makes up part of this PUI's intervention zone. Addressing issues of poverty, informality, unemployment, social conflict, and forced displacement alongside the lack of public space, environment deterioration, and public transport, this PUI includes various public works, in addition to the library park, such as the MetroCable extension, upgrade of 106 Street—from footpaths to lighting, CEDEZO Santo Domingo, a medical centre, and children's play equipment (Figs. 1 and 6).[6] The design and construction of the PUI's library park was opened to public competition in an effort to deepen political transparency. As described in the *Architectural Review*, the public tender aimed to inspire "symbolic value [in] architecture as a physical expression of new public polices for

education and culture", in pursuit of creating "spaces of encounter that serve as urban landmarks and gathering spaces for the community" (Castro & Echeverri, 2011: 100). This ambition highlights changes to the structure of Santo Domingo's social landscape as the development and realisation of such significant social projects display political commitment to the community, as well as participatory practices. For example, various political, financial, and community stakeholders worked collaboratively to cultivate local involvement in the library park's design and programming before, during, and after its construction.[7] The participatory action and social integration that occurred during the conception and execution of the library's design clearly demonstrates Fajardo's embedded political project. Partnerships with local NGOs, businesses, and community actors like the Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Refugiados (ACNUR), Juntas Adminstradoras Locales and the Junta de Acción Comunal, coincided with the implementation of Medellín's Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial, the 2004–07 Plan de Desarrollo (development plan), and its Administración Transparente y Control Social (Transparency and Social Management Administration). These plans institutionalised a participatory budget, allowing for local investment priorities. They introduced a two-step system; every four years a communal planning committee is formed to create a Plan de Desarrollo Locale (PDL); and every year a four-phase Presupuesto Participativo (PP) is executed.[8] The PDL and PP provide voting resources to citizens, giving them direct impact on budget distribution to physically develop their community. The finances equate to approximately 5 per cent of the municipality's free investment budget (Alcaldia de Medellín, 2020). Localised partnerships and planning generated a mechanism for political transparency. Coupling architecture and planning with new participatory practices, Fajardo mobilised the physical and symbolic value of architecture in local politics by opening a space for it to become an important instrument for social change. But, this ideological expression of the relationship between architecture and politics serves only as a representation of change. Further, the lack of visibility of all involved local NGOs, businesses, and community actors in participatory processes is ambiguous and suggests the possible concealment of involved parties. After all, the rhetoric of participation fails to address the reality of the community's influence over design practices, the distribution of funds, and the realisation of its social impacts.

Today, Medellín's most iconic urban landmark, the Biblioteca España, is recognised both locally and internationally. Set in an informal neighbourhood, the juxtaposition between the library's architectural form and its context reveals an explicit political agenda: the visible expression of new and positive changes on the city's fringe. One of its fundamental aims was framed as to "use architecture as a means to represent an 'upgraded' society" with the intent "to 'produce' social change" through spatial arrangement (Capille, 2018: 129). This is seen in Santo Domingo as widely dispersed images of the library convey change, leading it to become a global representation of social urbanism's achievements. Emphasising the library's visual properties, architectural culture associated change with appearance; the *Architectural Review*, *Architectural Design*, and *Harvard Design Magazine* all circulated images of the library dominating the hillside alongside their descriptions of urban renewal. The aesthetic contrast between architectural object and its context reinforces Medellín's urban binary—violence and transformation. The library stands alone, tall and oversized, its form is faceted and sharp-edged, its masses ordered, and its materiality matte and dark compared to

the compact and jagged spatial disarray of its brick-laden informal surroundings (Fig. 6). The Biblioteca España implicates the binary perception of the city, but the reality of its effect on the Santo Domingo community is disconnected from this image. Isolated from Medellín's formal centre, the impact of the narcotic wars is evident in readings of Santo Domingo's socioeconomic indicators: 48 per cent of residents are in the lowest category for social services and subsidies; it is overpopulated; has high levels of unemployment; and 61 per cent of residents attain only primary or lower level education (Holmes & Piñeres, 2013: 6). The stark aesthetic and historical contrast between informal districts and architectural intervention have remodelled the idea of state presence (physically and pictorially) to evoke transformation on Medellín's political periphery.

Fig. 6 Iwan Baan (2013). The Parque Biblioteca España Santo Domingo. [Photograph]

Strategically co-opted into images of transformation, socially driven architecture and community upgrading schemes in Santo Domingo have caused the Biblioteca España to become one of Medellín's most prolific sites for political and social action throughout the city's ongoing renewal. The building is activated through the visions and the actualities of Medellín's political struggles, manifested in public space. Harvey explores these kinds of scenarios in *Rebel Cities* when describing the form the city takes. For Harvey, the power play occurring in public space presents an opportunity for its users, giving them the ability to create a new and common space for socio-political action—or, to pursue the right to the city (2012: xvi). His thinking resonates with Lefebvre's heterotopia where social space provides the possibility of an alternative urban trajectory to take place (Harvey, 2012: xvii). This relationship between the spaces and buildings of the city and its citizens has the potential to activate an important political imaginary, one that consolidates a clear sense of belonging in the community. But, despite attempts to address issues of poverty, unemployment, and exclusion in Santo Domingo, the Biblioteca España is increasingly more interconnected to political ideologies aligned to the business interests of the city and image building. The visual impact of architecture was mobilised by Medellín's governing bodies to produce the city's binary perception of historic violence and urban transformation. The

rhetoric of social inclusion through design, participatory practices, and political transparency shapes this perception. It operates at all levels—in governing, in media, and in architecture. But the library reveals that Medellin's narrative of change moves far beyond this binary notion. The library complicates it by actualising a parallel and equally relevant account of what contemporary Medellin looks like. This account demonstrates how the Biblioteca España is bound more closely to the city's image of transformation than the reality of the physical and social impact of architecture itself.

The social, politics, and architecture

The power of architecture's aesthetics suppresses the Biblioteca España's more important and volatile spatial conditions, such as political affiliations, social policy, production processes, programming and occupation, and everyday relations to society. The spaces of architecture should not, and cannot, be understood as mere aesthetic actions (re-emphasising Awan et al., 2011: 30). To extend this notion, Massey's depiction of how the social is constructed through the "negotiation of relations within multiplicities" and their political implications implies that space can only be a product of associations (2005: 13). Architecture can therefore never be an impartial action. This idea builds a more challenging and varied landscape of the relationship between power and architecture in Medellín.

Colombia's 1991 constitution change, formalised a more participatory and autonomous juridical framework by setting forth a restructure of municipal power and establishing the popular election of governors and mayors across the country. The constitution widened the space of representation to include previously excluded, new, and diverse political and social actors. Economically, it set up mechanisms for transferring national revenue to municipal departments to increase funding for education and public health. Ana Maria Bejarano describes the updated and more collaborative constitution as a "navigational chart" that provided a map toward a project yet to be achieved, but one that offered a more pluralistic, just, and democratic political order (2001: 55). Additionally, the Presidential Council for Medellín and its metropolitan area was established as the national government's direct representative on issues of violence, security, and local development. This was Medellín's first attempt at a participatory political project. An alliance between central government and local civil society was founded after realisations that the council could not operate without the support of NGO's—like Corporacion Region and Instituto Popular de Capacitacion—working on the ground. This alliance allowed the council to expand into a project that sought to "tackle violence through increased control and prevention measures and institutions while deepening the political participation of the city's marginalized population in peripheral neighbourhoods" (Moncada, 2016: 55). These measures included increased police and local judicial resources, development of conflict resolution centres and detention facilities, improved food security, better quality education, incentive-based employment, and the expansion of public space and community centres with targeted social programming—all of which appear to construct an alternate form of governing in high-risk areas. The council was a top-down initiative that intended to operate from the bottom up.

The new political and economic stability cleared the way for strategic social objectives—violence control and prevention measures—to coexist with participatory

practices in Medellín. However, from 1990 the rise of new professional political forces and international competitors weakened Medellín's government-business links, which had traditionally facilitated a shared coordination of local governance, appointed seats in council offices, and public-private commissions—the scope of which helped to broaden the city's economic interests (Moncada, 2016: 61).[9] This weakened partnership hindered attempts at political participation in Medellín. Furthermore, to achieve greater discretion over socioeconomic development funding allocations, Luis Alfredo Ramos (1992–95) amended the national government council's funding structure. Unfortunately, this meant the Presidential Council for Medellín's funding bypassed grassroots initiatives and bottom-up operations with civil organisations ceased as the municipality came to direct the council's spending. This new funding structure reignited the politics the council had been built to end. By 1993, Medellín's participatory project had dissolved and Ramos founded the EDU to initiate a large-scale urban planning strategy—the Parque San Antonio Project—in the city centre. Once again, the polarisation of the local population heightened the condition of urban exclusion in Medellin. Looking back to Lefebvre's concept of heterotopia—where social space has the potential to bring about other types of spatial production—the return to a fragmented urbanism in Medellin questions whether the pursuit for "something different", or the creation of a "differential space" through open and participatory socio-political models, is truly possible (Harvey, 2012: xvii; Lefebvre, 1991: 52). Moreover, in the decade that followed, the relationship between Medellín's business elites and local government remained unstable, but architecture's role in politics intensified as it came to represent affiliations linked to political campaigns. This is seen in the public works strategy of Mayor Luis Pérez Gutiérrez (2001–04). Instead of focusing local investment on Medellín's philosophical pillars—security and coexistence—Pérez rewarded his financial backers, mostly large local construction companies, with public-works contracts that included infrastructure, sport, and education projects. Of the 162 public works contracts authorised by Pérez, the most notable are Medellín's MetroCable Line K (Fig. 1) linking Acevedo, Andalucia, Popular, and Santo Domingo to the centre, and a series of new libraries—projects commonly ascribed with the Medellín miracle and Sergio Fajardo's social urbanism. Thus, since the failure of Medellin's first participatory project, the notion of governing had become increasingly more interlaced with appeasing business elites and sustaining individual interests.

A decade of associations and already established projects had residue effects. Sergio Fajardo (2004-08) took advantage of these associations to transform the spaces of the city. In the year before his term, Fajardo executed his most strategic political move by rebuilding alliances with Medellín's traditional network of business elites, the Grupo Empresarial Antioqueño (GEA) and its research department Proantioquia, and civil society partners Corporación Region and Instituto Popular de Capacitación.[10] Fajardo's alignment to the GEA initiated the restructure of Medellín's economic model, through promises of financial transparency, as his civil partners launched a large grassroots movement backing his political campaign. Restoring the influence of business elites in local governance allowed Fajardo to increase local business tax to facilitate new urban projects and foster emerging markets at the expense of political autonomy. Under these circumstances, the GEA regained its power to shape the city's economy, and in turn, secure the private sector's vision for an emergent global city. At the same time, peace negotiations between the local government and urban militias saw

a striking decrease in homicides—from 161 deaths per 100,000 in 1999 to 35 in 2007—as the paramilitary group Bloque Cacique Nutibara (BCN) demobilised (Holmes & Piñeres, 2013: 3). Founded by Medellín's most influential criminal "office", La Oficina de Envigado, the BCN's demobilisation reduced competition, and therefore violence, among rival armed groups. Remarkably, the BCN's leader and head of La Oficina, Don Berna, emerged as the local government's key mediator with ex-paramilitaries to assist in maintaining political order. Altogether, new alliances, increased finances, existing public works contracts, and drops in violence provided Fajardo with the conditions to launch Medellín's second political participatory project: social urbanism. Yet, it is evident that the phenomenon of social urbanism is dependent upon, and constrained by, processes of globalisation and privatisation.

The political decisions made during the Biblioteca España's build reveal contradictions in social urbanism's application. The disparity between the library's image and the reality of its physical and social impact demonstrates this. For instance, 150 Santo Domingo residents were relocated to provide the space for the library's construction (McGuirk, 2014: 246). But land clearing for architectural intervention and expropriation for public benefit presents itself as a new kind of violence. Furthermore, economic design compromises were rejected. Expensive stone cladding, which needed to be transported from a distant quarry up steep and narrow roads to the building site, was used for the library's façade (Webb, 2011: 35). These acts threatened the protocol for increased local participation and civic trust as decisions were influenced by financial investors and political affiliates with common goals. Thus, these actions underscore how important the Biblioteca España is as a site for political agency rather than as a site for social amenity in Medellín. Costly materials might represent greater investment in marginalised territories, but the value of positioning the library in this site, and its aesthetic presence, sustains the GEA and private sector's drive to build a new global image. This economic interest, combined with Fajardo's wish to build a symbol for the public, conveys a message of a city reunited through social inclusion. But the reality of top-down decision-making in architecture is in tension with social urbanism's goals. This tension reaffirms that projects like the Biblioteca España are not entirely aligned to the interests of the local community.

Fig. 7 Iwan Baan (2013). The Biblioteca España learning space [Photograph]

Whilst ideas around contesting the market and political transparency—alongside the innovative urban visions that inform bottom-up participatory approaches to social transformation—are the rhetoric of social urbanism, architecture reveals the reality of its impacts and effects. For example, the Biblioteca España's relationship between space and programme aims to rebuild a localised sense of identity and belonging. But this aim "underpins the formulation that the relationship of space and program in [this] building is instrumental in 'upgrading' social behaviours" by shifting patterns of use to represent an upgraded society (Capille, 2018: 132). The library's patterns of use were developed under three categories: political socialisation, learning environments, and social institutions. All were intended to use "knowledge and information as fundamental means to achieve the inclusion of underprivileged communities" in the development of Medellín (Capille, 2018: 129). Besides providing access to books and information/communication technologies, investment in culture and education planned to increase human capital by *upskilling* and *upgrading* the population through social integration programmes and practices. These include drug rehabilitation support, training services for specialised skills, reading and writing workshops, and entrepreneurial coaching alongside social work agencies, volunteer reading circles, and cultural events such as literary festivals and theatre productions. Such top-down initiatives promote economic growth and support government-business interests by using architecture to produce and manage new and deliberate socioeconomic habits. This approach to social inclusion concedes to globally recognised ideas of progress rather than engaging with a more contextually relevant mechanism for using architecture to establish a sense of identity and belonging in the community. Further, the contrast between the library's regular concrete interior and its façade suggests a concealed spatial coercion (Fig. 7). The gap between the dedicated library spaces and the façade actively separates—or shields—areas for learning from the influences of the outside world, organising behaviour through embedded design rationales for social control. Spaces of learning are in tension with the context in which they are placed, despite the primary goal of social inclusion. This tension, and the coupling of political and economic interests with spatiality and design, controls the upgrading and/or upskilling of the community and the shifts to its social behaviours. The rhetoric of inclusion and equity in Santo Domingo is opposite to that of social urbanism. It is translated through physical indicators such as electricity, water, sewerage, and so forth, whereas socio-economic indicators are merely determined through city-wide surveys with limited sample sizes such as the Medellín Cómo Vamos Quality of Life reports. Thus, social urbanism—through its approach to governing and urban regeneration—has inherited its own *inclusive* language, but it is dislocated from the actuality of the project's localised effects. Instead, the rhetoric of social urbanism is contingent on securing the private sector's vision for a global city. This places architecture in a critical position as it signifies the top-down public expression of political and/or economic interests—the evidence of its social impact is limited to perceived community improvements rather than the reality of everyday conditions.
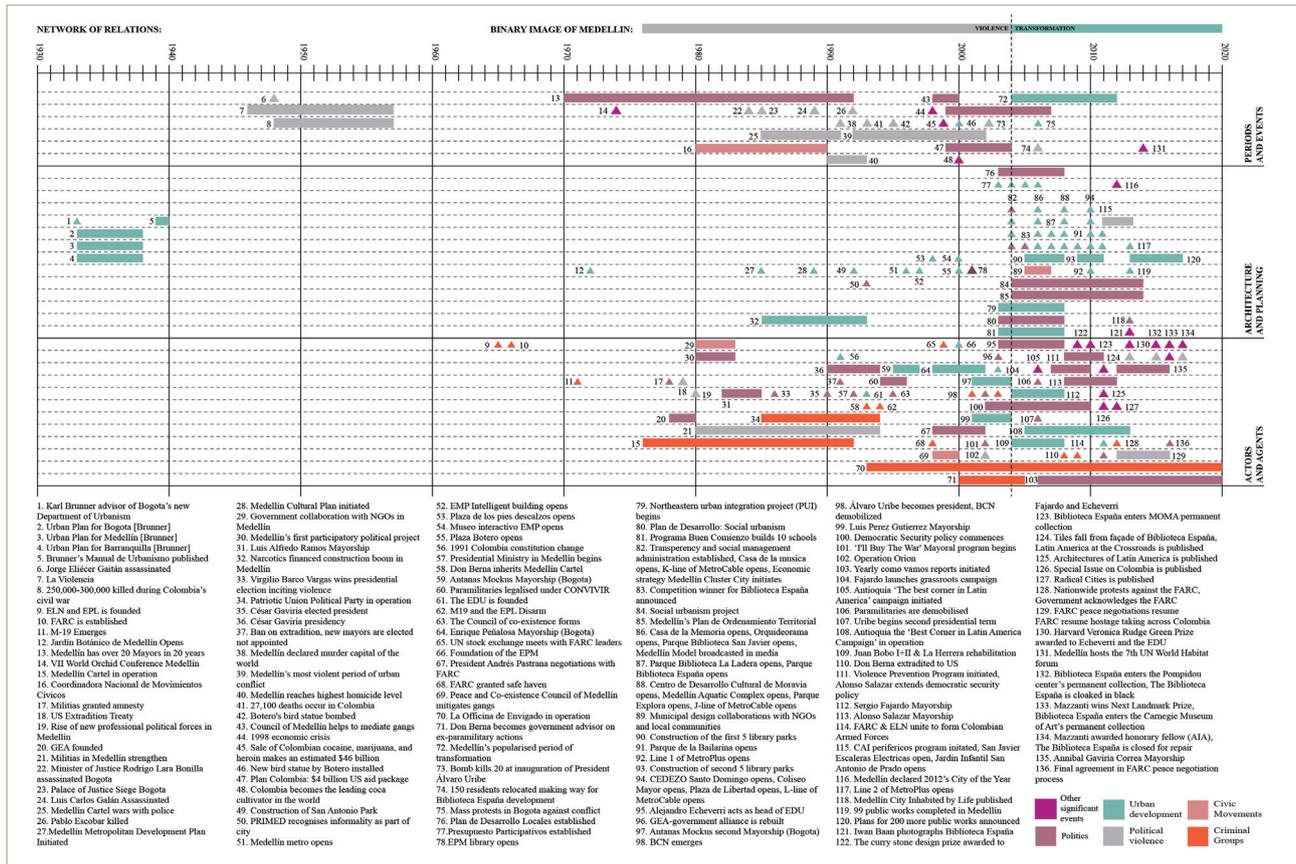
Fig. 8 Christina Deluchi (2020). Medellin's network of relations [Diagram]

Legend for Fig. 8:

1. Karl Brunner advisor of Bogota's new Department of Urbanism
2. Urban Plan for Bogota [Brunner]
3. Urban Plan for Medellín [Brunner]
4. Urban Plan for Barranquilla [Brunner]
5. Brunner's Manual de Urbanismo published
6. Jorge Eliécer Gaitán assassinated
7. La Violencia
8. 250,000-300,000 killed during Colombia's civil war
9. ELN and EPL is founded
10. FARC is established
11. M-19 Emerges
12. Jardín Botánico de Medellín Opens
13. Medellín has over 20 Mayors in 20 years
14. VII World Orchid Conference Medellín
15. Medellín Cartel in operation
16. Coordinadora Nacional de Movimientos Cívicos
17. Militias granted amnesty
18. US Extradition Treaty
19. Rise of new professional political forces in Medellín
20. GEA founded
21. Militias in Medellín strengthen
22. Minister of Justice Rodrigo Lara Bonilla assassinated Bogota
23. Palace of Justice Siege Bogota
24. Luis Carlos Galán Assassinated
25. Medellín Cartel wars with police
26. Pablo Escobar killed
27. Medellín Metropolitan Development Plan Initiated

28. Medellín Cultural Plan initiated
29. Government collaboration with NGOs in Medellín
30. Medellín's first participatory political project
31. Luis Alfredo Ramos Mayorship
32. Narcotics financed construction boom in Medellín
33. Virgilio Barco Vargas wins presidential election inciting violence
34. Patriotic Union Political Party in operation
35. César Gaviria elected president
36. César Gaviria presidency
37. Ban on extradition, new mayors are elected not appointed
38. Medellín declared murder capital of the world
39. Medellín's most violent period of urban conflict
40. Medellín reaches highest homicide level
41. 27,100 deaths occur in Colombia
42. Botero's bird statue bombed
43. Council of Medellín helps to mediate gangs
44. 1998 economic crisis
45. New bird statue by Botero installed
46. Plan Colombia: $4 billion US aid package
47. Colombia becomes the leading coca cultivator in the world
48. Construction of San Antonio Park
49. PRIMED recognises informality as part of city
50. Medellín metro opens
51. Medellín metro opens

52. EMP Intelligent building opens
53. Plaza de los pies descalzos opens
54. Museo interactivo EMP opens
55. Plaza Botero opens
56. 1991 Colombia constitution change
57. Presidential Ministry in Medellín begins
58. Don Berna inherits Medellín Cartel
59. Antanas Mockus Mayorship (Bogota)
60. Paramilitaries legalised under CONVIVIR
61. The EDU is founded
62. M19 and the EPL Disarm
63. The Council of co-existence forms
64. Enrique Peñalosa Mayorship (Bogota)
65. UN stock exchange meets with FARC leaders
66. Foundation of the EPM
67. President Andrés Pastrana negotiations with FARC
68. FARC granted safe haven
69. Peace and Co-existence Council of Medellín mitigates gangs
70. La Officina de Envigado in operation
71. Don Berna becomes government advisor on ex-paramilitary actions
72. Medellín's popularised period of transformation
73. Bomb kills 20 at inauguration of President Álvaro Uribe
74. 150 residents relocated making way for Biblioteca España development
75. Mass protests in Bogota against conflict
76. Plan de Desarrollo Locales established
77. Presupuesto Participativos established
78. EPM library opens

79. Northeastern urban integration project (PUI) begins
80. Plan de Desarrollo: Social urbanism
81. Programa Buen Comienzo builds 10 schools
82. Transparency and social management administration established, Casa de la musica opens, K-line of MetroCable opens, Economic strategy Medellín Cluster City initiates
83. Competition winner for Biblioteca España announced
84. Social urbanism project
85. Medellín's Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial
86. Casa de la Memoria opens, Orquideorama opens, Parque Biblioteca San Javier opens, Medellín Model broadcasted in media
87. Parque Biblioteca La Ladera opens, Parque Biblioteca España opens
88. Centro de Desarrollo Cultural de Moravia opens, Medellín Aquatic Complex opens, Parque Explora opens, J-line of MetroCable opens
89. Municipal design collaborations with NGOs and local communities
90. Construction of the first 5 library parks
91. Parque de la Bailarina opens
92. Line 1 of MetroPlus opens
93. Construction of second 5 library parks
94. CEDEZO Santo Domingo opens, Coliseo Mayor opens, Plaza de Libertad opens, L-line of MetroCable opens
95. Alejandro Echeverri acts as head of EDU
96. GEA-government alliance is rebuilt
97. Antanas Mockus second Mayorship (Bogota)
98. BCN emerges

98. Álvaro Uribe becomes president, BCN demobilized
99. Luis Perez Gutierrez Mayorship
100. Democratic Security policy commences
101. 'Til Buy The War' Mayoral program begins
102. Operation Orion
103. Yearly como vamos reports initiated
104. Fajardo launches grassroots campaign
105. Antioquia 'The best corner in Latin America' campaign initiated
106. Paramilitaries are demobilised
107. Uribe begins second presidential term
108. Antioquia the 'Best Corner in Latin America Campaign' in operation
109. Juan Bobo I+II & La Herrera rehabilitation
110. Don Berna extradited to US
111. Violence Prevention Program initiated, Alonso Salazar extends democratic security policy
112. Sergio Fajardo Mayorship
113. Alonso Salazar Mayorship
114. FARC & ELN unite to form Colombian Armed Forces
115. CAI periféricos program initated, San Javier Escaleras Electricas opens, Jardin Infantil San Antonio de Prado opens
116. Medellín declared 2012's City of the Year
117. Line 2 of MetroPlus opens
118. Medellín City Inhabited by Life published
119. 99 public works completed in Medellín
120. Plans for 200 more public works announced
121. Iwan Baan photographs Biblioteca España
122. The curry stone design prize awarded to

Fajardo and Echeverri
123. Biblioteca España enters MOMA permanent collection
124. Tiles fall from façade of Biblioteca España, Latin America at the Crossroads is published
125. Architectures of Latin America is published
126. Special Issue on Colombia is published
127. Radical Cities is published
128. Biblioteca España enters the Carnegie Museum of Art's permanent collection
129. Nationwide protests against the FARC, Government acknowledges the FARC
FARC peace negotiations resume
FARC resume hostage taking across Colombia
130. Harvard Veronica Rudge Green Prize awarded to Echeverri and the EDU
131. Medellín hosts the 7th UN World Habitat forum
132. Biblioteca España enters the Pompidou center's permanent collection, The Biblioteca España is cloaked in black
133. Mazzanti wins Next Landmark Prize, Biblioteca España enters the Carnegie Museum of Art's permanent collection
134. Mazzanti awarded honorary fellow (AIA), The Biblioteca España is closed for repair
135. Aníbal Gaviria Correa Mayorship
136. Final agreement in FARC peace negotiation process

Legend: Other significant events · Politics · Urban development · Political violence · Civic Movements · Criminal Groups

Dismantling the binary

Underpinned by socio-graphic planning schemes, decentralised politics, participatory mechanisms, educational reform, economic partnerships, and public works projects, social urbanism simply facilitated a shift toward positive spatial operations through the co-opt of architecture into political ideology. Engagement with the perception of Medellín's binary image of historic violence and novel urban transformation, allowed Fajardo to claim the right to the city. Projects like the Biblioteca España gave Medellín's dominant voices—politicians, business elites, architects, mass media outlets—the opportunity to frame the city in the new and optimistic language of social urbanism, which strengthened ideas of a united governance to produce a portrait of an emergent global city. Forrest Hylton even suggests that Medellín's updated urban ideology "better sells" the city's story of success to outsiders and its citizens (2007: 153). This perception of Medellín's socio-political condition is contingent upon the network of relations that shape it. Once we identify each agent in the network as an active force, we see their political potential. This notion is a response to Massey's claim that the overarching historical imagination of globalisation does not allow us to recognise "the simultaneous coexistence of other histories with characteristics that are distinct and futures which potentially may be so too" (2005: 11). Likewise, Medellín's urban narrative does not recognise the pluralities, parallels, overlaps, or simultaneities across its historical landscape, or how social transformation might be constructed within these territories. But Medellín is not a city composed by a binary (Fig. 8). Violence did not disappear as social urbanism was implemented, nor was social urbanism the city's first participatory project (Fig. 8). The

Biblioteca España navigates this history, its tectonics and its image unpack and reconstruct the trajectory of Medellín's urban development, its structures of violence and the social contracts within it.

