

MEDIATING THE SPATIALITY OF CONFLICTS

International Conference Proceedings



 BORDERS
& TERRITORIES

November 2019.
Department of Architecture, TU Delft

MEDIATING THE
SPATIALITY
OF CONFLICTS
International Conference Proceedings

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Mediating the Spatiality of Conflicts

International Conference, November 6, 7 & 8, 2019

Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft

Wednesday, November 6, 2019

09.00-09.30	Registration and Reception	Berlagezaal 2
09.30-10.00	Welcoming Notes Marc Schoonderbeek, Programme Director B&T	Berlagezaal 1
10.00-12.30	Photogrammetry Workshop Ariel Caine, Forensic Architecture	Room K
	3D Semantic Data Modelling Workshop Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico, ARIADNE Plus	Room J
11.00-12.00	Borders & Territories PhD Presentations Nama'a Qudah 'Spatialising Displacement' Guest reviewers: Caren Kaplan and Adam Ramadan <i>Moderator: Andrej Radman</i>	Berlagezaal 1
12.30-13.30	Lunch Break	Berlagezaal 2
13.30-16.00	Photogrammetry Workshop Ariel Caine, Forensic Architecture	Room K
	3D Semantic Data Modelling Workshop Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico, ARIADNE Plus	Room J
14.00-15.00	Borders & Territories PhD Presentations Grazia Tona 'Border Drift: the multiplication of liminal spaces' Guest reviewer: Caren Kaplan <i>Moderator: Andrej Radman</i>	Berlagezaal 1
16.00-16.30	Coffee Break	Berlagezaal 2
16.30-18.30	Keynote Lecture Caren Kaplan 'Drones and the Image Complex: the limits of representation in an era of distance warfare' <i>Moderator: Armina Pilav</i>	Berlagezaal 1
19.30-21.30	Film Screening 'The Temperature of the War' Curated and presented by Ilona Jurkonyté	Filmhuis Lumen Doelenplein 5

Thursday, November 7, 2019

09.00-09.30	Registration and Reception	Berlagezaal 2
09.30-11.00	Session 1 (Spaces of Conflict) The Political Agency of Photography Christopher Chen, Jeffrey Kruth and Emine Görgül <i>Chair: Caren Kaplan</i>	Berlagezaal 1
09.30-11.00	Photogrammetry Workshop Ariel Caine, Forensic Architecture	Room K
	3D Semantic Data Modelling Workshop Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico, ARIADNE Plus	Room J
11.00-11.15	Coffee Break	Berlagezaal 2
11.15-12.45	Session 2 (Spaces of Conflict) The Political Agency of Moving Images Katarina Anđelković, Noa Roei, Aikaterini Antonopoulou <i>Chair: Ilona Jurkonyté</i>	Berlagezaal 1
11.15-12.45	Photogrammetry Workshop Ariel Caine, Forensic Architecture	Room K
	3D Semantic Data Modelling Workshop Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico, ARIADNE Plus	Room J
12.45-13.30	Lunch Break	Berlagezaal 2
13.30-15.00	Session 3 (Spaces of Memory) Critical Cartographies Liat Savin Ben Shoshan and Sigal Barnir, Siobhan Barry, Nela Milić <i>Chair: Marc Schoonderbeek</i>	Berlagezaal 1
13.30-15.00	Workshop Roundtables	Room K & J
15.00-15.30	Coffee Break	Berlagezaal 2
15.30-17.00	Session 4 (Spaces of Memory) Media Traces and the Non-Memorial Ahmad Beydoun, Ecem Saricayir, Faye Mullen <i>Chair: Armina Pilav</i>	Berlagezaal 1
17.15-18.30	Keynote Lecture Pelín Tan 'Territorial Conflict, Entanglement of Things, and Transversal Methods in Research' <i>Moderator: Aleksandar Staničić</i>	Berlagezaal 1
18.30-19.30	Opening Exhibition and Reception CLUI, Nicolás Kísic Aguirre, Omar Mismar, Faye Mullen, Eliyahu Keller and Eytan Mann, and Katarina Anđelković <i>Chair: Gabriel Schwake</i>	BKExpo; Corridor

Friday, November 8, 2019

09.00-09.30	Registration and Reception	Berlagezaal 2
09.30-11.00	Session 5 (Spaces of Conflict) Critical Cartographies Corine van Emmerik, Melina Philippou, Socrates Stratis <i>Chair: Heidi Sohn</i>	Berlagezaal 1
09.30-11.00	Photogrammetry Workshop Ariel Caine, Forensic Architecture	Room K
	3D Semantic Data Modelling Workshop Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico, ARIADNE Plus	Room J
11.00-11.15	Coffee Break	Berlagezaal 2
11.15-12.45	Session 6 (Spaces of Conflict) Places in Conflict Negotiation Margarethe Mueller, Lutz Robbers, Francesca Zanutto <i>Chair: Marc Schoonderbeek</i>	Berlagezaal 1
11.15-12.45	Photogrammetry Workshop Ariel Caine, Forensic Architecture	Room K
	3D Semantic Data Modelling Workshop Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico, ARIADNE Plus	Room J
12.45-14.00	Lunch Break	Berlagezaal 2
14.00-15.30	Session 7 (Spaces of Memory) Mediated Activism Eliza Culea-Hong, Daniella Maamari, Gökçe Önal <i>Chair: Armina Pilav</i>	Berlagezaal 1
14.00-15.30	Workshop Wrap-Ups	Room K & J
15.30-15.45	Coffee Break	Berlagezaal 2
15.45-17.15	Session 8 (Spaces of Memory) Memory and the Spectacle Mariacristina D'Oria, Eliyahu Keller and Eytan Mann, Delia Duong Ba Wendel <i>Chair: Aleksandar Staničić</i>	Berlagezaal 1
17.30-18.00	Workshop Presentations Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico, Ariel Caine	Berlagezaal 1
18.00-19.30	Roundtable Discussion and Closure <i>Moderators: Heidi Sohn and Marc Schoonderbeek</i>	Berlagezaal 2
20.00-22.00	Conference Dinner	Café de V, Delft

Mediating the Spatiality of Conflicts

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Conflicts are real events located in space. Yet, they are also explanations of carefully constructed, ‘seductive’ images of destruction and its consequences disseminated by popular and mainstream media: ravished landscapes, ruined architectures, lifeless bodies, involuntary migratory movements, impermanent infrastructures and temporary settlements. These types of images of conflict contribute in enabling and justifying geo-political transformations through the tracing and (re) construction of borders, fuelling in its wake a host of related post-conflict processes that range from socio-spatial displacements, real-estate driven urban reconstruction to mass tourism. But when dislodged from the conventional understandings as politico-economic processes, or as State-led military systems of war and destruction, conflicts reveal dimensions that unlock other inherent potentials latent in their agency. In this light, conflict produces more than turmoil, destruction and the eradication of (the possibility of) life and its supporting structures. It generates transitional (and other) spaces across different scales and domains, fosters the emergence of differentiated material

ecologies, as well as of the production of site-specific meanings in relation to their global position. The agency of conflict thus fulfils a mediatic role through which, and by which, it is possible to approximate the spatiality of its expressions; in other words, it allows us to read its ‘symptomatology’. Thus, the mediatic — and mediating — potentials and agency of conflict may be apprehended as experimental methods for analysis and synthesis, as potent resources for pedagogy across disciplines, as tools for disruptive design, as well as a means for the production of theory.

In this sense, the emphasis on the mediatic aspect of conflict opens up a space of negotiation between conditions of violence and innovative forms of everyday life. In this, artistic mediations are arguably as effective in resolving conflicts as violence itself. Yet, they do so by other means and through different channels, thus enabling new subjectivities to emerge, and establishing new power-relations that foster other forms of political struggle. Exposing conflict and violence through artistic and intellectual work is an ethico-aesthetic endeavour that supports an activist practice rooted in artistic and technological

mediation. The agency of artistic work in terms of conflict is situated in the capacity of visualising the conflict at hand and its spatiality, creating awareness of its causes and the impact of its consequences. But perhaps more importantly, it aids in the creation of fertile grounds and spaces of possibility from where productive forms of protest, contestation and change might emerge, and thus, it is key in the creation of alternative and new realities. Here, the role of space as a relational product of social action and material transformation is equally significant, as it provides a common ground, or shared problematic, across a broad range of disciplinary fields and practices, which would otherwise remain distant. These inter- and transdisciplinary encounters (in general, but also in relation to the ‘symptomatology’ of conflict mentioned earlier) around a shared problematic produce more than the exchange of knowledge and critical thought. Together, they hold the potential to form the contours of a critical cartography of the spatiality of conflicts.

It is along these lines that the Borders & Territories research group, in collaboration with the Architecture Theory group of the Faculty of Architecture of the TU Delft, and the Department of Landscape Architecture of Sheffield University, organised the international conference ‘Mediating the Spatiality of Conflicts’ held in November 2019. In response to the conceptual framework, the conference organisers received an impressive amount of diverse reactions and thematic proposals that attested to the far-reaching interest and relevance of the problématique of the spatiality of conflicts. Given that the conference focused on media, the organisers decided to move beyond the conventional standard of paper presentations at conferences, and offered a wide range of other venues in which the mediation of conflicts could be addressed and expressed in other modalities. From the submitted proposals, the organisers

selected a series of abstracts and other forms of contributions in different media that addressed the concerns of the conference thematic, namely the relationships between spatiality, mediation and conflict, and its two main lines: spaces of conflict (as transitional spaces of material interactions between violence and everyday life), and spaces of memory (as transformative spaces of violence).

In this way, the conference program organised a series of events and eight paper presentation sessions in the Faculty of Architecture, as well as in the centre of Delft. During three intensive days the conference participants presented a rich variety of advanced research papers that addressed the thematic of the conference from surprisingly diverse and fresh angles. These were enriched and complemented with presentations in other modalities of media and mediatic tools, ranging from electronic waves, sound, photography to installations and film, as well other experimental artistic approaches to the thematic of space, media and conflict. The conference program included keynote lectures and paper presentations, round table discussions; two parallel workshop sessions on photogrammetry (led by Ariel Caine of Forensic Architecture) and 3D semantic data modelling (led by Paola Ronzino and Nicola Amico of ARIADNEplus Project); a cross-media exhibition with contributions by several artists, and the film screening session ‘The Temperature of the War’ (curated by Ilona Jurkonyté).

The conference opened with a welcoming and introductory note by Marc Schoonderbeek on behalf of the conference organisers and the Borders & Territories research group. In line with the initial considerations leading up to the conference as outlined above the introductory note started with a provocative appreciation for the agency of disagreement and conflict in architecture (using references to Marinetti’s Futurist Manifesto and COOP

Himmelblau). Arguing that architecture is the discourse of spatial demarcation, and that conflict deals with — or emerges from — territorial disagreement, the mediated response to conflict through material means is precisely what relates architecture to other artistic disciplines. The artistic internalisation of dis-agreement, located within a medium and through the use of material means, it was suggested, could thus potentially be linked to the distinction between modes of enagement, modes of operation and modes of agency in all the conference’s contributions. After the opening of the conference, the Borders & Territories research group then presented two ongoing PhD research projects in a public peer-review session. Grazia Tona and Nama’a Qudah presented their first-year research progress. This PhD research session was moderated by Andrej Radman, and supported by Caren Kaplan and Adam Ramadan as guest peer reviewers.

Simultaneously, the conference program offered two three-day workshop programs on innovative mediatic tools applied in cutting-edge architectural investigations. The Photogrammetry workshop led by Ariel Caine from Forensic Architecture research agency focused on methods of photography and computational processes for three-dimensional scanning. During the three days of the workshop participants worked in the campus of the TU Delft, and aided with simple cameras exercised photogrammetry methods from a variety of scales: from a small object to entire environments comprised of multiple scans. In addition to understanding these specific tools, participants learned from existing examples, investigating how methods of photogrammetry in combination with research may have civic applications and implications. Further, the workshop investigated the ways in which this specific mode of recording may be mobilised within wider constellations of aesthetic and political production.

The second workshop on 3D

Semantic Data Modelling dealt with the basics of developing a semantic model for large databases using CIDOC-CRM ontology as a tool for data systematisation, description of fundamental concepts and their relationships, and creating new knowledge in the area of cultural heritage. In particular, the workshop focused on the potentiality of semantic data modelling in addressing issues related to the virtual reconstruction of damaged architectural heritage. The workshop was carried out under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowship [Project *Transurbicide*, ID 798115], led by Aleksandar Staničić, whose goal is to develop new research protocols for management and interpretation of the big collections of architectural documents related to reconstruction of Belgrade after the 1999 NATO bombing.

On the evening of the first conference day keynote Prof. Caren Kaplan presented an inter-scale spatial analysis of conflict, as well as a series of critical reflections of the visualisation power of technological devices used in conflict — drones in particular — relying on media studies and feminist theory as a means to discuss the impact of popular media image on life in actual conflict zones. Kaplan examined a variety of everyday and domestic application of drones (as ‘toys’ and hobby machines, but also as powerful military automated drone-technology as the ultimate war weapons in trans-territorial war zones) and the related processes of image-making. Following Kaplan’s keynote, the special film-screening program ‘The Temperature of the War’ curated by Ilona Jurkonyté was presented in Filmhuis Lumen, located in downtown Delft. The screening included the short films ‘Sunstone’ (35 min) by Filipa Cesar and Louis Henderson, ‘Sirenomelia’ (12 min) by Emilija Škarnulytė, and ‘Iroojrilik’ (21 min) by Julian Charrière.

The second conference day included four sessions of paper

presentations organised according to the two thematic lines: spaces of conflict, and spaces of memory. The first two sessions presented research work from the perspective of the political agency of images: 'Spaces of Conflict: The Political Agency of Photography' (Session 1), and 'Spaces of Conflict: Moving Image' (Session 2). In Session 1 ('Photography') Jeffrey Kruth presented an investigation of the typology of church-architecture in rural Louisiana, USA in relation to the mediating role of photography between spatial and racial issues. Christopher Chen addressed the problematic role of news and journalistic photography in the erosion and eradication of autochthonous traditions of the Uyghur culture led by Chinese media, resulting in the folklorisation and 're-writing' of Uyghur history. Emine Görgül presented the photographic work of Ara Güler and the depiction of Istanbul in the 1950s and 1980s, arguing that the camera eye of the photographer plays an important role in the reformation of the 'event-space' of public space.

In Session 2 ('Moving Image') the contributions focused on the different agencies of the moving image. Katarina Anđelković investigated the interplay between the making of the moving image and space itself through an analysis of Gordon Matta-Clark's intervention 'Splitting' (1974). Noa Roei presentation focused on filmic narrative as an exposure to the military fantasies and strategies exposed in the construction of an actual military training camp based on a 1:1 simulation of a Palestinian village. Aikaterini Antonopoulou analysed the space of conflict in YouTube videos, investigating how the staging and re-staging of three different processions of far-right groups are mobilized against immigrants in the public spaces of Agios Panteleimon neighbourhood in Athens.

The third and fourth sessions during the afternoon program focused on a series of practices that create the

memory — or conversely — the non-memory of conflict: 'Spaces of Memory: Critical Cartographies' (Session 3) and 'Spaces of Memory: Media Traces and the Non-memorial' (Session 4). In Session 3 ('Critical Cartographies') the paper addressed the forms and consequences of traditional digital mappings and their intersections in mediatic environments, including virtual reality environments. Liat Savin Ben Shoshan and Sigal Barnir showed the historical and cultural value of the Palestinian village Lifta dating from the sixteenth century, discussing the ways in which images and mapping can disrupt the activities of the Israeli military and settlers' occupation, countering destruction and recent real estate developments produced by the colonial spatial strategy of the state of Israel. Siobhan Barry explored how spatiality and memory construct a personal experience reflective of the time of conflict from a historical distance by presenting a sculptural design studio intervention exhibited in the 'Sanctuary from the Trenches' exhibition at Dunham Massey in Cheshire, UK. Nela Milić dealt with so-called 'radical artefacts' — a compilation of apparently random artefacts and memorabilia found at specific homes, as well as images and interviews, investigating their role in the narrative unfolding of the Serbian uprisings and the attempt to overthrow Milošević's dictatorship in 1996-97.

Session 4 ('Media Traces and the Non-memorial') looked into the complex representations of conflict and the 'remembering' processes, from the analysis and collection of images of conflicts, to the use of these images in the generation of digital environments of memory, physical sculptures, performative representations, and so on. Ahmad Beydoun showed the production of complex digital environments from the experiences and narratives of detainees in Khiam Detention Centre (KDC), a military camp and prison that was established by the Israeli Army during

the occupation of South Lebanon from 1985 to 2000. Ecem Sarıcaıyır examined three artworks strategically placed on the Turkish territory along its borders, arguing that in different degrees these artworks engage with the legacy of Armenian cultural heritage in relation to memory and commemoration. Faye Mullen presented her performative lecture remotely mediated via Skype. In it, she craftfully entangled and disentangled notions of object, metaphor and violence using the trope of the 'wall' as a Leitmotif.

The afternoon sessions were concluded with the keynote Pelin Tan, who discussed a series of transversal methodologies and narratives of decolonising practices through field research and case studies in southeastern Turkey, while elaborating on Karen Barad's concept of 'intra-action', and Kathryn Yusoff's approach to colonialism and the Anthropocene.

The evening program was dedicated to the opening of the conference exhibition in the Faculty of Architecture, which included a series of installations, photographic material, video and other forms of media that highlighted the multidimensional and transdisciplinary character inherent in the spatiality of conflicts. Along the second-floor corridor, CLUI (Centre for Land-Use Interpretation) based in Los Angeles, USA, contributed with the project 'On Targets: Dropping in on American Bombing Ranges'. The CLUI exhibition included a series of fourteen photographs exposing an inventory of training ranges around the US, which offered the opportunity of reflection on the act of 'looking' and ways of seeing. Nicolás Kısık Aguirre presented his 'Speaker Tower', an ingenious sonic device that stands in as an instrument of protest. The 'Speaker Tower' claims sonic space from a public perspective. The device is designed to effect a visual, sonic and psychological impact throughout public space. Omar Mismar presented his work 'I will not find

this image beautiful' to bring awareness of the aesthetics of the clouds after the Israeli bombing of Gaza. His piece intervenes on the image script-code by inserting the names of victims, thus altering the beauty of the images of violence and presenting them as the event of the glitch and mediatic mistake. Faye Mullen's 8:18" video art-work 'AASAMISAG' starts with a meditation on the wall characterized by a sustained interest in failure, body, materiality in which her studio practice acknowledges weight as it bears as much what is physical as what is immaterial. At the end it arrives at silence and encourages the artistic creation of a space of resistance. Eliyahu Keller and Eytan Mann's VR installation 'Digital Archaeology / Virtual Narratives' studies and represent the contested history of the Palestinian village of Lifta using advanced simulation techniques, 3D scanning, and real-time rendering. Katarina Anđelković's piece 'The Generalštab Building as Image: A history decomposed' focuses on the representation of time in the case of the damaged Generalštab building, the Serbian Military HQ in Belgrade, bombed in the international military intervention led by NATO against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999. Katarina's work shows the filmic atmosphere of the building that is perceived as 'the monument' to conflictual histories with parallel narratives: one about the final dissolution of what was left of Socialist Yugoslavia, and the other about the NATO 'aggression' against the notorious regime of Slobodan Milošević.

The third and last day of the conference included four sessions of paper presentations organised again under the conference themes, spaces of conflict and spaces of memory. The first two sessions delved into the notions of conflict from two different, but interrelated perspectives: 'Critical Cartographies' (Session 5) and the role of place in the negotiation of conflicts (Session 6). Session 5 ('Spaces of Conflict: Critical Cartographies') looked into literal and conceptual forms of mapping and

cartographic practice through which to visualise, explore and critique different positionalities and emergent subjectivities in zones of conflict. Corine van Emmerik discussed artistic practices in Palestine that blend traditional crafts such as embroidery and leather-work with contemporary design, enabling processes of becoming and spaces of emancipation within contexts of occupation and colonisation. Melina Philippou presented a stunning cartographic project that maps the informal migration and refugee routes (EMR) spanning from Greece to Germany, while simultaneously investigating the interconnections of policies and international agreements in diagrammatic ways. Socrates Stratis presented research based on critical urban pedagogies as a hybrid form of crossed action between architectural interventions, landscape design, international law in the design studio work conducted in Cyprus. It takes examples of 'agonistic' architectural projects in zones of exception as a means to deliberate on conceptual, political and pedagogical practices geared towards critical cartographies.

Session 6 ('Spaces of Conflict: Place in Conflict Negotiation') dealt with different artistic practices aimed at mediating conflict through material negotiation of cause and purpose. Margarethe Mueller showed a series of works from the research collective on urbanism and architecture 'Transbanana'. The work is situated in Gorizia/Nova Gorica (Italy/ Slovenia), a city divided until 2004 by the EU-external border. The creation of a Ping-Pong network and Common Ground as urban design strategy across both sides of the border, initiated research initiatives geared towards the production of knowledge, as well as to direct processes of change both in social imagination about the actual and past spatial reality of the division. Lutz Robbers took the experimental film 'Trop Tôt, Trop Tard' (1980) by Jean-Marie Straub and Danièle Huillet as a point of departure,

arguing that the mediation of Straub/Huillet offers a theory of the built environment as a 'matter of contention' in which the past revolution marked by the Place de la Bastille is hidden and finally lost by the correct flow of cars, avoiding possible congestions. Francesca Zanotto focused on the conflict related to urban solid waste while relating it to the other film works on ecological dangers and pollution. Zanotto presented the work of Mierle Laderman Ukeles (1977) as an analysis of the oblivion around waste and the awareness and the involvement of citizens in the social pact of public metabolism, focusing on the spatial dimension of the urban environment and its infrastructures as the essential media triggering this pact.