By examining the physical features of the Biblioteca España, alongside the social policies linked to the transformation of Medellín's urban realm, this paper has dismantled the city's spectacularised binary—from violent and corrupt to socially conscious and regenerative. Moreover, the paper presents an entirely different narrative to that suggested by the *Architectural Review*, *Architectural Design*, *Harvard Design Magazine*, and Justin McGuirk's *Radical Cities*. It shows an uneven account of power and transformation in Medellín—it is not chronological, it is relational. Architecture is not seen as a representation of change, but rather a trigger for unpacking the tensions within and between Medellín's networks of power (Fig. 8). These networks—whether political, economic, civic, or criminal—expose a shared interest in reshaping the city's economy, increasing human capital, and securing the image of an emergent global city under the guise of social transformation. The analysis of the library reveals how these tensions occur at the intersection of capital flow, governance, and mass media in Medellín's post-war environment and further amplify the importance of the city's transverse landscape of power (Fig. 8). Exploring this landscape unveils the various socio-political contracts that have restructured local governance and civic behaviour on the city's fringe and subsequently reoriented perceptions of the city. But, the nuances of these contracts also reveal Medellín's contradictions— grassroots and participatory movements appear to be a mere tool in top-down operations, and despite progressive leadership, business elites still govern contemporary development. New and not so obvious types of violence, and different forms of governing, have been set in motion. They are perhaps only less visible than the political violence of the narcotic wars.

Postscript: Contemporary ambitions

In 2013, the well-known Dutch photographer Iwan Baan documented the Biblioteca España (Figs. 2, 5, 6 and 7), perpetuating Medellín's image of transformation. These images have been disseminated across architectural and touristic media. They have also been used to consolidate additional global honours and awards for Medellín and for El Equipo Mazzanti.[11] But in the same year, tiles began falling from its façade. By 2015, the library's water-damaged volumes were cloaked in black fabric and, in 2017, only a decade after opening, it was closed indefinitely for repair (Fig. 9). The library's closure resulted in locals labelling it as Medellín's "white elephant" (Harindranath, 2018). The degradation of the library exposes the contradictions and inequities surrounding architecture's participatory and socially minded operations. With its essential public infrastructure dismantled and forgotten, what the library means for Medellín and the Santo Domingo community remains a critical question. And still, in the same year (2013), an exhaustive update to urban development was published in Medellín's magazine, outlining 99

Fig. 9 Christina Deluchi (2020). The Parque Biblioteca España Santo Domingo [Photograph]

INTERSTICES **20**

completed community works and plans for 200 more (Correa & Alvarez, 2013: 49). Architecture in Medellín is in infinite surplus; buildings act as signifiers of progress and innovation. This surplus is absorbed by social urbanism's ideological superstructure, ensuring the continuity of its vision.

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ENDNOTES

1 Camilo Calderon (2012) describes social urbanism using the development strategies of both cities; Peter Brand (2013) explores social urbanism's library parks in Medellín as the adaptation of Bogota's earlier urban ideas; and Eduardo Mendieta (2011) studies how both cities shape the cartography of "global mega-urbanisation".

2 The Mayor of Bogota, Antanas Mockus (1995-97), focused on citizen culture initiatives, such as traffic mimes and *Night Without Men,* to create learning opportunities in the public realm through personal interactions between strangers.

3 Despite attempts to address Medellín's contextual issues, in fact private interests and the political structure of the city hindered the realisation of such plans until changes were made to Colombia's constitution in 1991.

4 EDU is an administrative authority with independent assets and the legal capacity to sue. Since its creation in 1993, it has become known as the "development real estate agency of Medellín" (Empresa de Desarrollo Urbano de Medellín, 2008).

5 The building also won the XVI Bienal Panamericana de Arquitectura Prize (2008), the IV Bienal Iberoamericana de Arquitectura Prize (2008), and was a MCHAP 2014 nominee.

6 The MetroCable costs $2.000 Colombian Peso (COP) one-way. Whilst this is relatively accessible, moving approximately 27,000 people a day, the wait to use the MetroCable can be extensive since it is one of Medellín's biggest tourist attractions.

7 Stakeholders include: the Learning National Service, the Colombian Institute of Family Welfare, the Public Projects Secretariat, the Medellín Social Housing Fund, Metrosalud, and the Medellín Metro Company.

8 The PDL and PP are supported by a series of public and community organisations including Juntas Adminstradoras Locales (JALs), the Consejo Territorial de Planeación (CTP) and the Consejo Comunales o Corregimentales de Planeación (CCCP), who manage local developments by guaranteeing the representation of civil society and promoting citizen participation.

9 The new professional political class rose through popular election after changes to the constitution. They wished to govern without the historical influence of Medellín's traditional economic elites. Thus, international industry competitors entered Medellín's liberalised economic arena as new business elites diversified their investment portfolios.

10 *The GEA was founded in the 1970s by three major companies from three different sectors— Suramericana (finance), Grupo Nacional de Chocolates (food), and Argos (infrastructure)— and quickly became one of Colombia's most powerful multinational corporations.*

11 Since the photographs were taken, Medellin hosted the seventh UN World Habitat Forum; El Equipo Mazzanti was included in *Fast Company Magazine*'s top 10 innovative architecture practices, won the 2016 Next Landmark Prize, and the American Institute of Architects awarded Mazzanti himself Honorary Fellow (2017); and documentation of the Biblioteca Espana was selected for the permanent collections at the MOMA, the Centre Pompidou, and the Carnegie Museum of Art.

ENDRIANA AUDISHO

Liveness, mediation and the simulated: Effects of the digital screen on architectural representation post-1990

Introduction

The effects of the digital screen in pedagogy have been significantly explored in the field of architecture since 1990. The introduction of the computer through the 1994 Paperless Studios at Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation (GSAPP) became a defining moment for the discipline to experiment with the unfamiliar tool of the computer and reconsider its relationship with the digital screen. It was also an opportunity to theorise the effects of the digital screen on architectural representation.

This paper explores the interplay between the digital screen and its effects on architectural representation from the early 1990s to the early 2000s. The digital screen is used to encapsulate both media and technology, and representation is understood as the attempt to be the equivalent of the real (Baudrillard, 1981: 2-4). The paper recognises that the relationship between the digital screen and architectural representation traverses architecture, by looking in broader media history of the decade and, specifically, within the context of the media spectacle of two key events: first, Cable News Network's (CNN) 24-hour live coverage of the Gulf War in 1991; and second, the 2002 competition to design the new World Trade Centre (WTC) post the historic attacks of September 2011 (9/11). These mediatised events present two modalities of the tension between the simulated and the real. CNN's coverage was the first *live* reporting of a conflict in the world. It saw the screen materialise real-time images of Baghdad with a grainy phosphor-green night-vision filter, making it difficult to distinguish between reality and its simulated representation of the city (Baudrillard, 1995: 82). Marking another shift in the discourse on simulation and the real are the images that circulated through digital media during and after the 9/11 attacks. Although the proliferation of images of 9/11 played an evidential role as they were used to identify victims and investigate the attack, they were also implicated in the conflict as their hyperreal quality raises questions of legitimacy. Architectural renderings in the WTC competition post 9/11 are an extension of this discussion. The renderings simulated a "progressive architecture" (Martin, 2004: 217) where digital technological innovation constructed a hyperreality that disengaged with the historical and political dimension of the event itself or the implications of its representation. These two case studies will be used as vehicles to unpack discourse

on the simulated and real, and consequently to trace the associated impact on architectural representation, specifically on the work produced by the digital avant-garde of the Paperless Studios.

Situating the Paperless Studios in relation to the broader media and theoretical context of the early 1990s-2000s recognises a larger set of relations beyond the screen or the technology of the image itself. The constellation between two mediatised events, media theory and the Paperless Studios, formulates a short history of the digital in architecture that is not autonomous, but acknowledges that it is relative to, and has been shaped by, discourse external to the field itself. To demonstrate this, the first section of the paper, "Screen conflict 01", will unpack CNN's live coverage to establish a theoretical framework that postures the impact of simulation, via the digital screen, on our experience of the real. The theoretical framework set up in the first section informed by the works of Paul Virilio and Jean Baudrillard will be used to discuss the tension between the simulated and the real in the Paperless Studios in the second section of the paper, "Screen conflict 02". The paper culminates by discussing a shift in the interplay between the digital screen and representation in architecture by the early 2000s. Ultimately, this paper connects chronological yet disparate moments to show that the transformation in architectural representation is relative to, and has been shaped by, a broader media context.

Screen conflict 01: Liveness, mediation, and the simulated real in CNN's coverage of the Gulf War

> Something is happening outside . . .
>
> — Bernard Shaw, CNN Live, 16 January 1991

Midnight, 16 January 1991, was the deadline issued by the United Nations Security Council for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, at about 2 a.m. local time. The invasion occurred over the controversy over Iraqi debt in which the Kuwaitis insisted repayment (Klare, 2003: 5), Iraq's territorial claims over Kuwait, and accusations of oil theft (Klare, 2003: 14). Various news channels such as ABC, NBC, CBS, and CNN attempted to get reporters into this potential war zone between Kuwait and Iraq. News executives highlighted, "getting there and getting pictures remained a top priority, if not the only priority" (Gerard, 1990: 1). The 16 January 1991 deadline imposed on Iraq was now shared with news organisations. The midnight deadline loomed and passed quietly. The United Nations had permitted its member nations to exercise all necessary means to drive Iraqi troops out of Kuwait if they did not adhere to the deadline. Iraq did not withdraw from Kuwait. On 16 January, at 2:45 a.m. Baghdad local time, the United States coalition led a military intervention under code name *Operation Desert Storm*. This marked the start of the Gulf War. CNN gained early dominance of the coverage of the air raids over Baghdad with their continuous live audio reports from the Al-Rashid Hotel in Baghdad. One day before war broke out, CNN's vice president for news, Ed Turner, distinguished CNN by stating: "other networks are in the entertainment business, and at some point, they have to return to normal programming. We just do one thing" (Kurtz, 1991: 2). The emerging CNN, established in 1980, was determined to cover the story live and make media history.

CNN did make media history as the Gulf War was the first conflict to appear *live*, a format that saw a global audience presented with real-time images unfolding round the clock on television screens (Formanek, 2016). CNN's 24-hour live coverage also foregrounded the political implications of what it means to report live. The statement voiced by CNN corresponded Bernard Shaw on the first night of the conflict, is representative of these implications. To state that *something* is happening *outside* suggests a speculative and disembodied engagement that anticipates the real. Whereas a foreign correspondent in the traditional sense would be able to confirm news by visiting the sites of events to record what has happened, the CNN correspondents were confined to a hotel room on the ninth floor of the Al Rashid Hotel (Fig. 1) in Baghdad (Formanek, 2016). The confinement limited them to view at a distance and report on what they could hear and see as it rolled out in real-time.

Fig. 1 Endriana Audisho (2020). Site plan of Al-Rashid Hotel, Baghdad [Drawing]
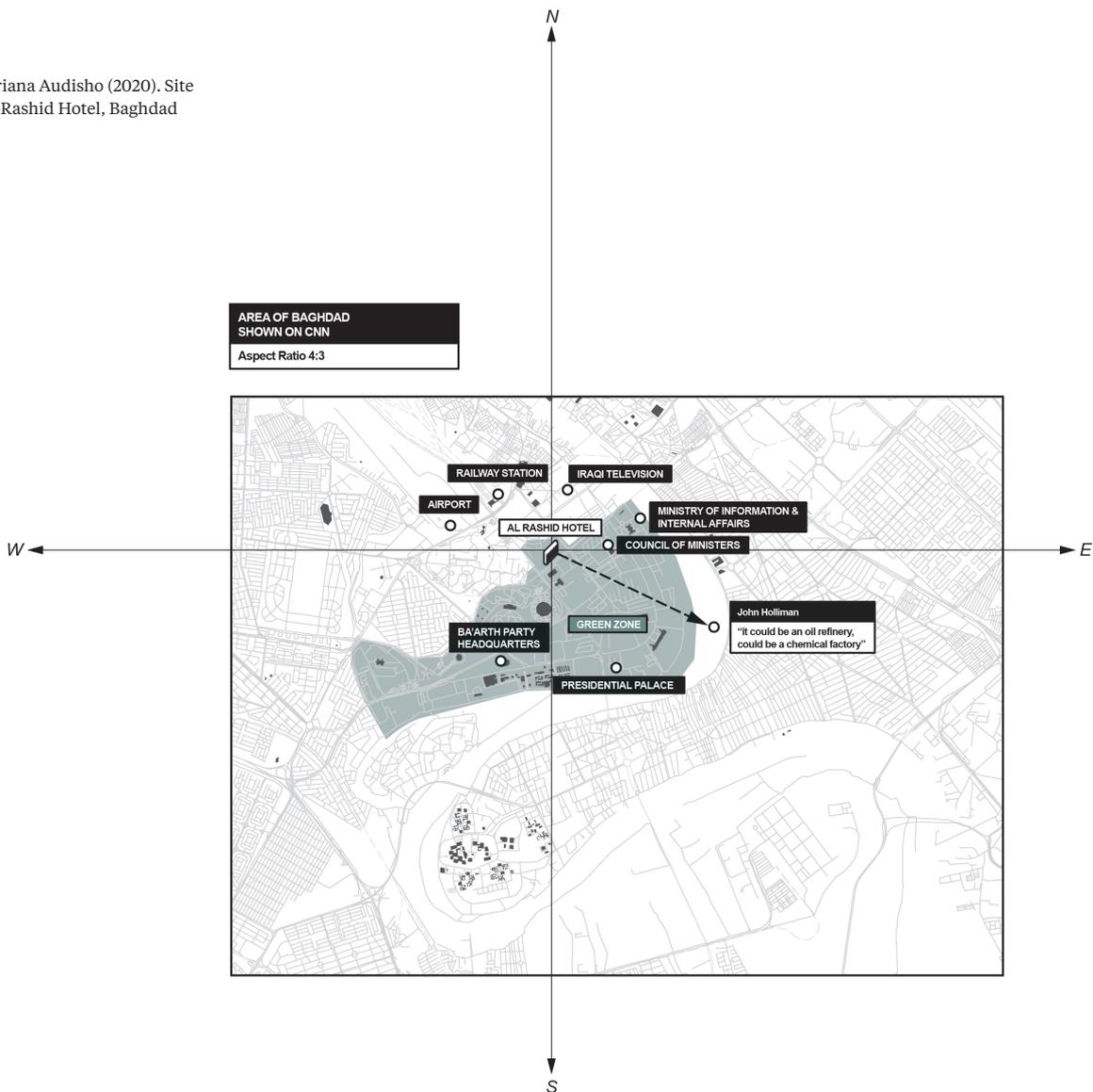
CNN's Baghdad correspondents Bernard Shaw, John Holliman and Peter Arnett navigated both their actions and words to stitch multiple vantage points into a decisive account from the Al Rashid hotel room (Fig. 2). For instance, Shaw remarked, "I'm going to crawl [via the corridor] to the other side of the hotel" (1991). At a subsequent point, Holliman said, "I'm going to get a longer microphone cord so I can travel more distance through this place and give you better outlook from all sides of the hotel" (1991). By outlook, he meant audio coverage as the microphone was held outside the window. Eight hours into the coverage, Holliman looked outside an eastern facing window to report on a cloud of smoke in the distance "it could be an oil refinery, could be a chemical factory" (1991). Due to the distant location from the hotel, Holliman was not able to specify the target. This ambiguity in the reporting blurs dichotomies of near and far. This commentary is precisely speculative as the Baghdad correspondents were forced to report first-hand accounts of what they could see and hear as a consequence of *liveness*.

Fig. 2 Endriana Audisho (2020). Location of the CNN correspondents in the Al-Rashid Hotel, Baghdad [Drawing]
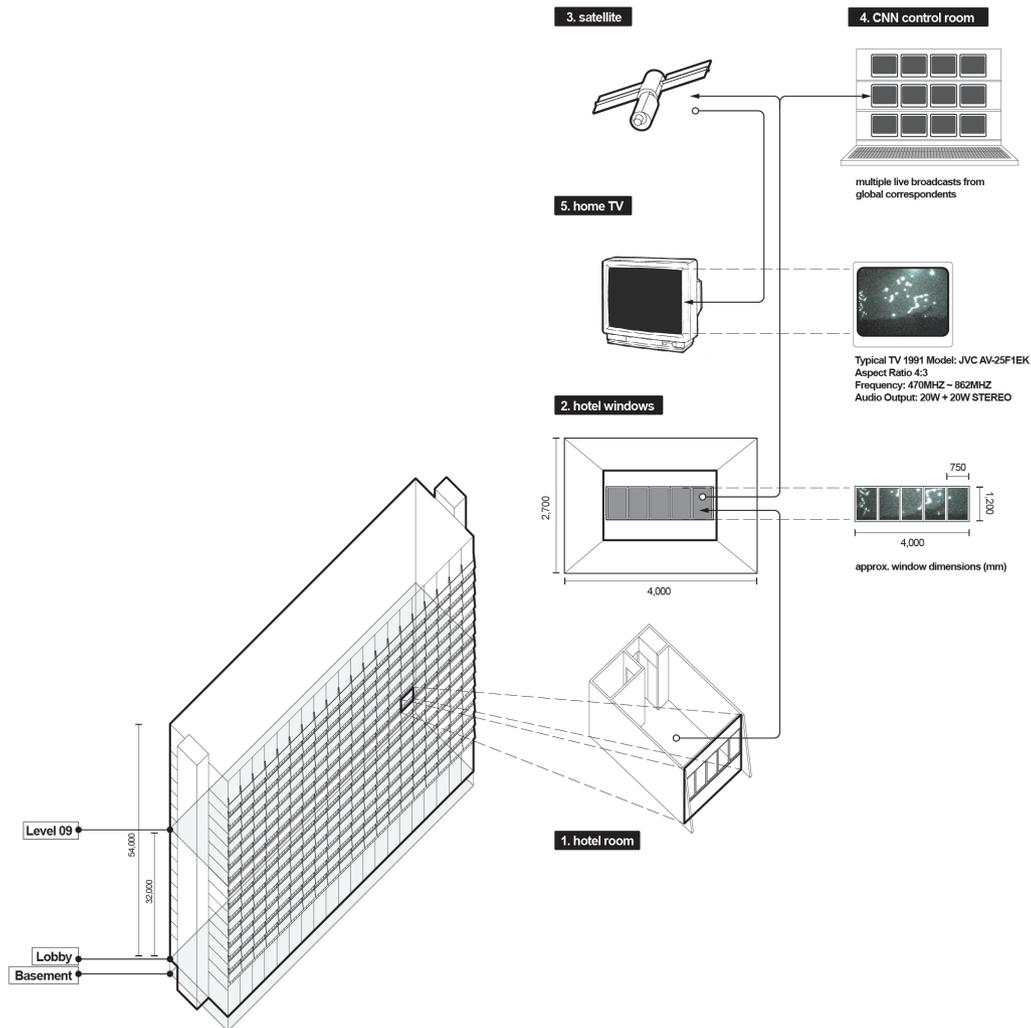
The speculative format has an underlying political problematic as simulations of all possible futures are presented in real-time (May, 2020: 230). This differs from historical time, which "was predicated on technical regimes and gestures that continually related present and future to the past [. . .] real-time is the time of statistical thought, in which futures knowable and unknowable are posed simultaneously" (231). Simulation is to be understood in Baudrillardian terms as the copy of a real without the origin (Baudrillard, 1981: 1). Simulation differs from representation as it substitutes the signs of the real for the real, whilst representation is an attempt to be the equivalent of the real (2-4). CNN's speculative *live* reportage is the substitute sign of the real, a deterrence to the real (2), that makes it difficult for the audience to distinguish between the real war and its simulated representation.
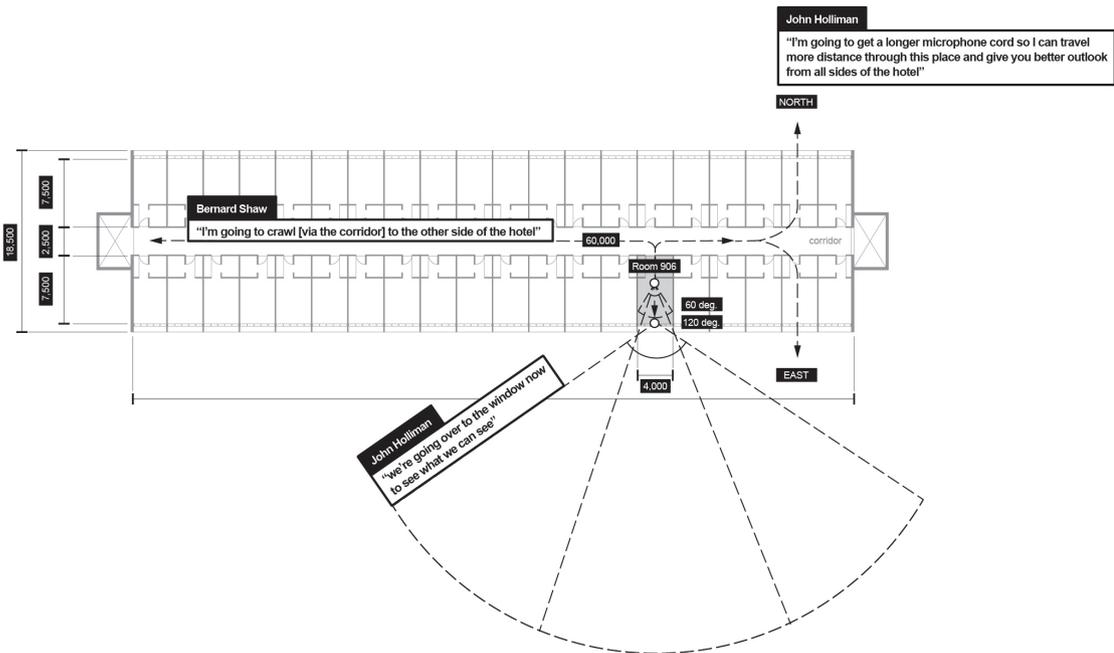
Fig. 3 Endriana Audisho (2020). Floor plan of the Level 9 hotel room of the Al-Rashid Hotel, showing the confined nature of CNN's reportage [Drawing]

The speculative format was also shaped by the spatial constraints of the hotel room when air strikes hit Baghdad. The Iraqis had confined all correspondents to the air-raid shelters in the basement of the Al-Rashid Hotel, but the CNN correspondents were allowed to remain on the ninth floor with a secured phone line (Diamond, 1991: 20). The phone line was instrumental as the first days of coverage were primarily audio, as opposed to real images of the conflict. The interior of the hotel was equivalent to a newsroom and the archetypes of the space became the instruments of reporting. The 1.2m high by 3.8m strip window, from which to be an eye-witness, the 4m by 7.5m room that operated as a quasi-broadcasting station, and the 2.5m wide corridor that enabled the correspondents to navigate to other orientations and panoramas of the city, became the very instruments to construct audio-visual accounts (Fig. 3). The reliance on these architectural elements to simulate some sense of ground-truthing can be demonstrated through their constant reference in the commentary. For example, "we're going over to the [hotel room] *window* now to see what we can see" (Holliman, 1991) followed by "I'm getting away from the *window* here now" (Holliman, 1991), as crackling sounds disrupted the audio reportage, or "something is happening

outside" (Shaw, 1991), draws an immediate visual connection between the interior of the hotel and the city of Baghdad. This visual imaginary collapses scales as the room and the urban are juxtaposed. With the absence of real footage on the first days of conflict, the window frame, which was a cropped frame of the city of Baghdad, and the corridor, which was used to navigate to other views of the city, were the sources of information. Due to the static nature of the window frame, the correspondents had to navigate the interior to view up close. The audience was exposed to the same information as the correspondents, as this live *mediation* saw both actors became hostages to the effects of *liveness*, situated in a space that anticipates the real through the simulated. Baudrillard indicates that McLuhan's axiom, the medium is the message, is central to our era of simulation, as without a message, the medium falls under our systems of judgement and values (1981: 55).
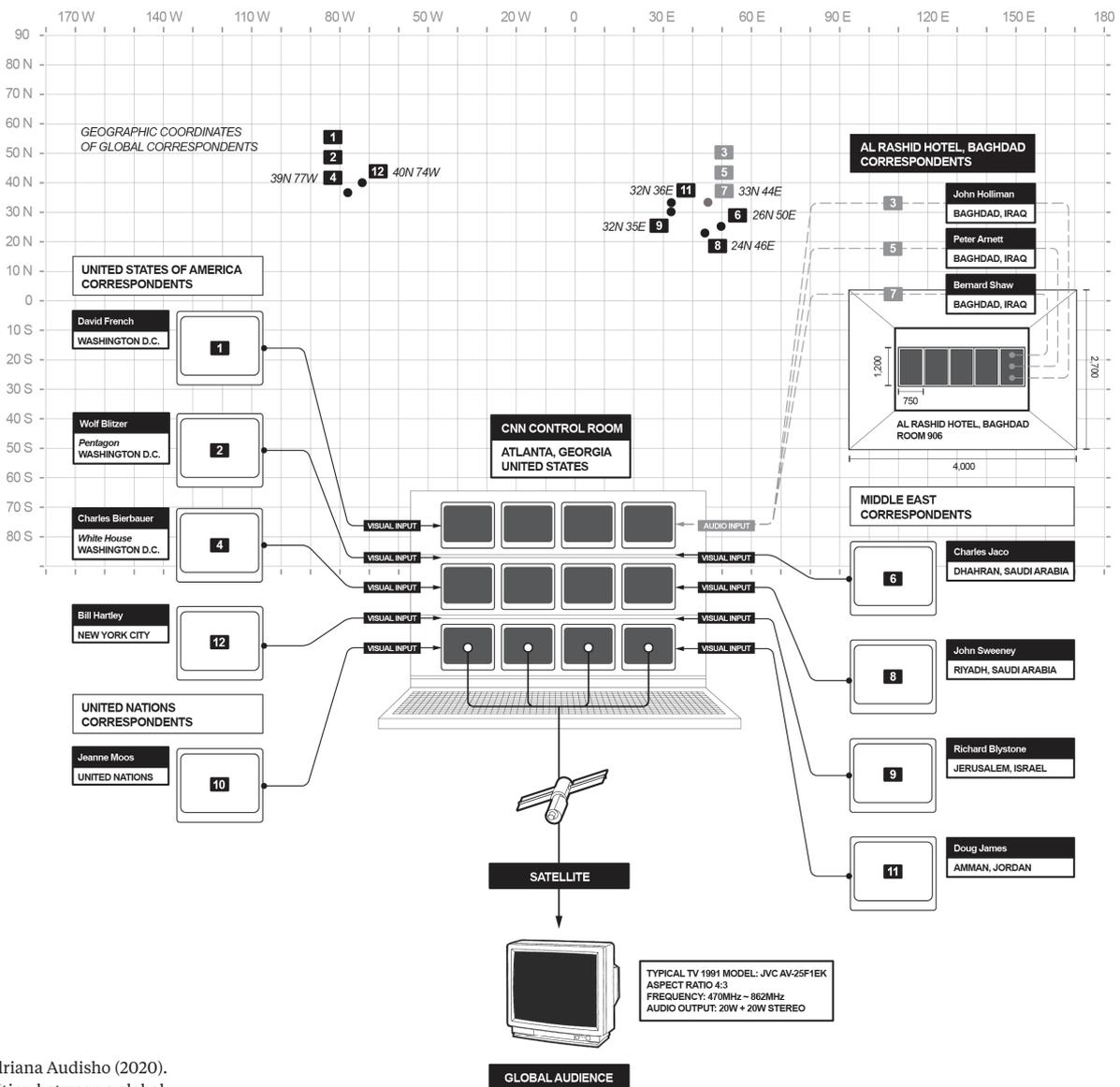
Fig. 4 Endriana Audisho (2020). Transposition between a global network of screens, correspondent locations and audience as seen in CNN's live coverage of the Gulf War [Drawing]

One can argue that reporting *live* from the front line suggests validity and legitimacy as it proves the correspondent is on the ground and at the very source of the event. However, it is key to point out that the phosphor-green night-vision video clips and images of Baghdad, which became iconic representations of the Gulf War, were transmitted a few days after the start of the war (Hoskins, 2004: 24). This delay resulted in the *image* of the war, and the city of Baghdad, framed through a montage of abstract representations for the first 24 hours of coverage. The absence of images saw the coverage constrained to broken live audio and a transposition between 19 CNN correspondent locations, television studios, vague maps, and diagrams of Baghdad, as well as the inclusion of unedited pool videos (the pool press, which refers to a group of journalists who share their resources in the collection of news, were accompanied by US military officials during the Gulf War). These multiple electronic feeds (Fig. 4) and image-text combinations were misaligned with the audio coverage and operated as placeholders to fill in visual gaps and as decoys to the real images of the conflict.

CNN's fragmented medium and message challenged traditional forms of reporting. As noted by architectural theorist Mark Dorrian referring to the 2003 Iraq War, the broadcasted images were "hidden under annotation, the 'evidence', as it were, being covered up by the graphic screen" (2008: 107). The equivalent of the annotations in the context of CNN's coverage of the Gulf War is the transposition between the live audio and vague diagrams and maps of Baghdad, which construct the graphic screen. For instance, when Holliman put the microphone outside the window so that we could "hear the sounds of the bombs" (1991), a crackling sound was heard for roughly 25 seconds, all while a portrait of Holliman was overlaid on a map of Iraq. His superimposed portrait, whose mugshot was the same scale as Iraq on the map, mismatched the audio narration of crackling sounds of the bombs in the background. This form of representation implies that interpretation, rather than the object itself, is delivered as evidence. CNN's simulated coverage of the Gulf War compensates for its lack of visual evidence and, therefore, acts as a deterrence to the real image of the event via its double (Baudrillard, 1981: 2). Interpretation dominates as real-time presents simulations of all possible futures (May, 2020: 230), collapsing the present and future, and, therefore, not allowing time to reflect on the *evidence* being presented. The consequence of the collapse of time on representation is further expanded on by Virilio as he states, "what happens more and more quickly is perceived less and less" (2005: 118), implying that speed, and in this case *liveness*, regulates access to the evidential object.

The relationship between the simulated and the real was further complicated once the evidential object, in this case the images of the war, were transmitted days after the start of the war. The images of the war visualised Baghdad through the language of pixels and resolution. Veiling the city with a grainy phosphor-green night-vision filter, the images possessed an "eerie, remote control quality" (Finnegan, 1991: 21), making it difficult to distinguish between reality and its simulated representation of the city. Subjected to the spectacle of the simulated, viewers did not witness images of the battlefield, but rather images of the effects of digital technology. This intersection between conflict, technology, and representation has been readily discussed in the lead up to, as well as with direct reference to, the Gulf War through the writings of Virilio and Baudrillard. Virilio in direct reference to the Gulf War states:

we have been living in a theatre of operations, spectators of a theatrical production [mise-en-scène]. We have been living in a complete fiction. Faced with war, we must not only be conscientious objectors but also objectors to the objectivity of its representation. We must not believe our eyes. (2002: 41)

Virilio draws attention to the spectacle of the war and continues to problematise this form of representation by claiming that the electronic war is not neutral (2002: 53). The shift to the *image* of the war has produced what Virilio describes as paradoxical logic. This logic challenges the concept of reality as real-time dominates the thing presented and virtuality prevails over real space (1994: 63). In this case, images replace the real and construct a substitute reality that deranges the logics of perception (Virilio, 1989: 72). Baudrillard, by contrast, theorises simulation as a complete takeover of reality where "the real is no longer possible" (1981, 13). Simulation collapses the relationship between reality and representation as the copy replaces the original, constructing a hyperreality (Baudrillard, 1981: 1). In *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, Baudrillard asks: "how is it that a real war did not generate real images?" (1995: 82) and further argues that the Gulf War was a "simulated war" (1995: 82), one that only took place on the screen. When Baudrillard questions the absence of real images of the war (82), he is also referring to the absence of the Iraqis in the live images of the war, as if they were electrocuted and surrendering to reportage (67-8). The one-sided nature of the conflict, as materialised through the screen, has political effects as it influenced public opinion in support of the war (Baudrillard, 1995: 13).

The theoretical lines of inquiry provoked by CNN's coverage of the Gulf War, specifically the tension between the simulated and the real, are fundamental when exploring the effects of the digital screen in architecture as they counter a techno-deterministic perspective. GSAPP's Paperless Studio is situated in relation to the media coverage of 9/11 and the subsequent World Trade Centre design competition, to recognise the shift in the interplay between the digital and architectural representation in the early 2000s to that of the hyperreal. Baudrillard's theoretical positioning on simulation will be used to unpack the politics of representation implicit in the hyperreal.

Screen conflict 02: Liveness, mediation, and the hyperreal in architecture as seen through the avant-garde of the digital

Experimentation with the digital screen in the early 1990s became an opportunity for the discipline of architecture to redefine its relationship with digital technology. This momentum for experimentation can be attributed to a direct response to technological developments, encouraged by the release of the World Wide Web in 1989, but more importantly, the need to negotiate architecture's relationship to theory and digital technology in a moment of crisis present in the late 1980s and early 1990s. For Bernard Tschumi (2019) this crisis was an "interesting junction" that presented a dichotomy between mainstream architecture and those who were interested in expanding the field. He explains that a certain depth of questioning was taking place in opposition to the mainstream of architecture, which at the time was described as post-modern (Tschumi, 2019). Tschumi was appointed as Dean of GSAPP in 1988, coinciding with the Deconstructivist Exhibition at New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). He felt that it was an appropriate time to question how an engagement with digital

technology would further expand the field. This interest coalesced with the resurgence of media theory, and, architecture's relationship to media, theory, and digital technology became a core concern for GSAPP.

When asked whether the school was engaging with the media spectacle of CNN's live coverage of the Gulf War, Hani Rashid, who was one of the first to teach a Paperless Studio, responded "Yes [. . .] the 24-hour coverage, those crazy nocturnal images, and a lot of stuff that was relatively new to most people but not so new to those of us that were monitoring tech. And so, there was a lot of discussion and theory around it [. . .] we were always theorizing media" (Rashid, 2019). He foregrounded this statement by recounting the day the Gulf War started and remembers having a discussion with a professor stating that the "Gulf War could be the world's first Photoshop war" (Rashid, 2019). The professor questioned what he meant by this, to which Rashid responded, "it wouldn't take much to doctor it [. . .] I mean we've always known about doctoring images historically, but you can doctor an image in five seconds now [. . .] you could Photoshop tanks coming in over the Kuwait border and show it to people and say, look, this is what's happening" (Rashid, 2019). Rashid recalls the professor having a shocked look on his face and probably thought he was "insane to think like that", but to Rashid, who at the time had just started using Photoshop 1.0, there was a recognition of the effects of digital technology, in this case, notions of augmentation and the simulated real, on architectural representation.

GSAPP's speculative Paperless Studios in 1994 was unfolded in real-time with no clear intention on an outcome. Tschumi later explains that one of his main ambitions for GSAPP was to focus on the new, and the young generation of architects who would be able to generate their own language and discourse for the school (2013). Former alumni and the then young professors, Greg Lynn, Hani Rashid, and Scott Marble, volunteered to each teach a Paperless Design Studio. Ironically, they were not computer experts. In fact, Rashid recalls, "n[o]one had computer experience [. . .] I held up a floppy disk and asked the students if they knew what it was" (Cramer & Guiney, 2000: 95). Tschumi established a new teaching model where computer-savvy students, such as Ed Keller and Greg Pasquarelli, became digital assistants for Lynn, Rashid, and Marble (95). As Tschumi (2013) points out, a very experimental group emerged who accepted the fact that they were testing without a plan. It was an experiment to explore the effects of digital technology on architectural representation.

The speculative format of the Paperless Studio was influenced by the spatio-temporal effects of using computers in the studio space. Computer became "a radical reversal of the standard notion of the student's home-base as a manual drafting table in a walled cubicle" (GSAPP, 1993: 29). GSAPP's self-study in 1993 outlines that each of the 33 students received "his or her dedicated workstation (Silicon Graphics' Indy or Apple Computer's Power Macintosh) with the advanced software and network capabilities" (29). Situating computers in studio had spatio-temporal implications. Stan Allen, who renovated the Avery's 700-Level for the Paperless Studios, points out that spaces typically allocated for computer labs in school were neglected basement spaces (GSAPP, 1994: 9), which reflects the anxieties around the new technologies. He juxtaposes this by saying, "to integrate the computers directly in the design studio implies that the computer is not an adjunct resource but an everyday working tool" (9). The inclusion of the computer in studio added a provisional character to the space (9), where the screen

constantly redefine the users' engagement with both the tool and the space in a live format. Adjunct assistant professors, Eden Muir and Rory O'Neil, further elaborate on the embedded relationship of tool and space as they describe the configuration of the Paperless Studio as a series of "hardware clusters" where "SGI (Silicon Graphics Inc) workstations will be networked to Macintoshes on adjacent desks" (11). Files could be transferred through the network in real-time and presented on the screen or via projection, without ever existing on paper. This resulted in two scales of mediation; a physical negotiation between the subject and computer screen amid an intangible network of file transfers.

The mediation between the subject and object, in this instance the digital screen, is a consequence of the paradigm shift from the mechanical to the electronic (Eisenman, 1992: 16). Whereas in mechanical reproduction the subject holds an authoritative role over the object, electronic reproduction reconfigures the subject as reproduction takes place without the need for the subject to control or interpret the object (16). Interpretation is needed only when the architectural object is removed from the virtual and translated into the real. Digital media introduces ambiguity in how and what we see, which counters the long tradition of architecture being dominated by the mechanics of vision (16). As Eisenman explains, "architecture never adequately thought through the problem of vision because it remained within the concept of the subject and the four walls. Architecture [. . .] concretised vision" (18). Architecture, which has traditionally been seen as the home of reality (24), is challenged through the electronic paradigm as the simulated dominates real space. This simulation is infinite as the very nature of digital media derives from "number-based notations, of files, that can move and change all the time" (15). The temporal nature of digital media challenges architecture as there is no pure access to a single object. Access is mediated by inanimate actors, including the digital screen, digital formats, and software. The digital model of the architectural object transforms through the iterations of digital commands and transfer between digital files, which again are inanimate processes, naked to the eye, countering the long tradition of architecture being dominated by the mechanics of vision (16). Therefore, the digital screen curates a series of mediations, from the unseen digital processes to the very simulated nature of the architectural model in virtual space, that challenge the subject's (architect's) access to the object.

As highlighted by Aaron Betksy, Lynn and Rashid defined two poles with their different approaches (2007). Lynn was purely interested in operations within the computer screen, the digital model as a self-referential virtue, whilst Rashid was interested in unpacking mediascapes through the translation between virtual and physical space. If Virilio argues that digital technologies have altered our mode of perception and experience of space (1989: 72), we can argue that Lynn's operations within the computer construct a disembodied engagement, as the architecture remains within the computer and is experienced through simulation, whilst Rashid's attempts to translate the simulated into real space. In other words, there is a splitting of viewpoint and sharing of perception between the inanimate—the object of the screen—and the animate—the architecture in physical space (Virilio, 1994: 59-60) in Rashid's work. Even though Lynn and Rashid define two distinct polarities, both approaches reflect Eisenman's observation regarding a mediated access to the architectural object that challenges reality and notions of the origin. Lynn's architectural objects, which are digitally produced,

undergo a series of formal manipulations and echo Baudrillard's theory that the real is substituted by copies. Rashid's translation of the simulated into real space, via 1:1 screen-based architectural installations, fabricates a state of flux that constantly redefines reality.

Fig. 5 Endriana Audisho (2020). Diagram of installation from Hani Rashid's 1994 Fall Paperless Studio, *Media City: Architecture at the Interval* [Drawing]
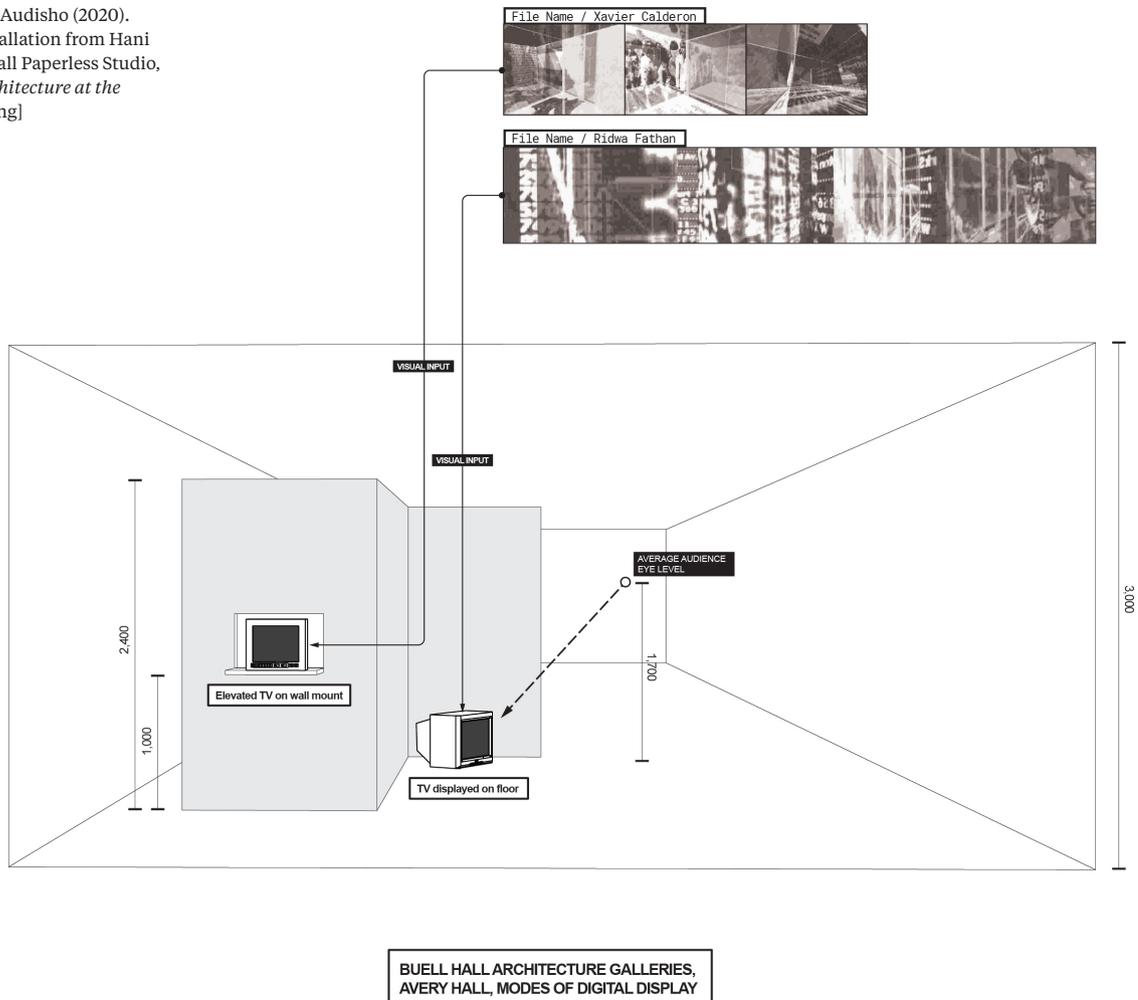
The two modalities of meditation of architecture via the digital screen in Lynn and Rashid's work were evident in their 1994 Fall syllabi. Rashid's studio, titled *Media City: Architecture at the Interval*, used digital technologies and techniques to create a media-urbanism (GSAPP, 1995: 7). The brief highlighted the importance of twentieth-century visual culture to the studio, from performance art to photography, as well as notions of speed, efficiency, control, and delirium (7). These references were materialised in the student work. For instance, Xavier Caideron's "NEW(z)ONE" and Ridwa Fathan's "Demography Dump" projects applied avant-garde techniques of montage and collage to produce "images" of the media city. The studio work was projected through a real-time large-scale installation in Wood Hall in December 1994, translating the virtual into the physical (Fig. 5). The shift from the virtual into the physical presents an altered engagement with liveness. Their translation in the physical demands a

live and embodied engagement by the audience. The audience is no longer passive and fixed to a single perspective as the screen-based installations construct a mediated environment that demands the audience to be both a spectator and a performer.

Fig. 6 Endriana Audisho (2020). Diagram of installation from Hani Rashid's 1995 Spring Studio, *Tokyo Extreme* [Drawing]
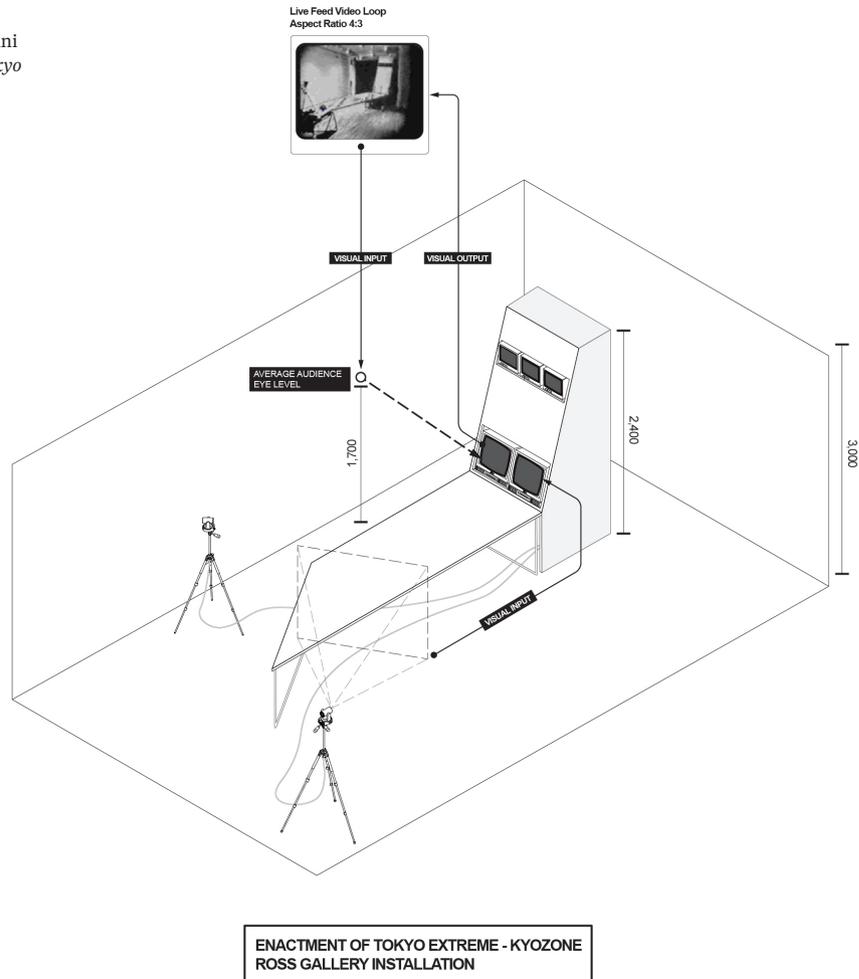
Rashid's Paperless Studio expands on the theoretical lines of inquiry provoked by CNN's coverage of the Gulf War, specifically the spatio-temporal and fragmented media experience generated by the digital screen. When Rashid made remarks on the ability to "doctor an image in five seconds now" (Rashid, 2019) in the context of the Gulf War, he was also questioning the effects of this doctoring on architectural representation. In a 2013 lecture, Rashid's associated rhetoric when describing his screen-based installation works reflects that of the ability to *warp*, *distort*, and *augment* space. Rashid clarifies that he was not interested in the computer as a formal tool, but rather, a tool to unravel phenomenon. This is explicitly seen in his 1995 spring studio, titled *Tokyo Extreme*, which saw an audience crowd around an installation, watching a series of projections, whilst being simultaneously recorded in real-time and displayed on one of the screens in the room (Fig 6). This feedback loop inverts reality as the physical presence of the audience as well as the virtual projections on the screens were doubled, relayed, and simultaneously virtualised in real time and space.
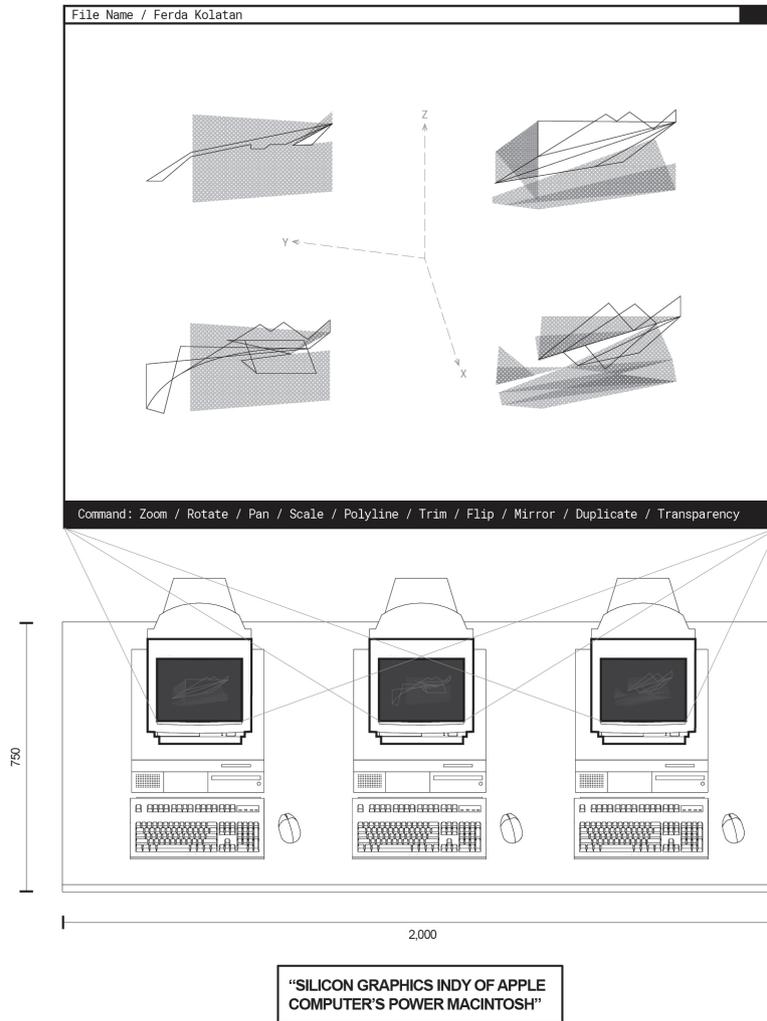
Fig. 7 Endriana Audisho (2020).
Diagram of studio work from Greg
Lynn's 1994 Fall Paperless Studio,
*The Topological Organization of Free
Particles: Parking Garage Studio*
[Drawing]

In contrast, Greg Lynn's studio, titled *The Topological Organization of Free Particles: Parking Garage Studio*, demands a live engagement that remains autonomous from real space. The studio set out an agenda to use "advanced modelling software to generate form in alternative ways that include surface, particle, blob, kinematic and procedural modelling" (GSAPP, 1995: 6). A student project by Ferda Kolatan (Fig. 7) saw images titled "four alternative possibilities for programming during the day and night, phasing over several years" (1995: 6). The key terms here are *alternative possibilities*, which suggest a constant form-finding exercise. These alternatives are a consequence of *liveness*. Similar to CNN's live representations of the real, Lynn's real-time formal explorations also saw the digital screen as a site of simulation and calculation. The simulation of all possible futures in real-time (May, 2020: 230) highlights that our relation to the architectural object is shaped by an interpretation of the object and always mediated by the digital screen. The architectural object, which resides in virtual space, is a projection of an "idea of an indeterminate, unspecifiable future, open-endedness, the pre-eminence of futurity over the present and the past" (Grosz, 2001: 89). The real-time explorations challenge the concept of the origin as the architectural object is under constant transformation and architecture is defined by the temporal nature of digital media. Consequently, the virtual

transposes the architectural object into the temporal (Grosz, 2001: 87) in Lynn's pedagogical project.

Although Rashid and Lynn's pedagogical projects differ, in the sense that Rashid's translates into real space whilst Lynn's operates within the virtual, they both expand the discourse on the simulated as provoked by the theoretical work of Baudrillard. Both studios used the digital screen as a site of deterrence to the real. In Rashid's Paperless Studio, this deterrence occurs as the large-scale screen-based installations rely on the audience's engagement for them to operate. Therefore, without the subject, the digital screen remains passive. A live engagement with the screen-based installations abolishes the distinction between passive and active, and in turn, recognises the shift from the system of the panoptic to a system of deterrence. The installations are conscious of this paradigm shift and act as vehicles to unpack and experience the mediated effects of the digital screen at 1:1 scale. With Lynn's Paperless Studio, the deterrence occurs through the transformation of the digital model, infinite copies of the real without the real. Although the concept of the origin, and the real, is challenged in Lynn's studio work, the process of real-time augmentation of the digital model recognises the indistinguishable relationship between the medium and the message provoked by the digital. Lynn's simulated models also predicate that the digital era witnesses the end of the panoptic system, which is linked with all the classical analyses of the "objective". As the transformation of the digital model occurs through live augmentation, the medium and the message are intangible, diffused, and diffracted, which reflects the mediated effects of the digital screen.