The afternoon paper sessions 'Spaces of Memory' discussed the issues of 'Mediated Activism' (Session 7) and 'Memory and the Spectacle' (Session 8). In Session 7 ('Mediated Activism') Eliza Culea-Hong attempted to re-contextualise Lebbeus Woods's work on the destruction of Sarajevo and his visit to the city in 1993, arguing that, in spite of the criticism to which Woods's work has been subjected, when seen as a strategy of salvation (of the Balkans) there exist in it the possibility of redemption. Daniella Maamari presented her research on Jocelyne Saab, the unacknowledged pioneering woman of Lebanese documentary film-making. Saab's important contribution to Lebanese memory stored in films contributes to the creation of an archive of footage from Lebanon from the 1930s to the 1990s in a collage that is meant to show how different cinematic projects viewed Lebanon throughout history. Gökçe Önal's paper analysed the digital image as a dynamic, three-dimensional process rather than as a photographic surface phenomenon, demonstrating how media ecologies can inform theories of urbanisation through an examination of extractive views, thus offering a framework to study spatial representations beyond visual

modalities.

In the final session of the conference, Session 8 ('Memory and the Spectacle') Mariacristina D'Oria focused on the relationship between past war zones, related infrastructures and the production of culture and tourism. D'Oria analysed contemporary post-Yugoslav space in the construction works of traditional villages for film and tourism (by Emir Kusturica) in relation to the remnants of the infrastructures of the nuclear testing sites in Nevada National Security Site in the US, infamous for the mushroom clouds result of nuclear explosions. Eliyahu Keller and Eytan Mann discussed the pedagogical and design values of immersive technologies and digital representations, including visual installations, advanced simulation techniques, 3D scanning, and real-time rendering using the village of Lifta as a case study. Delia Duong Ba Wendel joined the session remotely, and reflected on the traces of an intimate and horrific history of genocide memory and its curation in Rwanda.

The conference closed with a round-table discussion moderated by Heidi Sohn and Marc Schoonderbeek in which the conference attendees and presenters reflected on the many fruitful relationships and connections that were established during the conference days between not only fields of study and academic traditions, but also between discursive and conceptual production and research, various media formats and technologies, as well as artistic practices and 'disciplined' and 'undisciplined' approaches to the issues of spatial conflicts. Over the three intense conference days a rich patch-work of textured materials, ideas, tools, attitudes and awareness emerged: a cartography of the spatiality of conflicts and its mediation. In recognising both, the multifarious and rich positionalities and expertise that converged at the conference, as well as the formation of a shared common ground around the problematics of conflict, its

spatiality and its mediation, the conference participants reflected on the importance of thinking through these matters together, that is, collectively and with a transdisciplinary engagement. The round-table discussion united an energetic group of involved individuals who recognised the theoretical gap that exists both in media studies and in conflict studies and that is yet to be filled; a gap that may be narrowed with the enormous potential latent in media tools in the exploration and production of spatial conflicts, and which begs for the continuation of our efforts and investigations. The conference concluded with the proposal to organise another conference in the near future, making this event the first one in a line of many more to come.

Acknowledgements

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film-screening program possible. A special thank you to our fantastic layout and design assistant editor Lucija Grofelnik, who also assisted us greatly during and after the conference, especially in the production of these Conference Proceedings. And finally, to all the conference attendees and contributors without whom the conference would not have been possible, we thank you, and look forward to more fruitful encounters and exchanges in the near future.

Drones and the Image Complex: The Limits of Representation in the Era of Distance Warfare

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How do images operate? Can we think of the image as a process rather than a static representation? The primary animating questions of this gathering inevitably lead me, as a historian of cultural ideas, to consider the object we call the ‘drone’ in relation to its ontological relations and material workings. Specifically, I find myself somewhat mystified by the persistent tendency to refer to drones as ‘eyes in the sky’ — anthropomorphising a set of processes and practices that can hardly be more opposite to the workings of the human eye. The unmanned aerial vehicle — whether we are referring to the weaponised drones mobilised by the military or the smaller so-called sUAS or ‘hobby drones’ — *can* produce what we may understand to be images but they do so through both directed and automatic processes that cannot be reduced to either fully human or machinic. Drones exemplify the multitudinous elements of networks, the complexity and unruly mobility of the rhizomatic, the uncanniness of the cyborg, and, most definitely, a gritty and far-reaching materiality. Drones produce amorphous atmospherics as well as geographical ground truths. They make life and death. How do we situate something as discrete as ‘the image’ in relation to such a phenomenon?

In my work on the aerial view in Western culture, I have attempted to defamiliarise the commonplace metaphor of the ‘eye in the sky’, arguing that we are attached to it for a reason—that it obscures material histories and is necessary for our common sense understanding of a division

between earth and sky as well as accepted beliefs surrounding the parameters of space and practices of navigation between specified locations. As Denis Cosgrove has argued, the aerial cosmology that derived from Greek classicism and Christian philosophy produced a paradox — that is, a ‘universality that is necessarily proclaimed for a positioned location’.¹ The Apollonian eye, as Cosgrove terms it, ‘which pulls diverse life on earth into a vision of unity’ is ‘individualised, a divine and mastering view from a single perspective’.² Although firmly rooted in Western European Baroque religious iconography, the literal image of the eye in the sky became adopted by the new secular republics in modernity as a symbol of rational Enlightenment objectivity and democracy.³ It is an enduring convention — the phrase or representation of an eye or eyes in the sky recur repeatedly throughout modernity.

Indeed, the phrase ‘eye in the sky’ is ubiquitous in English language discourse — ranging from references to Cold War satellite systems,⁴ to the title of a novel by the science fiction luminary Philip K. Dick,⁵ to gambling casino security systems,⁶ to the title of innumerable conferences⁷ and several movies and television series,⁸ to the name of many security-related businesses,⁹ to a hit song from the 1980s by The Alan Parsons Project.¹⁰ It is an extremely powerful metaphor and popular phrase and we could leave it at that ... but this reference to a human eye that can ‘see all’ performs important work in our culture, work that can be lethal, and that requires further unpacking. Since the

advent of industrialisation this ‘view’ has become mechanised and instrumental to national and commercial security at many scales. Indeed, since the first cameras were installed in airplanes during the Italian air war on Libya in 1911, the idea that mechanically produced and reproduced images can provide a masterful and meaningful extension of human sight has become an iron-clad form of common sense.¹¹ Cameras in the air — whether attached to a pigeon or a kite or situated in an airplane, satellite, or drone — are believed to provide the most scientifically realistic and accurate evidence of what can be seen and therefore verified. Yet the paradoxical tension between a rational, universal God’s Eye that observes ‘all’ and an individualised, invested perspective also points to the uneven and often fraught relationship between human and machine. Whose vision and under whose aegis for what ends?

Accordingly, in the introduction to his book, *Eyes in the Sky: Eisenhower, the CIA and Cold War Aerial Espionage*, published in 2010, Dino Brugioni could write that all of the ‘advances’ made in the ‘art and science of reconnaissance from the biblical age to the modern era’ are ‘an astonishing record’ of the ‘genius and enduring accomplishments that created a new, intensely personal view the world’.¹² Brugioni is one of the primary chroniclers of the rise of satellite systems during the Cold War and the growing dependence on reconnaissance imagery by intelligence agencies. After flying numerous bombing and reconnaissance missions during World War II, Brugioni joined the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1948 (just after its creation), eventually becoming Chief of Information for the agency’s National Photographic Interpretation Center (NPIC). Over a thirty-year period, Brugioni established many of the key tropes and structuring ideologies of US aerial reconnaissance and surveillance. His linking of aerial views, including

those produced by satellites and drones, to an ‘intensely personal view of the world’ gestures to a commonsense conception of views from above as timeless and universal even as they operate intensely in the national interest from the standpoint of the patriotic individual. This paradoxical relationship between the nonspecific time of universalism and the extreme particular located in the individual human viewpoint drives the myth of the ‘eye in the sky’ and, perhaps, accounts for its adoption as an ideological truism by both arch conservatives and left progressives (and everyone in between).

Given the cyborgian assemblage that makes possible the operations we refer to colloquially as a ‘drone’, we have to wonder who benefits from the anthropomorphising reduction of such complexity to an ‘eye’. Even transferring the mechanic workings of the camera to the biological function of the human eye requires a major mystification of science, technology, and politics. In other words, the powerful connection between drones and the phrase ‘eye in the sky’ performs important work, culturally — work that is productive of atmospheric politics.¹³ It sutures the technology and its complex materiality to a comfortably human scale of vision thereby erasing or mystifying that materiality, a materiality which would trouble extremely any reduction of the sensing operations of drones simply to the act of looking. There are costs to this erasure or mystification that also impoverish our understanding of what we mean by the image.

Drones condense and disseminate to a significant degree the paradoxical politics of vision and perspective I have described thus far. In order to demystify this pervasive ‘way of seeing’, it is necessary to remind ourselves of just what drones are and what they do and how they do it. Thanks to Katherine Chandler’s work on the early history of drones,¹⁴ we know that drones have been around as long

as airplanes — although their incorporation into the US military really only became regularised during the war in Vietnam and, of course, since 2001 drones have become an integral part of the strategy and tactics of the ‘war on terror’.¹⁵ Katharine Hall also focuses on the longer history of unmanned aerial vehicles, arguing that the significant innovation augured by drones is the way they bring together two specific intersecting technologies, ‘information gathering and knowledge production’ with ‘practices of targeting and killing’.¹⁶ In other words, drones do not simply observe (like orbital satellites) or attack (like fighter planes). Military drones are always already weaponised through the ‘epistemological violence common to both’ — surveillance and targeting.¹⁷ In this moment, after eighteen years of continuous warfare waged by the US and its allies across numerous fronts, drones come in all sizes and many shapes, from teeny, tiny ‘bugbots’¹⁸ to enormous Predators¹⁹ — with many different configurations, purposes, and possibilities.

Indeed, not all drones are geared overtly for war. The market for hobby-size quad copters (small drones with four rotors) has exploded along with the arrival of heavy-lifting drones for package delivery (already in operation in China, and soon to be zipping an Amazon package to your door).²⁰ While drones used by the military dominate our headlines and consciousness, a steady drumbeat, if you will, of studies, reports, and industry analyses remind us, as this *New York Times* headline states: ‘Drones kill, yes, but they also rescue, research and entertain’.²¹ The consumer drone industry in the US has grown exponentially after FAA exemptions were issued to hundreds of companies in 2015.²² A recent article in *Business Insider* projects that sales of drones will surpass \$12 billion by 2021 based on rapid growth in three sectors: ‘Consumer Drones, Enterprise Drones (also known as Commercial Drones), and Government Drones’.²³ If

we trace the movement of drones into multiple arenas — military, policing, humanitarian, commercial, industrial, and leisure / entertainment — we discover not only differences of scale and intention but continuities that are characteristic of the tensions between neoliberal transnational flows and the intensification of monitoring and tracking in the era of the security state.²⁴ That is, in order to counter the idea that drones ‘see’ transparently from above, I do not find it helpful to divide drones simply into ‘good’ or ‘bad’, ‘large’ or ‘small’, ‘domestic’ or ‘military’.²⁵ All of these iterations and uses are entangled in ways that remain to be studied seriously. I am interested in the way remotely operated aerial vehicles make their worlds, materially and elementally, as hybrid machines — as complex assemblages that gather and produce people, objects, discourses, information, terrains, atmospheres, and, in ways we must make more complicated, images.

Nevertheless, the drone mobilised for military use has attracted the attention of most critics who are interested in visual culture not so much thanks to the challenges of conceptualising them relationally as material objects but, rather in thrall to the kind of cultural associations that I gestured towards at the start of my remarks. This mystification leads to a kind of synergistic discourse of ‘total warfare’ on the part of the military and its critics. The asymmetric warfare that characterises the era of the ‘war on terror’ is touted by the major industrialised nations and their militaries as infinitesimally precise and spectacularly effective yet we know across numerous conflicts that such estimations of air war are always inflated and inaccurate.²⁶ It is actually quite difficult to prosecute the kind of wars we are pursuing from above, without large numbers of troops on the ground. Depending on ‘machine vision’ for ‘situational awareness’ and algorithms for predictive behavior patterns has led to the slaughter of thousands of civilians and

further destabilisation of civil society in the regions where drone strikes take place.²⁷ We can argue about whether or not we need higher resolution or can improve algorithms, whether fuller rollout of AI capacities would improve accuracy — the categorisation of targets is profoundly cultural and cannot be assuaged by the function of machines, no matter how ‘intelligent’ they may be.²⁸ If the US intends to pursue an asymmetric war by depending on air strikes against a population that has no air force, civilians are expendable while US ground forces are not. The mystique that surrounds the drone assists in masking the genocidal war crimes²⁹ inherent to such asymmetrical warfare for a public that has been coached to believe in the truth value of persistent surveillance and its associated imagery.

Despite these complex histories, geopolitics, and material relations, the mystified concept of the imagery produced by drones fascinates military and civilian consumers alike. Scores of journalistic and academic articles and books have positioned the drone as providing the most penetrating and pervasive form of aerial vision since the inception of aviation. As Michael Richardson reminds us, the drone is considered by many to be ‘the paradigmatic figure of emergent perception in the contemporary world’.³⁰ Nevertheless, in ‘From a view to a kill’, Derek Gregory’s well-known article first published in 2011, he delineated two aspects of the sensing operations of military drones that begin to deconstruct this kind of mythology of the ‘all seeing’ God’s Eye/drone. First, Gregory proposes that a specific ‘scopic regime’ structures drone operations. Following Martin Jay, he borrows the term ‘scopic regime’ from Christian Metz who devised it to draw a distinction between cinematic and theatrical modes of ‘staging and seeing the world’.³¹ The term has become expanded to describe visuality as tied not only to the biological function of sight but as a set of practices and beliefs that are socially and historically contingent.

Mystified descriptions of drone-sight evacuate historical antecedents and current complexities, offering simplified and even completely incorrect accounts of this emergent visual apparatus. Celebratory accounts of the powerful extension of human sight through the mediation of an object that is not geo-stationary like a remote sensing satellite but flexible, mobile, and also, weaponised, created throughout the 2000s and into our current decade something I have called the ‘drone-o-rama’.³² That is, drones appeared in news reports of all kinds — not only war reporting but, increasingly, in ‘human interest’ stories that paved the way for the intensive integration of the technology into civilian and consumer markets (and not incidentally, remediated nationalist concerns about both domestic and global security). The scopic regime of the drone produced and was seen to reflect a brand new prosthetic visual power, a cultural phenomenon that evacuates the long history of discourses of precision and accuracy densely attached to aerial vehicles and cameras of all kinds across scales large and small. This passionate popular embrace of drone technology is not accidental. There is a powerful military/industrial/entertainment complex behind it.³³ We may find ourselves hailed or repelled by it but we are not in any position to avoid it. The technologies that power our leisure and work practices now depend upon and regenerate similar effects and desires for better resolution, faster speeds, and smarter connections.

This point leads to Gregory’s second deconstructive move in ‘From a view to a kill’ — the emergence of a super lethal ‘special kind of intimacy that consistently privileges the view of the hunter-killer’.³⁴ It may seem counter intuitive to refer to the dynamics of an operation that requires upwards of 185 personnel to keep each Predator or Reaper aloft and in operation as ‘intimate’ but Gregory patiently works through the limits and possibilities of ‘drone vision’ circa the

first decade of this century — the heyday of the targeted killing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan to consider this powerful ideological construct. While the ‘multi-spectral targeting system’ in the large military drones might seem to provide spectacular ‘real-time full-motion video’ at astounding resolution, Gregory reminds us that many operators have complained that this ‘field of view is restricted’ and that ‘zooming in is like looking through a soda straw’.³⁵ This narrowing of the field of vision may be alleviated by newer technical innovations like vehicles that deploy multiple cameras and sensors (although managing the massive influx of such data feeds may engender other problems). Gregory’s point is that these various ‘visibilities are necessarily conditional’,³⁶ constructing invisibilities at the same time as the visual. Moreover, accounts by drone sensors and pilots reveal that a particular kind of intimacy is produced by drone operations based on persistent and prolonged visual observation of a field that is mediated by the dynamics of the screen as well as other formats and streams of information. Indeed, in contrast to the ‘linear and sequential’ World War II era ‘kill chain’ that was directed mainly at fixed and pre-determined targets, often extended over ‘days or even weeks’, in the age of drone warfare the kill-chain is ‘increasingly directed at mobile and emergent targets’.³⁷ Here we have a multiplicity of subjects — or, as Gregory terms it, a ‘dispersed and distributed *apparatus*, a congerie of actors, objects, practices discourses and affects, that entrains the people who are made part of it and constitutes them as particular kinds of subjects’, and I would add, the drone itself or its selves.³⁸ Everyone in this network is drawn into the ‘killing space’ in a manner that is not so much distanced and disembodied as the popular stereotypes of drone warfare promote as an intensification of the oppositional relationship between hunter and hunted. High-resolution imagery produced by drones is not simply

a reflection of what exists to be seen whole and entire but is instead ‘part of a techno-cultural system that renders ‘our’ space familiar even in ‘their’ space — which remains obdurately Other and, hence, the ground of enemy combatants’.³⁹ This ‘new form of intimacy’, ‘at once collective and one-sided’, fuses the ‘view from above’ and ‘the view from below’, appropriating and homogenising both views.⁴⁰ As Gregory puts it, in this ‘new military optic, both points of view are always ours’.⁴¹

This point echoes one made by Nasser Hussain who has argued that a drone’s camera angle is ‘always the same: the overhead shot’:

The overhead shot excludes the shot/reverse shot, the series of frontal angles and edits that make up face-to-face dialogue. With the overhead shot, there is no possibility of returning the gaze. The overhead shot neither invites nor permits participation in its visual economy. It is the filmic cognate of asymmetric war ... The overhead shot, coeval with air power itself, both produces and solidifies asymmetry and criminalisation, which in turn produces a moral and legal justification of the violence.⁴²

Indeed, as David Omissi and others have shown, military aviation has always produced policing practices of patrol and ‘pacification’, always already justifying the harm of non-combatants and delegitimising protest against colonial regimes and imperialist occupations.⁴³ Thus, as Nasser goes on to argue, while the ‘fantasy’ of the drone strike’s precision has circulated culturally and globally during the ‘war on terror’, the lived experience of a drone strike exemplifies ‘what the camera can’t see’.⁴⁴ That is, if drone pilots and sensor operators cannot hear but can only ‘see’, ‘the exact opposite is true for people on the ground’:

Because drones are able to hover at or above 30 thousand feet, they are mostly invisible to the people below them. But they can be heard. Many people from the tribal areas of Pakistan (FATA) describe the sound as a low-grade, perpetual buzzing, a signal that a strike could occur at any time. The locals call the drones *mocha*, mosquitos. Because the drone can surveil the area for hours at a time, and because each round of surveillance may or may not result in a strike, the fear and anxiety among civilians is diffuse and chronic.⁴⁵

Between the two sides of the binary of sight and sound, is a 'thicker definition of civilian harm', one that can dismantle 'in part, the visual regime of the drone, its will to omniscience and precision' and, yet, never resurrect its victims.⁴⁶

Hussain's moving inquiry into the phenomenology of drone strikes begins to deconstruct the twin fantasies of both airpower and the cinematic image, based as they are on the overhead and proscenium view. If we think of drones only as fancy, hyper visual cameras in the sky—as the latest endpoint in a technological teleology of visual precision and accuracy—we miss the opportunity to better understand the culture and politics of media, communications, sensing and imaging, and digitalised technologies in the current moment (as well as in the past). Because, as Anna Munster reminds us, the drone's supposed 'first person' point of view 'does not come from a person at all'.⁴⁷ To begin to expand our notion of what counts as the image in the era of drone warfare we need to account for the vast assemblage that constitutes the machine and its many humans, its infrastructures, and the ways it makes things materially and elementally. For example, drones contribute to the design and production of airspace and atmospheres as well as to our apprehension of such elements and spaces. As Lisa Parks puts it, as drones move through

airspace, they not only alter the 'chemical composition of the air' or affect the 'thought or behavior' of those who operate them or are subject to their sensing operations, drones 'shape where people move and how they communicate, which buildings stand and which are destroyed, who shall live and who shall die'.⁴⁸ I appreciate this corrective because it does not essentialise unmanned aerial vehicles as either the puppets at the end of long strings dominated and manipulated by evil human beings or as totally autonomous objects luminous and pulsing with their own affective powers. Instead, following Mark Jackson and Maria Fannin, we can understand drones not only as solid, objective things in static airspace but as 'moment(s) in an energetic politics of plastic and metals, resource wars, parts commodity chains, visual infrastructures, military installations in the mountains of Utah and Pachir Wa Agam, silence and height, absent presence, GIS, video affects, guilt and rationalised culpability, and so on...'.⁴⁹ They are speaking here of the large military drones like the Reaper and Predator. But imagining the drone's elemental materiality can be expanded to include all manner of smaller drones (sUAS), stretching, as Jackson and Fannin put it, the 'discursive domain of politics to statistics, affect, consumption, touch, fossil fuels, video, and their matters themselves', leading to an 'unending unfolding and remolding of implicate meanings which materially subtend but resonate through, the phenomenology of elementally assumed starting points: the solid drone'.⁵⁰

Accordingly, when a photographer gets licensed to use a drone to take wedding photographs or to do real estate surveys, or when Amazon tests remotely operated delivery drones, or when an NGO uses drones to locate water resources or when activists fly drones to document protests we may find it hard to associate these devices and activities with the drones deployed by the military, metropolitan police, or border patrol. But all of these vehicles contribute

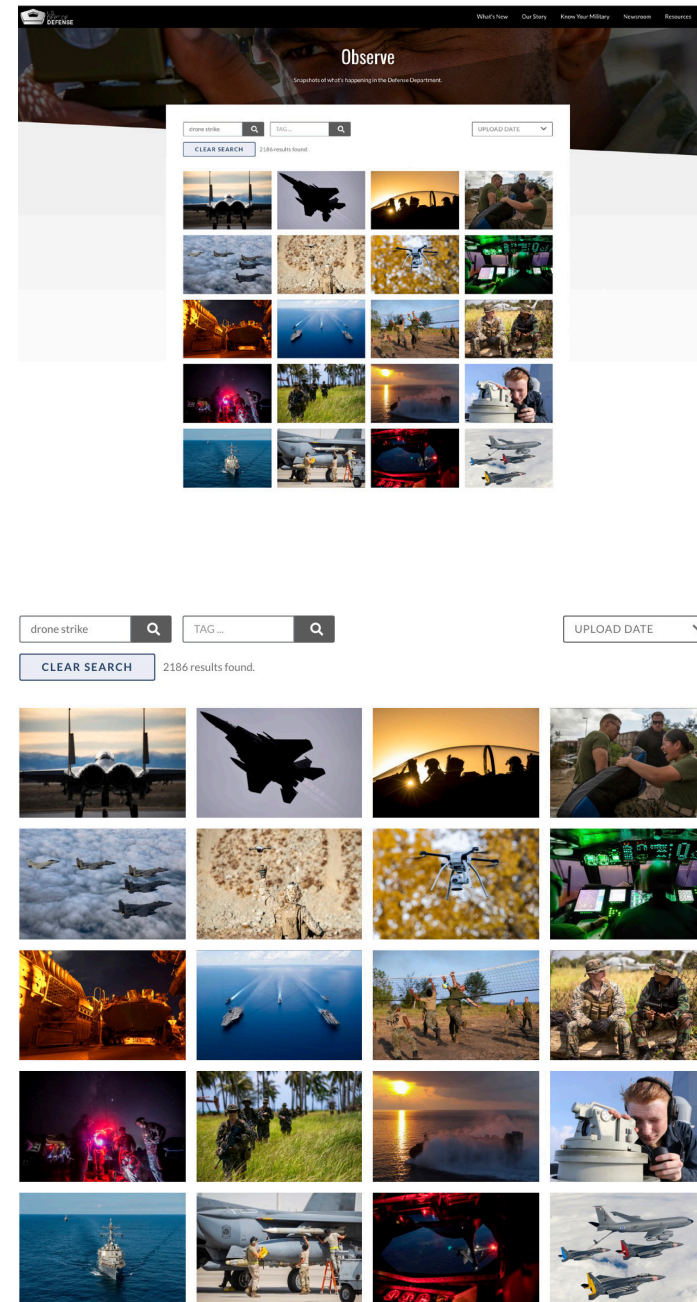


Figure 1 US Department of Defense website. 'Observe' snapshots compiled in response to search term 'drone strike'. [screen shot. <https://www.defense.gov/observe/photo-gallery/?igsearch=drone%20strike>. Accessed 18 January 2020]

Figure 2 A closer view. US Department of Defense website. 'Observe' snapshots compiled in response to search term 'drone strike'. [screen shot. <https://www.defense.gov/observe/photo-gallery/?igsearch=drone%20strike>. Accessed 18 January 2020]

to the making of the atmospheres through which they move as well as the terrain and built environments in their vicinity and produce drone operators and sensors along with targets and subjects of observation as well as imagery. Keeping this entire range of remotely operated aerial vehicles in mind including their similarities as well as their differences can help to destabilise any deterministic approach to the drone as an ‘eye in the sky’ that ‘sees all’ transparently and perfectly from above.

To recognise these kinds of tensions, complexities, and dilemmas is to make more legible the ‘whole network of financial, institutional, discursive, and technological infrastructures and practices involved in the production, circulation, and reception’ of ‘visual-cultural materials’, as Meg McLagan and Yates McKee put it.⁵¹ They argue that we must attend to formats and modes of visual dissemination; with less attention to the image than to the ‘image complex, the channels of circulation along which cultural forms travel, the nature of the campaigns that frame them, and the discursive platforms that display and encode them in specific truth modes’.⁵² This conception of the image complex resonates nicely with David Joselit’s argument that we should ‘discard the concept of *medium*’ with its privileging of discrete objects in order to ‘embrace heterogeneous configurations of relationships or links’.⁵³ Accordingly, to reject ‘image fundamentalism’ we must first recognise that communications and media industries produce and promote purist practices attached to platforms, genres, aesthetics, and the objects (i.e., products) themselves. Images may appear to be free or nomadic, innocent of politics — cosmopolitan, if you will — simply *there*. But their aesthetic power (even, *aura*) is produced by vast and entangled practices of neoliberal economies and their culture industries.

Certainly, some of these issues pop up when we consider who owns or

controls such images. In the case of the images produced by military drones, for example, the public has limited access to such imagery. In fact, the US Department of Defense (DoD) used to have a website that looked at least somewhat researchable. That site is now archived and under the Trump administration the website has been redesigned, sporting a glossy, magazine-style interface with picturesque ‘snapshot’ images that are the opposite of informational. Choosing the option ‘Observe’ (for photographs) my search for ‘drone strike’ yielded an array of images that look like a recruitment advertisement. [fig. 1] A closer look reveals that none of the images show a drone strike and many images do not reference drones at all. [fig. 2] Moving to the other visual search term on the website, ‘Watch’, the same search term yielded the message: ‘Sorry, we couldn’t find anything about drone strike. Please try again’. [fig. 3] Since the Trump administration’s defense budget for 2020 included a request for \$3.7 billion in *new* spending alone for ‘unmanned/autonomous systems technology’, reflecting the fact that drone strikes have surged dramatically, as a tax payer I might be excused for expecting a better accounting on the DoD website.⁵⁴ If I want to know what a military drone ‘image’ looks like beyond the enhanced and misleading examples offered by mainstream Hollywood movies or popular television programmes, my main recourse is to consult the trickle of still and moving imagery that finds its way to YouTube and other such sites of dissemination. [fig. 4] Michael Richardson has pointed out that these leaked or deliberately released images are often ‘grainy and indistinct’.⁵⁵ [fig. 5] Yet, in spite of, or because of this indistinctness, Richardson argues that the scene or acts depicted remain ‘provisional’ — ‘both in the sense that tampering is always possible and that the drone’s view is always uncannily non-human in its vertically, in its rendering of bodies as flattened, faceless, and almost

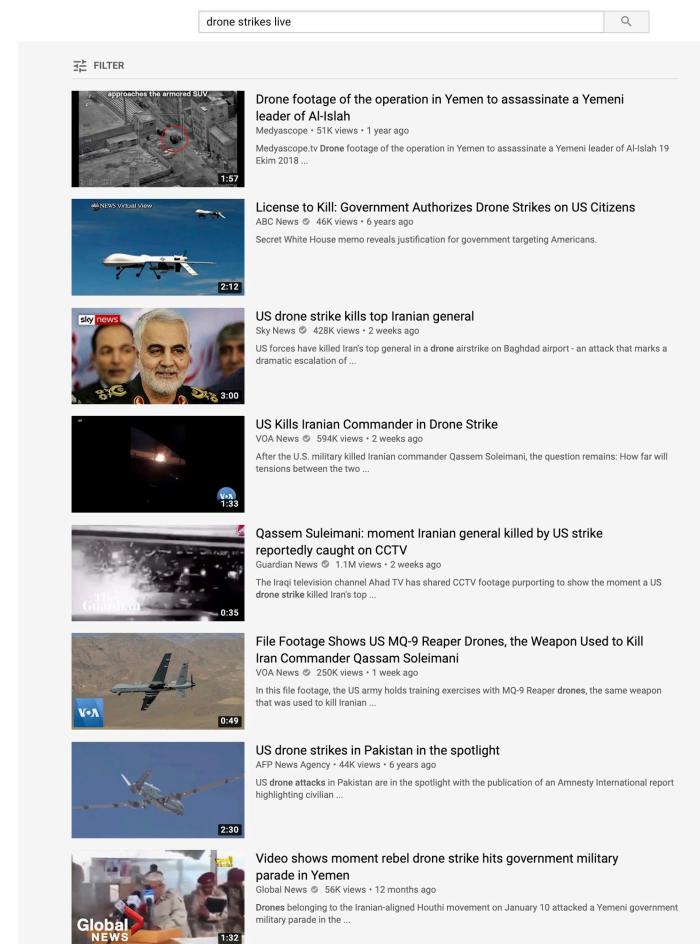
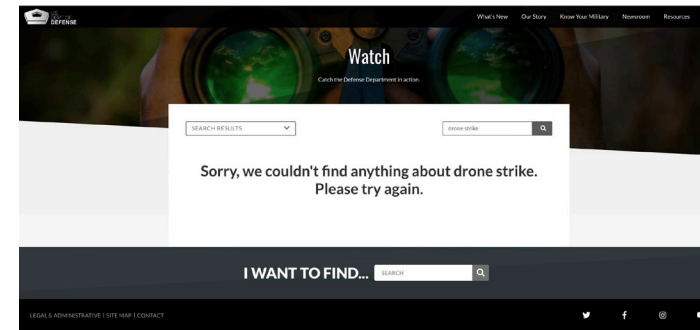


Figure 3 US Department of Defense website. ‘Watch’ page response to search term ‘drone strike’. [screen shot. <https://www.defense.gov/Watch/Video/dvpcc/false/?dvpsearch=drone%20strike#DVIDSVideoPlayer581>. Accessed 18 January 2020]

Figure 4 YouTube compilation of videos in response to search term ‘drone strike’. [screen shot. https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=drone+strike. Accessed 18 January 2020]

limbless'.⁵⁶ This post-cinematic quality of drone imagery renders bodies and built environments as blurry and amorphous. Yet, in these short clips that circulate online, the abstractness of the footage is mediated heavily by editing that gives us not 12–24 hours of persistent observation but the brief interlude before the missile strike — a dramatic explosive moment that the viewer must always anticipate, adding narrative logic to the data displayed and framed by the screen. These constructed visibilities are seductive — this feels *real*, we believe that we are viewing transparently, that we are witnessing, that we are *there* without placing ourselves at risk, and that we *know* what we see is true.

Thus, aura returns to the digital image via the image fundamentalism produced by the industrialised nation's militaries. As art and media critics have long pointed out, while Walter Benjamin persuasively argued that the image's aura is tied to a specific site, in digital culture images are 'everywhere at once'.⁵⁷ The construction of specific place and time in strike footage circulated to the public is another fantasy — the realness of imagery moving before our eyes makes innumerable invisibilities or insensibilities, detaching and eliminating histories in place of History, destroying and making unreal other meanings or possibilities as well as lives and built environments. This is not so much aura, perhaps, as affect at work for industrial capitalism and its militaries. To quote Joselit again: 'In place of aura, there is *buzz*. Like a swarm of bees, a swarm of images makes a buzz, and like a new idea or trend, once an image (whether attached to a product, a policy, a person, or a work of art) achieves saturation, it has a "buzz"'.⁵⁸ This distributed emergence and dispersal of imagery is complicated but not obviated by the way military imagery makes itself known and legible, used by various actors and attached to diverse interests.

The 'buzz' of drone imagery — a metaphor that uncannily echoes the sound

of drone operations for those in the areas targeted by US warfare and that forecasts the shift to militarised aerial swarming tactics — returns us to the specificity of unmanned aerial vehicles and to the uniqueness of what Anthony McCosker terms, the drone's 'motility' — its 'autonomous vertical and lateral movement' that differentiates it from the mobile camera, generating a 'new mode of relational experience' that operates differently from spectacle.⁵⁹ Rather than adhering to the popular Virilian distopic view of the drone as 'mechanised vision machine hovering over the city square surveilling...' McCosker takes a more Deleuzian approach to ask 'what are the new kinds of perception, action, or control made possible by our human-technical assemblages?'⁶⁰ Rather than position human and technical vision as oppositional, McCosker argues that machinic vision is 'inevitably volatile and unpredictable'.⁶¹ The 'autonomous, motile, and indirect visibility' provided by the drone can 'alter *both* the optical field and material assemblages' through which events occur and are engaged, sensed, recorded, etc.⁶² As Caroline Holmqvist argues, this more phenomenological approach 'allows us to break free from the conventional liberal understanding of agency bound up with an ontology of rational individualism' — that is, the 'eye in the sky' sees as we do, mirrors our particular desires and intentions filtered through the screen of paradoxical universalism — which makes possible a better understanding of the ways 'acts' are 'practiced in various degrees across a continuum ranging from corporeality, through partially rational embodied subjects, to impersonal structures'.⁶³

As I wrap up my comments, I want to clarify that I am asking in a somewhat roundabout way to consider what kind of politics become possible when we deconstruct image fundamentalism in favor of conceptualisations like the 'image complex'. Images produced via infrared and electro-optical sensors 'both escape



Footage released of Iraqi air strike on al-Qaeda hideout

346,025 views · Jan 6, 2014

977 120 SHARE SAVE ...



The Telegraph
826K subscribers

Iraq's Ministry of Defence has released footage it says shows an aerial bombardment of an al-Qaeda militants' hideout in Anbar province

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Figure 5 Footage released of Iraqi air strike on al-Qaeda hideout. The Telegraph, 6 January 2014. [screen shot. <https://youtu.be/4FVkh9iMxOk>. Accessed 18 January 2020]

and extend the human’ as Richardson puts it.⁶⁴ They also generate very complex and ambivalent collaborations between always already corrupt technologies that emerge from the aero-space industry and telecommunications and global media empires as well as those who are protesting state power, the authority and legitimacy of the police, and corporate domination of politics and property relations. In some recent work I inquire into the use of smaller drones not only by immigration authorities at the US-Mexico border or by US metropolitan police forces in algorithmically targeted neighborhoods but by citizen journalists and protestors in cities like Ferguson, Missouri or in rural areas like the Standing Rock Indian reservation in South Dakota.⁶⁵ There are, of course, many other examples beyond the borders of the United States.⁶⁶

And there are also exciting collaborations between drones and people working in the arts⁶⁷ — for example, the recent collaborative project funded by the Hasselblad Foundation, Valand Academy, and Gothenburg University, ‘Drone Vision: Warfare, Surveillance and Protest’. Their project inquires into the ways drone technologies ‘alter the material assemblages through which warfare, surveillance and protest take place’.⁶⁸ Bringing together people who work across many different media formats, the ‘Drone Vision’ project dramatically expands our understanding of the sites of political violence as well as the sights linked to cultural practices of imagery. I could also mention the ‘Blue Sky Days’ project — images produced by a camera-equipped drone operated by Tomas Van Houtryve. Van Houtryve drove around the United States photographing ‘the very sorts of gatherings that have become the

habitual targets for air strikes — weddings, funerals, groups of people praying or exercising’.⁶⁹ In addition to James Bridle’s better-known ‘Drone Shadows’⁷⁰ or ‘Dronestagram’⁷¹ projects or Mahwish Chisty’s ‘Hellfire’, ‘Drone Shadows’, or ‘Reaper & Predator’ works,⁷² one of my favorite artists who addresses drone technologies and iconography is Joseph DeLappe; moving from agitprop D-I-Y drone rubber stamps, to the cheeky ‘Thrift Drones’, to the sophistication of the ‘Kill Box’ video game.⁷³ Our understanding of the limits and possibilities of not just drone imagery but aerial imagery in general and the entire apparatus of digital data has been enhanced by the innovative approaches of the Forensic Architecture programme at Goldsmiths, University of London.⁷⁴

In pointing to just a few such examples (which hold the place for a longer discussion), I am not interested in recuperating drone imagery produced by artists or progressive academics as more virtuous or humane versions of the ‘eye in the sky’. As I mentioned, I am not interested in reinvesting in a divide between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ or ‘non-military’ and ‘military’ drones. There is no ‘outside’ or purely resistant practice here. Drone imagery is ubiquitous to contemporary visual culture. It can provide a useful heuristic device for unpacking both the fundamentalisms of modern visual culture as well as some of the deconstructive demystifications of neoliberal infrastructures and sensing operations across the long century of distance warfare. Reducing the drone to the ‘eye in the sky’, even metaphorically, obstructs any meaningful expansion of our understanding of the way images work today and, arguably, makes more ‘friendly’ a deadly politics.

Notes

1 D. Cosgrove, *Apollo’s Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), x.

2 Ibid, xi.

3 A. Schmidt-Burkhardt, ‘The all-seer: God’s eye as proto-surveillance’, in T. Y. Levin, U. Frohne, and P. Weibel (eds), *CTRL [SPACE]: Rhetorics*

of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 22.

4 D.A. Day, J. M. Logsdon, and B. Latell, *Eye in the Sky: The Study of the Corona Spy Satellites* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1998).

5 www.hmhbooks.com/shop/books/Eye-in-the-Sky/9780547572543.

6 <http://casinossecurity.com/eye-in-the-sky.htm>.

7 <https://lettersandscience.ucdavis.edu/news/symposium-will-explore-eyes-sky-warfare>.

8 See, for example, Gavin Hood’s feature-length film, *Eye in the Sky* (2015).

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Surpassing Disaster: Terrirories, Entanglements and Methods

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Concerning a surpassing disaster, collateral damage includes much of what those who are insensitive to such a disaster view as having been spared. A filmmaker, thinker, writer, video maker, or musician who in relation to a surpassing disaster still considers that tradition has persisted, never has the impression that he has to resurrect even some of what “survived” the carnage; who can ask, “Why have I survived and why has this building been spared while so much else was destroyed?” without any suspicion that the building in question as well as many books and artworks that had the good fortune of not being destroyed materially have nonetheless been immaterially withdrawn by the surpassing disaster, is hypocritical, that is, hypo-critical, still this side of the critical event of the surpassing disaster.¹

Territories

The territory is a process, not a product, and its ‘entangled matter formation’ can force us to face the unthinkable, its experience of conflict zones and its territories. The unthinkable representation is about the fluid and entangled matters of formation of territories that invite us to think of transversal methodologies and narratives of decolonization. Does the unthinkable precede the entangled matters of infrastructures in/under conflict zones of territories? The question of the post-anthropogenic formation of places in the constellation of towns of Nusaybin, Lice, Hasankeyf, Mardin, Diyarbakır simultaneously put forward the question

of the infrastructures of territorial control, and multiple means of extraction. A relational episte-ontology that structures the entanglements, may enter and provide an aesthetic tool of responsibility in the era of geo-power. The text aims to look into an experienced field of conflict zones where matter is entangled in time, surpassing the trauma of the ongoing process-based materiality. The Southeast of Turkey, this region is reproduced through several forms of a State-run state of exception.² Territory always refers to a certain modified controlled zone as a state of exception. ‘State of exception’ is stated by sovereignty, as Carl Schmitt describes in his *Political Theology*.³

This argument is based on political and judicial power. For Giorgio Agamben, “the state of exception is not a special kind of law (like the law of war); rather, insofar as it is a suspension of the juridical order itself, it defines law’s threshold or limit concept.”⁴ By analysing Carl Schmitt’s theory of the state of exception, Agamben states that “‘being-outside’ and ‘belonging’ is the ‘topological structure of state of exception’, and only because the sovereign, who decides on the exception.”⁵ Thus, in relation to space or *topos*, ‘exception’ is a practice of hegemony of deterritorialization by territorializing: a form of practice of excluding by including. For Agamben, the original political relation is “the ban (the state of exception as zone of indistinction between outside and inside, exclusion and inclusion”).⁶

If we look at it from the perspective of spatial practices it is a formation of space demarcation. For the last ten

years the discussions and interpretations of 'exception' in terms of topography and urbanism have been extended with examples of the extra-territorialities of phenomena, such as civil wars, occupied territories, liquid borderlines, islands, buffer zones, curfew cities, state-led urban transformation, and evictions. However, opposite to Agamben's 'state of exception', the contemporary experience of 'exception' is a form is a multiple constellation that exists in a tension between territorial facts, objects, and subjectivities. [fig. 1]

Entanglements

Entanglement as a discursive methodological tool may lead us into a phenomenological approach which describes the phenomena from contradiction of human and matter, or subjectivities and territories. It may invite us to understand the planetary conditions from such a non-division of human and non-human, or even more-than-human world. It can provide a tool of methodology in approaching the non-human element as an agency of resilient focal nodes that creates a different ontological root. In this sense, phenomena: "...do not merely mark the epistemological inseparability of 'observer' and 'observed'; rather, phenomena are the ontological inseparability of intra-acting 'agencies.' That is, phenomena are ontological entanglements."⁷ For Karen Barad phenomena are agential intra-actions of multiple apparatuses of bodily production. Furthermore, Barad notes that phenomena should not be understood in a phenomenological sense but as particular material entanglement.