According to Lynn the Paperless Studio pedagogical project revolutionised the way designers engaged with the digital screen, which, in turn, also influenced their form of practice (Lynn, 2003: 24-5). Many of the young teachers who were engaged with the rise of digital technology translated these skills and techniques of representation into their experimental practices. Suddenly, a group of digital screen-based avant-garde architects, which includes Lynn and Rashid, among others, emerged. Preceding the discourse on the role of the computer relative to optimisation and efficiency, the Paperless Studio marked a significant period in architectural history. Inevitably, with many avant-garde projects, this reality was short lived. Lynn explains that the three original tracks of fabrication, form, and media began to homogenise as the Paperless Studios became mainstream within five years. In the same line of commentary, Tschumi discusses the homogenous effect on the work in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and exclaims that commercial offices in New York got equipped with the same facilities as the school. As they picked up the software, the computer was being used purely as a representation tool, as opposed to his advocacy for the computer to be used as a tool for thinking.

Transformation of digital screen from a tool for thinking about the effects of the digital screen on architectural representation to a tool for pure representation, is epitomised through the media spectacle of 9/11. The media coverage of 9/11 and the ensuing invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan was extensively covered from military reports to leaked images that were initially hidden from the public, such as the execution of Saddam Hussein (Fallon, 2019: 2-3). The coverage, like that of the Gulf War, was relayed in real-time across the television screens of a global audience, but the difference here was the scale of the qualitative aspects attached to the reportage. In the case of 9/11, qualities ranging from sense of loss, public

display of collective emotion, ensuing context of war, mass media, and scientific and technological advancement occurred "at the same time, in real time, on a world scale" (Kowal, 3012: 30). Consequently, Baudrillard dubbed 9/11 as an image-event and the first "symbolic event on a world scale" (2002: 27). Dissimilar to the Gulf War, which saw the absence of real images Baudrillard (1995:82) claims that the proliferation of images from 9/11 consumed the event, absorbed it, and offered it for consumption (2002: 27). The event was reduced to a repetition of a few images looped in motion (Kowal, 2012: 30), the image of the twin towers on fire being the most notable. The images replaced reality by simulacra, mere signs or representations (Baudrillard, 1981: 2), whilst the "fascination with the attack is primarily a fascination with the image" (Baudrillard, 2002: 26-27).

Post 9/11, the proposals for the 2002 competition to design the new World Trade Centre extended this fascination with the image-event. As critically observed by architectural writer, editor, and critic, Cynthia Davidson, "immediately the image is what everyone was talking about. What is the image of the project? What does it look like on the skyline?" (2019). To contextualise Davidson's comment in regard to the fetishising of the image, we have to understand that unlike other competitions in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the outcome for this competition was not internal to the field but was one that was heavily reported on and subject to an external and public review.

The WTC competition guidelines stated that the Lower Manhattan Development Corporation (LMDC) was committed to a transparent planning process in which the public would play a central role in shaping the future of lower Manhattan (LMDC, 2003: 2). After the widespread public dissatisfaction with the six initial concept plans by Beyer Blinder Belle in July 2002, LMDC engaged with a broader network of actors ranging from advisory councils to public hearings and meetings with public officials (Young, 2014). Nine advisory councils representing groups affected by the attacks were established to regularly consult with LMDC (LMDC, 2003: 2). Engagement with the public began in February 2002 through LMDC's "Listening to the City" forum (Young, 2014), which subsequently provoked a global design competition with revised design requirements, notably the restoration of a tall, powerful, and *symbolic skyline* (Young, 2014). On 26 September 2002, the LMDC selected six finalists from the global pool whose competition proposals were released for public review at the Winter Garden in the World Financial Centre. Although the LMDC aimed for a transparent and public planning process, the process was politically contested. After the public review at the Winter Garden, LMDC denied full accountability of meeting public opinions, stating that to satisfy everyone would be impossible and that the final decision would be made by LMDC and the Port Authority, who owned the WTC site (Young, 2014). To complicate matters more, the planning process coincided with gubernatorial election that saw New York Governor George E. Pataki, who controlled the WTC site, criticised for his neutral politics in a bid to be re-elected (Sagalyn, 2005: 33-24). The political fragmentation between the multiple stakeholders, including LMDC, the Port Authority, and the lack of direction from the governor, substituted the portrayed *publicness* of the planning process with endless posturing, symbolic rhetoric, and a political narrative (Sagalyn, 2005: 63).

The competition was a media spectacle as it became the focal point of worldwide coverage and "architectural interests were thrust into the spotlight of an unprecedented level of popular attention" (Sagalyn, 2005: 25). Architecture

was now operating in a new communication paradigm, obsessed with the image-event and that this global public attention played a significant role in the outcome (Lynn, 2019). For instance, Lynn explains that CNN had a live voting on the presentation of the finalist's schemes (Lynn, 2019). Therefore, the *image* of both the architects and their proposals was of importance. Aware of the role that mass media would play in the outcome of the competition, Lynn explains that he intentionally asked filmmaker Tom Jennings to film United Architects,1 who were one of the six finalists, during their design process for the competition, to construct "a centre of gravity as having a camera around would make us feel like a band, like a team" (Lynn, 2019). Lynn recalls, the day they arrived for the competition briefing, "Tom had the camera on in the cab and it was the day that Bush announced he was starting the second Gulf War. And so, he starts to film with the radio of Bush in the background" (Lynn, 2019). This live documentation of the design process is reflective of the media spectacle that is substituting the architectural object itself. The intention of the film, *Architects: A Story of Loss, Memory and Real Estate*, was to profile the winning team, but United Architects, who represented the digital avant-garde, did not end up winning the competition and the film is currently unavailable for public viewing. It existed in a specific moment, in real-time within the media spectacle of the competition, which itself exemplifies that the condition of live reporting and documenting during an event is instrumental in curating and shaping realities.

United Architects' proposal comprised five towers that conjoined at different heights and all visualisation associated with the project presents an external view of the tower. The focus on images of the exterior, which highlights the diagonal structural brace, is a response to both the revised design requirements that advocated for a tall, powerful, and symbolic skyline, as well as the discourse on safety in the wake of 9/11. At a time when citizens of New York City were seeking "stability, certainty, and tradition" (Jennings, 2016), the computer-generated renders of the tower reassured this through the technical aesthetic that was foregrounded in the renders. In response to public concerns of tall buildings in the wake of 9/11, the diagonally braced exterior skin is apparent in the renders and its structural strength, to resist tremendous force, is highlighted. These simulated images were conscious of the role that images can play in shaping public opinion in the context of CNN's live voting as well as in the aftershock of an event, that being 9/11.

What is concerning about the simulated images produced by United Architects for the competition is that they echo Baudrillard's theory that reality disappears in hyperreality. To be specific, the political reality of the event itself and the politics of its representation are not visible in the images. According to Reinhold Martin, the competition generated a specific assemblage of aesthetics and politics (2004: 217) where architects were being asked to project a (neo-)modern design on the site that symbolises cultural and economic imperialism, in the process, dismissing the historico-political aspect of the event (218). Martin criticises the proposals by claiming that the rhetoric of the rebuilding was "dedicated to producing striking images of the future" (218-19) whilst foreclosing "any real public debate regarding the historical dimensions of the event itself" (218). The images produced by United Architects depoliticised the event as the "progressive" aesthetics is associated with discourse on technological innovation (219) and responds to the rhetoric of the competition design guideline to restore a tall,

powerful, and symbolic skyline. Aesthetics becomes a form of politics itself as it acts as a filter that deters the reality of the event. As opposed to the passive nature of the audience in CNN's coverage of the Gulf War, the competition was an opportunity for architecture to publicly engage itself and a broader audience with politics. It is evident that the renders produced by United Architects fall into the "matter of fact" category, presenting a sanitised solution that is blind to the violence of the event. The render of the skyline sees the proposed twisted, asymmetrical towers reflect the composition of the Statue of Liberty, which is also featured in the render. The inclusion of the Statue of Liberty, an icon of freedom, symbolises a liberation from the reality of the event, as once again, reality is being replaced by mere representation, symbols of the real (Baudrillard, 1981: 2). Furthermore, the renders always show the towers from the exterior and at a distance, with no relation to the ground, which we know is contested because of the physical void left in the ground after the attacks. The one render that gives a zoomed-in detail is a view from the memorial looking up, which frames the tower receding into the sky, emblematic of a future vision and a hyperreality devoid of a political reality. United Architects' competition proposal can, therefore, be criticised for reducing architecture to a series of techno-formal concerns that do not address the realities of the event of 9/11.

Conclusion

In order to explore the interplay between the digital screen and architectural representation relative to a broader media and theoretical context of the early 1990s-early 2000s, this paper situated the Paperless Studio in relation to the media spectacle of two events: (1) Cable News Network's (CNN) 24-hour live coverage of the Gulf War in 1991; and (2) the 2002 competition to design the new World Trade Centre (WTC) post the image-event of 9/11. The two events were used to demonstrate the shift in the interplay between the digital screen and its effects on architectural representation from a speculative and intellectual engagement with the effects of the digital screen in the early 1990s, to that of pure representation in the early 2000s.

CNN's fragmented medium and message of the Gulf War problematised the political implications of liveness, mediation, and the simulated real, and became the theoretical background to the Paperless Studio. Whereas the lack of resolution in CNN's reporting of the Gulf War produced a scattered representation of the conflict, the lack of resolution in the GSAPP's early explorations with the digital screen were productive as they were speculating on architecture's relationship with digital media and engaged with its associated theory. United Architects' proposal, which represented the digital avant-garde, surrendered the speculative and theoretical project of the Paperless Studio in favour of a "progressive architecture" that became a pure representation, with no regard to the history, politics, or the reality of the event itself.

ENDNOTES

1 United Architects was a collaboration between Alejandro Zaera-Polo and Farshid Moussavi of Foreign Office Architects, Greg Lynn of Greg Lynn FORM, Kevin Kennon of Kevin Kennon Architects, Jesse Reiser and Nanako Umemoto of Reiser + Umemoto Architects, and Ben van Berkel of UNStudio.

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GERARD REINMUTH & ANDREW BENJAMIN

Autonomy-within-relationality: An alternative for architecture after the Global Financial Crisis

The 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and its aftermath triggered an upheaval within architecture that was strangely reminiscent of that which accompanied the Great Depression (Pai, 2002: 83). On both occasions, the discipline and profession reflected on their connection to each other, their boundaries and finally their relations to an insistent logic of capital. This logic, to use David Harvey's formulation, "seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market" (2005: 3). This logic similarly aligns with what Manfredo Tafuri believed situated the emergence of modern architecture. Yet for those unconcerned by Tafuri's (1976) warning that to build at all is to accept this logic, the decade since the GFC has seen architects reveling in their deployment of an unprecedented flow of money—resulting in new projects of a scale and complexity that could only have been dreamt of in the decades prior. Simultaneously, those aligned with Tafuri's view have articulated an anxiety about architecture's association with capital and in particular the somewhat paradoxical loss of agency that has come with this increase in activity.[1]

As we will outline, the events of 2007-8 triggered a renewed focus on autonomy and its presence within architecture. Despite this, the modalities of autonomy proposed thus far have been inadequate to the task in our view. In approaching the question of autonomy anew, we start with an assertion that those material and formal skills specific to architecture might be understood as fundamentally relational in nature. By this we mean that any singularity—e.g. a building—is the *after-effect* of a network of relations. This position stands counter to one that views architecture as a discipline defined by the objects (buildings) that it produces. Rather, relationality may be understood, not as an exception, but as that which gives rise to the material forms manifesting building. In rethinking this manifestation, we propose an interconnection between *autonomy* and *relationality*—what will be identified henceforth as *autonomy within relationality*—and explore in what follows how this might be forged (Reinmuth, 2017).

Our claim then is not that the question of autonomy should be dismissed, rather that the framing of autonomy thus far has been inadequate precisely because it has either ignored or actively refused relationality as such. Emphasising the centrality of relationality instead makes it possible to move from the identification of architecture with form and form-creation. As will emerge from our ensuing

engagement with a number of recent architectural positions and projects, what has to be undone is the identification of autonomy with questions of disciplinary separation and indifference. What will be demonstrated is that the capacity to think autonomy beyond these questions creates openings for a richer understanding of autonomy's potential.

The intersection between autonomy, relationality, and built objects will be explored, in the first instance, through a single exemplar, the Austrian practice Coop Himmelb(l)au. Specifically, three of their projects from differing time periods will be examined—projects that span from the late 1960s to the present. In this sense, the trajectory we trace includes the start of the neoliberal era (itself marked by the election of Reagan and Thatcher in the early 1980s) and the GFC as the first major test of neoliberalism. Their work, it should be noted, corresponds with the evolution of any number of architects from 1969-2009, but the shifting nature of Coop Himmelb(l)au at each of these key points offers an instructive case study.

Starting in the 1960s, Coop Himmelb(l)au completed *Restless Architecture* (or *Restless Spheres* (see Fig. 1), a polemical work that came to define a particular form of experimental practice. *Restless Architecture* (*Restless Sphere*) records the practice founders walking through Vienna in a 4m diameter sphere—a performance work exploring the possibilities of pneumatic construction as a window into the evolution of the city, specifically with regard to the impacts of evolving forms of mobility and enclosure on social organisation and interaction. Significant in this project is a polemical quality that questions what counts as architecture.

Fig. 1 (1971). Coop Himmelb(l)au's Restless Sphere [Photograph]

By positing architecture as a type of mobile intervention into the city, Coop Himmelb(l)au claim a place for experiential or phenomenological experimentation, one where architecture opens onto forms of life predicated by insistent movement and a certain remove from the built. So, while the identification of this project appears in the first instance to be the sphere as object, what was at stake conceptually was the question of experimentation linked to movement

within the city. The important point is that the identification of architecture with the object—understood as built form—was no longer central.

If *Restless Architecture* problematised architecture's identification (perhaps self-identification) with the object, noteworthy is how this ambivalence vanishes as Coop Himmelb(l)au's mode of practice came to favour, over time, more conventional models of architecture where the object is taken as the defining point both in terms of the disciplinary project and as that which underpins the financial logic of the practice itself. Falkestrasse Rooftop Remodelling 1983-7 is in many ways a built manifestation, from the confines of conventional practice, of ideas developed in the decade prior but where architecture is now equated with a completed building (see Fig. 2). Sited within the roofscape of an existing building, the project is an *addition to* but nevertheless not *determined by* the organisational logic of the host building. Following the logic of a parasite, the relationship between the original and the addition is one of tension. The complexity of this relation is revealed in the drawings particularly, where despite this tension, the sense of disconnection from the existing is in fact quite minor with the formal logic of the existing building being integral to the new. The important point here is that the separation between the original building and the additions, while appearing radical, are instead predominantly superficial. As such the question of relation and/or non-relation depends—to some extent at least—upon the modes of representation by which the project is experienced (whether in technical drawings, periodicals, or photographs, etc.). So for example, we can compare exterior photographs (where a non-relatedness appears greatest) with drawn elevations and sections (where the dissonance is vastly reduced). Reading across these projects, it is apparent how *Restless Architecture* allowed for an opening beyond a normative understanding of the architectural object, while decades later such object-making assumes centre place.

Fig.2 Coop Himmelb(l)au's Falkestrasse Rooftop Remodelling, Vienna, Austria [Photograph]

Fig. 3 Eugen Gritschneder (2020). Coop Himmelb(l)au's BMW Welt, Munich, Germany [Photograph]

This return to the architectural object is not to suggest a diminished work—in fact the project received a largely positive reception due particularly to its eschewing of a then prevalent, architectural postmodernism. Here was a project that refused the reuse of historical styles and ornamentation, pursuing innovation instead via a stylistic decontextualisation.[2] Anticipating the emergence of deconstruction in the late 1980s, Vidler noted that the addition provides a space for including "a population estranged from their once comfortable houses and seeking shelter beneath less historically determined roofs" (2003: 188). Thus, the incorporation of this project into a new canon named "deconstruction" signalled a transformation in what counted as an architectural object. With the subsequent increase in digital design concepts and tools from this time, what came to predominate was form-creation itself. Hence, deconstruction in architecture, and this project's contribution to it, was instrumental in securing architecture's identification with the object. The object may do different work, but it is still an object. This equating of architecture and the object paralleled the financial consequences of Coop Himmelb(l)au's evolution into a mature commercial practice, a practice capable of producing the BMW Welt building, itself designed immediately prior to the onset of the GFC (see Fig. 3).

If we consider *Restless Sphere* and other related examples of Coop Himmelb(l)au's earlier work in the context of the Paris Spring of 1969 and the questioning of power structures in its aftermath, the BMW project revealed that in the intervening two decades a significant shift had taken place. BMW Welt appears to have been unapologetically designed as a shrine to consumption, utilising an extraordinary formal repertoire that was demonstrated through the use of representational techniques only recently enabled by the new computation technologies. This was a project about selling cars—a paradoxical shift given the importance of *Restless Sphere* in Coop Himmelb(l)au's earlier work, but one, as Slavoj Žižek has suggested, that is consistent with the defusing of the legacy of '68 and its critique of alienated consumption more generally. In this regard, Žižek writes:

> […] we thus primarily buy commodities neither on account of their utility nor as status symbols; we buy them to get the experience provided by them, we consume them in order to make our life pleasurable and meaningful. (2014)

Consistently, BMW Welt is a pinnacle in experiential capitalism, marketed equally to architects—who eagerly consumed Himmelb(l)au's spectacular images—and the clients of BMW, who could now partake in a highly choreographed process of receiving their new vehicle.

Given this evolution of work by Coop Himmelb(l)au, a series of questions stands out: what is at work in the evolution of these projects; what can we learn from the juxtaposition of these images; and does this comparison help us understand what happened, more broadly, to architecture in these four decades? The conjecture here is that the differences between *Restless Sphere*, Rooftop Remodelling Falkestrasse, and BMW Welt—and thus a set of related images separated by 35 years—stages the crisis in architecture today, and the turn to autonomy in response to it.

The first part of the argument involves the claim that those strategies have a necessary and strategic *indifference* to the political and ethical concerns that now predominate. Indifference, however, is always a possible stance within architecture. It is not as though an architecture of indifference fails to be architecture. Here, the significance of indifference resides in what it brings with it. Indifference is contemporaneous with both the continual identification, firstly, of architecture with the object—architecture becomes the building—and, secondly, with the location of innovation within a building's appearance and material use. Yet Coop Himmelb(l)au's early work pointed in another direction—one in which design, material possibility, and movement were conjoined with the operational concerns of city thereby creating a network of possible activities which, while allowing for building, did not conflate architecture with built form. However, that project was systematically abandoned in favour of a radical sophistication in the architectural object itself, a sophistication that depended on being fully complicit with and deferential to the multi-dimensionality of the logic of capital that generated not only the means of doing the project but—just as significantly—the terms by which it could exist.

Autonomy and the discipline

It is of no surprise, particularly given a similar response in architecture to the Great Depression, that, as the GFC unfolded, a number of books, articles, and projects emerged in a burst of reflection and critique both uncoordinated yet in total synchrony in the few months of the northern autumn in 2008. Key amongst these were: Till and Schneider's guest edited issue of *field*, Alejandro Zaera-Polo's "Politics of the Envelope", Patrik Schumacher's lecture at the Venice Biennale on "Parametricism", and the publication of Pier Vittorio Aureli's "The Project of Autonomy." These documents attempted to stage possibilities that maintained architecture, but which refused to define it within a framework that was politically and economically "legitimated" by the network of relations that both sanctioned and occasioned the financial crisis. While these positions have important differences, the claim here is when considered as a group they staked out a constellation of positions that dominated the subsequent ten years of discourse

regarding the potential for autonomy in architecture and, specifically, the forms of autonomy that might best respond to conditions now.

To address these different conceptions of autonomy emerging post-2008, it is worth returning to Peter Eisenman's writings that, from 1970s, have been essential references in any subsequent discussion. For Eisenman, autonomy "must be understood as a singularity that for its preservation requires it to be cut off from its previous modes of legitimation" (1997: 74). Two questions arise directly from the language of Eisenman's formulation. Firstly, what does this "cut" entail? Secondly, how is the term "modes of legitimation" to be understood? That is, what are the values to be defended and on what basis can we describe them? Answering these questions is predicated upon the recognition that "previous modes of legitimation" become the framework provided as much by the conventions of program or impact on the planet as they are by the logic of capital. Yet there was a certain reluctance on Eisenman's part to pursue the consequences of his own position.[3] As suggested, another mode of legitimation cannot just invoke a different ground; there needs to be another logic at work. What this entails is that the "cut", to use Eisenman's term, has to be more than mere separation, and instead could be reframed as a productive opening that brings with it the need to think the primacy of relationality. The consequence is clear; relation itself needs to be rethought.

The question of "the cut" is also central to the work of Pier Vittorio Aureli, whose effort to reassert autonomy as a critical concern for the discipline provides the clearest means of linking Eisenman to recent work in this area. Aureli's thesis, published as *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism*, offers a manifesto that successfully established autonomy as the lens through which much critical thinking around the discipline in the last decade has been refracted. Underpinning Aureli's project is a history of autonomy found in the work of political thinkers (Mario Tronti and Raniero Panzieri) and architectural practitioners (Aldo Rossi and Archizoom).

Aureli's numerous writings and lectures on the subject provide an abundant number of registers via which one can engage with his position—the eschewal of conventional of practice, the move toward formal starkness—we wish to focus on how his approach works in both projective and critical modes as relates to design. A key example can be found in the essay "Toward the Archipelago" where he identifies Mies' 1974 Federal Centre in Chicago as an island in the urban field, and as such, an exemplar of an "absolute architecture" (Aureli, 2008). Writing of Mies' urban interventions Aureli claims that they:

> [...] constitute one of the highest examples of absolute architecture, for they make clear its separateness, provoking the agonistic experience of the city. The city made of agonistic parts is the archipelago. (2008: 42)

The agonistic, of course, is linked to judgment. Drawing on Hannah Arendt, Aureli argues that judgment is itself predicated on the presence of what he terms an "agonistic plurality" (42). While the possibility of the agonistic is not in dispute, the question that has to be brought to bear on the description is the quality of the elements within it. Of what is the agonistic comprised? It should be noted that the claim made by Aureli pertains to an "agonistic experience" (42). At play here is an aesthetic rather that an ontological state of affairs. The difficulty here is twofold: in the first instance, it concerns the status of this sense of plurality;
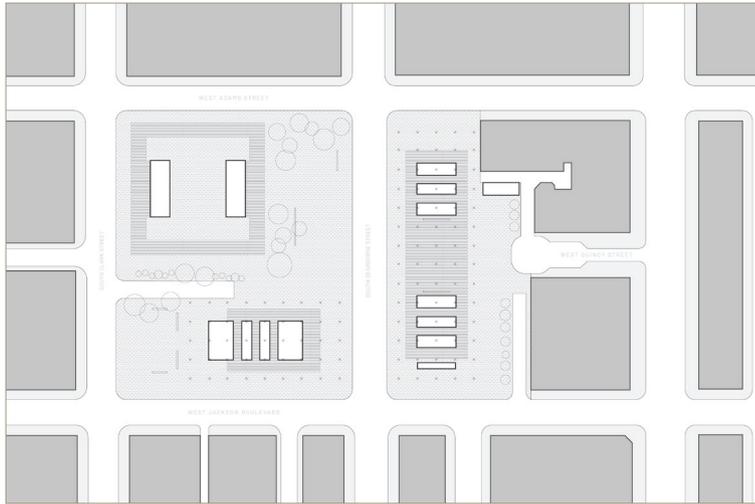
Fig. 4 Gerard Reinmuth (2020). Federal Centre, Chicago (1959) [Diagram redrawn after plan by Mies van der Rohe]

Fig. 5: Desley Luscombe. Federal Centre, Chicago [Photograph

and on the other, it calls into question why Mies' Federal Centre in Chicago is an instance of this plurality.

It is clear, though only on the level of the plan, that it is possible to make such a claim, where levels of separation are staged. In the drawings of the plan (see Fig. 4), the Federal Centre is indeed radically separate from the city around it. What is less clear is that the same claim can be made in regard to other images of the Federal Centre. While the plan works to hold the centre apart from other elements within the city, the relation is undone when Mies' clear understanding of the role of reflection is considered (see Fig. 5). In images of reflection, what is significant is not the literal reflection. Rather, significance lies in reflection show-ing ways in which buildings are implicated in each other in any experience of the urban fabric, underscoring the way buildings are *a part* of each other. As such Aureli failed to think the original necessity of both separation and connection. For him the island is simply separate. The broader relational context therefore remains unthought. This is an occlusion that is also made by Jeremy Till and Tatiana Schneider in their work on "other ways of doing architecture"; a position first articulated in their curation of an issue of *field*, again published in late 2008 and later extended to *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (2010) with Nishat Awan.

Given the impact of the GFC on the profession, with massive job losses and the disappearance or merging of numerous practices, it is not surprising that one way of asserting autonomy was to insist on the profession's capacity—perhaps even obligation—to rethink its own strategies. In the wake of Aaron Betsky's 2008 Venice Biennale, "Beyond Building," the last iteration of the event to overt-ly focus on formal exploration, Till and Schneider argued for a position that, while drawing on what Betsky described as "the febrile architectural intelligence that defines the profession", makes a radical move away from the identification of architecture with the object—what Till calls the *product*—by insisting instead that architecture focus on process:

> The architect(ure) of process is a role of active engagement and active directing; it is about taking a lead yet at the same time relinquishing control. It is about having an imaginative vision but executing it in the name of others. (Till, 2010: 170)

Our attention is then drawn to a range of practitioners framed as presenting a challenge to the paradigm of form and which assert the importance of creating "pleasant spaces for all", with a focus on those excluded by mainstream architectural culture. While such a position creates locales and objects of interest and humanity, it leaves unanalysed the setting that generated architecture's predicament in the first place, namely, the economic-political setting with which architecture is axiomatically in relation. While it is clear that Till is aware of the presence of this setting, given his significant commentary on these conditions, a problem endures, one characterised by Aureli and others as "enthusiastically occupying the fringes of reality so as to make it more liveable" (Chabard, 2018: 45), thereby missing a more comprehensive, reformist opportunity.