The notion of resilience is a crucial issue in entanglement. Kathrin Thiele, describes entanglement as "an affirmative critical tool attending to the constructive and/as relational ontology...". This suggests that: "...the very ontology of entities emerges through relationally that entities for not pre-exist their involvement"⁸ Following Barad, I also understand the ethics of entanglement

that "...entails of the possibilities and obligations for reworking the material effects of the past and the future"⁹. The ethical part enters the aesthetics that makes the concept of 'entanglement' different from 'assemblage'. The differences of the ontological between 'entanglement' and 'assemblage' is that entanglement is more a material engagement which has an affect on related entangled existences; whereas assemblage refers more to visual epistemology, where fragments and layers are orchestrated. As Ian Hodder explains: "The distinctive aspect of entanglement derives from the attention given to the term 'depend' in the relationships between things and between humans and things."¹⁰ Hodder's example departs from an archaeological perspective in describing the relation of dependence between humans and artefacts. However, the term 'intra-action' used by Barad refers neither to inter-action nor to dependency:

The notion of intra-action is a key element of my agential realist framework. The neologism 'intra-action' signifies the mutual constitution of entangled agencies. That is, in contrast to the usual 'interaction' which assumes that there are separate individual agencies that precede their interaction, the notion of intra-action recognizes that distinct agencies do not precede, but rather emerge through, their intra-action. It is important to note that the 'distinct' agencies are only distinct in a relational, not an absolute, sense, that is, agencies are only distinct in relation to their mutual entanglement; they don't exist as individual elements.¹¹

For her materialization is a process, a relation of production, a reconfiguration of the material-social relations of the world. In my research, I follow the relational process in time, the social impact and its built environment. In spatial and architectural research methodologies of

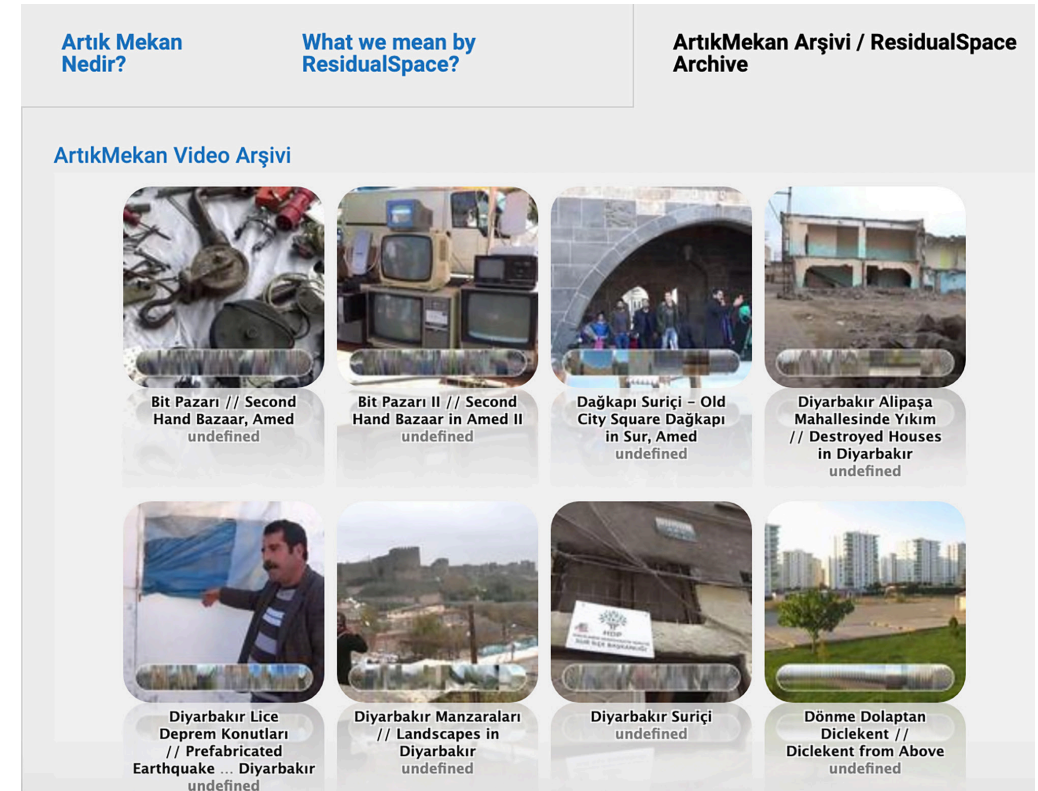


Figure 1 ArtıkMekan/Residual Space, research archive.

design are important but are not enough in understanding the process of matter, especially in extra-territorialities where the violence informed knowledge is embedded. Therefore, 'entanglement', both as a concept and method, opens a field of a relational ontology of matter. I am not claiming that matter is at the centre of everything, but I do believe that in such specific territories, situated knowledge is important in the process of knowledge production where matter becomes the anchor with its entangled process (in past and present). I will try to explain it with the aid of field research. [fig. 2]

Lice Town (or Surpassing Disaster)¹²

The field research that I am engaged with since 2013, is located in the Kurdish town Lice¹³ in Southeast Turkey. It is formed by the trauma of a civil war and a past earthquake. The town was shaken by an earthquake in 1975, and also went through violence of conflict between state and the Kurdish movement.¹⁴ The forms and the materials of the post-earthquake dwellings are resilient focal nodes that are entangled between different temporalities of times and human conflict. Following Kathryn Yusoff: "A planetary sensibility necessarily involves the consideration of a scale relation between planetary life and subjective life, and it is on this site that the commons is both invoked and enacted as a commonality across forms of organic and inorganic life."¹⁵ The discourse of Anthropocene reminds us of the planetary conditions that are based on entangled ontologies on fluidity of geological and territorial scales. In December 1976, Captain Mitchell from the United States Air Force Academy, submitted a final report titled 'The Lice Earthquake in south-eastern Turkey: A Geography of The Disaster'.¹⁶ This report gives a detailed account of the destruction and harm of settlement and villages of Lice. Lice, and its villages were shaken by an earthquake of magnitude 6.9 on September 6, 1975 that resulted in 2,385 deaths, and the

destruction of 8,149 buildings, and of 1,672 prefabricated houses, each 52m² (300-375 m² parcel).¹⁷ New prefabricated earthquake houses were built on 2,5 km; located below the destroyed area of the north part of Lice. Since 1976, the inhabitants have been living in these shelters. The plan of the shelters is appropriated through its use by the dwellers. The ownership of the shelters involves a complex legal process as the shelters were built as temporary structures. The state building policy is: after only the second earthquake, the land register can proceed. Forced dispossession through natural disasters or ecological infrastructures for colonial means justify the violence in larger.¹⁸

Does a construction material hold a spatial memory of destruction and violence? I have found the stones that were transformed from Styrofoam in the original walls of the shelter. 453 emergency shelters were produced from Oxfam polyurethane hexagonal igloos.¹⁹ The US government also paid part of the transportation cost of materials and equipment donated to Turkey by the London Oxfam organization for construction of 800 polyurethane igloo-style shelters in the disaster area.²⁰ ²¹ The walls of the prefabricated are 5 cm.

As a Kurdish town, Lice went through the most violent conflict years of the 1990s. The Lice Massacre happened on October 20-23, 1993, when the town was almost destroyed during the urban conflict between the Kurdish Movement and Turkish State military forces.²² Many dwellings of prefabricated houses were burned during the conflict. To prevent the bullets, the inhabitants had to build a second wall that surrounded the first existing prefabricated dwelling wall in order to protect themselves. [fig. 3]

In which moment the infrastructure of disaster withdraws the tradition of the past? What/who is the witness? Is it the subject and object and the agency in surpassing disaster? After a trauma — after a 'collateral damage' — could the community (in Lice's

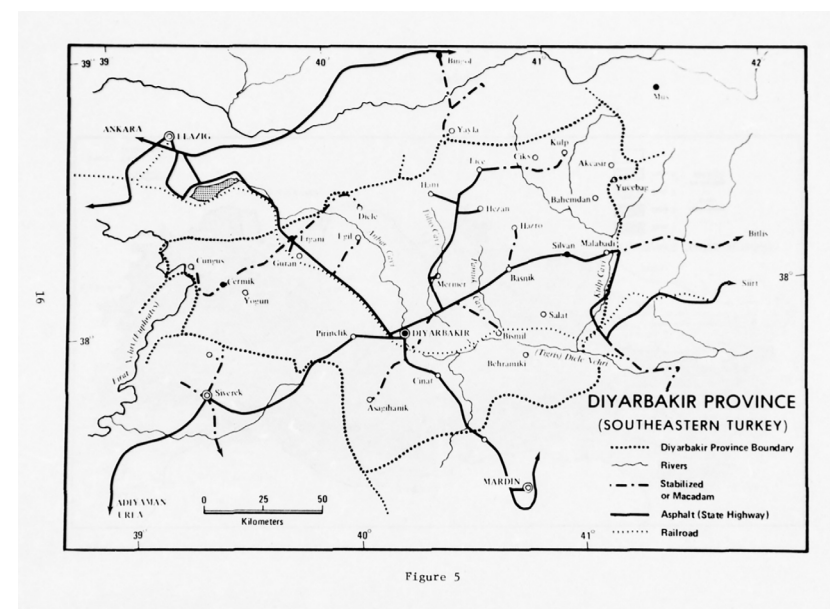


Figure 5



Figure 2 William A. Mitchell 'The Lice Earthquake in South-Eastern Turkey: A Geography of The Disaster', Report. December, 1976, p.17.

Figure 3 An expanded Polystyrene from a post-disaster container dwelling (1975), Lice/Turkey. Photo by Pelin Tan (2017).

case, the Kurds) resurrect the past tradition (which is surpassed) through materiality? The surpassing disaster is specific to a community who has gone through collateral damage and the disaster that is surpassing one “for a community - defined by its sensibility to the immaterial withdrawal that results from such a disaster.”²³ In Lice, I would describe several disasters both natural (earthquake) and as well as structural violence. In this conceptual frame a material or a building that survived disaster could be used to resurrect the past. Is this material or building available to reveal the trauma? The entanglement of the dwellings and its material according to human temporalities through several disasters keeps the materials such as stone, the post-earthquake dwellings, and the additional wall layers (against bullet) as holding witness of violence. According to Hodder the human-things dependencies could fall apart in different temporalities:

The notion that humans dig themselves into the holes of human-thing dependencies does indeed appear very determinative. Once a hole has been dug, there are very few options left moving forward. On the other hand, we have seen that entanglements are open, far flung and contingent – things keep happening as the different temporalities of things collide and as things run out, break down and fall apart.²⁴

If we recall the question posed at the beginning of this text, namely — does the unthinkable precedes the entangled matters of infrastructures in/under conflict zones of territories?— the question of the post-anthropogenic formation of conflict zones that simultaneously puts forward the question of the infrastructures of territorial control, as well as multiple means of extraction. A relational ontology that structures of the entanglement, may enter as and may provide an aesthetic

tool of responsibility. The bombing of the Mishraq sulphur plant by ISIS in Qayyarah/ Iraq on October 21, 2016 effected beyond the borderlines of Turkey until the town of Mardin where I have received the spread acidic sulphur dioxide through the air via clouds right through my large balcony a couple of days later. The acid travelled with the clouds. This case shows us that air pollution is unstoppable, fostered by warfare and colonial affect. In *The Great Derangement: Climate Change and the Unthinkable*, Amin Ghosh asks ‘what is the feeling of the unthinkable?’ by describing a view of an approaching tornado: “... what had happened at that moment strangely like a species of visual contact, of beholding and being held...”²⁵ he leads us to the question of the post-anthropogenic formation of territories that simultaneously brings together the infrastructures of territorial control and multiple means of extraction. Infrastructures such as water dams on the borderlines, or new housing projects (market speculation) on erased warfare towns in Southeast Turkey pose more entangled analysis of the unthinkable that we are experiencing. The unthinkable representation is about the fluid and entangled matters of formation of territories that forces us to think of artistic methodologies and narratives of decolonization. When ecological resource infrastructures are used as a means of colonization and weaponization of land the result is forced migration and dispossession, damaging landscape and its local flora. The effects of climatic transformation on territories are not only based on determinist ecological factors. Rather, the production of infrastructure in general can function as an ecological legitimization for implanting security tools in conflict zones, for example, by dispossessing communities of agricultural lands (which leads to the eviction of villages and replacement of the agrarian economy), and surreptitiously colonizing territory. The entanglement could be used both as an



Figure A13. A close up of a new duplex. The house appears much older than its nine months. The concrete foundation has a large hole, the prefabricated wall has been punctured and the corrugated roof is loosely attached in several places.

Figure 4 Prefab container earthquake house. Photo: Pelin Tan, 2018 (Lice - Turkey)

Figure 5 Prefab container earthquake house. From William A. Mitchell 'The Lice Earthquake in South-Eastern Turkey: A Geography of The Disaster' Report. December, 1976, p.17.

ontological epistemological base and also as a method to understand the formation and role of matter in a wider world. In my examples from an extreme geography that I try to use as empirical experiences by framing a methodology of how the matter is entangled and also plays a role as ‘intra-action’ as Barad claims is also about responsibility. In the Lice’s case it is the Styrofoam that is geologically transformed in time (plus the time of the inhabitants of the dwellings) into stone. This material holds a long memory of destruction and violence of a habitat. The relational process starts first with an earthquake that holds a housing typology with aided references. Firstly, the dwellings represent an emergency habitat. Furthermore, the earthquake containers become a neighbourhood where a Kurdish community lives as Lice is basically a Kurdish town. The containers are appropriated in time through inhabitants’ everyday life as they expand and change the usages of the elements of the containers. For example, another layer of wall with simple material aims to prevent bullets during the conflict. In the second case, there is an inter-territorial relation that can be enlarged into planetary scale that is again an example of a post-Anthropocene condition of war affect. Damaged landscapes, structural violence form the territory that affect in multiple ways the climate of clouds and wind. The formation of matters is totally entangled through a war condition. [figs. 4,5]

Methodology

Maybe a grounding methodology that would be what Anna Tsing refers to as ‘patchy Anthropocene’ which we can transform into art, architectural, and spatial research. Patchy/patch means “sites for knowing intersectional inequalities among humans”²⁶ so in the frame of more-than-human world relation is vital in this research how a water irrigation system is controlled, powered by whom and how calamities are affecting the survival. As Tsing claims:

The Anthropocene may be planetary, but our grip on collaborative survival is always situated—and thus patchy. Throughout history, humanitarian calamities and global inequalities have been enacted through nonhuman agency that reacts to human design. Patchy Anthropocene brings the legacies and tools of social justice-based analysis into Anthropocene studies.²⁷

And it is almost a spatial phenomenology that I follow; as Tsing describes for landscape structures: “A phenomenological attunement to landscape forms as well as to beings-in-landscapes allows multispecies histories to come into view.”²⁸ The post-earthquake shelters, the refugee camps, the infrastructural projects such as new housing projects or water dams that are connected to displacement/ eviction and further disasters effects where the Anthropocene patches emerge.

How does ‘territory’ speak to us? What is its methodology and its fiction? The term *arazi* used a lot in architectural and urban design studios to describe a ‘project space’ is an Ottoman word of Arabic origin that has many meanings, such as land, country, terrain, territory, estate, property, soil, ground, agricultural land, demanded land. Etymologically, the word is based on *arz*, which means supply. Its other origin could be *araz*, which means ‘symptom’.²⁹ While this may not be the case of social sciences, *arazi* is used as a term in architectural studios in Turkey, space upon which the building has to be designed and constructed. *Arazi* is also often understood as *tabula rasa*, for example, an empty plot in an urban environment or along the endless space in Anatolian cities, an abandoned land, a demolished land, a geological space with soil, stones, sometimes garbage without a trace of human action or history. It could be an innocent space or a ruin. I aim to bring back the understanding of the word both as a ‘territory’ and as a concept relating to today’s critical spatial research and practice.

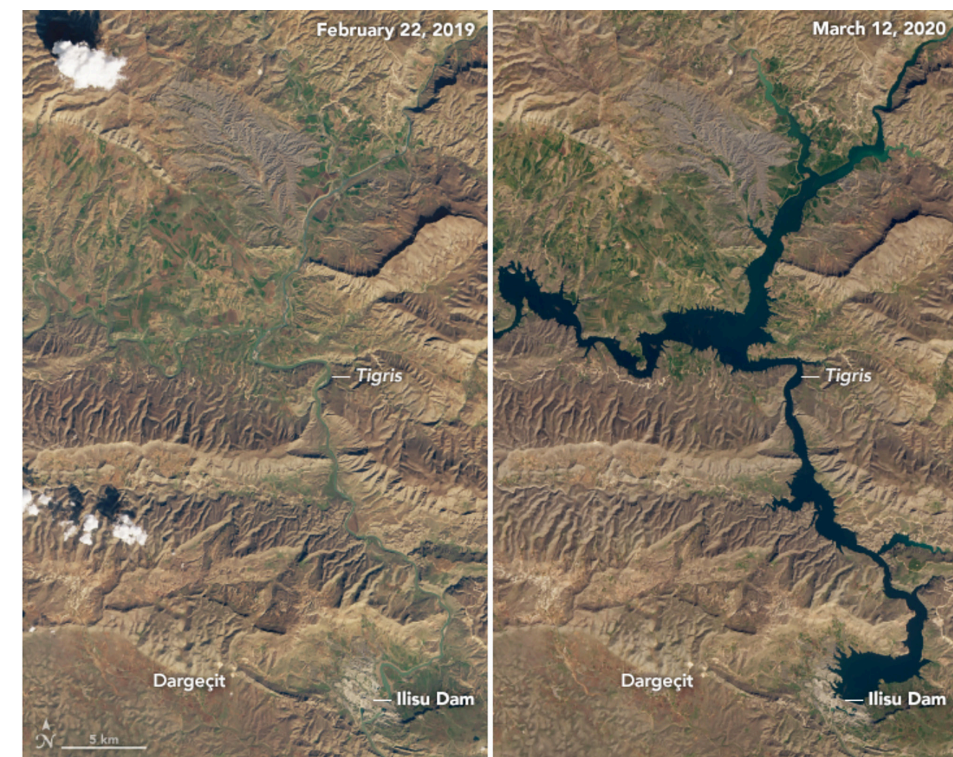


Figure 6 Last day of demolition of Hasankeyf settlement due to the Ilisu dam construction (Nov. 3, 2019). Photo by Pelin Tan (2019).

Figure 7 Effect of landscape around and on Tigris river and settlements due to the Ilisu Dam construction and eviction, and the disappearance of Hasankeyf. Source: NASA Earth <https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/146439/slowly-flooding-history?utm=carousel>

The effects of war and the negotiation of borderlines transform our approach and the methodologies of infrastructures.

They are not only the functional thresholds of architecture but also the instrumentalization of new conditions that are part of geo-ontologies of landscape. According to Elizabeth Povinelli, geo-ontologies bring together two terms: ‘geos’ (non-life) and ‘being’ (ontology), which “are currently in play in the late liberal governance of difference and markets.”³⁰ Povinelli, proposes a new definition of biopolitics with no separation between elements of ‘life’ and ‘non-life’; this combined conceptual approach is based on new figures, tactics, and discourses of power.³¹ How can we approach the infrastructure of landscapes shaped by war and migration from this theoretical perspective? What is the base to discuss such extra-territorialities through and with ‘Things’? Infrastructure is a term for designing the modern urban space and for producing complete spatial objects. For centuries, it has held a basic role in colonization processes through introducing infrastructure projects in order to change and colonize cultures and societies on any scale. It also functions as a justification of neoliberal urban-rural policies in expanding, expropriating, and rescaling property and lands. It is the object between form and law. As Keller Easterling defines, “Infrastructure is considered to be a hidden substrate — the binding medium or current between objects of positive consequence, shape, and law”.³² [figs. 6,7]

Recently, the discourses of infrastructure have revealed the role of infrastructure in more complex ways. Incomplete and failures of infrastructure often relate to the character of the infrastructural functions that prolong the process of infrastructure projects, which becomes more important than the complete infrastructure itself, with actors, such as the state, local governments, developers, and citizens, debate or negotiate, thereby leading to

more profit and surplus. In short, instead of a complete object or a presentation, the incomplete, the continuous failure, or the process of infrastructure becomes a vital part. It is often argued that in many cases (in Indian cities, for example) the failure of infrastructure or the interruption of the infrastructural function brings about co-existences of alternative infrastructure in the networks of such cities. Infrastructure as assemblage is another current discourse on infrastructure. As Stephen Graham describes, “urban infrastructures as complex assemblages that bring all manner of human, non-human, and natural agents into a multitude of continuous liaisons across geographic space”.³³

Around the city of Mardin, Turkey, close to the Syrian border, we have faced many official refugee camps, self-organized camps, and temporary dwellings of migrants as an outcome of the civil war in Syria since 2013. I see urbanized and temporary refugee camp settlements as forms of decay, a subtractive building process that is about both an anachronism and a decay of architecture itself. I see the experience of such *ad hoc* infrastructure (camps or tents) not in the total context of a state of emergency or a limited spatial form of exception. The decay of forms compels us to deal with anachronisms that do not withhold the in-humanity rooted in human history. When Reza Negarestani asks, “Is decay a positive or a negative building process?” he adds that “the building process of decay is subtractive, which is to say, it is concurrently intensively negative and extensively positive.”³⁴ The contraction of the negative and positive sides of the process of decay, the subtraction of forms, comprises the potentials — the infinite latitudes of forms. Negarestani’s first axiom is that “decay is a building process; it has a chemical slant and a differential ... dynamic distribution. The process of decay builds new states of extensity, affect, magnitude, and even integrity from and out of the system or formation without



Figure 8 Temporary refugee camp corridor made by Ezidi women to create semi-public space that connects also the tents. Diyarbakir Cinar Ezidi Camp (2016 - 2017). Photo by Pelin Tan.

Figure 9 Abdulkadir neighbourhood in Nusaybin town (2016) after the urban war was demolished and new housing after in the same neighbourhood (2018). Photos by Pelin Tan.

nullifying or reforming it.”³⁵ [fig. 8] I suggest that refugee camps as a spatial form are part of the process of building an infrastructure that deterritorialized the refugee as an arche-fossil of the posthuman era. The possible putrefaction of arche-fossils, together with the time involved in the formation processes, concerns the relation of anachronism to decay. “The process of decay generates differential forms by limitropically subtracting from the rotten object,” writes Negarestani, defining the architecture and politics of decay that can be read through the constellations of objects and models.³⁶ Warfare, ecological disaster, and technological collapse deeply impact our everyday lives and designate our future spatial infrastructures. Ecological disasters are the core reasons for governments to issue policies for the further demolishment of ecological landscapes and inhabitants. In the case of refugee camps, sustaining livelihood, such as dwelling, food, health, and emergency related issues, are the basic forces behind zoning a camp plan. This form of dwelling and its zoning plan are a production of space, a continuous negotiation of public space, based on several facts such as border politics and its juridical justifications, humanitarian aid negotiations, and political agencies. Camp design programs aim to supply the dwelling needs of a community in a spatial scale of a neighbourhood, a village, or a small city. Refugee communities are often taken as homogenous entities, with their kinship, tribal, and religious networks being dismissed. [fig. 9]

Conclusion: Patchy field / Entangled things

A transversal method has social justice-based research, meaning and aims in engaging. I borrow the transversal from Félix Guattari, who writes that, “transversal practice — neither institutional therapy, nor institutional pedagogy, but rather an analytic method that cuts across multiple fields — is often affiliated with models of

knowledge and pedagogy.”³⁷ Accordingly, thinking transversally allows for trans-local, borderless knowledge production that rhizomatically extends beyond the familiar terrains of architecture and design to encompass questions of citizenship, militant pedagogy, institutionalism, borders, war, being a refugee, documents and documenting, urban segregation, the commons, etc. Working in those fields may have many obstacles such as creating a generalizing narrative of conflict assuming that the whole territory has a homogenizing condition of a state of exception. Furthermore, as many conflicts and their effects in different scales happened and are happening (for example urban war in Nusaybin, refugee camps in Mardin, forced eviction due to water dam in a village, and so on), the timelines of the more-than-human world are not linear and are often interrupted. To find the differentiating paradigms in such multiple disasters and their infrastructures is difficult. Moreover, censorship, oppression and surveillance are continuous obstacles in field engagement in research. As the territories and infrastructures form very fast or may withdraw under conflict and state of exception, the temporality and fast processing lead to invent alternative ways of archival methods. Within my research collective Arazi Assembly, I am archiving the destruction process and after process of the towns, neighbourhoods and other infrastructures. In the meantime, I am engaged in field research of collecting narratives and analysing the outcome of focus groups among the actors in this territory. Within collaborative research, I try to expand it to a planetary scale.³⁸ As Artikisler Collective members, we have collected patchy field videograms in digital archives that present a larger ongoing perspective, which is not only about archiving the erasure of memories of conflict spaces but also creating a patchy visual narrative of embedded knowledge on the critical events of surpassing disasters.³⁹

In conclusion, the field research in a conflict territory or conflict urban space deals with several issues. Firstly, the discursive space between the subject and object dualism of the field where structural violence is almost an embedded knowledge and frame makes another phenomenology necessary to approach it. From this perspective, field engagement is about understanding Barad’s materialist approach to the agency and the intra-action that signifies the mutual constitution of entangled agencies.

Furthermore, conceptually, geo-power and geo-ontologies by Povinelli and Yusoff provide an understanding of the modalities of landscape-based extraction and geopolitics by State-led oppression over this territory. Infrastructures as ‘entangled agencies’ bring the timeline and relation to disasters onto the surface. Those entangled things form the patchy fields that impact the human and non-human worlds and brings the affect of more than human worlds.

Notes

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- 2 Sark Islahat Plan (Orient Reform Plan) 1924; 1978 Martial law; 1978 - 1980, 1980 Military coup; 1983 Constitution; 2016 State of Exception; 2004 Urban Transformation projects (state-led); UNESCO preservation, 1958, 1978, 2020; Water dams, Dicle Valley State-led transformation; 2014 first official refugee camps, 2013 - 2016 Peace process between Turkish Government and PKK.
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- 5 Ibid. p. 4.
- 6 Ibid. p. 35.
- 7 Karan Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 441.
- 8 Kathrin Thiele, ‘Entanglement’, in *Symptoms of the Planetary Condition: A Critical Vocabulary*. Edited by M. Bunz, B.M. Kaiser and K. Thiele (Lüneburg: Meson Press, 2017), p. 44.
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- 10 Ian Hodder. *Entangled - An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p.112.
- 11 Barad, p. 33.
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- 13 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lice,_Turkey (Last Accessed: May 28, 2020).
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- 21 Further aid was mentioned in the region: “The Farben-Bayer Company of West Germany donated the unique shelters, 300 of which were

- assembled within days of the disaster, mostly in Akcaalan. The shelter is a dome-shaped Styrofoam shell about four and a half inches thick, with a sixteen-foot diameter on the ground. It is cast at the site by spraying Styrofoam substance on an inflated balloon. The shell is then treated with a waterproofing compound and can be set into place by two men. After the shelter is cast, a doorway and circular ports for windows are cut out for plastic covers.” See Davis.
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- 35 Ibid.
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- 37 Félix Guattari, *The Guattari Reader*. Edited by G. Genosko (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 121.
- 38 See: <http://araziassembly.org/> and <https://topologicalatlas.net/blog/mardin> (Last Accessed: May 28, 2020).
- 39 Digital archives by Artikisler Collective: bak.ma: bak.ma/BOS/player/00:09:02.375 <https://www.visibleproject.org/blog/project/residual-spaces-artik-mekan/> <http://artikmekan.net/> (Last Accessed: May 28, 2020).

No Church In The Wild: The Spatial Dimensions of Racial Conflict in Rural Louisiana

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Abstract

In the Spring of 2019, three historically African American churches burned in St. Landry Parish in southern Louisiana, the result of arson from a young white supremacist. However disconcerting the act, it is also a seemingly common threat in many areas of the US south. An outpouring of emotional and financial support for the churches circulated through online campaigns. Images circulated online and fostered comparisons to the burning of the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, heightening support for the churches.

The images of the burned churches mediate popular conception of life in the rural south of the US. The subsequent attention to the churches of St. Landry, while warranted, reinforces tropes about life in rural Louisiana, as opposed to a more complex understanding of a broader cultural diaspora. The circulation of images of Louisiana's decay and "otherness" has been popularized, and even romanticized through both popular media and academic publications. Less discussed and less publicized is the relative stability of surrounding communities and a growing urbanization throughout the state. Spaces of religious practise and faith territories are often at the centre of this cultural development.

This piece approaches the issue of mediated representation and conflict as a critical photo essay of Louisiana's faith territories. These territories are sites of spatial and racial conflict, and yet they contain far more complexity in a developing region than current representation suggests. This piece stems from engaged work with rural communities in Louisiana, who face a myriad of complex spatial phenomena. By indexing faith territories, a variety of complex spatial and cultural conditions is revealed about the southern rural US. These spaces convey what theorists Stefano Harney and Fred Moten refer to as the "undercommons," — sites of alternative spatial and social practise that allow for coalition building. What these images and practises suggest is that mediated images can represent the public, shape expectations of community life, and frame common experience. Ultimately, this suggests an expanded field of operation for the architect, activist, and artist.

Keywords

Southern US Urbanism; Suburban Sprawl; Media Urbanism; US Racism; Rural Churches; Urban Politics

Introduction

A grainy, unprocessed photograph of billowing flames which engulf a white clapboard church set in the urban fabric of a small town. The image is accompanied by headlines from early April 2019 decrying the loss of three historically African American churches in Louisiana, and suggest that a federal investigation is

underway to determine the cause of the church burnings. Although it was used by several media outlets to cover the same story, this particular image depicts none of the three churches that were actually razed by a white supremacist in this string of racially charged attacks. Several national media outlets covered the story, continuing to use the image through to the

capture of the alleged arsonist, 21-year-old Holden Matthews, son of a prominent law enforcement officer who was influenced by a particular strand of Norse mythology and “black metal,” a heavy metal genre associated with church burnings across the world.¹ The image circulated by multiple outlets came from a 2017 church fire in North Dakota, thousands of miles away. In a strange and perhaps intentionally subversive twist, the North Dakota church fire image depicted a church purchased by a self-proclaimed white supremacist.² Eleven days after the third church burning in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, the roof of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris catches fire, fostering a global outcry and garnering pledges of support from billionaire philanthropists, French politicians, and architects eager to offer fanciful design solutions for its restoration [fig. 1].

The close timing of these two events, and the disproportionate media coverage and public response, prompted a social media backlash in which many activists and even celebrities highlighted the need for rebuilding efforts and support for the churches burned in St. Landry Parish. Prompted by social media, this attention to St. Landry Parish eventually secured more than \$2.6 million for reconstructing the three churches.³ This juxtaposition of media coverage and subsequent outpouring of support reveals much about the narratives of one of the most iconic religious buildings in the world, the Notre Dame Cathedral, and the much less-recognised, though similarly mythologised, life of religious and social life in the rural south.

The mediated myth of the southern rural

Certainly, the intentions of white supremacists who have long used church burnings and cross burnings as a method of terror and intimidation understand the mediatic intention, and the broad dissemination of architecture’s potential as a ‘hot media’, in the McLuhanian sense,

suggesting its ability to intensively engage the senses and perform social and political roles.⁴ The preferred method for racially driven terror in the United States today is the burning of African American churches. It is so prevalent that a seemingly ‘stock photo’ approach is used by some media organisations each time these events occur. A seemingly anonymous, usually white clapboard church with Georgian-inspired details engulfed in flames is shown as a stand-in for the southern imaginary. White supremacists know this and work to ensure media coverage of their destructive acts. Other mediations of southern life occur through popular American TV programming like “Duck Dynasty,” and “True Detective.” These pieces present a stereotypical view of southern life, reinforcing tropes about its remoteness and culturally ‘other’ status.

The contemporary white supremacist’s own views of the southern rural imaginary and race are mediated, often through internet subcultures, as was the case of the St. Landry Parish arsonist. However, the particular image of southern rural life and black worship they seek to disrupt is already something of an anachronism. St. Landry Parish is part of a growing conurbation between Baton Rouge and Lafayette, Louisiana. Its landscape and land use patterns are increasingly similar to those of any generic exurban sprawl in the US. Its economy is intimately tied to regional, national, and indeed global flows of information and materials. Rapid development in Louisiana is intimately tied to the boom of natural gas and oil industries in the state, influencing recent and dramatic population growth in these areas.⁵ It is the result of a cocktail of conditions including hydraulic fracturing technology, proximity to large energy corporations in Texas, and a welcoming governance apparatus which recently opened federal lands for gas and oil extraction. So, while national news presents an image of rural isolation, suggesting a politics and life that is ‘backwards’



Figure 1 Mount Pleasant Baptist Church was attacked on April 4, 2019. Photograph by Jeffrey Kruth.

Figure 2 Generic sprawl in St. Landry Parish. Photograph by Jeffrey Kruth.

and encourages the proliferation of such activities, the conditions on the ground suggest relatively generic US sprawl [fig. 2].

Faith territories as alternative spatial order

Intimately tied to this development is the growth of new faith territories. New churches emerge as a result of recent economic booms. Louisiana citizens already account for some of the most statistically devout worshippers in the country, with consistently high church attendance and more churches per capita than any other state.⁶

The frequency of worship combined with its spatial footprint structures a social realm that is distinct from the proximity-based social practises of the city. Along with spiritual meaning, church life offers congregants a strongly guarded civitas, cultural cache, and site for social organising. In the absence of a more traditional urban realm, church life might be better understood as a field condition - a series of points marked by high levels of social activity, committed patronage, and concentrations of wealth, with significant influence on communities and the region by meeting many of the spiritual, social and practical needs of their congregations. Of course, not all churches are created equal. While the field condition of faith territories is nearly universal throughout the United States, there are discernible differences in the amount of influence wielded by the church in the broader community, particularly with respect to the rapid exurban development currently underway in much of the state. Louisiana is considered to be part of the “Bible Belt” in the US - a concentration of devout Christians across many states in the deep south, often of Baptist and Evangelical persuasion, whose political leanings are highly conservative. Historically, the state is divided into north and south, the south being highly influenced by Catholic and

Caribbean religious practises, most notably concentrated in New Orleans where French colonialism can still be strongly felt. In the north, Cajun influence is mostly associated with Baptists and the Evangelical religious persuasion. Broadly, this cultural difference also creates perceived tensions in terms of state politics, and affects how and where investment occurs.

Within northern Louisiana, racial divisions persist both in terms of church attendance as well as the larger organisations that promote their interests. The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) is arguably one of the most influential players in state politics and in daily life across Louisiana. The SBC is a highly organised and moneyed umbrella organisation for predominantly white, independently run Baptist congregations. The National Baptist Convention (NBC) is a similarly organised umbrella organisation, serving the predominantly black Baptist churches. These distinctions linger in part as residue of formalised state segregation in the Jim Crow era.

All three church burnings in St. Landry Parish targeted churches associated with the NBC, not the SBC. Perceived and real tensions exist between the two organisations; the SBC only recently denounced white suprematism.⁷ In recent years, efforts within the SBC suggest an intention to create inclusivity across racial and cultural boundaries, though its predominant narrative revolves around southern white culture. Currently, more focused attacks from the SBC take a gendered or sexual orientation tone, as opposed to racial, taking cues from leaders like Samuel S. Hill Jr., who described southern religion as being attacked as a ‘culture religion.’⁸

The spatial implications of this are also important. The SBC spends considerable money constructing new churches, reinforcing its message in the south. It is also socially influential, with robust marketing and publishing campaigns,



Figure 3 First Baptist Church, Sunset, LA. A small neighborhood church in St. Landry Parish near the site of other church burnings. Photograph by Jeffrey Kruth.

Figure 4 Rapid development of a new highway megachurch. Photograph by Jeffrey Kruth.

proliferated media personalities, political lobbying, and international mission trips, often containing colonial overtones. The SBC reinforces a predominantly white identity spatially and socially in a localised and networked way, as well as on a national and international stage. Cumulatively, the efforts of the SBC add up to a spatial hegemony in the landscape. Because of their moneyed and privileged position, their presence usurps that of the NBC. This furthers the cultural erasure of black bodies from space by dominating important nodes within the landscape of whatever urbanism might exist.

Typologies of churches

Spatially and typologically, the faith territories of Louisiana and associated religious buildings occupy the sprawl condition of new development in interesting ways. Broadly, these spaces can be described as three typologies of faith centers: the small neighbourhood church, the highway megachurch, and the new congregational hybrid. They serve as nodes within broader faith territories, organise social life, and many even act as state-sanctioned emergency shelters and infrastructure. That is, the purview of many churches goes beyond the typical weekend worship services, or traditional social services such as food pantries and clothing donation centres. From the modest to the extravagant, these churches act as social condensers for broad territories of people. Many churches also operate through hybridised programming, offering lucrative child care facilities or large scale events open to the general public such as music concerts, skate parks, water park facilities, and even Western rodeos.⁹ Their ability to organise a broad swath of populations across a territory is a spatial function that is otherwise relatively non-existent in many parts of the south.

The small neighbourhood church

From the mass shooting at Emanuel African

Methodist Church in Charleston, South Carolina to the Flood Christian Church burning in Ferguson, Missouri to the St. Landry Parish burnings, these are the types of churches most frequently targeted by white supremacists for acts of terror. Images of this typology most frequently circulate national media cycles, constituting some shared idea of the southern rural imaginary [fig. 3]. For both the white supremacist and the national audience, an emotional connection is established through the photograph and disseminated - one that is both personal and culturally linked to other broad phenomena, what Roland Barthes refers to as punctum.¹⁰ Architecturally, these range in style and ornament, from simple brick boxes to the often more historically ornate white clapboard churches, typically adorned with Gothic Revival, Georgian, or Victorian ornament. Seemingly, they are the most targeted because of their symbolic value and close association to the southern rural imaginary. As new churches and new generations of worshippers draw attraction elsewhere, many of these churches are struggling to retain relevancy and consistent congregations.

Highway megachurch

These are large congregations that are highly legible as an architecture within the highway landscape [fig. 4]. Their details and scale often take on cartoonish proportions, lending to their legibility as seen from a distance. These are also often the result of logistical protocols as much as they are an answer to the call of public collectivity. They are unique in their ability to condense a public across a large swath of territory, thus serving an urbanistic function. In the otherwise atomised landscape of sprawl, the megachurch provides a collectivizing function, while also offering programming that is otherwise associated with more traditional civic realms. Skateboarding parks, game nights for female parishioners, live music events, and other activities organise civic life in a way that the rural



Figure 5 Intentional digital interfacing in the Simple Church in Bossier City, LA. Photograph by An Le.

Figure 6 Anonymous new church development adopts industrial aesthetics. Photograph by Jeffrey Kruth.

spatial conditions cannot. In many ways it is a compromised civic form, but offers an alternative to Rem Koolhaas' famous dictum that in the contemporary landscape of civic engagement, 'In the end there will be little else for us to do but shop.'¹¹

New congregational hybrid

This typology of church is the latest instantiation of church typology, and is an evolution of the Highway Megachurch. Less reliant on highway visibility, these congregations rely on digital recruitment, high levels of programming, and are generally younger in comparison to the Highway Megachurches or small neighbourhood church. They are hybridizations of social clubs and faith practises. Less adherent to traditional Baptist leanings, these are the relaxed, coffee-shop and micro-brewery inspired spaces, complete with faux industrial finishes and concrete floors. They are the familiar, yet generic and anonymised aesthetic of late capitalism. Highly Instagrammable, these spaces are often the backdrop to the real work of recruitment—often outsourced to graphic design and marketing firms, offering entertainment and a form of lifestyle urbanism. This type relies more so on an online digital presence than on physical presence, offering a particular imageability of a new southern life explicitly focused on lifestyle. This recalibrates the southern rural imaginary into a digital space, while materially it is located within sprawl [fig. 5].

The New Congregational Hybrid is perhaps the most interesting of the three typologies. Their efforts often pulse in sync with other late capitalist ventures vying for the digital consumer's online attention. Their efforts also pulse with the new development in Louisiana's landscape. Since they do not rely on highway infrastructure for visibility, the Hybrids are often tucked away in light industrial and warehousing zones. The land here is cheap,

yet the facilities themselves often have an office park or light type of massing, paired with the post-industrial anonymity of the other above-mentioned late capitalist spaces [fig. 6]. This type is more explicitly tied to the digital, even adopting .com and .tv names as part of their appeal. Given their recent rise and focus, these churches are more closely tied to the secular. Their missionary messaging is often less explicitly intense than the evangelical messaging of some Baptist and Pentacostal congregations, and are often intentionally more racially inclusive.

No church in the wild: spatial study towards a critical southern spatial practise

The critiques of sprawl and its effects are well documented. To be clear, sprawl in the context of the US south can be understood as another form of carceral geography that signifies accumulation strategies, immensities and fragmentations that re-constitute space-time in order to extract more accumulation.¹² This primarily benefits white landowners in the context of sprawl. Sprawl encompasses the imposition of abstract and violent boundaries. Henri Lefebvre argues that this representation and development of urban space abstracts the human body and everyday life to actualise that space for exchange or consumption. 'Through its control, the state tends to accentuate the homogenous character of space, which is fractured by exchange. The space of state control can also be defined as being optical and visual'.¹³ Sprawl signifies regional accumulation strategies, upheavals, and the re-constitution of bodies in space for the purposes of capital accumulation.

However, latent publics are embedded in the cracks between the formal state apparatus, the racist milieu surrounding much of southern life, and daily spatial practises. These are evident in the spaces surrounding faith territories where informal

economies, food cultures, and intentional interaction beyond the frameworks of both religious and capitalist activities take place. As Walter Benjamin suggests, architecture is the most porous of the arts, and open to transformation and appropriation. Its boundaries are renegotiated by habits. The key to (architecture's) survival lies not only in its porosity, but also (and relatedly) in the 'canonical value' of its 'mode of appropriation.' This is both 'tactile' and 'optical' based in its use and perception.¹⁴ In other words, architecture is a site of potential radicality because of its daily use, and ability to be re-appropriated through perception.

The arsonist of St. Landry Parish is himself blind to the emerging patterns of development in the south. His desire to eradicate the physical footprint of African American cultural practises in the landscape suggests the intense symbolic and material power architecture can hold. The small historic neighbourhood churches are indexical to the idea of southern rural life, and are thus prime targets for the arsonists. Both to the white supremacist, and to the national media audience who anticipates such imagery, the ruination of the church elicits a perverse form of authenticity of a bygone era—a seeming break from the banal and repetitive absorption of contemporary life. Through the circulating image of the burning churches, a trace of past events are reproduced for our contemporary time and place. The mediated image of the south perpetuated by both national media outlets and the arsonist of St. Landry Parish reinforces an image of the US south that is incongruous with the more pervasive hum of sprawl, fragmentation of the landscape, and subsequent socio-spatial patterns of settlement.