Once analysed in detail, it then becomes clear that relation does not allow for a clear distinction to be drawn between "product" and "process". Focusing on agency as opposed to autonomy, Till and Schneider suggest agency can be exerted through the development of innovative processes. Yet this is far from satisfactory. Autonomy as an intended differentiation merely thought in terms of products—as though it existed in simple opposition to process—still sustains a position in which relationality remains unthought. Aureli is right to argue that what an all too quick reference to sustainability enables, and thus sustains, the very system that perpetuates not only *disequilibria* of power but that impetus for extinction that motivates the system itself. As Aureli puts it:

> The activist and participatory practices that are so popular today are the latest iteration of a reformist syndrome whose pathology is to *preserve* social and political conditions as they are. For example, much of the design rhetoric on sustainability is based on the dilemma between survival or extinction. (2013: 67; emphasis in original)

Autonomy and the profession

Both Aureli and Till and Schneider address the question of autonomy by repositioning the object. It is important to note that this occurs in different ways; through separation in the case of Aureli, and by supplanting it within process in the case of Till and Schneider. During the same period, Patrik Schumacher and Zaera-Polo claimed that buildings were a product of the market, whereas for architecture the locus was, or ought to be, on autonomy. At the Dark Side Club of the 2008 Venice Biennale, Schumacher presented his argument for "parametricism", a position subsequently articulated in a series of lectures, articles, and books. His claim for parametricism was that it enabled design to be determined by a singular organisational logic that efficiently coordinated inherent variants thereby producing a "seamless fluidity" between all the elements. The argument is that the outcome is similar to the operative presence of a natural system and as such cannot be doubted. Yet naturalised here is the logic of capital. Of course, this analogy starts to fracture when one considers that in parametricism all particulars are defined by relations of sameness in that they are organised by, and are responsive to, a primary parametric system affirming a disequilibrium of

power. In sum, this affirmation defines a conception of autonomy inherent in parametricism. As a result, there is a systematic indifference to an insistent *now* or in fact to any externality outside a system established to optimise the flows of capital. In Schumacher's words:

> Parametricism holds out the possibility of a free market urbanism that produces an emergent order and local identity in a bottom up process, i.e. without relying on political or bureaucratic power. (2009: 42)

Thus parametricism is equated with the idea of an increased flow of money predicated upon both the diminution of national control and the incorporation of essential elements of monetary policy within a setting that undoes the possibility of the political (in the precise sense that politics is defined in terms of contestable decisions). This attempted severance of the link between the political and the economic denies the fact that financial networks form an integral part of any real political configuration. Nor, moreover, are forms of deregulation and apparent modes of separation evidence of the *post-political*. On the contrary, they are the political undoing of the politics of contestability, a politics undertaken in the name of *deregulation*.

Schumacher's position is therefore the expression of a particular conception or modality of autonomy, where autonomy takes the form of deregulation. Deregulation is constrained to resist the possibility of re-regulation because, as noted above, it is based on those political acts that stage a severance of the political and the economic. What this means, of course, is the elimination, in fact disavowal, that any architectural setting—the city or site in its narrowest sense— of its already incorporating disequilibria of power (both economic and political) as well as its location within a *now* defined by the in-eliminability of the climate crisis and the complex set of interrelated challenges to the neo-liberal project. If there was any doubt in this reading, we can consider this even more explicit account by Schumacher:

Within the given legal and political constraints, the market regulates the programmatic allocation of land resources to the effectively demanded social uses, as anticipated by entrepreneurs. Architects interpret these contents spatially and formally via spatial organisation and formal articulation to allow the flourishing of those specific social life-processes that the client or hosting institution would like to host, and to simultaneously safeguard the interests of all those stakeholders the client has instructed him to consider. Any further self-appointment of the architect as "guardian of the public interest" would be delusional, arbitrary and simply unprofessional. (2015: 23)

There is an implicit political position within this overall description. The refusal of responsibility becomes coterminous with the promulgation of a certain view of professionalism and thus architecture as a practice. The bizarre conclusion is that professional responsibility is denied in the name of a conception of professionalism in which the latter has as its only form of regulation, and thus sense of propriety, in that which is orchestrated and directed by the market—where the market is increasingly deregulated. This position invokes what can be best described as an untenable either/or. Either, there is complete freedom, or, there is complete control. Thus, the unconstrained forces of the market are opposed to the complete instrumentalisation of architecture (where the latter would then be taken as working against the operative presence of the market).

This is why Schumacher also makes the extraordinary claim in relation to the violation of any social norm that it amounts to the abdication of one's social role as a professional. Professionalism is lifted outside the area of engagement, and thus it might be argued, responsibility. From within this frame of reference the architect is only responsible to the profession. The correlate is of course that the profession does not have any responsibility other than the promulgation of the profession's own continuity.[4] Hence the logic of the market not only informs form, which is here described as "spatial organization", but equally the very framing of the professional formations through which those spatial organisations are proposed and deployed.

In outline, parametricism has two defining aspects. Firstly, it only allows for differentiation on the level of appearance, in that differentiation only occurs within a field that maintains the presence of an overall organisational logic. Form may change but what informs it remains the same, such that difference is only registered as "variety". The second aspect is that within this logic—within its operative force—correlation necessitates, sustains, and polices the privatisation of urban space in the sense that any distinction between public and private—no matter how tenuous such distinctions might be—vanishes through their integration in projects organised by the predominating hold of the market. Resistance to the logic of capital is unthinkable—to think otherwise is to be labelled as "unprofessional".

Seoul's Dongdaemun Design Plaza (DDP) by Zaha Hadid Architects (2009-11) can be located within this setting since it offers a built correlate to Schumacher's conception of autonomy staged by the neoliberal economic project. The distinguishing feature of the DDP is the way in which it is anchored to its site and context only through an abstract system of free-flowing and continuous circulation which, beyond linking up selected entrance and exit points to and from the site, lacks connection to forms of circulation and organising structures of the city itself. This system of continuous circulation dominates the project, given its role in providing an overall organisational logic that can only be differentiated at the level of external appearance. Yet when continuing inside, the transition of this circulation system into an exhibition space offers little acknowledgement of the latter, for it both maintains a necessity to exhibit whilst making exhibition no longer a locus of architectural engagement. In fact, exhibiting in the warped floor and walls of the ramp nominated as exhibition space is nearly impossible (see Fig. 6). The dominance of the formal and spatial logics of the circulation are such that at no point does the nature of the exhibition, or of the body's relation to art, become a concern. The volumetric diagram retains its hegemony and as a result, programmatic concerns remain under-addressed. In other words, at the DPP the autonomy of form yields programmatic repetition of the most conventional kind. Function does not follow form; it is rather that they have an indifferent relation. As a result, what is again maintained is the identification of the architectural with the object; this time in its radical separation from programmatic concerns. At this point a real question arises. It concerns the possibility of another version of autonomy—one guided neither by separation nor indifference.

The possibility of such a conception of autonomy exists in Alejandro Zaera-Polo's "The Politics of the Envelope", first published a few weeks after Schumacher's presentation in Venice in 2008. Zaera-Polo's thesis was that the profession's loss of domain and subsequent loss of agency can be resisted by focusing on the

Fig. 6 Gerard Reinmuth. Dongdaemun Design Plaza, interior exhibition space. Seoul, South Korea [Photograph]

envelope of a building—the only part he contends, that remains firmly in the architect's control. The claim is straightforward. He argues that as the "building envelope is the border, the frontier, the edge, the enclosure, and the joint: it is inevitably loaded with political content" (2008: 195). This gives rise to what he goes on to describe as a "whole new politics of faciality" (199). Importantly, what is occurring here still maintains the identity architecture with the object, albeit one resisting, or diverting, the forces of capital by working exclusively on the envelope.

Zaera-Polo/FOA's Ravensborne College (see Fig. 7) was designed concurrent with his development of "The Politics of the Envelope" and was completed in 2010. The project emerged from the relocation of Ravensborne College to Greenwich, London, an urban regeneration focused on co-location of businesses and organisations that might be identified with the "knowledge economy". In line with the increasing deregulation of the education sector, the college anticipated that the Greenwich campus could make concrete its desires for students to occupy a "learning landscape" that fused technology, space, and time—thought to narrow the gap between education and industry. FOA's brief was to provide a new form of education building that could enable what have become known in the modern university as "blended learning" strategies. The proposition—prescient given the current COVID-generated transfer to online teaching—questioned how the campus might be used when many classes would be delivering "on call" in the service of education for students working part time. It followed that the building would have a predominance of flexible learning spaces that privilege constant movement.

This questioning of the campus model in light of new forms of content delivery led to a building interior consisting of a complex circulation system juxtaposed with the learning spaces themselves. Given an overall logic which privileges flexibility and indifference to specific forms of use, these learning spaces contain few discrete areas or moments of programmatic specificity. We contend here that a so-called deregulated space is the creation of anonymity rather than a space that, while inflected by programmatic concerns, is not determined by them.

Fig. 7 Michael Holt (2010). Ravensborne College, London, UK [Photograph]

In Ravensborne College the exterior envelope is formed from thousands of small tiles that, in their arrangement, create windows at seemingly random locations dependent on the overall logic of the tile pattern, and thus indifferent to the interior use. Despite this indifference, Zaera-Polo argues for a correlation between the tiles in the way they represent his understanding of a society—one in which "the articulation between individual and society, part and whole, is drawn by influences and attachments across positions, agencies and scales that transcend both the individuality of the part and the integrity of the whole" (2008: 202). For Zaera-Polo, the outcome is a form of contemporary political expression, affected through "emerging envelope geometries" exploring "modular differentiation as a political effect and developing alternative forms of tessellation capable of addressing emerging political forms" (Zaera-Polo, 2009: 23). And yet, what is not clear in the disjunction between the logics of this highly differentiated exterior—its organisation appears to be lacking any dependency on the interior organisation—is what Zaera-Polo is claiming in terms of the autonomy of the political subject. He writes more generally about the "politics of the envelope" as follows:

[the] current proliferation of alternative political practices, such as trends, movements, and other affect-driven political forms, runs parallel to the development of envelopes that resist primitive models of faciality, that are no longer structured on the oppositions between front and back, private and public, or roof and wall. Once cornices, corners, and windows are no longer technically necessary, and the private and public are tangled in an increasingly complex relationship, the hierarchies of interface become more complex: the envelope has become a field where identity, security, and environmental performances intersect. (2008: 199)

While what is occurring in the development of a politics of the envelope is initially promising in terms of an autonomy based on something other than separation and indifference, it nevertheless fails. Not only does such a conception of the political still involve maintaining the identity of the architecture with the object, since it is premised on a reconfiguration of the object as the site of the political. More significantly, the radical indifference to programmatic concerns and its attendant project of space-creation refuses the possibility of even the creation of interstitial spaces that recalibrate programmatic demands. Maintained at the same time, therefore, is a conception of autonomy that defines the object in connection to the concomitant suspension of any determining form of relationality other than to the object itself, thus, as with the work of Schumacher, what drives the conception of architecture at work here is its indifference to the possibility that those relations are, in fact, the actual locus of the political.

In this paper, we have attempted to thread a needle between the either-or binary in Tafuri's damnation of architecture as unable to escape the logics of the

market—a position that allows us to reflect on current conceptions of autonomy. On the one hand is the withdrawal of Aureli, while on the other is his counter, in Schumacher. Zaera-Polo and Schneider/Till represent two very diverse forms of in-between, but in our view still leave much of Tafuri's dilemma unthought. Given that the act of design and building is by its nature projective, we are left only with unsatisfactory contributions that leave the difficult task of finding the "in-between" in Tafuri's position as unthought. Therefore, just as an examination of past exemplars from the discipline has revealed shortfalls in conceptions of autonomy, it must be through a similar process—subjecting discipline to the analysis that yields exemplars of this "in-between" approach, that the argument will be further advanced.

We argue that the conception of autonomy based on either indifference or separation is, in the end, illusory. Both positions cannot be separated from a continuing allegiance, on the level of architectural design and programmatic concerns, to the logic of capital. Rather than a position of refusal in autonomy then, what we suggest is the necessity to acknowledge the ubiquity of relationality, while allowing for autonomy understood as the suspension of predominating logics at work within a given network of relations. That is, to work in the market is to acknowledge predominating logics and accept the need to work with them, leaving in play the possibility of a limited autonomy—a form of aikido that results from making judgements about the terms of engagement with these logics and redirecting them in some way. We call this approach *autonomy within relationality*. Just as an examination of past exemplars from the discipline has revealed shortfalls in conceptions of autonomy, it must be through a similar process—searching for examples of autonomy within relationality at work, that the argument will be further advanced.

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ENDNOTES

This paper is part of an integrated research project on relational architecture. In addition to the preparation of a book, the research involves a four-year studio (2017-2020) based analysis in the context of a Masters Design Studio directed by Gerard Reinmuth and Andrew Benjamin in the School of Architecture at the University of Technology, Sydney.

1   See in particular, Zaera-Polo (2008). These questions are also addressed by Hill (2006) and Chabard (2018).

2 For an example of former, see the SIS Building, London, by Terry Farrell & Partners; and for the latter, see Michael Graves' Swann Hotel.

3 For a more sustained discussion of this point see Benjamin (2019).

4 For a counter view on the relationship between the profession and the discipline of architecture, see Reinmuth (2017).

FRANK LIU with SUSAN HEDGES

Confabulations: Estranged memories and the unfolding home

Stories foster affect, character and emotion, qualities that mirror our lived environments. We relay narratives every day of our lives for numerous reasons: to share, to hide, to dream or to remember. Much like a speech or a conversation, stories exist as a form of communication which directs the human imagination (Davis, 2017: xx-xxi). These narratives are nomadic, travelling beyond the spoken or written word and can equally be expressed as a set of drawings, objects or photographs. Such mediums construct a spatial project whose poetic nature has storytelling potential. While narratives are a crucial element to design, they can often become abstracted, overlooked or withdrawn in the face of analytic methods (Emmons & Phinney, 2017: 2).

From an early age, stories edify and prepare us with moral lessons through an allegorical language. Fictions such as fairy-tale and fables teach us how to act and behave in the world, providing assurances for a happier future and solutions for adverse situations. These stories are seen as childhood worlds that are cherished, explored and inhabited. Yet as we age, they are inevitably left behind and forgotten in the passing of time. This research is founded on an understanding of story-telling as an essential method of design. In particular, architect Paul Emmons, author Phinney Luc, and academic Carolina Dayer's (2017) anthology, *Confabulations: Storytelling in Architecture*, provided this project with its focus on narrative, nostalgia and the domestic.

Confabulation, a process of filling in memory lapses, establishes a narrative where the real and the imagined intersect as stories within existing settings (Davis, 2017: I). The word 'confabulate' derives from *fabula*, Latin for tale or fable,[1] and emphasises a drawing together of fractured experiences. It suggests a world-making where imagination and fictions are integral in its processes. As Emmons writes, "confabulation is to be of two minds, to be in two places at once, to experience, counterfactually, simultaneous irreconcilable truths" (2017: 3). Such duality is used in this research as a means for illustrating my childhood daydreams. It calls up a return to home that is existing yet equally illusive.

This work is concerned with revealing and re-animating domestic spaces which can be considered invisible, lost, or concealed. In the process, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's (1785-1863) fairy tale *Hansel and Gretel,* was hybridized with memories

peculiar to my first ever home. By merging memories of the tale with ones of my own, I examine how character, dialogue and memory can confabulate unique interiors. The output, a sequence of staged artefacts, eschews traditional spatial descriptions formed by plans, sections and elevations, investigating instead how collage and pop-up book formats may tell space differently. This approach, with its folding dynamic, offers a display that is both tangible *yet* fleeting, and a telling that folds personal narratives into perennial ones.

Witnessing my childhood home

This project was initiated by certain old photographs taken of my first home. Shot by my elder sister, the pictures showed our home tidied and readied for potential buyers. Yet, stripped back as the spaces were, I could still recall in these photos our previous messy and vital living arrangements. This double-ness found in the photos suggested the action of confabulation, where actual and imagined spatial occupancy mingled.

Revisiting my childhood suburb offered a similar doubling of space and memory. Home there emerged as another country whose childhood geography was largely forgotten. Still, I was able to recall worlds created when crawling beneath chairs or traversing the kitchen floor, itself experienced as a vast open field whose expanse demanded consideration and exploration. Cabinets, unreachable, soared overhead as unknown territory, while tabletops called for climbing and ascending. Such scale shifts, difficult to comprehend now, offer ineffable memories.

Fleeting stories: Hansel and Gretel and the duality of home

As a child, *Hansel and Gretel* seemed neither evil nor distorted. More broadly, it is a fairytale held to be reassuring, and hopeful, for its future-orientated telling promises a happy ending (Bettelheim, 1989: 352). Similarly, my childhood home was neither unfavourable nor adverse; it entailed a world where day-to-day memories accumulated easily and where ordinary domesticity was interlaced with the magical and the mysterious. My future reencounter with this variegated domesticity has utilised pictorial collage and pop-up techniques as methods to craft a confabulating narrative.

Hansel and Gretel particularly, read to me from the space between twin beds in my bedroom, was linked to the old wooden cabinet housing our bedtime reading. As such, furnishings and stories were imbricated and suggested for this project the affinity stories might have with enclosed or interior realms. Drawing from *Hansel and Gretel* five allegorical motifs, I devised a series of fictitious interiors and furniture types, themselves standing in for characters as narrating agents. While initially a method for visually recreating the story spatially, storing and collecting subsequently emerged as a key concern. In turn, collected and collaged components were assigned five themes extracted from the tale: excess, estrangement, famine, deceit and fattening. For example: the forest became an interior of estrangement; the gingerbread house, an interior of fattening; Hansel and Gretel's home, an interior of famine; and their mother's room, an interior for excess and deceit.

The Estranged Interior

Fig. 1a, 1b Frank Liu (2019). *Estranged Interior*: the rippling of water and the fracturing of television screens signify moments in which space is paused and time feels seemingly eternal. Incomplete staircases, broken compasses, repeated railway tracks and concrete partitions suggest the children's inability to escape isolation and navigate their way home. [Digital collage and pop-up]

The story, reconceived as rooms of accumulated items, suggested how lives and characters are both extended in space and time, but also how memory ossifies as images. Collected and curated, these images, rich in symbols and metaphoric languages, reveal a capacity to re-narrate and divert stories. As Jennifer Shields notes, the collage-effects resulting from collecting, far from restoring original settings, set them in motion through "the creation of a new context[s,... contexts] standing in a metaphorical, rather than a contiguous, relation to the world of everyday life" (2014). The *Hansel and Gretel* tale drawn from my childhood offered a partial story on which to suture my fragmented memories, and through the process of confabulation, it became a means for reimagining both the tale and myself.
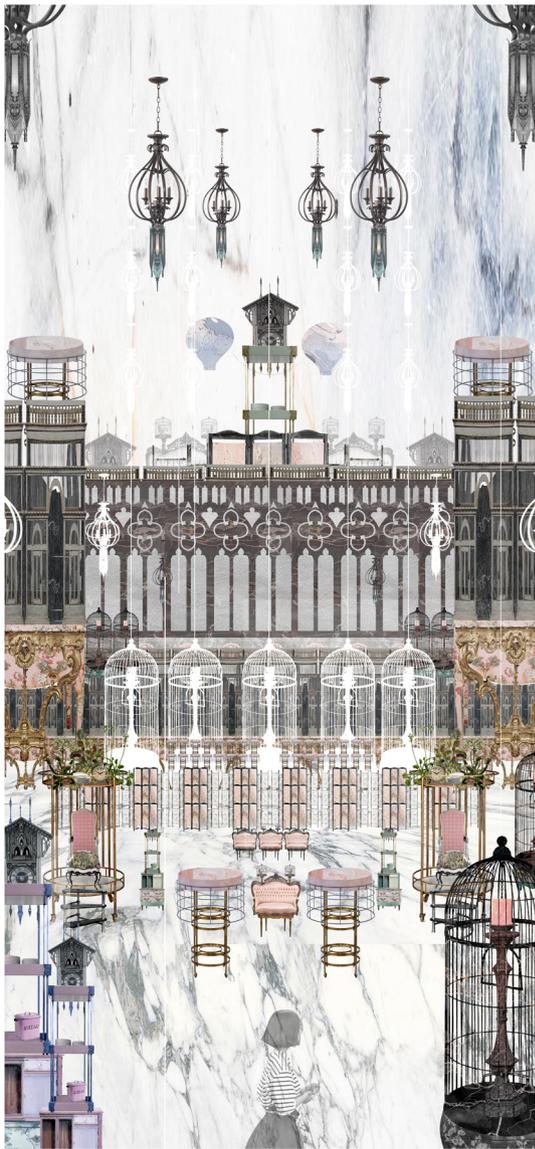
Fig. 2a, 2b Frank Liu (2019). *Fattened Interior:* juxtapositions surrounding the tale's themes of gluttony and paucity are expressed through ideas of collecting, hoarding, and entrapment. The metabolising of the home is imagined as the witch's hoarding of excessive materiality through marbled tiles, gilded cages and pink cushioned chairs. Objects and furnishings are constructed as hybrids of materiality. While these can be seen as indulgent, excessive, and ornamental, they are also expressions of deficiency, offering a sense of thinness and lack. [Digital collage and pop-up]

Popping-up

Intensifying this confabulation, the pop-up effects of pages as they unfold at creases and corners aimed to capture the uncanniness of domestic places. A double-ness was pursued in which fragmented images clarify when stood up and viewed certain ways, but merge together when collapsed. Hence, surfaces, objects and furniture are constituted through vacancies and voids in surfaces deploying both recognition and that recognition's undermining. As Marian Macken suggests, the pop-up demands, through its structure of cutting and folding, processes of inference in which frontal views persist without the information side

The Famined Interior

Fig. 3a, 3b Frank Liu (2019). *Famined Interior:* a version of Hansel and Gretel's home, vertical coffins and mannequins of the stepmother suggest death and brutality—a room of little or no empathy. Venus fly-traps hint at the carnivorous nature of the witch, where remnants, preserved in jars are ossified and last forever. [Digital collage and pop-up]

elevations might further provide (2018: 81). As such, speculation and inhabitation coexist within pop-ups contrary built or modelled objects. The opening and the turning of pages in pop-up books offer, through anticipation and imagination, a platform for reverie.

Pop-up narratives in turn suggest a portal into the temporal—in other words, coexistent worlds paralleled in interiors by daydreams—and as flimsy, mobile interiors, their mechanics inherently confabulate.

Fig. 4 Frank Liu (2019). View of the final installation. [Photograph]

Assembling home

The project has recreated my childhood home through four interiors: *The Room of Books & Tales*, *The Master Bedroom*, *The Shared Bedroom* and *The Confabulated Lounge*. Correspondingly these rooms link with family members: firstly my sister, where *The Room of Books & Tales* speaks to the abundance of narratives and novels savoured by her; secondly my mother, whose *Master Bedroom* made for me a daytime place to hide and day-dream in; and thirdly my father, with the *Shared Bedroom* being that space my father and I shared for many years. Lastly, *The Confabulated Lounge* speaks of the routine gathering of my family and the making of home more broadly.

The project culminates as a series of unfolding books describing four interior quadrants. Each gives two opposing corners of a room requiring the reader/viewer to merge the opposing parts into one whole space. Cupboard-like, these pop-ups allow explorations of hidden, interior worlds within worlds. The provisional nature of the pop-up, unfolding with the opening of a page, suggests a world without stable perspective. Unlike architectural models, pop-ups can be opened, closed and folded away flat. They are suggestive of a spatiality which is dormant, asleep, ready to be awakened. Similarly, the spaces pop-ups construct with thin card frontages are fragile and manifestly artificial. They replicate the fragility of memories themselves and the reworking of recollections into confabulated images, which in this project, entailed arduously propping tenuous personal narratives against the more substantive one of *Hansel and Gretel*.

While domestic estrangement motivated the exploration of my first home and its now remote settings, confabulation permitted a weaving of facts, memories and fiction into possible future worlds deeply interconnected with those already existing (Emmons and Phinney, 2017: 3). Through this exploration, I arrived at a richer and more nuanced understanding of what story-telling and pop-up imaging has to offer spatial design. Importantly, confabulation opens a way of being at home with the plethora of other temporalities making up life itself.

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1   The word confabulation offers two variant definitions; it not only illustrates an expression of narrative or language, but also describes a psychological condition where the mind fabricates memories to fill in what cannot be remembered. Confabulation 'Confabulate' Oxford Dictionaries. Last modified Accessed 18/03/2019, 2019. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/confabulate

XAVIER ELLAH with CARL DOUGLAS

Intimate displacements: Peripatetic cartographies across the Tāmaki isthmus

Fig 1. Xavier Ellah (2019). Detail of *Outflow* [Pencil, ink, and natural pigments on cut and folded paper, 841x594mm]
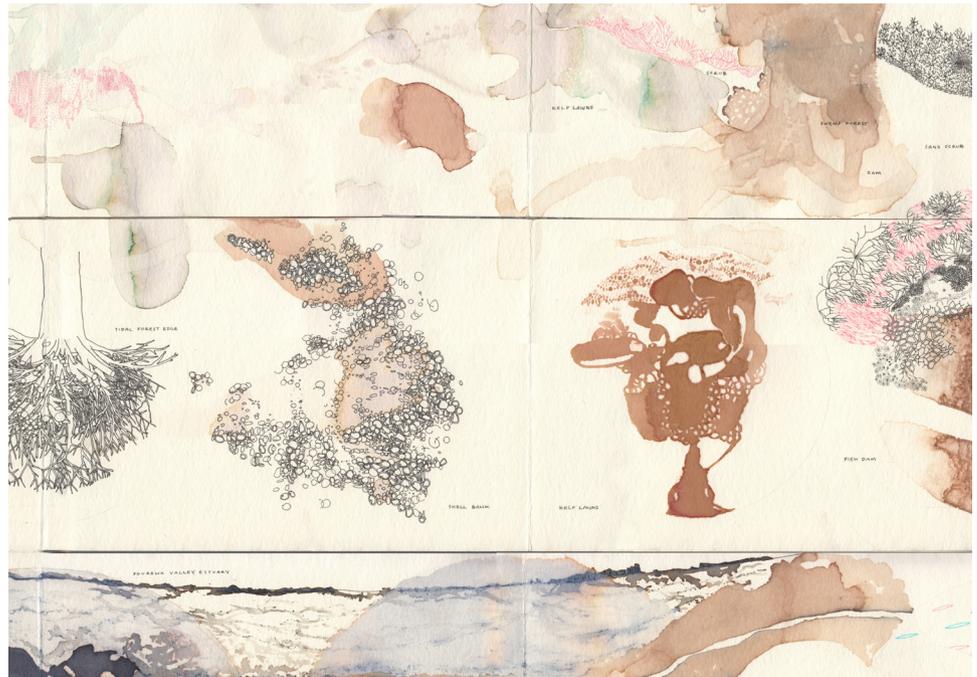
Landscape drawing has often privileged a fixed optical view, inculcating an idea of landscape as capable of reaching a stable, finished state as an object or scene. Among the effects of this static view are a loss of public agency. When landscapes are understood primarily as a surface apportioned into legal property, those who live through them are reduced to users and consumers of an opaquely managed resource. In this creative-practice research project I explored relationships between pedestrian agency and the articulation of possible worlds latent in landscapes by mapping a series of walks across Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. These surveys suggest how a patient practice of relational drawing can disclose new opportunities for finding agency, countering experiences of alienation and disenfranchisement.

Landscapes are unstable processes unfolding on a multitude of timescales, themselves operating in a shifting patchwork of emergence and succession (Ingold, 2000: 201-7). So rather than beginning with a presumption of equilibrium, this project presumed *disequilibrium*. Walking itself is a dynamic state of disequilibrium implying a force-field of changing relationships and timescales. When we

take the time to walk, we expose ourselves to the immense richness of emergent rhythms, flows, and (dis)continuities of place. As Stephanie Springgay and Sarah Truman suggest, walking is "a way of becoming responsive to place; it activates modes of participation that are situated and relational" (2018: 4).

Rather than rushing to fix solutions, this practice lingers and loiters off-balance, "staying with the trouble" as Donna Haraway has suggested (2016: 1). Isabelle Stengers similarly values this type of lingering: "the idea is precisely to slow down the construction of this common world, to create a space for hesitation", one in which new values might precipitate (2011: 995). Accordingly, I have not produced *designs* or *proposals* per se, but rather speculative maps capable of broadening engagement—a quality Cassim Shephard sees as critical to "the practice of citizenship" as it informs making and imagining urban landscapes (2017: 24).

For landscape architect James Corner, the agency of the map lies in its ability to surface potentials, themselves constituting "artificial geographies that remain unavailable to human eyes" (2014: 200). Maps can represent many connected situations at once, becoming complex decision-making fields where multiple possibilities are cognitively explorable. For example, landscape architect Walter Hood utilises mapping methods to better grasp the middle scales of daily life. In a series of urban diaries, Hood documented West Oakland in the 1990s, an area marred by failed urban regeneration schemes and the municipal splintering of a once socially coherent working-class community (1997: 6). The diaries reveal an *improvisational* methodology, a toolset generating a range of creative insights spontaneously adapting to changes and unforeseen public uses. By walking (rather than, for example, studying aerial photographs) I aimed to remain in the improvisational middle scale of life on the ground.

Fig 2. Xavier Ellah (2019). Line drawing sketches made while walking [Scanned images]

Cuts, folds, openings

Drawings can be places of dialogue between times, conditions, places and their inhabitants (Fig. 2). The German concept of *landschaft* or "working landscape" suggests this quality and underpins my idea of drawing as a conversational exchange (Corner, 2014: 243). My drawings are working surfaces describing interactions within cognitive landscapes themselves rich in analogical potency and metaphoric relationships. In short, they document land processes much as *landschaft* captures the variability inherent in duration as Henri Bergson has identified (Barnett, 2013: 18).

For John Berger, drawings operate in "three distinct ways" that I have come to refer to as *drawing tenses*, engaging as they do the past, presences, and aspects of the future (2008: 46). In this project I adapted these tenses to organise my encounter with landscapes. Live-drawing while walking activated presence, capturing immediate details. Drawings subsequently enacted in the studio reflected on these field impressions by seeking new connections. Futurity emerged as a process of anticipation whereby expected landscape dynamics could be imagined and speculated upon indirectly. This became a planning phase which would inform the shape of a walk and the schema through which a new live-drawing would grow.

Prompted by the need to fold large sheets of drawing paper for convenience while walking, I developed a series of concertina-folded "drawing constructs"—a practice I borrowed from Hannes Frykholm, Henry Stephens and Amy Tong (2011). The seemingly awkward creases and cuts allowed for the drawing to grow sequentially and iteratively, but also disrupted the inherent linearity of long paper sheets through folds, overlaps, and layering. While walking, these surfaces condensed into pocket-sized books; at the end of a walk, when unfolded, they revealed unexpected relationships and consolidations. In the reflective phase, they allowed for the replaying of a journey, making evident both cognitive dead-ends and new paths.

Present, past, future: Sites of drawing production

In addition to my solitary walks, I tested these drawing strategies and practices in a group walk (Fig. 3). Participants were led on a looped route through the inner-city of Auckland. Each participant was given a folded drawing surface pre-printed with overlapping circles, the intention being to prompt, in an open-ended way, consideration of possible thresholds between intimate and peripheral details. The results showed a fascinating divergence in ways of sensing and recording demonstrating how the act of walking and drawing could renew a dialogue, not only between self and landscape, but also self and other.

When I walked, I drew mostly with pen and pencil. Back in the studio, however, I employed a range of water-based inks and tea pigments whose gradual absorption worked against the economy of the inked lines. These pigments in turn evoked my recollection of the passage of light and water through the landscape. In redrawing, and therefore revisiting the walk on paper, my consciousness, in turn, deepened and mutated.
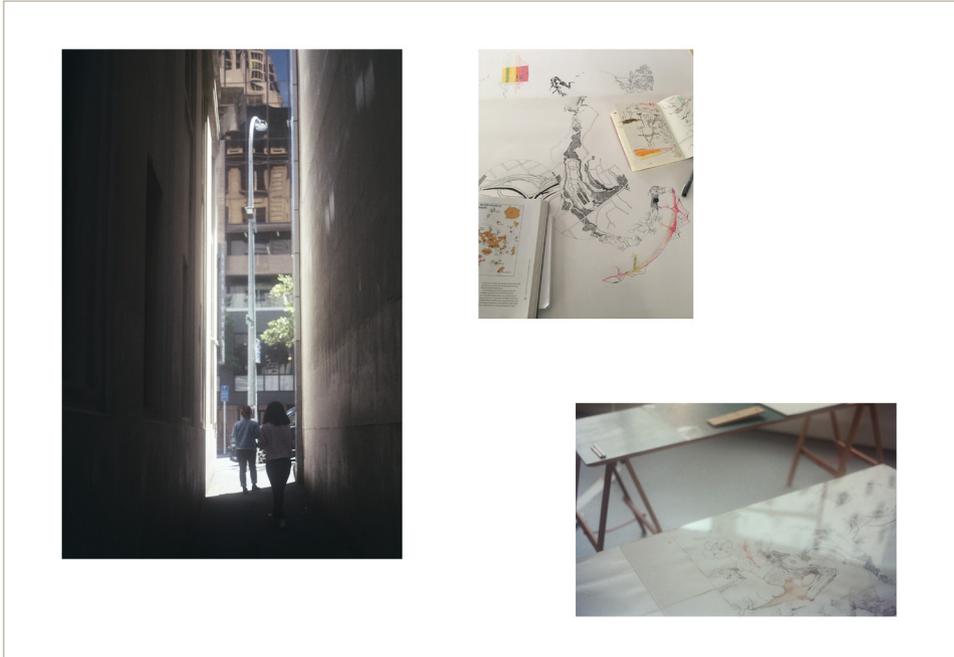
Fig 3. Xavier Ellah (2019). Sites of production: street, drawing table, and exhibition [Photographs]

Outflow, spill, echo

The project also developed out of six day-long walks that drew on three themes specifically: outflow, spill and echo. Three maps resulted, each providing different lenses through which to understand and relate to territories. The maps fold together according to a particular pattern of cuts and creases. The intention was that the creases would thicken and soften with their repeated unfurling and this allowed the drawings to be recomposed and reoriented.

Outflow (Figs. 1 & 4) examines how water runoff-related drainage catchments find different ways of leaving land. The drawing began by walking the sedimented

Fig 4. Xavier Ellah (2019). Detail of *Outflow* showing pigments and creases. [Pencil, ink, and natural pigments on cut and folded paper, 841x594mm]
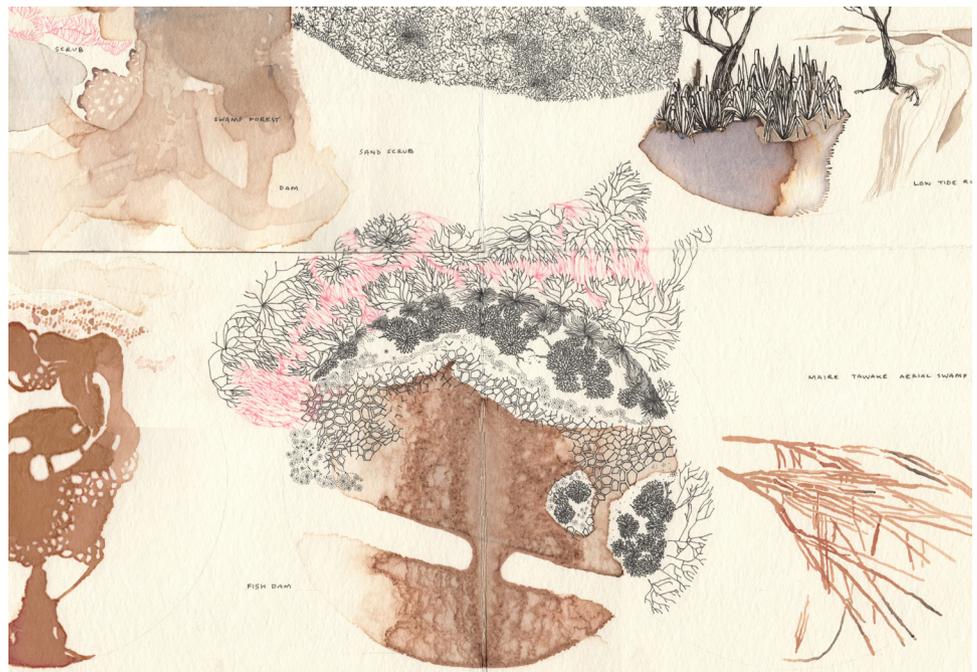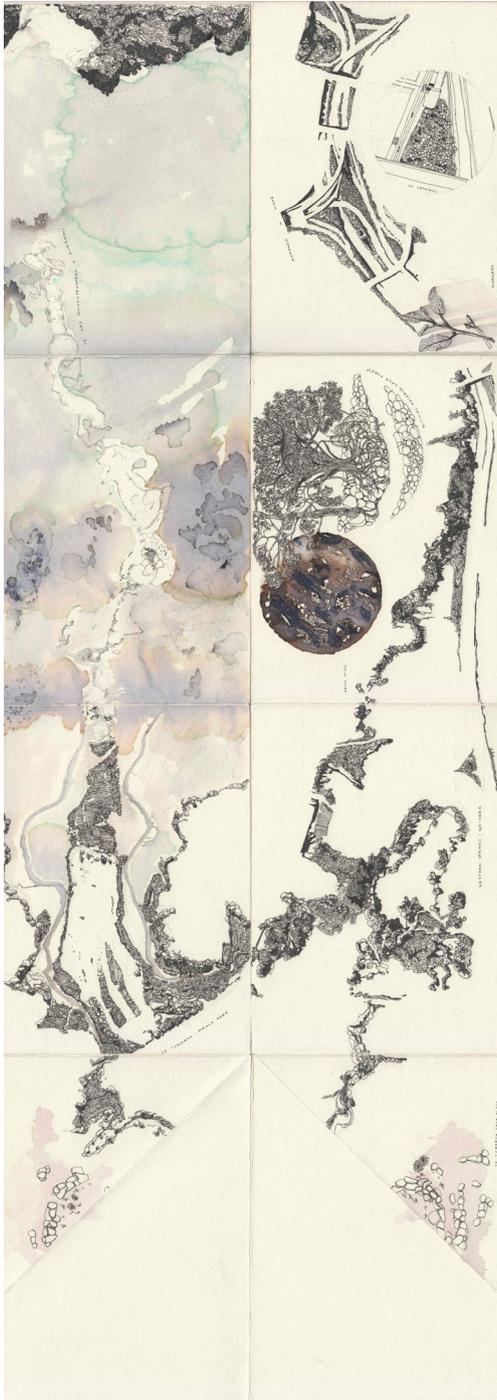
landscape of Tahuna Tōrea, a sandspit of the Tāmaki River at the threshold between two urban waters. I mapped here the qualities of absorption and erosion, themselves signs of a water table bubbling just underfoot. Soaking mud, crushed shells and roots could be seen caught in the drag and pull between wet and dry imposed by tidal forces.

Spill (Figs. 5 & 6) focuses on one of Tāmaki's volcanic basalt flows. Its gradient, levelling, and porosity has allowed for a motorway, spring, and forest corridor to coexist. Curiosity about the last remaining basalt rock forests in Auckland led me to probe the way traces of ancient volcanism continue to shape urban flows today. Such forces strikingly converge in a partially forested valley running almost unbroken to Te Tokaroa/Meola reef, the tip of a lava flow which extends into the Waitematā Harbour. *Spill* depicts scenes drawn from this intersection of lava spill, transport infrastructure and forest.

Echo (Figs. 7 & 8) is preoccupied with ambient flows such as thermal pressures, air movement, and tidal rhythms as they intersect with urban channels of mobility. Where *Outflow* and *Spill* sought their findings in and with the ground, *Echo* lifts its gaze to the sky and the horizon. It delineates a space between the mud (where I found a car inverted, immobile, and partly ingested), and the air about and above Tāmaki's maunga (or volcanic cones). It is here that shorebirds flock and kāhu or harrier hawk wheel in thermal updrafts. Moments in time echo radially, generating a lens through which to prioritise diffuse, rather than channelised flows in the landscape. The drawing seeks resonances across space that make intervals audible. As such, the overlapping figures in *Echo* remain discrete and self-contained, yet speak to one another.

Fig 5. Xavier Ellah (2019). *Spill* [Pencil, ink, and natural pigments on cut and folded paper, 841x297mm]

Fig 6. Xavier Ellah (2019). Detail of *Spill* showing Te Tokaroa /Meola Reef [Pencil, ink, and natural pigments on cut and folded paper, 841x297mm]

Te reo Māori has a broad vocabulary for different kinds of rain: uapūkohukohu is a misty rain; ua kōpiro, a drenching one (Keane, 2006). Rain can be desired or unwanted depending on its social, emotive or phenomenal contexts. In a similar vein, my relational maps have sought to expand the richness of our visual language for the landscape of Tāmaki. I have aimed to deepen intimacy with different qualities of porosity and flow in order to more fluently describe rhythms

and movements making up urban landscapes. I have walked the city in the hopes of building a spatial imaginary that challenges the alienation often held to define such places.

My maps insist on the worth of intimate knowledge. They build on displacements and remind of our ability to create new paths of meaning and experience. By deepening ways of seeing, rather than simply offering new images, we can become more active readers and producers of landscape. Michel de Certeau famously claimed that walkers are to cities what speakers are to language. The walker "enunciates" space and in turn renders place a thing practiced (1984: 98, 117). In these drawing series I have sought a counter-practice, one whose enunciation is also political in so far as walkers are capable of cutting across the spatial demarcations of capitalist landscapes.
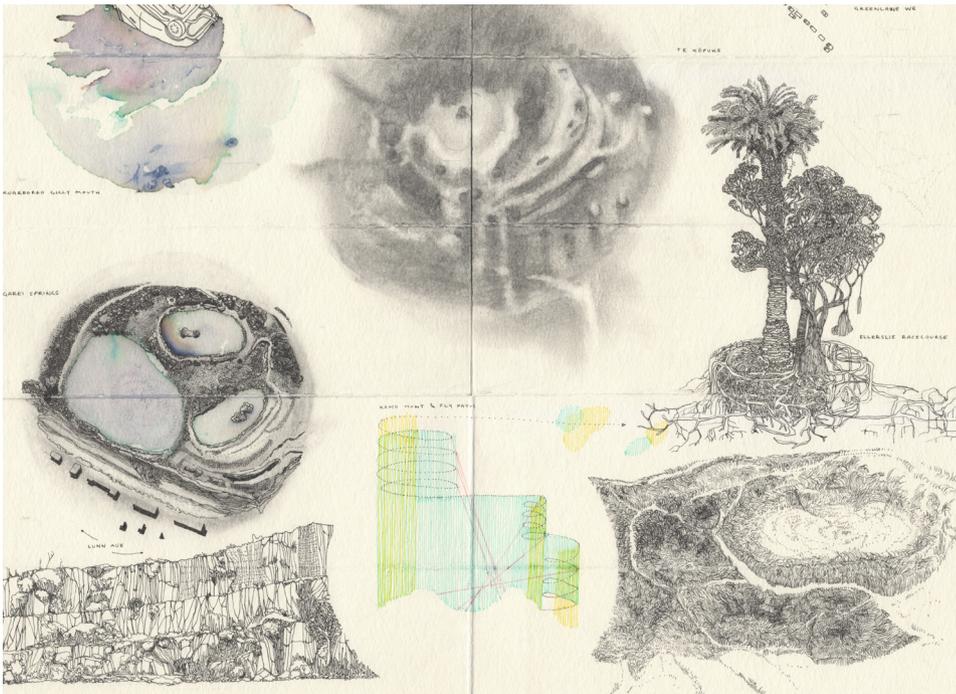
Fig 7. Xavier Ellah (2019). *Echo*
[Pencil, ink, and natural pigments on cut and folded paper, 594x420mm]

Fig 8. Xavier Ellah (2019). Detail of *Echo* showing bird flight paths [Pencil, ink, and natural pigments on cut and folded paper, 594x420mm]
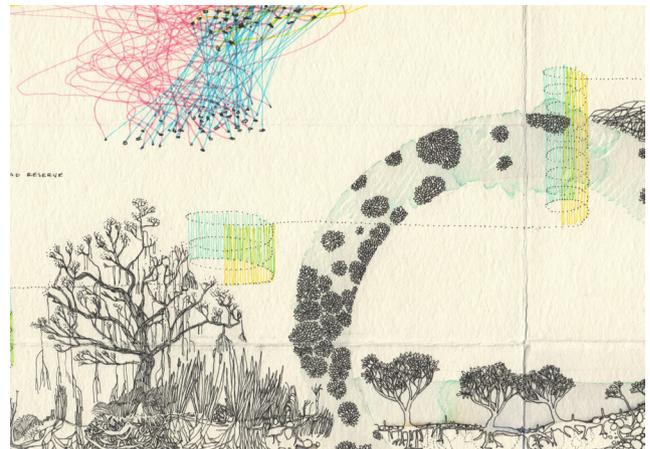
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review / SANDRA KAJI-O'GRADY

Angelika Fitz & Elke Krasny (Eds.) *Critical Care: Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet*
The MIT Press, 2019
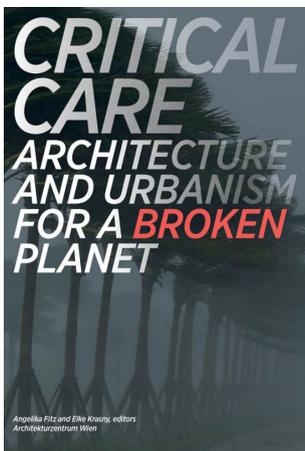
Critical Care: Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet accompanied the exhibition by the same name in Vienna between 24 April and 9 September 2019. Curated by the book's editors, Angelika Fitz and Elke Krasny, the exhibition showcased twenty-one projects that, "prove that architecture and urban development do not have to be subservient to the dictates of capital and the exploitation of resources and labour".[1] The exhibition was designed by the next ENTERprise architect with graphics by Alexander Ach Schuh and employed large format photographs, posters of didactic text, and architectural models. The exhibition and the book were the culmination of a longer research project and were clearly conceived together, with half the book made up of the exhibited material.

The visually attractive book is not, however, simply an archival record or exhibition catalogue. Its first half comprises twelve essays by practitioners and scholars from architecture, geography, anthropology, the visual arts, feminist studies, and environmental science. The editors helpfully detail their ambitions for the exhibition and, more polemically, their hopes for wholesale culture change towards what they are calling an architecture of "critical care". The terminology is borrowed from feminist and critical theory, and is called forth by ecological catastrophe and economic inequality. With petrocapitalism, identified as "the force that has led to the Anthropocene-Capitalocene predicament" (14), Fitz and Krasny invited authors to explore and connect histories of resisting capitalism and its power.

The responses are organised in four sections according to their relative focus on questions of care, labour, ecology, and economy. Tronto delivers a strong theoretical framework and Krasny sketches the historical ideological underpinnings of architecture that see the profession in the service of power and its disciplinary forces. Other essays are extended meditations on specific projects or problematic sites, although none of these overlap with the exhibition's case studies. Gibson's "Speculations on Architecting Care Beyond the Anthropocene" is exemplary in its use of a single example to develop and illustrate broader arguments. She describes how the construction of a permanent concrete bridge over the Mekong River in Cambodia has displaced the traditional annual building of a bamboo bridge. What appears to be pragmatic infrastructure improvement enabling efficient year-round access not only masks the political motivations of

its Chinese investors and realtors, as Gibson points out, it comes at the cost of local workers who made, managed, used, and unmade the bamboo bridge each year. Unfortunately, the example is one where an architecture of care has been replaced by one of development.

Where Gibson asks us to look beyond the appearance of the artefact, Graziano and Trogal challenge us to look behind what appears to be worthy community activity. In "Handling Replacement: Tending to a Local Library and Repair Centre", they examine the seemingly valuable community engagement found in an English library that has been turned over to the repair and recycling of broken household goods by volunteers. They conclude that it veils the withdrawal of the state from the democratisation of knowledge. It is a pertinent warning because the case studies that follow are, like the social enterprise in the former library, routinely enabled by unpaid labour. Those "giving care", be it architects, artists, aid workers, or NGOs, do so without adequate compensation. It would be far better if the wealthy one per cent paid taxes and global corporations were held accountable for the environmental damage they have inflicted, than the current situation in which a small fraction of ill-gotten profits are ostentatiously "gifted" to the kinds of projects celebrated in this book (indeed, for the Architekturzentrum Wien itself). This brings us to the book's core dilemma. Capitalism sponsors alternative practices that mediate and distract from its more insidious consequences. The forces of capitalism and neoliberalism that this book critiques are so pervasive that every architectural project is soiled by them to some degree.

I'll look at one of these case studies in closer detail. Two weeks before receiving the book for review, I had the privilege of visiting the Psychiatric Center Caritas. The Caritas psychiatric hospital in Melle, Belgium, was established in 1908, and comprised several two-storey buildings with mansard roofs and banded brickwork in a garden setting. By the 1990s, the original buildings had become obsolete and all but two were demolished. One was in the process of demolition when asbestos was discovered. During this stay of execution, the management of the centre changed and the new director sought design ideas for a "public square" for the campus. dVVT architects proposed a solution in which the half-ruined building serves the new campus vision. They stabilised its structure, added new stairs and chain-link fences for safe access, and inserted three glasshouses in its stripped rooms for social and therapeutic activities.

PC Caritas was completed in 2016 and published in Archdaily in May 2017, with beautiful photographs by Filip Dujardin. dVVT's Venice Biennale *Freespace* exhibition primarily featured the Caritas project, for which they won Silver Lion, and it was the subject of a review by Douglas Murphy in *Architectural Review* in September 2018. Murphy (2018) noted that dVVT's use of contrasting materials to arrest the building's decline resembles the ad hoc "outsiderish" repairs that, ironically, give architects "great aesthetic pleasure".[2] In fact, as I'd seen at the Veterinary Clinic at nearby Malpertuus, designed ten years earlier, dVVT have an abiding interest in the juxtaposition of everyday materials, such as bricks and concrete blocks, and exploit the awkwardness of their intersection. They also like to insert moments of bright contrast—a bright yellow steel stair at the vet clinic, green steel girders at PC Caritas. Given the context of the group exhibition, PC Caritas is recast as an example of caring architecture selected because it preserved an old building.

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1 Architecturzentrum Wien (n.d.). *Exhibition precis*. Retrieved from: https://www.azw.at/en/event/critical-care-architektur-und-urbanismus-fuer-einen-planeten-in-der-krise/
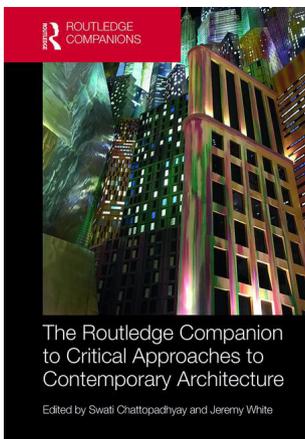
2 Murphy, D. (2018). Frame of mind: de Vylder Vinck Taillieu's Caritas Psychiatric Centre, *Architectural Review, 17*. Retrieved from: https://www.architectural-review.com/buildings/frame-of-mind-de-vylder-vinck-taillieus-caritas-psychiatric-centre/10035199.article

3 Luxmoore, J. (2019, November 28). Belgian salesians defend decision to send convicted paedophile to Africa. 28 November 2019, *Catholic Herald*. Retrieved from: https://catholicherald.co.uk/news/2019/11/28/belgian-salesians-defend-decision-to-send-convicted-paedophile-to-africa/

If we follow the counsel of the book's editors and contributors, however, we must also ask who funded the project, how workers were engaged, how the process of design unfolded. We must ask about its economic and political underpinnings. In this case, the building is funded and operated by the Vatican-based Caritas Internationalis, the so-called "care" arm of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church is implicated in the problems concerning this book, including overpopulation in developing countries and the political conflicts that are the aftereffects of colonisation. Overshadowing the PC Caritas was the live scandal of Father Luk Delft, a Belgian priest convicted in 2012 of child abuse and possession of child pornography. The church sent Delft—whilst on an 18-month suspended jail sentence—to work for Caritas in the Central African Republic (CAR), where he rose to national director. After credible allegations of child abuse in Africa emerged in June 2019, United Nations aid groups suspended cooperation with Caritas in Africa. The church's response has been characteristically defensive and evasive.[3] The editors claim that the project shows care in the way it serves "new healthcare concepts". If the centre is consistent with mental healthcare globally—which it likely is—then this means that the original carceral asylum concept has been replaced by one that couples a pharmaceutical regime with reflexive self-fashioning through individual and group counselling. In this context, the restoration of the building as a "public square" for the institution is an integral part of a therapeutic ecosystem of medication and socialisation. This ecosystem is ultimately aimed at restoring the patient to a normative model of subjectivity in which he or she is an active consumer and producer, for what is illness in capitalism but the inability to work?

This is not to say that the architects of PC Caritas are in any way compromised by the Catholic Church's behaviour or questionable mental health regimes. But other projects in the book are put forward *because* of the caring values held by their clients or the programmes they facilitate. My point is not to single this project out for criticism, it is mere coincidence that it is the only one I have visited. When I did, I appreciated its tectonic subtlety and atmospheric decay. Things get wobbly only when it is held up as an example of resistance to capitalism and critical care. No project can embody each of the criteria of care listed in the book. Undoubtedly the editors understand this. Their purpose is not to propose this set of projects as beyond reproach. Nor are they arguing that these twenty-one alone can repair our broken planet. The examples are too modest, dispersed, and compromised to bring about the system change necessary to heal the planet. Only by inspiring thousands of other projects that address questions of ecology, community, and labour can any tangible impact be realised. The book is, thus, more manifesto and provocation than it is scholarly anthology or conclusive review. In this spirit it is audaciously optimistic. That readers might think of better examples to demonstrate their arguments should only be cause for celebration.

review / STEPHEN WALKER

Swati Chattopadhyay & Jeremy White (Eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Critical Approaches to Contemporary Architecture*
Routledge, 2019

The Routledge Companion to Critical Approaches to Contemporary Architecture is a big book—464 pages. It contains essays, split across six sections: design, materiality, alterity, technologies, cityscapes, and practice. The contributing authors hail from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, but the majority have found some sort of home in, or associated with, schools of architecture. The essays brought together here do not amount to an account of "global architecture" so much as a collection of examples from various locations around the globe that can support discussions of the complexity and flexibility of architecture.

There is far too much in here to name check all the authors, or to outline the numerous responses to specific socio-cultural and environmental situations and differences, but it is important to give at least some indication of the flavour of contents and the breadth of interest and examples. Essays address architecture as this relates to buildings, but also explore architecture and architectural questions in a wide range of other situations that expand conventional definitions of what architecture might be, where it might be found, what architects might do, and who they might be.