There are conceivably two ways to productively intervene in the sprawling faith territories of the US south acknowledging and further establishing grounds for a more radical production of space. The first is to acknowledge that

any spatial production today is intimately entwined with image production. The new congregational hybrid churches, in particular, offer new opportunities to develop a spatial ethos that is potentially more radical. The second and related framework is an intentional engagement with these mediated representations of the south and its sprawl through, what critical theorist and poet Fred Moten with frequent collaborator Stefano Harney, refer to as 'fugitivity' and formation of the 'undercommons'.¹⁵ Broadly, Moten's and Harney's study of the undercommons and fugitivity is understood through the lens of institutional critique, in particular, the university as a site of potential struggle, new ideas, and simultaneously, its inability to adequately host such activities.

Fugitivity is 'a desire for and a spirit of escape and transgression of the proper and the proposed. It's a desire for the outside'.¹⁶ Fugitivity is described as a mode of being that is other than settled, recognizing that "there are spaces and modalities that exist separate from the logical, the logistical, the housed and the positioned".¹⁷

No church in the wild suggests that an all-together intentional space of otherness and critique is likely not possible within the current milieu of late capital. Instead, working within the boundaries of the current institutional frameworks through refusal and improvisation might offer more fertile grounds to create a space of true resistance. What 'no church in the wild' suggests in the context of Moten's and Harney's work is an intentional, non-idealised homelessness and state of dispossession to embrace: 'Can this being together in homelessness, this interplay of the refusal of what has been refused, this undercommon of appositionality, be a place from which emerges neither self-consciousness nor knowledge of the other but an improvisation that proceeds from somewhere on the other side of an unasked question?'¹⁸

This is similar to Robin Kelley's concept of 'infrapolitics', which suggests going beyond linking political activity solely to established institutions and looking for ways the working-class uses its circumscribed power for alternative results. What Moten's and Harney's work suggests is an intentional refusal to engage in traditional forms of critique. Fredric Jameson suggests that techno-cratic planning, development, and institutional frameworks rely on 'Enlightenment'-type critiques and 'demystification' of belief and committed ideology, in order to clear the ground for unobstructed planning and 'development.'¹⁹ Instead of engaging in a dialectical framework surrounding sprawl which ultimately lends authority to that framework, Moten and Harney might suggest alternative fugitive practices in the undercommons as a spatial strategy.

For Moten and Harney, fugitivity suggests practise outside of the realm of established Western critical theory and its well-rehearsed methods, and spatial practices. These spaces of fugitivity can be seen historically, as the Hush Harbor sites of religious practice away from the view and practice of formal white worship. These sites were formally forbidden spaces of practice, of study, of worship—operating in parallel to, and in opposition to formalized white worship. They can also be seen in the traveling Black Feminist Book Mobile, and in the persistence of Black "Benevolent Societies," social and philanthropic organizations prevalent since the 19th century. Both of these allow a place

for ongoing experiment with informal ways of learning and building futures together.

Conclusion

Racial disparity is an overwhelming issue in the context of the US south. Active disinvestment is paralleled by class and race-based reinvestment. Spatially, this tends to reinforce patterns of development and opportunity that primarily benefit white and moneyed populations. Historically, these divides are often delineated through infrastructure—usually rail or highway, or through topography and ecological risk associated with flooding or heavy industry. However, within the context of sprawl, these patterns operate as a kind of spatial noise. Contemporary sprawl in places like St. Landry Parish partially mediate these impacts, disrupting long-standing and clearly delineated spatial divisions between races. Faith territories and the contemporary media landscape further blur these boundaries, particularly as these sites are often already sites of important civic life and hybridised public functions. Lacking much of the state-funded opportunities to enable a more engaged civic life, faith territories perhaps offer a critical space from which to organise, resist, refuse, or study as part of the undercommons, as Harney and Moten might suggest. As southern urbanism further evolves into a context of a sprawled field condition, the polynucleated condition of networked faith territories offers a space from which to be within and against, offering its own mediated position from which to operate.

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Orientalism, Folklore and Empathy: Photographic Narratives of the Destruction and Reconstruction of Kashgar (2000-2017)

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Abstract

Kashgar is a historic city with a large Uyghur Muslim population in Northwestern province of Xinjiang in China. Between 2000-2017 Kashgar went through significant urban transformations and renovations that restructured the social networks and cultural practices of its people. The politics around these transformations play out in a variety of media, including art and photographic representations. In this visual battlefield, Chinese and Western powers have been wrestling with each other, each adopting highly strategised representational tactics to advance its particular political interests and social agendas. I argue that both paint an incomplete picture. I will start by describing the Orientalist gaze underlying mainstream Western representations. I will demonstrate that some works reject Uyghurs' agency, diminish their identities and fail to reconcile with its condemnation of Chinese developmentalist and counter-terrorism rhetorics. This contrasts Chinese representations and their paternalistic gaze. Using the Apak Khoja mausoleum complex as an example, I will describe how urban 'renewal' removes Uyghur cultural heritages from their origins of production. I claim that these changes and their associated representations embody a series of acts of narrow preservations and strategic reproductions that seek to invent a folklorised local culture, which belongs to a systematic cultural and social engineering.

Keywords

Destruction; Reconstruction; Folklore; Orientalism; Paternalism; Kashgar

Introduction

Kashgar is a city located in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. As the westernmost major city of China, Kashgar enjoys a written history of more than 2,100 years.¹ Since its official incorporation into the Chinese territory in 60 BCE, Kashgar bears significant geopolitical importance as a trading post on the ancient Silk Road, connecting China, the Middle East and Europe. While Han culture has been influencing Kashgar as early as 119 BCE, as of 2017, Han Chinese only make up 6% of the population in Kashgar.² Among the 464,000 people living in Kashgar, 92% of them belong to the Uyghur ethnic group.³ From 2000 to 2017, Kashgar has been subjected to a large-scale redevelopment

program that has completely transformed its urban fabric and architectural landscape. Results are mixed and complex. On the one hand, infrastructure has been upgraded and some dilapidated housings either reinforced or demolished. On the other hand, commercial development swarmed into the city, forcing 12,000 households to relocate between 2000 and 2009.⁴

A key means of understanding these changes has been through photographic documentation, including art, magazine and media reports. What these images reveal upon close inspection, I argue, is that the physical transformation of Kashgar is more than just the result of Neoliberal development or anti-Muslim sentiments, but is in fact reflective of a

complex system of cultural and social engineering. Further, as I will demonstrate, both Chinese and Western representations reveal other priorities. They are less concerned with these transformations *per se* but are preoccupied with other political motivations. These photographs operate within the field of visual politics and act as visual narratives that conform to different political interests and social agendas. Neither pays appropriate empathy to its subjects but both reproduce and re-narrate stories already told for the consumption of remote and insensitive witnesses.

Western representation and orientalism

What prevails throughout Western media, including *The New York Times*, *Time*, and artistic reproductions is the trope of women and debris. These photos adopt a similar tactic of arousing sympathy through contrasting colourful Uyghur clothes in the foreground with the dark brownish tone of dilapidated bricks and adobe walls in the background. Hints of domestic elements in the entourage powerfully convey the brutality and barbarity of the destruction in Kashgar. Scratched interior paint finish, empty niches, broken closets and walls, and missing windows and door frames are recurring devices to signal the domestic and reinforce the connection to the women and children in the foreground. This trope calling for a tribute to domestic spaces that used to shelter women and children becomes particularly powerful as any sign of reconstruction efforts is carefully cropped out. These strategically framed scenes of loneliness, impotence and elimination evoke a wide range of associations: intrusion into privacy, annihilation of history and culture, forced displacement, sexual violence and mental traumas.

While all allegations are valid to varying degrees in different cases, the over-proliferation and relentless use of a trope as such have effectively inflicted a secondary damage on the Uyghur people.

Building upon an Orientalist imagination of the Uyghurs as impassive and feeble, these images are employed as evidence that a population is unable to self-initiate any reconstruction or resistance efforts and that they require foreign and sometimes evangelistic assistance. This is hardly the case. In fact, these images elude the specifics of destruction events. Rather, they appropriate others' sufferings so as to consolidate a stereotypical imagination of an illiberal and oppressive state. As I will demonstrate later, this furious but generic attack against the Chinese government has failed to recognise that the ultimate goal is to transform but not to eliminate. The state aims not to annihilate the presence of the Uyghurs but to transform, depoliticise and, culturally and socially, re-engineer them to become active participants of the economy.

By describing the destruction of Kashgar as war or genocide, these images fall into a neo-colonial framing of an antagonistic Han-Uyghur relationship. As I will elaborate later, it misses the transformative and re-engineering agenda of Chinese policies and fails to capture the intricacies that make these policies innocuous in their appearances but endow them with far-reaching effects. I will argue that the reductive nature of this neo-colonial framing has partly to do with efforts to veil the international complicity in the transformation of Kashgar. Chinese state rhetoric on the urgency of the urban renovation of Kashgar was largely fuelled by the international counter-terrorism campaign in the wake of 9/11. According to Clarke, in September 2002, the US State Department listed the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM)—a group active in Xinjiang and that China claimed as supported and directed by Osama bin Laden—as an 'international terrorist organisation'.⁵ Chinese claims regarding the linkages between groups such as ETIM and Al Qaeda were given further credence by the fact that the US captured 22 Uyghurs in Afghanistan who were subsequently

detained at Guantanamo Bay.⁶ It was not until 2013 for all the 22 Guantanamo Uyghurs to be released.⁷ Therefore, China's branding of the urban renewal as maintaining peace and security fits into the international counter-terrorism campaign. The expanding discourse of terrorism bolstered arguments for clearing dense traditional neighbourhoods where radicalist enclaves may develop and widening streets for easier access and patrolling.

Further, the developmentalist aspect of China's justification of the reconstruction of Kashgar along with its imagination of an idealised but generic future of prosperity has also been receiving wide resonance from international stakeholders. As a matter of fact, Western interests in the exploitation of the natural resources of Xinjiang preceded the Chinese ones.⁸ As a result of the Gulf Crisis, world oil market prices were predicted to rise in the 1990s. British Petroleum formed a consortium that included Nippon Oil, Mitsubishi Corporation, C. Itoh, Broken Hill Property and Petrobras. It has petitioned Beijing for years to open the Western basin for foreign participation.⁹ However, the petition was declined for fears of Western exploitation and other geopolitical considerations. Japan's second-largest oil company, Idemitsu Kosan Co., continued to explore other possibilities of concession in the summer of 1990.¹⁰ Finally, an agreement between the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and Japan National Oil Corporation was signed one year later.¹¹ (The project was stopped at the first round of bidding as the international oil industry shifted to basins in the former Soviet Union in 1993.)¹²

The ambivalence towards economic development in Kashgar is conspicuous in Carlo Spottorno's photographs. Carlos Spottorno is a Spanish documentary photographer. Born in 1971, Spottorno was raised in Rome, Madrid and Paris.¹³ He has been a professional photographer since 2001.¹⁴ His series,

'China Western', collects photographs taken from 2006 to 2008. In one of his photos of Kashgar, the newly constructed modernist uniform housing blocks dwarf the Uyghur buildings and stand as powerful physical manifestation of the invasion of Han migrants into Kashgar. Although only the remaining little mosque and four poorly maintained structures bear some traces of inhabitation, it is not unreasonable to predict their demolition in the near future.

On one hand, one can read the photo as revealing the tension between the state and individual, Uyghur and Han people, cultural preservation and urban modernisation, formal and informal economy. It condemns the astonishing economic and social inequality through contrasting the appalling living conditions of the Uyghur to the brand-new housing blocks intended for the Hans migrants. On the other hand, this photograph could also be reinterpreted to promote China's modernisation scheme. Spottorno illustrates what Kashgar is not but does not answer what a normative, authentic and prosperous Kashgar is. Do we read the modern housing in Kashgar only through a political lens? How is traditional Uyghur culture working with the increasing international trade? Is cultural integration necessarily irreconcilable with economic development? While the forward to Spottorno's book clearly criticises cultural cleansing and explicitly expresses sympathy toward the forgotten Uyghur, this photo reveals a certain difficulty in reconciling liberal ideals with a developmentalist mindset.¹⁵ Playing with multiple dichotomies—the modernised versus the under-maintained, the progressive versus the undeveloped, the culturally invasive Han versus the socio-politically oppressed Uyghur, Spottorno is getting close to an Orientalist view that sees cultural authenticity as incompatible with economic development and indigenous culture as alien to the global market.

Chinese representation and folklorisation

Images from Western sources fall under a larger agenda of conveying destruction, erasure and invasion. They fail to capture the nuances of Chinese reconstruction policies. As a matter of fact, a wide range of preservation projects in Kashgar paralleled massive destruction. However, these preservation efforts have been very strategic in crafting a folklorised Uyghur culture. I argue that the underlying folklorisation agenda renders Chinese State policies innocuous on their appearances but allow them to have further-reaching effects in the long run.

The Afaq Khoja (or Appak Khoja) Complex is located in a north eastern suburb about five kilometres outside the old town of today's Kashgar. The Mazar (mausoleum) was initially built in ca. 1640 as the tomb of an Islamic missionary, Yūsuf Khoja. Appak Khoja, the eldest son and famous successor of Yūsuf Khoja, who set up his regime in the state of Yarkent Khanate in 1692 was also buried there.¹⁶ The 2-hectare mausoleum complex now houses the tombs of five generations of the Afaqi family, providing resting places for 72 of its members.¹⁷ Its prayer halls are currently still in use.¹⁸ If one compares the historic axonometric drawing of the mausoleum complex with the latest satellite image, it is clear that the main complex is very well preserved, including the majority of the tombs around it. However, what accompanied this preservation the mausoleum complex was a massive clearance of the neighbourhood next to it from 2009 to 2012 [fig. 1], [fig. 2]. The imposition of a stylised French Plaza in 2016 constitutes a second destruction of the cultural and social meanings of the mausoleum complex. Whereas the historic complex was only lightly walled from its adjacent neighbourhoods, recent reconstruction has not only dismissed its connection to local residents' social network and cultural fabric but has effectively alienated the mausoleum as a

dead object for spectators' joy.

Historic layout of the plan features an intricate choreographing of the procession from a small square, through a gateway, into an ablution area, followed by a larger courtyard. In contrast, the current pilgrimage to the mausoleum starts with an enormous open space with expansive vista and linear hierarchy. Different strategies are deployed to accentuate the monumentality of the central circular plaza, which competes with the mausoleum as a destination for a spiritual pilgrimage. This formal dominance of the imposed plaza over the mausoleum is furthered by the widening of the streets on two edges of the plot, which resulted in complete isolation of the mausoleum from its former residential fabric and the diminution of it into a tourism device.

The narrowly framed and tourism-driven preservation approach is also evident in the representation of Uyghur heritage [fig. 3]. The mausoleum building is understood in a similar way as the camel—the most prevalent device for the tourism industry in the North-western region of China. Across a variety of medium, both are frequently cited visual references to signal Uyghur culture—reduced to a mix of colourful embroidery, intricate tiling and innocuous camel. The repurposing of the Appak Khoja Complex into a photo-shooting spot denies its functions in the cultural and religious life of the Uyghur. The paternalistic setting-up of a carpet-camel-mausoleum sequence installs a fixed image of the Uyghur in the minds of their Han counterparts, which, at the same time, redefines Uyghur's relationship to their own history.

I insist that this series of acts that repurpose, re-appropriate, and redefine Uyghur heritages form part of a general scheme of cultural folklorisation. To folklorise means to construct and compose an archaic and idealised image of minority culture for popular consumption. A scheme as such fixes and specifies normative



Figure 1 'Appak Khoja' mausoleum complex on October 25, 2009. Source: Google Earth Satellite Image. Data Provider: Maxar Technologies. Last accessed: September 29, 2019.



Figure 2 'Appak Khoja' mausoleum complex on March 14, 2019. Source: Google Earth Satellite Image. Data Provider: Maxar Technologies. Last accessed: September 29, 2019.

cultural codes and, consequently, excludes living cultural practices. By distancing a folklorised culture from the people it belongs to, it downplays identity claims and cultivates a culturally and politically insensitive population.

Dru C. Gladney reveals the paternalism and cultural domination underlying Chinese folklorisation endeavours in his widely cited description of Chinese ethnic minorities: 'one cannot be exposed to China without being confronted by its "colourful" minorities. They sing, they dance; they twirl, they whirl. Most of all, they smile, showing their happiness to be part of the motherland.'¹⁹ I argue that the urban transformation around the Appak Khoja Complex is reminiscent of other cultural commodification and spectacularisation projects that have essentially objectified and transportable the Uyghur cultural heritages.²⁰ This redesign and repackaging of the Uyghur culture serve not only an economic end. This very idea of a domestic audience visiting and touring around an exotic other recalls the power imbalance between a voyeur and a spectacle. Building upon the discourse and narrative power inequality, urban transformations as such extend into redefining Uyghurs' relationships to their own history. Therefore, reviving traditional Uyghur dances and appealing to their everyday life counterintuitively kill precisely they claim to protect.

This systematic uprooting of culture and rendering it as distant or archaic has a long history. Michel de Certeau relates the 'rusticophilia' in 1770s France that fomented the development of village festivals to a return toward the silenced people.²¹ De Certeau describes it as a scheme of domestication, adding that 'the idealisation of the "popular" is made all the easier if it takes the form of a monologue. The people may not speak, but they can sing'.²² For de Certeau, the 'popular' halo forms the very foundation for an elitist conception of culture through a contrastive

exoticism.²³ This interest in folk and popular culture persisted through the 1960s economic boom that followed the Second World War. The unprecedented growth of the middle class paralleled an expanding spectacularisation of middlebrow culture and, in particular, peasant-class dances. Pierre Bourdieu describes the reproduction of a folklorised culture as a nostalgic idealisation of popular culture.²⁴ It is not an innocent practice as the *petit bourgeoisie* sought aesthetic enjoyment in folk performances; rather, it reinforced their elitist self-identification as modern, progressive and cultured.²⁵ To borrow John McDowell's theoretical framework, the reproduction of Uyghur folk culture using ambiguous cultural symbols can be read as attempting to 'remove traditional expressive culture from its original point of production'.²⁶ Local traditions are repositioned in a distanced setting and reprocessed for external consumption and entertainment.²⁷

Existing literature that contrasts the representation of Uyghur people as exotic and seductive to that of the Hans as normal and unmarked tend to fall into a neo-colonial framing. They describe state policies as manifesting an internally Orientalist approach that aims to establish the cultural superiority and dominance of the Hans while deepening ethnic tensions and cultural antagonism. Instead, I propose a different understanding of folklorisation that operate not through erasure nor annihilation but a transformative mechanism. Although less venomous on its appearances, cultural reengineering as such is further reaching. In depoliticising, depolarising and de-radicalising the general population, it aims to defamiliarise all people with any of their potential cultural traditions. The all-encompassing folklorisation project renders a collective political vision superior to any other cultural and social claims, and it serves the ultimate goal of paternalising and cultivating a supportive population.



Figure 3 Intentional Camel staging in front of the mausoleum. Source: Uyghur Today, 'Древний город Кашгар.' <http://uyghurtoday.com/2016/02/21/drevniy-gorod-kashgar/>. Last accessed: September 29, 2019.

Conclusion

I have problematised both Chinese and Western representations by demonstrating how each paint a partial picture of the destruction and reconstruction of Kashgar and how each speaks to its particular political interests and social agendas. I have argued that the hysterical reproduction of the trope of women and debris in Western media reinforces an Orientalist imagination of a weak-minded and impassive population under an oppressive regime. This neo-colonial framing that speaks to a project of erasure and annihilation is inadequate since it neither reconciles with international complicity in opening up Kashgar for Western capitals nor does it capture the intricacies of the Chinese policies. Therefore, I have proposed a different reading of the reconstruction of Kashgar under the framework of

folklorisation. I have described the scheme of folklorisation as embodying a complex systematic cultural and social engineering. It seeks to depoliticise through distancing Uyghur culture from its origins of production. It primarily operates through a series of acts of narrow preservation and strategic reproduction. Folklorisation as such will appear to be less venomous but have far-reaching impacts in the long term. Therefore, neither Western nor Chinese representations is satisfactory. Their different socio-political interests make it difficult to decipher what is actually going on in the built environment. In the brutal field of visual politics, neither pays appropriate empathy to their subjects but appropriates their sufferings for the consumption of distant and insensitive witnesses.

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In-Between Delirium and Mundane: Visual Cartography of Conflicting Territories, Event-Space and the Emergence of Resilient Intimacy of Public Space in the Mediation of Photography

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Abstract

Departing from the intermingling existential processes of mundane, conflict, trauma, event and reality, as well as the conditions of witnessing and their representations; this paper aims to reveal the mediation of photography in the reproduction of event-space – or so to say public space – within the inseparable duality of both the defeat of conflicting traumatic encounters and honesty of everydayness. Thus, dismantling intuitive and political roles of photograph(y) and the photographer in the processes of (re)creation of truth and the event-spaces of the conflict became the essential goal of this discussion. In achieving so, the visual narratives of legendary photographer Ara Güler that were reflecting both the chaotic turmoil moments and the everyday routine between 1950's and 1980's of Istanbul, are utilized to concretise the discussion. Yet, bridging them with the contemporary territorial conflicts on the site is also the challenge of these speculative readings on political capacities of image and mediation of conflict and trauma from a longer time-span. From a broader aspect, reflecting the fluid presence of two conflicting notions – honesty and violence of the citizens also emerges as the essential inquiry of this debate. In this way, witnessing camera eye of the photographer for the witnessed, turns into the researcher's searching eye that is mobile and dynamic in terms of grasping the scenes and contributing to the re-formation of the event-space; while re-historicizing the traumatic as well as resilient capacities of the urban realm.

Keywords

Mediation of Photography; Conflict and Trauma; Memory Space; Camera Eye; Reproduction on Public Sphere via Photographic Mediation

Introduction

Evidently, the second decade of the new century addresses enduring uprisings all around the world, with strong oppositions against the regimes of oppression, as well as ongoing conflicts and struggles. Being initiated in the Middle East, the fiery presence of Arab Spring has been a critical turn for this epoch, by going beyond its geographical borders, and enabling the critique of autocratic regimes and univocal democracies in and around the region. Nonetheless, the mediation of both struggle and conflicting events via

omnipresence of the images of resistance, on the one hand historicizes the events and reconstitutes the event-space via visual cartographic terms, on the other hand with their political capacities — in terms of minor photography¹ — these images also fueled the sequential conveyance of these events. Thus, iconic resemblance of initially Tahrir Square (2011) and its mediation in global terms, then Gezi Park (2013) resistance in local terms, not only signified the spatio-temporality of socio-political transformation and demands for freedom^{2,3,4}, but also denoted the urge for

a milieu of reconciliation for millions of people, and reclaiming the public sphere as a common space^{5 6}. In this respect, each case event-space or in other terms the public space became the scenes of enduring urban conflicts, while at the same time acting as the milieus of reconciliation. So, each addressed to urban memory of both trauma, rehabilitation and relief, continuously shaping and re-shaping itself.

Yet, apart from acting as a mediator for structuring a milieu of communing, the reminiscence of each individual witnessing, as well as multiple re-presentation of the conflict via visual cartography also becomes affective in the endurance of the affects of both the conflict and the trauma. In other words, the mediation of conflict via visual cartography also contributes to the processes of the constituting of 'truth' re-historicizes the conflict in macro and micro levels.

In this respect, departing from the inquires like; what is the truth, or the essence of a conflicting event?; how does the truth, or the essence of a conflicting event be represented or conveyed?; what is the role of visual cartography in historicizing the truth and the conflict?; as its research questions, this paper will validate its central hypothesis that visual cartography of conflict has a political essence and acts in a minor behavior in terms of re-historicizing the event, and re-producing the event-space and the public sphere in multitude ways.

Beginning with a brief definition of notions like conflict and trauma, as well as the role of memory in relation to space, the first part addresses the theoretical positioning of the paper, which is framed from a post-Freudian and Jamesonian perspective. So, types of memories and (re)construction of the image of thought and event-space are also reflected through a descriptive manner. In the following part, the processes of witnessing and the creation of truth, its relativity as well as the constitution of image and the role of

photography in the constitution of reality are examined. In the final part, the discussion is finalized with a focus on re-historicizing the conflict and re-production of event-spaces via photographic mediation. In this discussion, Güler's photographs are also utilized as the exemplar to examine mundane and delirium moods of the urban space, and to investigate the role of mediation of photograph(y) in the re-historicizing processes of the conflict and the event-space.

Conflict, trauma, memory and space

Unlike a sharp Marxist theory of conflict that associates with domination and power, on behalf of maximization of benefits⁷; a merely remote and individual reading of a Jamesonian socio-political articulation of conflict constitutes the basis of discussion in this paper. Jameson, highlights that significantly the social conflict emerges as an apparatus of the governing powers in the institutional arenas of religion, aesthetics, legal structure, scientific realm and mass media, while interfering with the spatio-temporality of the public realm⁸. On the other hand, rather than ways and means of how conflict comes into being, but its penetration to public realm both in spatio-temporal and cognitive ways through an associating event, and the conveyance of the image of the conflicting event into milieu of memory space and visual cartography, are essential topics in the discussion of mediation.

Evidently, from the psychological aspect, conflicting events mostly associate with a trauma phase, being triggered with the unexpected and imperceptible presence of the violation of the conflicting tension. Trauma emerges as an 'extraordinary event' which encompasses the transitivity, and 'create[s] disruption and 'radical change'... within a short period of time'⁹. Basically, trauma can be defined as a 'rupture in the 'link' between the *micro-histories* -the individual events- and *macro-histories* -the collective events'¹⁰.

Referring to both the spatial capacities of mind, and the subliminal image of conflicting or traumatic event, the presence of memory becomes applicable both to discuss the routine processes of trauma and memory. In this way, the presence of memory enables the conflicting event to resonate with the production of image in visual-cartography. On this matter, Freud introduces two types of memories, which the author also claims in this work-resonating with the multi-fold capacities of photograph(y) and visual-cartography: *screen memory* and *déjà vu* affect. Freud explains the screen memory as the displacement of memories in three different ways, basically flash-forward, backwards, and contiguous movements. Thus, screen memory connects with events in three different ways either by retroactively displacing the later (events) via recalling the earlier ones; or by retrogressively, so that the later replaces the earlier ones; and finally, by contiguously connecting the memory with the impressions in relation to content and time¹¹. On the other hand, *déjà vu* affect emerges as a supplementary memory to mask or to repair a repressive condition on behalf of the individual's hidden secrets. *Déjà vu* affect further emerges as a feeling that an individual transfers to its surroundings in the context of either spatiality or event.¹² In other words, *déjà vu* memory signifies the transferable and translatable characteristics of reminiscences in the concealing and revealing mechanisms of the psyche.

Thus, both forms of memories indicate molecular and transitive characteristics of diverse and intermingling processes, through which reminiscences are mobilized back and forth in time, blending with past and future, while re-historicizing the event-space by moving on the 'blurred line of history and memory'¹³. In this case, traumatic memories of a conflicting event for the individual psyche differentiate from the historiography of the event and the supremacy of the scene stands out from the

event¹⁴ through creating various individual traumatic translations of the event-image. In other words, reminiscences appear like images of the conflicting events, and like a photographic image, can be projected, produced¹⁵ and plugged into the contextual milieu of individually or collectively (re) constructed event-space.

Camera constructs: creation of truth and minor-politics of visual cartography

Doubtlessly, the idea of truth in philosophy has been a gradual discussion initiated with the Antique philosophy till today.¹⁶ As the presence of truth corresponds with reality, it has been mostly attributed to the declarative sentence of objective judgement, derives from various beliefs, utterances, propositions, etc. basically the facts that constitute reality.¹⁷ However, opposing its long historical process depending on external, objective, factitive presence of reality and truth; Gilles Deleuze (2004) also introduces another dimension of truth production through the introverted processes of sensation¹⁸ leading towards the multiplicity and relativity of the condition. Thus, by addressing the intrinsic quality of sense, Deleuze discards the perception of real that is 'being imposed by a superior linguistic or logical, order of representation'¹⁹, and validates the presence of sense in the production of the real. Deleuze further addresses the presence of the sub-representative determinations, where the senses are developed like ideas.²⁰ Yet this sub-representative domain that Deleuze presents also relates to both spatio-temporal dynamism and the psyche of diverse traumatic and non-traumatic encounters that operates as the actors forming this sub-representative domain, where senses emerge.

So, resonating with the presence of sensation and the creation of truth, the question of 'what would be the impersonal means of defining this sub-representative domain of sensations, so the truth?' rises as the inquiry of the further investigation

on finding out its correspondences in spatio-temporal means. In this respect,

the mediating capacities of audio-visual cartography, significantly photography emerges as a milieu to be discussed in the production of reality and re-production of the event-space. Besides, the processes of witnessing, being witness, and mechanical reproduction of the event that visual-cartography broadly encompasses are also taken into account. In other words, the mediation of photograph(y) acting as the sub-representative domain, and its affective capacities in the creation of truth are decisive. Yet, dismantling the camera-eye condition of the photographer and the agency of both the photographer and the photograph are also significant issues to be mentioned in the processes of making and remaking the spatio-temporalities of mundane, conflict, trauma and desire. In this way, unlike internalized sensation of individual witnessing of an event or experience; the affective capacity that visual-cartography provides, the non-reductive but proliferated aspects, transmission of sensation all become the essential points of the discussion.

Although Deleuze sees the photography 'as an instrument for reproducing representations of reality — a device that iterates images until they are fixed as established stories, icons, or even still perceptions' from almost a mathematical truth of universal mimetics²¹ ²²; but Michael Kramp (2012) provides a further insight of Deleuze's reading of photography. Opposing to him, Kramp almost deterritorializes Deleuze reading of photography through associating it with the sensorial transmission and multiplicity.²³ Doubtlessly, this is neither a staging nor a manipulative restructuring of the reality, but merely appreciating multi-layered structure of the event and reality, as well as the relativity of the point of view. Thus, via its *machinic mediation*, the camera constructs and re-constructs

the sensory experiences of the real.

Resonating with the machinic mediation, Kramp explains the (re) construction of reality by associating it with dispositive capacities of Deleuzian abstract machine. Referring to Deleuze and Guattari, Kramp states that 'diagrammatic or abstract machine does not function to represent, even something real, but rather constructs a real that is yet to come, a new type of reality'.²⁴ He further contextualizes this projective approach into photographic practice by emphasizing the theorization of this multitude of sensory experience beyond the tense of time, through expanding it into past and future.²⁵ Nevertheless, as 'we are presented with an image that is static, but that nonetheless can give a powerful sensation of time passing', which in turns becomes the inevitable 'image of isolated time'.²⁶ This produces a sensation of the time passing that moves beyond the borders of frame and defines the 'forgotten time of the photograph'.²⁷ Kramp further suggests that '[this] points to new sensational possibilities that we have not yet even fathomed, or creates a nexus to past sensations long dismissed'.²⁸ Briefly, photography 'show us the sensations of our actual experiences — both in the present and the past — and invite us to accept our ongoing involvement in this immanence'.²⁹ In this respect, the single frame of the photography does not remain as a linear and one-time documentation or identical representational copy of the documented event, but a mediated reality created beyond the time that it is shot, and re-constituted in every time to be re-visited or re-looked at.

On the other hand, recalling the earlier discussions about Freudian psychic phases *screen-memory* and *déjà vu* affects one more time, and in connection with the displacement of time into an extended unknown or a forgotten interval, these processes also resonates with Deleuze's notion of crystal image. In this respect, he introduces us to an ever-ending affective capacity of the image for further

assemblages with the viewer. Thus, instead of depicting the sensory experiences of the material reality, the crystal image — or so to say the mediated image of — the event-space introduces an over-coded reality.³⁰

In this respect the over-coded presence of the image in visual-cartography both as the witnessing eye of the photographer, the event that is both being witnessed and re-constructed in the image, and the gaze of the viewer -(re)witnessing of the witnessed all juxtapose on this folded single frame, to be unfolded into many frames. In this way, visual-cartography works as an agent that multiples reality, re-producing the event-space and re-historicizing the event with its mediation.

Mediation of photography:

Re-historicizing the conflict and the re-production of the public realm

Similar to re-production of the memory and mediated reality of conflict the production of space is also considered as a multiple process. Referring to its political aspect, the invention of space is presumed as a *machinic intervention*, which acts like an *abstract machine*, and facilitates the numerous assemblages with temporality that consists of both memories and projections. By moving back and forth like a time machine, the power codes of the spatial-relations either collaborate with future projections to lift the society and transform it in productive ways, or they ally with dark memories from earlier times to suppress the society and close it up on itself. In this sense, like Jameson discusses, in the production processes of space, we confront with two different manners: *replication* (conservation) or *reproduction* (revolutionizing). Jameson claims that as the attitude of *replication* leads to a merely stable condition on one side; on the other side the attitude of *reproduction* paves the way for radical transformation.³¹ In other words, similar to Freudian explanation of articulation of memory types, the displacement of time

through the spatio-temporal language of the architecture causes stuttering conditions by creating *déjà vu* affects or *screen memory* either in the frame of architectural politics. Evidently, this addresses to the 're-writing' practice of spatio-politics³², or the process of creating novel narratives³³, where the political agency of space collaborates with the agency of social conflict through the mediation of image. In this respect, traumatic image is deployed as a representational agent that mediates the spatio-temporal conflict, while re-historicizing it in the public realm, in order to construct captivating and convincing structures to classify, segregate, polarize and cluster the citizens through 'telling new stories'³⁴ or realities that are constructed.

Therefore, in this final part, the constitution of this new reality, or the 'master narrative'³⁵, the mediation of conflicting and traumatic events and the re-production of public sphere are examined through the photographs of Ara Güler. Apart from being the master of Turkish photography and his universal attribution in the field, Güler was an identical figure of Turkish socio-political history, being both as the collective-memory and the camera-eye of the country via his distinctive photograph(y) depicting the socio-political transformation and events, spatio-cultural change and the micro-narratives of everyday life, for decades of times. His artistic production provides an extra-ordinary political language that not only reflects the ordinary stories of daily routines through focusing on the mundane humanly relations, intimacy of insignificant event-spaces of ordinary life; but also, generates the political stances of *minor photography*, through re-constructing the various singular-narratives out of the multitude force major events, via deterritorializing the dominant manifestation of the event.

Although Güler was a global figure, Istanbul has been his master scene of photography, where he is reflecting life from his visor. Being located in-between

the East and the West, Istanbul has always been a restless city with its rebellious soul and it has witnessed endless struggles of power relations, revolts, breakthroughs, and political conflicts. Doubtlessly, all of these struggles and events have constantly contributed to the thickening strata of the city and the memories of the citizens, as well as the photography of Güler. Apart from several daily individual maladaptive encounters that citizens experience in the city, the reminiscences of some major breaking points still remain fresh in the memories of the citizens. Most recently, Gezi Park Protests in late Spring of 2013 address a remarkable fracture both in individual and collective memoirs, while resonating with the former conflicts and traumas like Istanbul Pogrom in 1955, or student protests in late 1960s as well as the bloody May-Day rally in 1977.

Without a doubt, photograph series of Ara Güler for each break-through event provide excessive documentation of each conflicting case, while at the same time reproducing the event-space in each case of photographic-consultations. Evidently, capturing the “reality” of the event is the essence of photo-journalism. Yet, like discussed earlier as the mediation of visual cartography de-territorializes and re-historicizes the event and time, it re-historicizing the event and re-constructs the event space via micro-political filtering of the photographer. On this matter, Güler’s exquisite gaze and photographs reveal not only his seamless beholding of complexity of chaotic events or daily routine of a cosmopolitan city like Istanbul, but also reproduces the public sphere through these translated witnessing of the witnessed, and constructs the spaces of memories. In this way, the fluid witnessing camera-eye of the photographer for the witnessed, turns into the extended-witnesses’ eye of the consultation phase, by becoming mobile and dynamic in terms of grasping the scene and contributing to the re-formation of the event space at a given time.

In fact, this is a critical process, which Bleyen (2012) highlights the political condition of visual-cartography as a ‘minor photography’, via resonating with Deleuze’s notion of minor literature a critique to Kafka.³⁶ She discusses this regime of re-production in association with three characteristics of Kafkaesque minor literature; deterritorialization of the dominant expression (1), critical use of politics in nature (2) and collective enunciation to rise a shared expression (3).³⁷ In this way, visual-cartography also appreciated as a triggering mechanism that seeds itself in the existing system; however, re-shaping it through its heterogeneous, multiple, over-coded structure, operating through machinic assemblages of deterritorializing and reterritorializing the reality into truth. In short, visual cartography of conflict, not only re-historicize the event via its minor-political aspect, and defines the truth through de/re-territorializing processes, but also reproduces the public sphere collectively via collective enunciation of the re-produced reality.

So, in the light of political capacities of the minor photography in constructing and re-constructing processes of the event-space, Güler’s series portray the intensive atmosphere of the conflicting events. Apart from 1955 Istanbul Pogrom series depicting the plunder of the shops on the aftermath of the events and the military operations [fig. 1], or still enliven event-space of late 1960’s student demonstrations in Istanbul [figs. 2,3], probably mediation of 1977 May Day Rally still remains the most striking visual-cartography of Güler.

When being focused significantly to the series of 1977 May Day Rally photographs for instance, the camera-eye of the photographer not only records the brutality of the events in every scale of the demonstrators’ eye, but also re-constructs the reality of the massacre on the site in each moment of encountering with the image. Unforgettably, 1977 May Day Rally



Figure 1 Scenes from 1955 Istanbul Pogrom, (A. Güler, *Bir Dönemin Görsel Hikayesi: Beyaz Güvercinli Adam*, 2007)

Figure 2 Scenes from 1968 Student Protests in Istanbul, students passing the Galata Bridge-Golden horn (A. Güler, *Bir Dönemin Görsel Hikayesi: Beyaz Güvercinli Adam*, 2007)

Figure 3 Scenes from 1968 Student Protests in Istanbul, student demonstration at Istiklal Street-Taksim. (A. Güler, *Bir Dönemin Görsel Hikayesi: Beyaz Güvercinli*

was Turkey's biggest workers-rally in the republican history ever, which was started with a great gathering of all workers' unions at Taksim Square at the very heart of the city. Although the Rally intended to be the democratic solution for the heaviest economical struggles of the time, but with manipulations of the deeper-state politics, it turned into a bloody massacre of workers and the citizens, whereas both the conflicting event and the public square remained as the never-vanishing trauma of the society until the Gezi Resistance in 2013 again right on the same spot.

The desperate escape of the victims into diverse directions, running away into narrow streets surrounding the main square, that are full of wounded bodies [fig. 4]; or the protective but vulnerable naïve hand of a man trying to guard his child [fig. 5]; or the wide-open eyes of a young man, looking dreadfully on top of a mound killed bodies that surrounded with the crowd on the aftermath of the event [fig. 6]; or the two men lying on the pavement still alive between the shot bodies around the one still waiting at the edge, being confined

with the shocking event. These are some of the striking frames of the series, mediating the traumatic event, whereas in each of them Güler is re-constructing the radiating reality of the bloody heavy atmosphere of the lived event; the feelings of devastation, misery, pain, individual and collective status of confinement, immobility and defeat of the characters on the *cadrage*. Yet, this framing of the photographer camera-eye that acts politically also rises his critical reading of sovereign powers, their conflicting struggle, the break-through and their collapse in both ends. Nevertheless, with his minor photographic stance Güler further reflects the ephemerality of existence and randomness of survival; the tension between intimacy and hostility, life and death, joy and chaos, pleasure and struggle, past and future...

Undoubtedly, this re-constitution establishes re-historicizing of the event space via continuous processes of witnessing, both through the camera-eye of the photographer and the extended trans-affectivity of the photograph(y) triggering and fabricating the viewers' emotions.

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Figure 4 Scenes from 1977 May Day Rally, people trying to escape into narrow streets around Taksim Square (A. Güler, Bir Dönemin Görsel Hikayesi: Beyaz Güvercinli Adam, 2007)

Figure 5 Scenes from 1977 May Day Rally, a family trying to escape from Taksim Square (A. Güler, Bir Dönemin Görsel Hikayesi: Beyaz Güvercinli Adam, 2007)

Figure 6 Scenes from 1977 May Day Rally, shot bodies (A. Güler, Bir Dönemin Görsel Hikayesi: Beyaz Güvercinli Adam, 2007)

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Moving Desire. Discovering Conflicting Realities. Transforming Architectural Episteme.

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Abstract

This presentation argues that there is an historical transition in Gordon Matta-Clark's work, in which his desire to recuperate conflicting realities of the urban everyday overtakes the growing spirit of change of the 1960s in exposing architecture to new forms of episteme. There is no doubt that Matta-Clark's art interventions during the 1970s challenged the everyday reality of architecture as a two-stage embodiment of reverse processes: destruction and creation. Taking this dialectical tension as the point of departure in Matta-Clark's *Splitting* (1974), we can interpret his explorations of an abandoned residential building as indicator of our experience of the everyday space and as a critical device for transforming the spatial tropes of the everydayness. If premised on the role of media in space, violating the building will open possibilities for new connections to occur, from destructive operations implied in the understanding of spatial knowledge to the discursive implications of the mediated space as a locus for political intention. The goal of this presentation is to reveal how the concept of violence reshapes architecture, driven by desire to transform the *space of destruction* into a *space of creation*. This condition in which architecture contemplates both its ontological mode of existence and its relations to the outside world, could be seen as an opportunity for searching new epistemic purposes. In the context in which film and photography ultimately become tools for a situated mediation of violence, it is hypothesized that it is possible to reveal a positive mechanism of conflicting realities of the everyday space in the destructive processes of architecture.