Examples range from: one-off Architect- (capital A) designed homes (Alice T. Friedman, "Public Face and Private Space in the Design of Contemporary Houses") to humanitarian architecture (Andrew Herscher, "Designs on Disaster"); refugee and transit camps (Charlie Hailey, "Camps: Contemporary Environments of Autonomy, Necessity, and Control"); films (Aron Vinegar, "Habit's Remainder"); exhibitions and installations (Rohan Shivkumar, "A Eulogy for the Present", or Joshua Neves, "Watching the City: A Genealogy of Media Urbanism"); border politics and barriers, temporary festivals, alternate currencies (Andrew Herscher again), gun control, opportunistic developments in the shadow of megaprojects (Max Hirsh and Dorthy Tang, "When the Megaproject Meets the Village: Formal and Informal Urbanization in Southern China"; polyethylene balls covering Ivanhoe Reservoir (Heather Davis, "Life and Death in the Anthropocene"); disability legislation (Jeremy White, "Edges: Body, Space, and Design"); ruined vanity projects in Monrovia, Liberia (Danny Hoffman); diasporic supermarkets, computer modelling and material/sub-particle engineering (Ljiljana Fruk and Veljko Armano Linta, "Future Architecture: Biohybrid Structures and Intelligent Materials", or T. F. Tierney, "Networked Urbanism: Definition, Scholarship,

review / Swati Chattopadhyay and Jeremy White (Eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Critical Approaches to Contemporary Architecture*

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Directions"); storytelling (Craig Wilkins, "Bi-Space"); infrastructure and public facilities/services, the media, hedgehogs (Laura McLauchlan, "Urchins in the Infrastructure: Building with Hedgehogs in the Multispecies City"); alternate forms of practice… and much more.

Critical Approaches to Contemporary Architecture thus feels fairly encyclopaedic in its scope and ambition, and this started to raise unfair questions in my mind concerning what is left out. One debate that does seem to be conspicuous by its absence is (architectural) education. It is raised tangentially as an issue—arguably THE issue—in the Introduction, and is touched on in passing by a couple of essays in the "Practice" section, such as Despina Stratigakos' sobering essay, "Is It Really that Bad? The Status of Women in Architecture and the Gender Equity Movement". Certainly the focus of this essay is on the continuing, abysmal underrepresentation of women in practice, architectural education, and the organisation and culture of architectural schools. Expanding away from formal educational settings in their essay, "Collaboration: Unresolved Forms of Working Together in Contemporary Architectural Practice", Sony Devabhaktuni and Min Kyung Lee argue for the importance of agonism, understood not as continuous conflict but as a process that should encourage us (whoever we are) "to value the struggles that emerge in any creative process of learning, for it is these necessarily unresolved interstices of a friendly relation that yet unimagined acts can materialise" (402).

While the editors' introduction dwells on what it means to be contemporary, the issue of *Critical Approaches* as signaled by the title is more present elsewhere, touching on many critical projects (and critical spatial practices) as well as describing one of the broader editorial strategies at play. This strategy explicitly positions the collection as a counter to the "architect-centric lavishly illustrated volumes" that have dominated architectural publishing over the past two decades (1). While this is something of a straw man, the breadth and richness of the architectures, and of architectural thinking set out here, is invigorating. Side-stepping an inquiry into how much this observation about architectural publishing is borne out in practice, or on the bookshelves, the collection as a whole mounts its challenge by practising a certain mode of critique, addressed to the still-dominant model of architectural criticism and associated homogeneity of framing and output, with its associated hierarchies of practices, territories, and training. Instead, architecture as it is presented here in specific examples, and as it emerges from the collection as a whole, is a wide-ranging and complex practice: networked, extended, temporary, ongoing, heterodox, contingent, and operating across a wide variety of scales. Swati Chattopadhyay's own essay ("Ephemeral Architecture: Toward Radical Contingency"), for example, follows the annual Hindu festival of *Durgpuja* in Kolkata. Although the festival only lasts for five days, preparations occur all year around, and Chattopadhyay draws attention to the huge complexity and sophistication of the temporary pavilions (or *pandals*), which "can put any architectural biennale to shame" (141). Redeploying the vocabulary of traditional architectural and urban design practice, she unpacks the multifaceted material, social, and economic import and impact of the festival.

Similarly, Mechtild Widrich's "After the Counter-monument" brings together traditional approaches and products of commemorative architecture and sculpture with recent examples of counter-monuments, holding these together in ways

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that amplify the motivations of the latter while also developing a wider critical discourse that bears on the former, and the complex debates concerning cultural specificity and memory that are often elided by them. The criticality of the collection is enacted and sustained by its heterogeneity, and it sets out to pass on something of this architectural complexity, to share some thinking, to generate and sustain arguments and counter arguments. There is no answer, no easy take-away. There is no clear party line, and it is all the better for this.

Criticality is also an ingredient or motivation in some of the projects and practices that are discussed, as well as other contributions that discuss critically various examples that were in themselves uncritical. Examples of the former include George F. Flaherty's "Borderlands Architecture: Territories, Commons, and Breathing-Spaces", which introduces a number of artistic and critical-architectural responses to complex (mostly national) border conditions. Examples of the latter include Karen Piper's "The Architecture of Water", which examines how the control or colonisation of territories in California and India was (and continues to be) enacted through the apparently benevolent projects to supply fresh water; or Rachel Hall's "Architectures of Risk and Resiliency: 'Embedded Security' in the Redesign of Sandy Hook Elementary School" which offers a close, critical reading of the unintended consequences of gun control legislation on a politically charged example of recent school (re)design.

There are other approaches still that enact this critical dynamic more implicitly, reading apparently straightforward, everyday situations against the grain: Max Hirsh and Dorothy Tang's "When the Megaproject Meets the Village: Formal and Informal Urbanization in Southern China", or Arijit Sen's "Recasting the Ethnic Retail Street: Analyzing Contemporary Immigrant Architecture in the United States". In these essays, the authors examine very different examples that nevertheless reveal certain inventive, informal or opportunistic characteristics in common: how various creative, unplanned facilities have sprung up around and across Guangzhou's University Town/Higher Education Mega-Centre's imprecise border with existing "village" architectures. These facilities are more nimble, attentive, and responsive to the actual needs of users than those anticipated by "official" architects, planners, bureaucrats, and politicians. Or how the given architectures of "Main Street" have been repurposed over time to serve the economic and cultural needs of different diasporic populations in the USA.

Implicitly, the collection addresses issues of knowledge production and circulation, as much as it does direct approaches to contemporary architecture. It is more or less book-ended by essays that touch on these themes. The challenges of and to the project of historicism, and the role of history, in contemporary practice and education are opened up by Alice T. Friedman, whose essay, "Public Face and Private Space in House Design", opens the section on design. Friedman explicitly situates her consideration of physical and digital boundaries, privacy, sexuality and household composition, community, surveillance, and so on, within and against the "standard" trajectory of architectural history and the motif of the primitive hut, from Vitruvius through to Le Corbusier. Rohan Shivkumar ("A Eulogy for the Present") analyses the exponential growth of architectural practice and education in India, with more explicit reference to the locations of knowledge production, conferences, and journals (437). Few other essays are quite so explicit in situating their concerns against the context of existing or accepted architectural history. It would have been interesting to follow

up with a more direct address to the complex ways in which critical approaches to contemporary architecture can (indeed, have to) extend into the production of theory, writing, and publishing. Many of the accepted, traditional practices of architecture that are implicitly or directly criticised here are underpinned and maintained by an extensive, institutionalised network of publications, events, museums, and archives that controls the message and keeps it circulating. The extension of the political work represented in the essays and undertaken by the editors would bring about significant changes and challenges to them. This is enacted by the collection, but more explicit, extended reflection on it would have made me happy. In this respect, as with many of its other ramifications, the book is left to do this work without any extensive or laboured editorial signposting. The introduction is short and fairly enigmatic (on the *contemporary*, as already mentioned), and there is no conclusion or epilogue; inevitably, some contributions more than others drew my attention, my interests. My thinking was best stimulated where essays operated to extend and to challenge, to suggest *what if* and to solicit counter readings. The work of the editors is done very quietly—there are no instructions for use, and no attempts to "guide" the reader through particular connections or to suggest particular conclusions.

I was probably an unusual reader in that I read the book as a heavy hardcopy and from start to finish. Its very small print testifies to the editors' stated intentions that this is aimed at younger eyes than mine—"primarily at undergraduate students, and secondarily at graduate students and faculty" (4). The audience is clearly going to be different from the book's intended market. With a list price of £190, or $NZ390 (currently on offer at £152 or $NZ312), it is only going to be consumed via institutional libraries, probably read on screen, and at this length it is probably only going to be consumed partially, and in ways that are mediated or guided by faculty. So here we are back to the blind-spot of education. I have already pointed several of my own students, in different contexts and at different stages of their education, towards several different essays, so it is proving a useful and invigorating resource, and will continue to be so.

Indeed, I am writing this at the bottom of my garden. The sun is out, and I am in Covid-19 lockdown. This has given me pause to reflect on the role of this kind of *companionship*, something we are all going to be seeking out, whoever and wherever we are. In addition to daily news reports full of scientific experts, graphs, and numbers, we are starting to hear more in the media here about how we are not going to be going back to the old "normal" (if, or of course, it was ever "normal"). The companionship offered by this collection feels appropriate and timely: it adds its voice to others countering the comfortable platitudes that still circulate in our discipline and profession—the architect as sole author/genius, the building as a solo, self-contained object, and so on. It poses a whole range of questions and provides few answers, but does this in ways that demonstrate and articulate the importance of this kind of reflective, wide-ranging, rigorous, and creative questioning. By doing so, it will help its readers, future architects, to imagine how they might become very different practitioners.

interview / ANTHONY BRAND

Forensic Architecture: An interview with Lachlan Kermode

Fig. 1 Forensic Architecture (2018). Members of the FA team working in the agency's office at Goldsmith's, University of London [Photograph]

Forensic Architecture is a research agency based at Goldsmiths (University of London), which undertakes advanced spatial and media investigations into alleged cases of state/government violence and persecution, with and on behalf of human rights organisations, media organisations, environmental justice groups, and international prosecutors. The agency was established in 2010 by Eyal Weizman and a collection of fellow architects after realising that their academic work at the Centre for Research Architecture[1] could only go so far: "We needed to place our research in the most difficult situations, the most antagonistic of forms, and make use of it, mobilise it, on behalf of people whose suffering had been ignored" (Weizman 2018: 22).

The practice is effectively a firm of architectural detectives; its work involves meticulously reconstructing past actions and events from trace evidence, ranging from the physical (bullet holes/shells, track marks, residue) to the more fleeting and ephemeral (audio clips, mobile phone footage, and witness accounts). Their first commissions came from several organisations investigating drone strikes,[2] since the targets of these strikes had drifted from vehicles parked on the roadside to buildings in towns and cities: "The evidence [now] had an architectural

dimension, and there were no other organisations providing architectural analysis" (Weizman 2017: 22). One of the key criteria for undertaking a particular project is determined by the agency's mandate that stipulates that there must be an opportunity to develop, disseminate, and employ new technologies or investigative techniques that can be used to gather and present evidence in the service of human rights groups and communities exposed to state violence and persecution. Forensic Architecture has presented its investigations in international courtrooms, truth commissions, parliamentary inquiries, and United Nations assemblies. The agency currently comprises of a group of fifteen full-time researchers—nine architects and six specialists including investigative journalists, software developers, game developers, film-makers, and others—though these numbers fluctuate with the scale and the particular expertise required for each project.

I approached one member of the group, Lachlan Kermode, to learn more about FA. With a background in computer science from Princeton University, Kermode has been handling various full stack platforms and machine learning workflows for the agency since 2018. His academic interests are generally found in and between computer science, infrastructure studies, and cultural and critical theory. I spoke with him at the firm's studio in Goldsmiths on 26 June 2019.

Anthony Brand: *How did you get involved with Forensic Architecture (FA)? Did they come to you or . . .*

Lachlan Kermode: No, so Eyal [Weizman], who's our director, gave a seminar at my undergrad university a couple of years back and I then got in touch with FA and stayed in touch over the course of my research that I was studying in Princeton in the US and [. . .] some of the professors that I worked with there were in touch with FA, so then when I was looking for a place to go after I graduated, I came to FA.

AB: *So presumably then before that seminar this wasn't something you had been thinking about doing or had considered?*

LK: No, but I was interested in finding computer practices that were critical so that was sort of how I came in. And other people have different stories about how they came here—many come from an architectural background so we have a close affiliation with the Architectural Association (the AA), where Eyal did his PhD and then other people come into it from different angles as well.

AB: *What are the sorts of projects that you work on?*

LK: Okay, so the first one that would perhaps be of interest would be Saydnaya. The idea was basically to reconstruct the Saydnaya prison based on interviews with detainees who have been tortured in that prison. The main difficulty in reconstructing this prison was that all of the detainees were blindfolded and disoriented the entire time so that all of the reconstructions had to be done through sound and other sorts of sensory experiences. So many of our investigations involve our architects employing this technique to situate the event or a series of events in 3D space and then map existing media—whether it be photos, videos, testimonies, audio files, satellite imagery, and that sort of thing—using the 3D model as a ground truth basically—placing that media in time and space and then working out how certain bits of media can corroborate other types of media and so on and so forth. Almost any of these investigations [scrolls through the list of projects from the FA website], you can click on and find that sort of thing.

Fig. 2 Forensic Architecture (2016). Reconstructing Saydnaya: A detainee works with Forensic Architecture researchers to recreate elements of the prison [Photograph, Courtesy of FA]

AB: *So how do you, as a non-architect, fit in?*

LK: The research that I do is more along the lines of looking at how we can use software and software techniques to enhance either particular workflows or looking at how computing can be similarly helpful, basically in developing techniques in computing. [. . .] A lot of the stuff we're doing is architectural in terms of modelling things in space and that sort of thing, but it also reaches into a lot of other fields quite quickly in terms of, you know, webscraping or crawling certain web domains or something like that to find certain types of images using a search term. So, this is one recent investigation that we did [points to a project near the top of the FA website] which has been my main work for the past couple of months—was using techniques in computer vision using a machine learning algorithm, basically to analyse certain objects, training that machine learning algorithm to detect a particular type of object in an image, and then deploying that classifier across a range of different places on the web like YouTube, or Twitter, and that sort of thing, in order to automatically discover this type of gas canister, which is called a Triple Chaser gas canister, and then use that in tandem with ongoing human rights accountability efforts to basically discover new images of this gas canister algorithmically.[3]

Fig. 3 Forensic Architecture (2019). Positive Identification: During the process of training a "computer vision" classifier, bounding boxes and "masks" tell the classifier where in the image the Triple-Chaser grenade exists. [Praxis Films, Courtesy of FA]

AB: *FA have developed a pretty diverse portfolio of projects. How do you decide which to pursue and which are beyond your scope, remit, or areas of expertise?*

LK: So the process would be to first do a briefing meeting with Eyal, Christina Varvia [Deputy Director],[4] and the people who are involved in that particular project, to work out what the terms of the project might be. And there are quite specific terms in which an FA project can take place: in the sense that it's not just "something happened and we want to investigate it". There needs to be often like particular media (because a lot of the stuff we do is media based) or a way to develop a new methodology or a methodology that we're already developing that might take place. And then there are various people, researchers work on different investigation at any one time, so it's also a matter of what researchers are available for the particular timeline of a project. Also what the expense of the project would be—we have some funding from the ERC, which is the European Research Council, so the operational costs are covered, but if the project were to involve hiring outside specialists or bringing in a bunch of other people, then how we cover those costs would have to be discussed.

AB: *How do you even work out your fees for something like that?*

LK: Well, we don't have 'fees' in the sense that we don't make any money as an agency, right? The way that we work out the fees is just basically 'are we going to have to hire a fluid dynamics specialist for two months for this project? Yes, we are. What's a fluid dynamicist's day-rate?' That's how much it costs, and then all of the project coordination and the regular costs are covered by the . . .

AB: *European Research Grant*

LK: Exactly, so it's not a 'fee' as in FA are trying to make an income or anything like that.

AB: *So in terms of how you select which projects to take on, it depends, as you say, on the media and opportunities to develop techniques and whatever you happen to be working on at the time.*

LK: Yeah, exactly, so our particular mandate for the ERC is to develop new research techniques in FA that can then be used more broadly. So, there's a practical consideration in the sense of how many researchers we have available [. . .], and then the academic or theoretical consideration is, "is this an opportunity to develop new research techniques?" Because that's technically our academic mandate.

AB: *Okay, so what sort of projects are you working on at the moment? Is the content on the website current?*

LK: No, definitely not. So, some projects last three months, some projects last three years. Basically, and it depends on a whole bunch of external factors and internal factors as well. There's a range of investigations going on at the moment that aren't on the website because they're not finished or because this material may be sensitive or something along those lines. What I'm personally working on is on the website, so can be shown—which is this Triple Chaser thing—but what we saw from it is that using machine learning[5] in human rights research generally can be really useful for accountability efforts, so we're holding a workshop with other human rights organisations such as Amnesty [International], Human Rights Watch, and that sort, to show them this tooling and just work out whether

or not we can use it more collaboratively and cohesively across different contexts.

AB: *So who commissions these sort of things generally then? Because obviously you've got people like Amnesty, and I know there have been journals like the New York Times, but they seem pretty sporadic and random in terms of potential clients who approach you, or rather, clients whose projects you choose to take on.*

LK: Yeah, it's not always that we're approached and asked to take on a project, sometimes we decide to take on a project in conversation with activists on the ground or on the back of a project that we previously did. For example, we did a lot of projects in Israel/Palestine, and there are always new opportunities to extend or refurbish research that we've done. So, for example, this project that was just released, *Conquer and Divide*,[6] is a new project in a certain sense: we've never done an interactive map on this scale before, but it's a continuation of a lot of the work that we've done in Israel/Palestine previously, [. . .] There's definitely a lot of projects that we want to take on that we can't take on [because] they're sensitive to time or something like that.
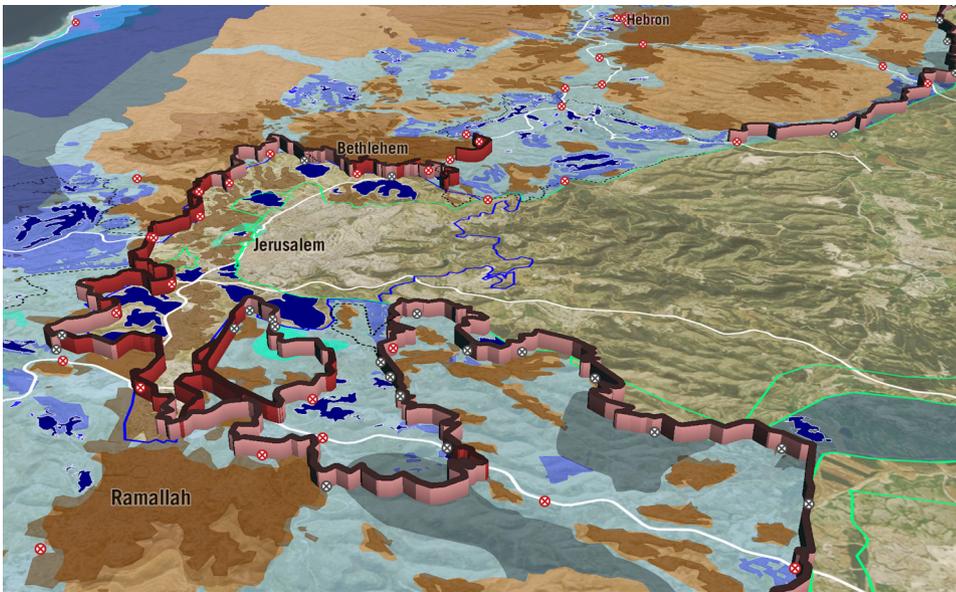
Fig. 4 Forensic Architecture (2019). A still image from the Conquer and Divide platform [Courtesy of FA]

AB: *Do you know, in that case, if there are plans to expand?*

LK: We're sort of expanding at the moment in a certain sense. There are plans to expand as in one of our programmes or prerogatives is to create these forensic techniques [from machine learning and photogrammetry to situated testimony and reenactment] and then allow other people to use them, other organisations, like Human Rights Watch is now creating a digital lab for example and we work in partnership with them. In terms of FA itself expanding, it's a question of resources. Space is a major one: we don't have any space beyond this office—the ERC research grant runs out in 2020 as well, so . . .

AB: *A Syrian military base, a residential tower block in London, a factory in Pakistan, an internet café in Germany . . . Obviously FA have completed quite a few projects in quite a few locations now. Are there any places that are off limits? Or any projects that you wouldn't take on? Other than the ones that are government-funded of course . . .*

LK: Yeah, so that's a key one: government-funded—we don't take any funding from governments or anything like that, and I think (I'm the wrong person to be speaking to about this) the mandate is that all cases investigate state violence or government-initiated violence, or where the government is responsible for violence in some way, so there's a sort of pre-filtering, based on our mandate and the kind of work that we do. I don't think in principle we're opposed to doing work in particular places, or that "we would never do work in this place, and we would never do work in that place" sort of thing. But there are certainly specific conditions around why we would or why we wouldn't do a project. So for example we haven't yet done a project in China, which is not to say that we'd never do a project in China or anything like that, but we wouldn't just want to pick up one day and say "oh, let's do some work on China" or something like that, it would have to be a sort of strong connection with activists on the ground, people that are materially affected on a daily basis by the conditions.

AB: *I imagine there would be certain parties who would have a vested interest in restricting your involvement in a particular project. What are the realistic limitations to what you can do when you get a project in a new site somewhere? How do you even go about finding witnesses for instance?*

LK: Yeah . . . it depends [. . .] in the case of working with a legal organisation, sometimes they'll have witnesses or people that we can interview for a particular project. But not every project requires witnesses, it depends on the terms. [In some cases] it might be coordinated by the collaborating legal organisation. In other cases, for example with the Grenfell [Tower Fire] project, we have different ways of bringing in particular people: there's an organisation called Grenfell United who we're in close contact with, the survivors of the Grenfell tower catastrophe, and we can get in contact with them through that. There isn't any formalised way, it depends on the project and on the terms.

Fig. 5 Forensic Architecture (2018). Grenfell Tower: Early stages of projecting and mapping videos onto the architectural model within the web platform. The toolbars on the bottom and right side of the image show possibilities for interactivity using a timeline and communications data. [Courtesy of FA]

AB: *So how much of this sort of research can you do off-site, by which I mean not necessarily on the ground at the specific physical location of the incident itself?*

LK: Again it depends very much upon the project. In the Saydnaya case, none of that research was done on-site because one of the constraints of the project from the get go was that we don't have access to the Saydnaya premises, so we have to reconstruct what we can entirely offsite. Certainly if we're trying to reconstruct what happened at a certain scene and we can go to that place and do photogrammetry at the place or capture the sort of environment, the conditions, in some way that can be constructive to a digital reconstruction, or the work or labour that we're trying to do, then we'll go to that place and do what we can with it.

AB: *So for instance, with the Saydnaya project, how do you even know, once you've got this thing and you've put it all together, that it's accurate?*

LK: We don't, for sure, what we produced from the Saydnaya project is a . . .

AB: *Best guess?*

LK: Yeah, it's a forensic reconstruction of Saydnaya. I mean that's always what forensics is in a sense, it's always a best guess of what happens—none of these are 100 per cent for sure.

AB: *So when the work here gets used in court by the UN or whoever, someone could simply refute it and say "oh well, it's digitally doctored (use basically the Photoshop argument) and you could easily have just done anything you like with it"?*

LK: Yeah, exactly, they can do that . . . and they do, as they understand it.

AB: *Yeah, so how do you get people to take it seriously?*

LK: By presenting it in a serious and convincing way.

AB: *. . . sure . . . (?)*

LK: [laughs] Are you familiar with Bellingcat's work?[7] Bellingcat is another open-source investigative agency which was started by a guy called Elliot Higgins, who was just sitting on his computer at home, threading together a bunch of different things that happened online. There's no prior legitimacy, I mean, now Bellingcat has developed a sort of reputation for open-source investigations, so there's a certain legitimacy that comes with their name . . .

AB: *Yeah, as you guys have with this kudos that's now associated with FA.*

LK: Right, but there's nothing there from the get-go, right? The first post was just someone who sat on their computer and decided that all of these things made sense together, showed how they made sense together, and that was the legitimacy in itself.

AB: *What would you say to people like myself—architectural academics—could be doing to further assist with the work of FA?*

LK: So one of the things we're keen to do, or to try and do, is collaboratively working on software called open-source, which is where there's lots of contributors from lots of different places and various different backgrounds, and that sort of thing—so to the extent that it is possible, we are trying to make more of our research open-source, [. . . so that's something potential] collaborators or outside independent researchers can do in order to help and assist with all of that . . .

Another would be just sharing these investigations in your lectures and seminars. Generally pointing people to us if they're interested in that sort of work. We have a range of academic events [such as seminars and lectures at international institutions including the University of Birzeit (Palestine), Cornell (New York) and Concordia (Montreal)], as well, mostly in London [the AA and Goldsmith's], but sometimes in other places as well—exhibitions and that sort of thing—so keep an ear out for those when they occur.[8]

AB: *Okay, that's everything, thank you.*

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ENDNOTES

1 https://www.gold.ac.uk/architecture/

2 These included commissions from Ben Emmerson (UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Counter Terrorism) for a report presented at the UN General Assembly, Shahzad Akbar (Pakistani human rights lawyer) for evidence presented at the UK Court of Appeal, and a collaborative investigation with the UK-based Bureau of Investigative Journalism.

3 An installation of the Triple Chaser investigation was exhibited as part of the *Whitney Biennial 2019* at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York (17 May-22 September 2019): https://whitney.org/exhibitions/2019-Biennial?section=22#exhibition-artworks

4 As Deputy Director, Varvia coordinates projects, assembles teams, and oversees the research and development of new methodologies. She is also a member of the Technology Advisory Board for the International Criminal Court. (https://forensic-architecture.org/about/team/member/christina-varvia).

5 Machine learning is a process whereby a computer algorithm is able to process digital data (images, numbers, clicks, etc.) and use that data to refine and redefine the results based on the perceived level of accuracy, so that it is improving each step of the way. One example might be the way that website advertising can be targeted to align with your likely interests based on previous search history, or recommendations from Amazon and Netflix. Typically machine learning is employed when there is a massive data set that would be prohibitively large for a human to work through.

6 https://conquer-and-divide.btselem.org/

7 https://www.bellingcat.com/

8 A list of FA events including exhibitions, lectures, seminars, and screenings can be found on their website: https://forensic-architecture.org/programme/events

review / CAMERON LOGAN

Green Square Library and Plaza, Sydney

Stewart Hollenstein in association with Stewart Architects

The enveloping influence of Covid-19 in the early part of 2020 has rendered attempts to describe tendencies in public architecture, for the time being, somewhat pointless. Who can say where we are headed? Yet, prior to the shutdown of public gathering places around the world in February and March 2020, nothing seemed clearer in the domain of architectural production than the continued rise of the municipal library as a key site for architectural production and fostering shared resources. Both where I am in Sydney, and in a range of other places around the world, new libraries have been widely awarded, discussed, and embraced over the past decade. This renewed interest in public libraries has been a feature not just of architectural discourse, but also wider public discussions about the meaning and provision of public places. Against a background of continuing privatisation of government-owned assets in Australia, the example of the public library seemed to offer a sliver of evidence that governments have some ongoing appetite for funding genuinely public places. Moreover, unlike in other domains, such as the stadium and sporting arena, or schools and universities—where generic, programmatic considerations and specialised consultants have dramatically narrowed the possibilities for architecture—the creative architectural (and urban) designer seems to be exercising meaningful influence in the planning and delivery of libraries.

Internationally there were a number of harbingers of the current library moment going back to the early years of this century. Bibliotheca Alexandrina (1989-2001), or the new Alexandrian Library by Snøhetta, and OMA's Seattle Central Library (1999-2004)—designed in association with Seattle's LMN—were two of the most prominent. In the past couple of years, libraries have been among the most prominent projects in international architectural awards. LocHal Library (2019) in Tilburg (The Netherlands) by Civic Architects, an adaptation of a vast 1930s locomotive shed, was the winner of the World Architecture Festival building of the year in 2019. Meanwhile the Hunters' Point Library (2019) in Queens, New York, by Steve Holz Architecture, created such a stir in that city and encouraged such high levels of visitation last year that it became almost unmanageable for the librarians.

Local governments and local architects have also provided Sydney with a slew of architecturally distinguished new libraries in this century. The City of Sydney,

the biggest and wealthiest Local Government Area (LGA) in metropolitan Sydney, has been the most active. In 2006, with architects Lacoste & Stevenson, the city completed an adaptation of the colonial-era Customs House Building at Circular Quay for use as a library and visitor centre. A few years later, they opened the Surry Hills Library and Neighbourhood Centre (2009), designed by FJMT. That firm was also the architect of a major new project for a local government in Sydney's southwest, which adapted an existing council office building for use as the Bankstown Library and Knowledge Centre (2014), and a much-awarded conservation and adaptive reuse project for the Historic Houses Trust (now Sydney Living Museums), that included the museum's Caroline Simpson Library (2004).

As with the international scene, the past couple of years in Sydney have also seen continuing and architecturally stimulating activity connected with library projects. The City of Sydney opened its Darling Square Library, designed by BVN in October 2019, just a few months after another BVN-designed facility, Marrickville Library and Pavilion (for the neighbouring Inner West Council) opened to wide acclaim from locals and the profession.

Fig. 1 Julien Lanoo. Looking east over Green Square Library and Plaza [Photograph]

But the new Sydney library that has arguably attracted the widest attention and most acclaim in recent years is Green Square Library and Plaza (Stewart Hollenstein, 2018). The result of a 2012 international design competition, the library and plaza are the civic centrepiece of the massive Green Square urban renewal project on former industrial land in Sydney's inner south. The new mixed-use neighbourhood involves $AU 13 billion worth of planned construction and over 30,000 new residential units. The library and plaza precinct, which will ultimately also include the Gunyama Park and Aquatic Centre, is connected directly to the Green Square train station and adjacent to the most easily recognisable tower in the urban renewal project, the Infinity commercial development. As such the library occupies a strategically significant position and carries a lot of responsibility for the success of the area as something more than a densely packed dormitory.

The library and plaza are integrally connected and much of the programme of the library itself is tucked below. The architects conceived the scheme as a set of children's blocks scattered across the plaza. But just two main elements rise above the ground plane. One is a modestly scaled, six-storey, prismatic tower containing bookable community spaces, including a recital room with sprung

floor, a computer lab, flexible meeting room, and a small reading room. The other is the wedge-shaped entrance and café at the busy Botany Road end of the site. While below the plaza, the main library space—including children's area, and all of the books, magazines, and other resources—is generously daylit by a central circular lightwell and garden. This space is zoned but entirely flexible, with a continuous service grid enabling complete reconfiguration as needs change.

The pair of crisp geometric objects carefully counterposed against the circular lightwell cut into the plaza is the most photogenic aspect of the project. But the real significance of this library-plaza is in the work it does as a piece of urban design. The building has several access points, all of them leading into the library proper. This is unusual as most libraries, in fact most public facilities,
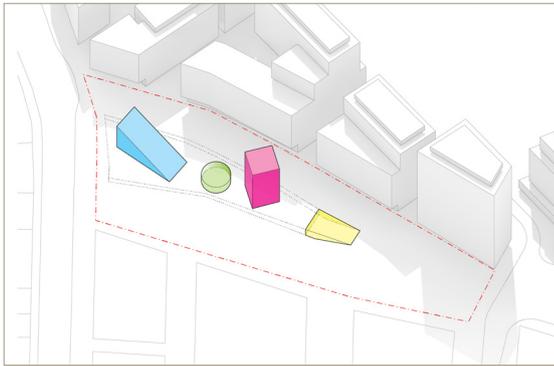
Fig. 2 Hollenstein Stewart in association with Steward Architects. Green Square Library and Plaza proposal [Volumetric diagram]

Fig. 3 Tom Roe. Amphitheatre and stair to the eastern entrance of the library [Photograph]

rely on a single entrance/exit to maintain easy active surveillance from a fixed point. Frequently, architectural intentions to use a new building to orchestrate a series of intersections and connections to surrounding urban space are actually undermined by client preferences for such single-point access control. Here, in contrast, the architects have been able to persuade the librarians to work with multiple access points and so enable the set of surrounding connections on which the basic design concept depends.

The full implications of the permeable library facility for Green Square are not yet evident—or they weren't before it closed in March—as the eastern end of the plaza is still dominated by construction sites. (The library was deliberately developed early in the scheme to provide some sense of community and civic belonging). But once development of the surrounding blocks is complete and the swimming pool and recreation centre to the south are operating, the library promises to become a heart for the new neighbourhood.

The library was busy upon opening and is a much needed and already highly valued place in this rapidly growing part of Sydney. If there is a question that remains about the ultimate success of the project, however, it is whether the building provides sufficient refuge for the users who need or desire quiet and secluded reading and study space. An earlier wave of library building in Sydney included Col Madigan's Dee Why Library (Edwards, Madigan Torzillo, and Partners, 1966). That outstanding public building is conceived as an acropolis, rather than a crossroads, and it is much more internal in character, a true refuge lit from above

Fig. 4 Tom Roe. Story-time circle showing bench seating and toy storage units [Photograph]

and walled off from the surrounding suburban environment. The Green Square Library arguably lacks that quality; or provides it in very small doses.

Green Square, like the Surry Hills Library (2009), takes its cues from a very different precedent, the contemporary café. Cafés in Sydney typically engage the street as much as possible and minimise barriers between inside and out. The wedge-shaped café that is part of the Green Square Library is an exemplary instance, separated from outside by the most transparent glazed skin. In fact, it was conceived by the architects as part of the plaza and its outdoor lighting conditions are arguably a bit too bright. The stair down to the main library space provides an extra layer of separation from street and plaza, but the plan as a whole is something of a thoroughfare. The furnishing and nooks, as good as they are—and the joinery in this project is very beautiful—have a lot of work to do.

Libraries today are expected to do more and more different things while maintaining their traditional functions. They lend DVDs, tools, and video game consoles in addition to books; they are used as cafés and host community groups and small musical events as well as children's story time. Obviously, they cannot be all things to all people. Green Square Library and Plaza does many of these very well. It is a highly successful public meeting place and children's play space, and contains an important set of resources for local residents. If it also proves to be a sustaining refuge for readers and students, then the architects will have achieved something quite extraordinary.

Fig. 5 Julien Lanoo. Wedge-shaped library entrance and cafe [Photograph]

review / SARAH BREEN LOVETT

Boris B. Bertram (Dir.)
Human Shelter
Good Company Pictures, Denmark, 2018

For me, *Human Shelter* is a deeply poignant documentary film about transcendence. That is, transcending beyond different climatic, political, or social contexts of human shelter into a broader awareness, of varying kinds. While the notion of transcendence is spoken about directly by only one of the homes' occupants in the film, it is alluded to by all situations presented to different degrees, and is drawn out more explicitly in this review through reflection upon the filmic content in relation to the writing of Abraham Maslow.

The notion of home being the catalyst for transcendence can be understood as a rethinking of Maslow's well-known *Hierarchy of Needs* (1943: 370-396), extended by his lesser known *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (1971) and most specifically "Various Meanings of Transcendence" (1971: 259-269). If we are fortunate, our *hierarchy of needs*—physiological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualisation (1943: 372-384)—are met, at least partially, by our home. But, contrary to Maslow's notion of *pre-potency* (1943: 370), rather than seeing a deficiency in needs (such as physiological, safety, and love) as a blockage to other needs (such as esteem and self-actualisation), they can be considered a catalyst for transcending toward these, and beyond. This is articulated in Maslow's later writings about transcendence as an experience of shifting from the *deficiency-realm* to the *being-realm* (1971: 245-253). To clarify, Maslow's focus on *being* is not an end goal, as in to be in a static transcendent state, but rather transcendence is the process of flux, of simultaneously *becoming* and *being* (1971: 56-57, 108). I shall briefly outline each of the human shelters, to illustrate how the contrasting contexts are communicated as a basis for different types of transcendence to occur.

On the Norwegian horizon a vivid pink sun breaks through crisp white clouds. An iridescent field of light lilac snow spans as far as the eye can see. Variations in icy texture mark movement across the landscape. Small trees outline the filmic frame, and groups of static reindeer are almost indecipherable. Once they begin to move, a silhouetted human on an ice mobile becomes visible amongst the herd, and the whole seem to move together as one. Here, human shelter is a very small moveable hut covered in ice, but it is experienced in the broader context of the arrival of different seasons, and the sublime nature and the community of reindeer that lives within it. Here it is said that "time is of little importance". This experience of transcendence through the home can be reflected upon in terms of

Maslow's concepts of being in the present moment, and transcending time (1971: 59-60, 124, 259), as well as the notion of being deeply connected to nature as something beyond the self (1971: 60, 124, 265-266, 321). Here, due to the freezing conditions, lack of human community, and small living quarters, transcendence occurs due to a deep connection with the environment, a unique awareness of time and awareness of self in relation to it.

Boris B. Bertram (Dir.). In Norway, a reindeer herder removes ice from a miniature moveable hut in a landscape of light lilac snow [Film still]

A curator from MOMA in New York City brushes teeth and makes a warm bed adjacent to a vast library of books while coffee boils. The curator says that his understanding of home is as a place you can leave and come back to. However, this comfortable home in a developed city also provides this curator with the opportunity for transcendence beyond one's own life and concerns, into the concerns of others. This curator's quest is to find out when a "shelter becomes a home" and what defines "home" for the 60 million refugees roaming the earth, searching for a place to feel more secure. This reminds me of Maslow's concepts around transcendence of self, to focus on something which is at service to broader humanity, or a meta-motivation (1971: 261, 289-291). This curator's concerns are expressed through his sensitive and thorough exhibition called *Insecurities: Tracing Displacement and Shelter* at MOMA, which shows documentation of the global refugee emergency and features a flat-packed UNICEF home designed to house refugees, and featured in the next scene.

Amidst dust, rocks, and sandy dunes, barbed wire circumvents refugee tents in Iraq covered with plastic tarps and reflective foil. Concrete blocks hold down satellite dishes on tin drums. The importance of safety is most acutely felt in these homes; we are told that if this place did not exist, these occupants would be dead. A young poet pleads, "Dear God, help me to be able to be with all the people [. . .] please help me, help me so I can get to my community." Here the needs of being in a warm, stable, safe environment with one's family and familiar community are not met, but this situation is transcended and other needs of self-esteem and creative expression are fulfilled. Here, I cannot help but think of Maslow's notion of transcendence through adversity (1971: 262). The ability of the human spirit to transcend this difficult situation is evident when the poet asserts that "[h]ome is the place where I live. Welcome to my home, everyone's tent and mine." The tents are adorned in ornamental fabrics and rugs, businesspeople continue to get dressed

Fig. 2 Boris B. Bertram (Dir.). In Iraq an occupant of the dusty desert adorns a refugee with ornamental fabrics and rugs [Film still]

in suits, young children dance and play games despite the circumstances of being confined to a refugee camp, and hoping to return to a life, as it was—one day.

A similarly barren rocky landscape of brown earth and grey sky sits in contrast to a small white dome fed by solar power and yellow tubes. This is the Mars simulated NASA camp on the edge of a volcano in Hawaii. Here, future astronauts attempt basic human inhabitation amidst alien atmospheric conditions for eight months. Relying on oxygen supply and hermeneutic envelopes, plants are grown in the dome, not purely for physical survival, but also as a psychological escape, a connection to what is home and ultimately what it means to be human. Once released from the simulated experiment and allowed to go outside without oxygen tanks, an astronaut begins to play violin in the empty landscape, she reflects "if we are creating, then we are human". In this scene, the astronauts are transcending human culture, seeing their own experience through a distant lens, to understand it in Maslow's terms of a simultaneously experiencing and self-observing manner (1971: 260). The astronaut's occupation of space and display of human creativity sit in stark observable contrast to the inhabitable environment and scientific means of habitation.

Fig. 3 Boris B. Bertram (Dir.). In Hawaii on the edge of a volcano a future astronaut plays violin outside a hermeneutic home [Film still]

A cacophony of country and western music, cicadas and tropical birds, overlay images of peeling green paint, loose timber boarding, and filtered sunlight in a tree house in Uganda. Seemingly without facilities such as bathrooms or kitchens, it is built on a constantly growing and moving structure—a tree. The occupant of the house reflects it was made to communicate to people that we should respect the environment, not only trees, but all living things. The occupant says the reason for this choice to live in a tree was "inspired by the environment, or to be the environmentalist." Here transcendence may resonate with Maslow's shift from the meta-motivation of environmental injustices into self-actualisation (1971: 267-268, 291-296). Transcendence is realised through the home, the beliefs one holds, and expression of who one is; it is communicated through a palpable bliss experienced by the occupant.

A Japanese Buddhist monk chants and rings bells on a busy Tokyo street, where passers-by are more interested in their mobile phones. A shared apartment of fifteen occupants, full of comradery and communal meals, is placed in contrast to a lonely photographer, who lives and works in a six square metre capsule hotel. Photographing lovers on the streets from a distance, and returning to this small home to process film in the same space where teeth are cleaned, the occupant, when reflecting upon her lone existence in contrast to the business of the world outside, says, "I get to a point where I forget myself and kind of transcend." This kind of transcendence can be thought of by Maslow's notion of transcendence through dichotomy (1971: 263), where contrasting extremes can lead one to a state of transcendence, of moving beyond the situation of place into another space of consciousness.

Fig. 4 Boris B. Bertram (Dir.). In Nigeria, a boater navigates through a floating community of stilted houses [Film still]

Stilted timber slats and corrugated iron homes sit alongside overflowing garbage mounds and smoking fires that float upon the water in Nigeria. To go anywhere one must use a canoe. Paper thin and half-height walls in the homes make privacy a luxury, and the extremes of weather are felt explicitly. Despite this, the feeling of community is remarkable, and occupants praise the pleasurable sensation of a floating home. It is described as a "cool feeling of floating", a "fresh soothing sea breeze blows in, calms your nerves and makes your night restful". Rather than focusing on the unstable, cramped living conditions, concentrating upon community and natural phenomena enables a transcendence to an

appreciation of what one has. This type of transcendence can be thought through Maslow's merging of sensation of place with identification (1971: 243, 262). Here, the belonging to place and community seems to transcend many less congested, more developed, land-based living arrangements.

A landscape of black sand surrounds a seasonal glacier in Finland, which is now permanently receding. A lone cabin stands adjacent to it, handed down through generations. The family members reflect upon themselves in relation to the cabin, the position of the glacier, and the smell of spring that arrives with its melting. A father speaks of the effect of this place to the very depths of his soul, saying: "When you go to a small cabin that has nothing and you have nothing with you, you can actually feel most at home. Your soul feels most at home." He goes on to describe his understanding of the home, despite being on the edge of monumental environmental change, as being "in the context of the waves, clouds and rocks, something firm and eternal." This can be reflected upon in terms of Maslow's notion of a deficiency-realm, to move into a deeper experience of the being-realm (1971: 124, 242, 265). Here he literally transcends into a deeper connection with himself and place through having less, but seeing it in the context of all.

This closing scene circles back to the sentiment of the opening, that proximity to sublime natural landscapes can lead to heightened experiences of transcendence. However, the real depth of the film, and engagement with the notion of transcendence, can be, as seen in the array of living environments in this film, that transcendence is attained in different ways in all situations despite (and often because of) its context. This film is recommended viewing, because it gives hope. It poetically and beautifully communicates how transcendence is possible in all situations. Further, the film illustrates the complex relationships we have with our environments, which when appreciated at a deep level, can allow us to shift consciousness to a more positive state.

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bios

ENDRIANA AUDISHO
Endriana Audisho is a
Lecturer and interdisciplinary
electives course director in
the School of Architecture at
the University of Technology
Sydney (UTS). Endriana's
teaching, writing, and creative
work underscore her advoca-
cy for making things public.
Concerned with the politics of
representation, Endriana uses
her work as a forum, platform
and testing ground to expose
colonial legacies implicit
in contemporary cities. She
is currently completing a
dissertation titled "Screening
Architecture", which traces
the transformation of jour-
nalistic accounts of conflict
within the Middle East and
their relationships to archi-
tectural discourse since the
1990s. In 2019, Endriana was
awarded the NSW Architects
Registration Board's Byera
Hadley Travel Scholarship, a
research residency and grant
by the Canadian Centre for
Architecture (CCA)

ANDREW BENJAMIN
Andrew Benjamin is
Distinguished Professor of
Architectural Theory at the
University of Technology,
Sydney (and Emeritus
Professor of Philosophy
at Monash University,
Melbourne).

ANTHONY BRAND
Anthony Brand is a Lecturer
at the University of Auckland,
specialising in history, the-
ory, and criticism. Anthony
completed his Bachelor of
Architecture and Diploma of
Architecture at the University
of Nottingham (UK) before
moving to New Zealand in
2009, where he worked for
Habitat for Humanity and
completed his PhD (entitled
"Touching Architecture").
His core research interests
are phenomenology, embodi-
ment, and situated cognition
(how and why we feel the
way we do and ways in which
architecture can influence
this). His current research
centres around architectural
"traces": the perception of
time in architecture and the
sense of memory, character,
and nostalgia associated with
this. Specifically, how build-
ings can develop through
our collective memories and
establish cultural heritage.

SARAH BREEN LOVETT
Sarah Breen Lovett spends
time being a curator, artist,
and academic, and is cur-
rently lecturer and manager
of the research group, Future
Building Initiative, at Monash
University, Australia, an
initiative funded by the
Faculties of Art, Design and
Architecture and Engineering.
Breen Lovett has instigated
and been included in many

exhibitions, symposiums, and
publications at the interdis-
ciplinary meeting point of art
and architecture, with a focus
on shifting consciousness
in relation to surrounding
environments. Recent pub-
lications include chapters in
*Flow: Between Interior and
Landscape* (Bloomsbury),
*Inter and Transdisciplinary
Relationships in Architecture*
(AITNER), *Mediated Identities
in the Futures of Place:
Emerging Practices and
Spatial Cultures* (Springer),
and *Architecture Filmmaking*
(Intellect).

NIKOLINA BOBIC
Nikolina Bobic is a Lecturer in
Architecture at the University
of Plymouth. Her research
delves into the historical
and theoretical concepts to
do with politics, violence
and space. More specifical-
ly, to do with balkanization
(geopolitical fragmentation),
borders, and (post)conflict—
how these notions manifest
at the complex intersection
of architecture, urbanism,
military, media, economics,
technology, literature and
film. Nikolina's authored
*Balkanization and Global
Politics: Remaking Cities and
Architecture* was published in
2019 by Routledge. At present,
she is the co-editor of the
forthcoming two volumes
of *Routledge Handbook of
Architecture, Urban Space and
Politics* (2021 and 2022).

IAN BUCHANAN
Ian Buchanan is a Professor of
Cultural Studies at University
of Wollongong, Australia. He
is the author of *Deleuzism: A
Metacommentary* (Edinburgh
University Press, 2000);
Michel de Certeau (Sage,
2000), *Fredric Jameson: Live*

theory (Continuum, 2006); *Deleuze and Guattari's Anti-Oedipus: A Reader's Guide* (Continuum, 2008); *Oxford Dictionary of Critical Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2010) and *Assemblage Theory and Method: An Introduction and Guide* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2020). He is the founding editor of the international journal *Deleuze and Guattari Studies* (Edinburgh University Press).

CHRISTINA DELUCHI
Christina Deluchi is a Lecturer in Interior Architecture, School of Architecture at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). Her research is situated in the expanded field of urban politics and operates at the intersection of architecture and visual culture. Christina's current research project, "A Tale of New Cities: Medellín", questions the radical transformation of Medellín, Colombia, by tracing the commonalities and discontinuities in the urban strategies shaping the city since the 1970s.

CARL DOUGLAS
Carl Douglas is a Senior Lecturer in Spatial Design at Auckland University of Technology. His research circulates around two themes: unprofessional space (informal, ad-hoc, illicit, and amateur space-making); and procedural design techniques (cartography, design computation, abstraction, drawing, and intuition). His PhD, *Strange Relations*, explored relational design approaches for public space, and he is currently affiliated with the Material Imaginaries Research Collective.

A. -CHR ENGELS-SCHWARZPAUL
A. -Chr Engels-Schwarzpaul was born in Germany but has spent most of her academic career in Aotearoa New Zealand, where she teaches and writes on ideas and projects at the intersection of Indigenous Pacific Thought and Western Thought. Tina is currently a Professor of Spatial Design. She has published *Of Other Thoughts: Non-traditional Approaches to the Doctorate* (co-edited with Michael A. Peters), and from 2005 to 2014, was executive co-editor of *Interstices: Journal of Architecture and Related Arts* and co-convenor of the annual symposium.

XAVIER ELLAH
Xavier Ellah is a designer and artist based in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. He uses a multi-disciplinary drawing practice to understand the potential of intimate field observations to forge connectedness in cities. He completed his Master of Design (Spatial) at Auckland University of Technology in 2019, where he is now a part-time teaching assistant. His research around drawing and walking has led to current investigations into the relationships between garden-making, stewardship and urban temporality.

DANIEL GRINCERI
Daniel Grinceri is a full-time practising architect and teaches architectural history and theory at the University of Western Australia (UWA). He completed a Bachelor of Architecture (Hons) at Curtin University in 2000 and a PhD at UWA in 2012. In 2016, he published a book with Routledge entitled

Architecture as cultural and political discourse: Case studies of conceptual norms and aesthetic practices. His research focuses on issues of immigration, in particular, discursive forms of identity politics and how they inform certain types of spaces for the inclusion and exclusion of various kinds of people.

FARZANEH HAGHIGHI
Farzaneh Haghighi is a Lecturer in Architecture at the School of Architecture and Planning, University of Auckland, New Zealand. She holds a PhD in Architecture from The University of Sydney, Australia. Her research is concerned with the intersection of political philosophy, architecture and urbanism and her first book *Is the Tehran Bazaar Dead? Foucault, Politics, and Architecture* was published in 2018 by Cambridge Scholars Publishing. Her research seeks new avenues to enrich our creative analysis of complex built environments through investigating the implications of critical and cultural theory for architectural knowledge. Farzaneh is the co-editor of forthcoming two volumes of *Routledge Handbook of Architecture, Urban Space and Politics* (2021 and 2022).

SUSAN HEDGES
Susan Hedges is a Senior Lecturer in Spatial Design at Auckland University of Technology. Her research and publication interests embrace an interest for drawing, architecture, notation, film and critical theory. These seemingly divergent fields are connected by an interest in the relationship that exists

between the body, surface, architectural notation and visual images.

SANDRA KAJI-O'GRADY
Sandra Kaji-O'Grady is Professor of Architecture at the University of Queensland, Australia, where she teaches design. She was the Dean and Head of School at UQ between 2013 and 2018, and previously held similar roles at the University of Sydney and the University of Technology, Sydney. Her research on the expression of science in laboratory architecture culminated in two recent books: *Laboratory Lifestyles: The Construction of Scientific Fictions,* co-edited with Chris L. Smith and Russell Hughes (MIT Press, 2018), and *LabOratory: Speaking of Science and its Architecture*, with Chris L. Smith (MIT Press, 2019). Her next book examines buildings that serve as sites of interspecies work and leisure, primarily with a focus on companion animals. In her spare time, she makes art and has exhibited in Sydney and Singapore.

FRANK LIU
Frank Liu is a spatial design graduate who completed his Master of Design at Auckland University of Technology in 2019. During his final year of study, he interned at Warren + Mahoney Architects and is now a junior interior designer having been involved in several retail projects across NZ. Frank's interests lie in digital art, design story-telling and

the conversations between narrative, materiality and identity. He is also a part-time illustrator.

CAMERON LOGAN
Cameron Logan is an urban and architectural historian at the School of Architecture, Design and Planning at the University of Sydney. His work is concerned with the ways in which city-dwellers articulate their citizenship as place connection or protection. A new project extends this work beyond the domain of historic preservation activity, focusing on the planning and design of venues for crowds. Cameron is the author of *Historic Capital: Preservation, Race and Real Estate in Washington, DC* (University of Minnesota Press, 2017) and co-author, with Julie Wills and Philip Goad, of *Architecture and the Modern Hospital: Nosokomeion to Hygeia* (Routledge, 2019).

GERARD REINMUTH
Gerard Reinmuth is a Founding Director of the architectural practice TERROIR (1999-) and Professor of Practice at the School of Architecture at the University of Technology, Sydney (2011-) where he is also currently Associate Head of School. TERROIR emerged from conversations between the Founding Directors around the re-examination of place in light of contemporary cultural and environmental questions. The practice has been featured in numerous international publications and biennales, and has received numerous awards for its built work. Gerard's research and teaching specifically

explore the agency of the architect given contemporary economic and political tendencies. The intersection of these two bodies of work has culminated in Gerard's current research project, "Towards a Relational Architecture", in collaboration with Professor Andrew Benjamin, which suggests that in re-thinking how we understand the discipline, a new and more relevant conception of the profession might emerge.

STEPHEN WALKER
Stephen Walker trained as an architect and worked for architectural and design practices in the UK and Spain. He is currently Head of Architecture at the University of Manchester, UK. His research broadly encompasses architectural and critical theory and examines the questions that theoretical projects can raise about particular moments of architectural and artistic practice. A developing methodology has brought together aspects of theory with a range of practical work including Mediaeval Breton architecture, ring-roads, and the work of contemporary artists (in particular Gordon Matta-Clark, Helen Chadwick, and Warren+Mosley). More recently, he has been developing a project on the architecture of travelling street fairs and fairgrounds, with support from the RIBA Research Trust. He is an Advisory Board member for the National Fairground & Circus Archive (NFCA).

colophon

INTERSTICES 20

POLITICAL MATTERS