Keywords

Destruction; Creation; Media; Conflicting Realities; Everyday Space

Introduction

The late 1960s spirit of change has thrived on the repressive conditions generated by the system causing all aspects of our society to change dramatically. Society's attention is focused on the conduct of social life, a question of its ultimate aims, with inevitable effects on intellectual and artists pursuits. In urbanism, radical struggle was initiated against the city alienated by the capital and the state, while radical rethinking of architecture has emerged in relation to the tendency to undermine the homogeneity and repetitiveness that characterized neo-modernism. Cinema was also undergoing a period of renewal characterized by a rebellion against the false perfection of

the studio film. Film directors acquired a new visibility, as films increasingly displayed 'open-ended' narratives, internal quotation, autobiographical references, first-person statements, while eschewing gloss and glamour.¹ Echoing the rapidity of technical developments (cataloged in Gene Youngblood's book *Expanded Cinema* in 1970), and the burgeoning cultural changes, the arts were evolving into a kind of celebration of mixed-media as we experienced concrete poetry, happenings, auto-destructive art, pop-art, performance art, rock music and the rest of the counter-culture impact.² It is interesting to note that former architecture students acted as cultural innovators in such a way to

engage the viewers in a radical rethinking of the status, history and purpose of buildings, walls and their relationships as part of the urban environment. These architectural 'activists' challenged the boundaries between everyday life and high art. One of them, Gordon Matta-Clark (1943-1978), chose a specific cinematic approach to the buildings that symbolize the reality of our everyday life, with the aim to provoke this reality. His interest does not lie in the possible use of these buildings, but rather in places where you stop and spaces that are interruptions in your everyday movements through the city. These places inspired him to act as an artist and a critically alert inhabitant of the city, performing 'a continual process of moving in, passing through and getting away with it.'³ He acted as the director of his own reality in the name of social rebellion and the desire to discover the essence of social relations. For him, buildings comprise both a miniature cultural evolution and a model of prevailing social structures, and can therefore reveal the mask that lies on the surface of these relationships. He chose punching the facades, weakening the structural stability and testing resistance of materials, and intervened.

The context for exploring spatial implications of Matta-Clark's destructive act has emerged around the two-stage embodiment of reverse processes: destruction and creation. The urge both to demolish an abandoned building and reinvent it by visual means perhaps speaks of a paradoxical superposition of diverse realities that cannot be understood within art or architecture historical accounts. Art historical accounts testify that, like many artists who used destruction as a means for creation, Matta-Clark was committed to transformation rather than to invent a new object.⁴ This is evidenced in Matta-Clark's treatment of the cut, whereby cut is not an object: it is performance — live experience. Therefore, by re-inventing the building, the artist doesn't seek to

invent a new object, but rather to change the perception of it: the social perception, and the overall perception. To be able to do that, he addressed the anarchic energies that haunted the established order in favor of organizing experiential environments and exploring new modes of production. If we understand the abandoned buildings to be mediators of urban renewals and other transitional conditions, processes and relations, then our focus shifts from the 'buildings' towards the 'processes' that are organized around them. Thus, the analysis of Matta-Clark's work moves from object (building) to function (understanding this reality). The 'process of destruction' characteristic of his acts refers to a multitude of processes, from destructive operations implied in the understanding and structuring of spatial knowledge to the discursive implications of this artist's work as a locus for political intention. Therefore, this research addresses capturing the transformation of buildings: their use, processes of destruction, recording and translation, in Matta-Clark's films and photo-collages, which are ordered by chronological jumps and folds. In this context, asking how violating the building will open possibilities for new connections to occur, means drawing on Matta-Clark's dilemma: 'what working upon real world implies?' The hypothesis is that it is possible to reveal a positive mechanism of conflicting realities of the everyday space in the destructive processes of architecture.

Object to Be Destroyed

'Object to Be Destroyed' [fig. 1] is a work by American artist Man Ray, originally created in 1923. Interestingly, art historian Pamela M. Lee wrote a book with the same title *Object to Be Destroyed. The Work of Gordon Matta-Clark* (2001), to deal with the nature of Matta Clark's destructive acts. After Man Ray's original work was eventually destroyed 34 years later, multiple replicas started to appear renamed 'Indestructible Object'. A later



Figure 1 Man Ray, Indestructible Object [1964 replica of 1923 original] © wikipedia

version of the piece, called 'Object of Destruction', was clear of a purpose and a motivation of destruction: cut out the eye from a photograph of one who has been loved but is seen no more. Attach the eye to the pendulum of a metronome and regulate the weight to suit the tempo desired. Keep going to the limit of endurance, and with a hammer well aimed, try to destroy the whole at a single blow. The faith of Ray's object was eventually recounted after a group of students walked out of the exhibition with his sculpture and then shot it. On the other hand, Pamela M. Lee chooses the same title *Object to Be Destroyed* for her book, in which she points at the problematic behind the fact that Matta-Clark has been largely ignored within the history of art. It is evident in the chapter where she emphasizes his materialist concerns and describes his aesthetics as one of worklessness. Lee explains that Matta-Clark rejected reclamation, accumulation, and progress in favor of 'workless economies', that 'intervene in the collective imperative to waste.'⁵ Matta-Clark, Lee concludes, succeeded in threatening the ontological security of the art object, and in destabilizing the very 'terms of aesthetic experience.'⁶ Therefore, the connection beyond the choice of the same titles seems obvious: both Matta-Clark's and Man Ray's objects are destroyed with intention to be re-invented, this time by visual means. More importantly, both objects are exposed to 'ephemeral acts' and for Lee this means that their ontological security is threatened.

We can also indicate the implicit ontology of contemporary architecture given the ephemerality of Matta-Clark's work. Indeed, his thinking in terms of forces, correlations, fields and transformational objects, has inscribed a 'relational ontology' within architectural discourse and practice. This is easy to prove if we start the analysis by opening the question regarding the nature of Matta-Clark's destructive acts: destruction was the answer, but what was the question

behind his acts? As the 'house' is the main object of his intervention, and is ultimately the 'object to be destroyed', this question directly addresses an uncritical attitude towards that problem. Le Corbusier warns us that the problem of the house has not been stated. In fact, Matta-Clark has shown his adherence to Le Corbusier's attitude by turning to Duchamp's statement, 'There is no solution because there is no problem.' Although Le Corbusier confidently 'threatens' with a radical statement in his *Vers une architecture*: 'Architecture, or Revolution',⁷ he clearly had '[t]he plan as the generator', in his mind, in opposition to Matta-Clark who defined his interests in built space in more Duchampian way denying any established plan or program.⁸ For him, this method would be just another way to show respect for the conventional methods of architecture. Instead, as Frances Richard notes, 'he hoped to circumvent the power struggles endemic to searches for programmatic truths.'⁹ To do that, he started recognizing buildings in the sequential statement, comprised of segments, as intervals that simultaneously separate and link, deprived of any order in their mutual spatial relationships. Consequently, the poetics of space in Matta-Clark's terms take on specific meaning: it is in opposition to anything that is understood as the dictates of the profession. It disrupts conventionalized meaning by acting in direct experience, in order to invoke an exchange of the notion of artwork for the notion of art practice.

In this new critical context, Matta-Clark offered a different option: understanding that a work of art is never really a 'finished' thing, because its reception admits to the time-consuming experience of the sequent deconstruction of architecture work. In consequence, what we recognize in Matta-Clark's interventions could be understood as an episodic structure that accommodates aggressive interventions on the products of human labor. Namely, we could understand his act as putting the material values of

buildings into performative relationships within the built environment, whereas the time of performance coincides with the time of contemplation over the possible future of their relationships.

Violence in space. Attention is the question? Performance is the answer?

Examining ways to reduce the violent temperament that is embedded in urban space, Keller Easterling claims, 'I also don't need to drive a stake through the heart of the creator of that violence to reduce it; I don't need to exacerbate that violence to reduce it. It would be better if that violence (or that superbug) withered and died from lack of attention.'¹⁰ Although Matta-Clark had an anarchic attitude to the built environment, he could direct attention to the act of violence only once he started filming his interventions. Although these records primarily served to capture the ephemeral status of the building and his actions around it, they in turn changed fundamentally their significance to a scale they didn't necessarily have before filming. Today we read the performed violence as Matta-Clark's intention to violate the traditional values of art practice and completely redefine it along what he considered a 'performative act', while committed to collaborative and politically inflected art making.

Although his intention remains focused at buildings at all times, his research of architecture and space is initiated by taking references outside architecture. More precisely, what he considered limitations of architectural profession, was reversed by questioning everything he would consider non-architectural: movement, tactility and time, i.e. These ideas are easily detected in his recordings made by passing camera from hand to hand to create all around images, which enabled a continuous film flow and communication of the real time taken for each project. Therefore, his performed violence might be closely related

to attacking what he considered essentially wrong in our perception of architecture. In his own words, 'Buildings are fixed entities in the minds of most. The notion of mutable space is virtually taboo — even in one's own house.'¹¹ From this reason he coined a term 'anarchitecture' which turned out to be more elusive than the fact that his works demonstrate an alternative attitude towards the architectural constructions, or against the attitudes of containerization of the usable space.

Having this in mind, it is no surprise that Matta-Clark's act of violating the building is premised on what he called 'cutting a building for surprise',¹² and 'to transform space into a state of mind.'¹³ It was all a lesson in social engagement, play and possibility; or he only wanted to play innocently from his belief that art in a social context is a generous human act. And while most people criticized him for being esoteric or even absurd, he saw his own acts as a measure of freedom in society, claiming: 'All spaces have ambiguities. (...) Space is more than an "esthetic" manipulation of form. It is this ambiguity that demands the liberation, clarification, amplification, augmentation, call it whatever you want.'¹⁴ For this reason, the form of performance becomes a key tool for documenting different dimensions of his works. Using various film formats available at that time, he succeeded in not only capturing the complexity of the completed forms, but more importantly to achieve the effect of performance in these recordings.

Space media[tes]

Nonetheless, to be able to examine the concept 'mediating the spatiality of violence', the research focuses on the analysis of Matta-Clark's distancing from architecture and approaching to the art world through film. His questioning of the everyday space in the context of performed violence starts inseparably from media and

develops through negotiating the role of the media in our everyday life. In perhaps his most famous work 'Splitting' (1974) — edited film sequences show Matta-Clark cutting through a typical suburban house¹⁵ [fig. 2] in New Jersey. Matta-Clark made two parallel cuts down the center of the old frame house slated for demolition as part of an urban renewal scheme. He is bisecting the home and creating an ephemeral display of light inside the once-compartmentalized interior. Consequently, an apocalyptic scenario is artificially challenged by moving and cutting the building, followed by moving and recording as a way to inscribe the conflicting realities of the newly created space. On the one hand, the conflict is clearly communicated through the instability of a structure. We clearly see this threat of stability in the scene showing Matta-Clark working, walking, climbing around a ruin, in close-ups, and focusing the fragments of the structure that has nothing but a few jacks preventing it from collapsing. On the other hand, his collages of photographs seem to offer an immediate solution by reconnecting the disassembled parts narratively and 'rebuilding' the house in imaginary way from tracings and recordings of the light beam, which passes through the fissures of the disassembled structure [fig. 3]. Clearly, Matta-Clark's work is premised on the role of media in space. Namely, if understood as components of physical and social landscapes, media display a distinctive and decisive set of qualities. More than tools for recording, storing, and transmitting information, they appear as resources negotiating with reality and with others within a particular situation. This way, media ultimately become tools for a situated mediation of violence. Consequently, a negotiation becomes necessary, which 'allows a space to acquire in itself a certain quality of mediation: space mediates — it becomes a medium.'¹⁶ Media and spaces, inseparable entities as they seem to be, the first is enhancing, corrupting, extending or

replacing the second, but media inherently shape our spaces, as well as violence that is taking place in them, warranting the term 'mediation'.

Camera and subjectivity: physical boundaries by visual means

Through his practice Matta-Clark communicates concepts and facts about the space in an attempt to negotiate physical boundaries by visual means. From this reason, it is not surprising that the camera was a constant element within his artistic process and that it took on a significant role in these negotiations. After starting out as an instrument for recording his performances, camera very quickly became a tool for perceiving the architectural, urban and social space, in which his interventions took place. Firstly, it was a logical way to capture altered perception provoked by the artist's 'building cuts.' Secondly, it was his way to refocus attention from architecture to exploration of the basic elements of movement and weight, as well as the redistribution of the light, the distorted sense of direction, the laws of gravity and the measuring of time. This way, for Matta-Clark camera became a critical device for transforming the spatial tropes of the everydayness and its system of visibility, physicality and performativity. His primary interest for considerations of everyday space was raised during the studies at Cornell, which was in complete opposition, focusing on formalism. War, political and racial assassinations and street riots, conflict between generations, all contributed to the feeling that a new order was evolving. Matta-Clark sensed both the dissolution of the old and the invigoration of seeking the new ... He proceeded like an inspired alchemist — experimenting, remaking what art can be, and turning unexpected things, acts, and sites into poetic and memorable aesthetic experiences.¹⁷

Anyhow, Matta-Clark felt a lack of means to express this feeling that a new order was evolving. While intervening



Figure 2 Gordon Matta-Clark, *Splitting* (1974), un-edited film sequences © film stills.

Figure 3 Gordon Matta-Clark, *Splitting* (1974): Collage of photographs: tracings and recordings of the light beam which passes through the fissures of the disassembled structure. Chromogenic prints mounted on board, 40 x 30 in. (101.6 x 76.2 cm) © 2019 Estate of Gordon Matta-Clark / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

within the building, he could only be focused at one part of the structure at a time, and thus he couldn't experience the building in its entirety. For this reason, he lacks capacity to receive that whole just as it is. However, when space is mediated by media through Matta-Clark's photo-collage, i.e., the message conveyed to the observer changes drastically. In his 'The Conical Intersect'¹⁸ (1975) [figs. 4,5,6], performed in the building next to the construction site for the future Georges Pompidou Center in Paris, we recognize Matta-Clark's intention to capture giant ideal circular openings on the façade, as precise as possible, to communicate with the world outside that frame. Obviously, looking for the ideal formal connection in the physical frame is a passage towards creating mental connection - a 'frame of vision' - considering a new view of the world. Like many artists who used destruction as a means for creation, Matta-Clark was committed to transformation.¹⁹ Therefore, his intervention presents a transitory non-instrumental aspect of architecture, which gets its physical dimension by transposing into a transitory object: a residue after cutting the building in the shape of geodetic dome, space tube or kaleidoscope. In this way, contemplation of a new connection is understood in the possibility of repairing the remnants of lived life inside the house, as this intervention made possible to take a peep through into the content of the house, in a Duchampian way, while its function is exposed onto the facade like 'life on repair'.

Such 'peephole show' is even more noticeable in the concept for his installation 'Window Blow-Out' (1976). Mediated by film, both interventions transmit the invisible systems of meaning that lie on the threshold of the visible: while our eyes try to reconstruct the proper image of 3d space in the represented 'cut', what is omitted from the frame tend to confuse the viewer. If observed through Benjamin's notions of images as 'dialectics',²⁰ Matta-Clark's work

has the power to bring together a dialogue between the two conditioned points of view of the image-maker and image reader. Likewise, dialectics begin at the image plane, but extend and further intensify at the limits of the image itself. In addition, there is always that mystical space beyond the image plane, outside the frame, a contested vision exposed to speculation. Those thresholds of perception open a vision to interpretation by the viewer, because our eyes constantly try to recompensate what cannot be seen beyond our own visual frame. Given that perception is far from an instantaneous mechanical function, but is rather a real-time cinematic process that blends images together through time²¹, the interpretation by the viewer is subject to the cognitive process of imaging space, as the mind carries forward the memory of the past while creating or interpreting images.

This kind of art practice is also characteristic of late 1960s and early 1970s, the time when Matta-Clark actively contributed the art scene. It was the subject of critical exploration of the nexus between the different avant-gardes in film and art, which called for a radicalized understanding of the viewer's perception from filmic action to the particular temporalities of the medium. Matta-Clark's work was inspired by such exploration, that its representatives Bruce Nauman or Robert Smithson were intervening with the diverse practices of post-Minimalism and Land Art. They were engaged in critical investigations with film as a medium within the domain of visual arts, with the aim to resist the technological and ideological forces of the globalized marketplace. Most importantly, the main motive of these films was to refuse and frustrate the normative processes by which the mass media imposes subjective identification with its social apparatus.²² Consequently, in the work of Matta-Clark and his colleagues we can recognize camera as a form of visual language that established a mediation between the physicality of the world and the subjectivity of the viewer.

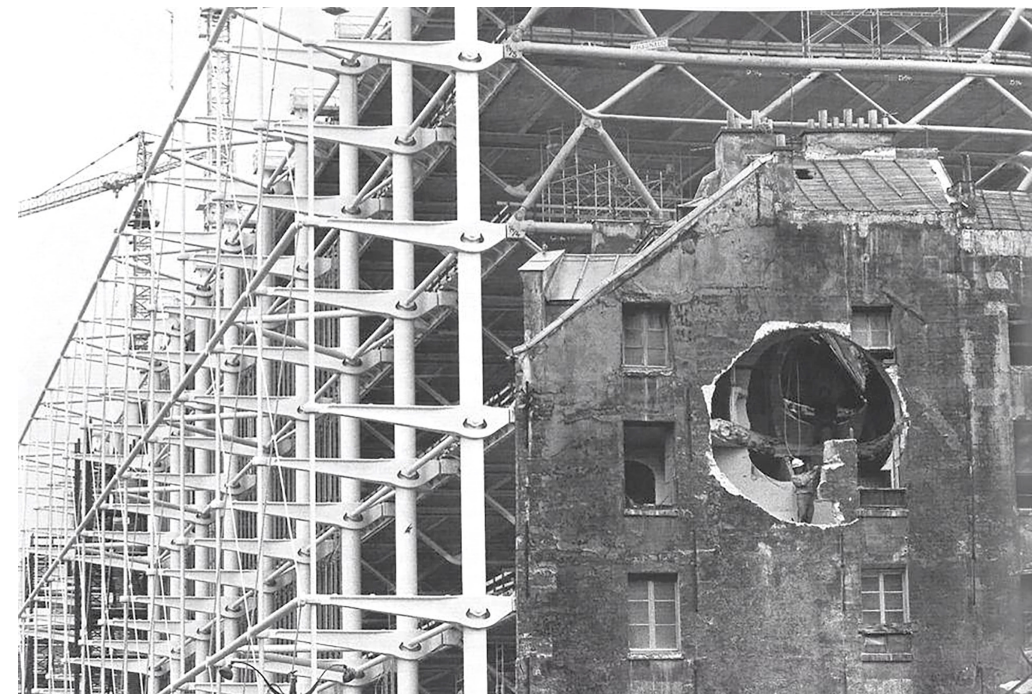
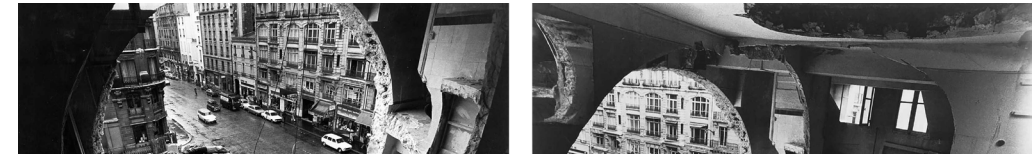


Figure 4 Gordon Matta-Clark, *The Conical Intersect* (1975) © film stills.

Figure 5 Gordon Matta-Clark, *The Conical Intersect* (1975): a) Gordon Matta-Clark and Gerry Hovagimyan working on *Conical Intersect*; b) SFMOMA, San Francisco © Photo by Harry Gruyaert/Estate of Gordon Matta-Clark/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/David Zwirner, New York.

Figure 6 Gordon Matta-Clark, *The Conical Intersect* (1975): c) View from the street towards *Conical Intersect*; for the Paris Biennale in 1975 Matta-Clark made a major cut in two houses adjacent to the Centre Georges Pompidou in Les Halles © Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/David Zwirner, New York.

Camera: visible remnant and invisible harmony

Hito Steyerl reminds us that a material thing is never just an object, but a fossil in which a constellation of forces is petrified.²³ She continues by claiming that, ‘Things are never just inert objects, passive items, or lifeless shucks, but consist of tensions, forces, hidden powers, all being constantly exchanged.’²⁴ It is the classical materialist insight through which Matta-Clark’s interventions tend to provoke the forces at play in our society. These forces are present in his sketches of the representation of movement and time, through which he communicates that things could speak to one another in our society. It is this entanglement with the society that differs Matta-Clark from the Dada artists and Land artists, with whom critics often associate him. As Clark explains, unlike Smithson et al., ‘I have chosen not isolation from the social conditions but to deal directly with social conditions whether by physical implication (...) or through more direct community involvement.’²⁵ From this reason, the views of architecture he provided through camera are themselves provocations, as ‘punch holes’ in the city’s nomenclature helping ‘the slumbering collective from the

dream-filled sleep of capitalist production’ to wake up and tap into the forces.²⁶ He further aroused our curiosity by offering the impossible views into the skin of the old buildings, from inaccessible locations, as well as the ephemerality of the building structure destined for demolition, so that we inevitably become part of his peepshow. This kind of artistic voyeurism is stimulated by architectural ‘cut’ as argument that accommodates his desire to discover what constitutes the foundation of human society and culture. After all, these ‘anarchitectural’ environments, to use Matta-Clark’s term, recalibrate our appraisal of his spatial acts. Along what is considered the politics of radical practices, his spatial interventions appear to be ventures into disappearance, a dream-like state, voyage to madness, or into the energetic event that one can almost inhabit. Each of us is offered a spyglass to turn it to the world, which opens up a double introspection: directed toward the interior, it casts doubt on architecture; while directed toward the exterior, it casts doubt on the world, and thus on our everyday reality. Consequently, the leftovers from his interventions look more like the relationship between: visible remnant (rejected reality) and invisible harmony (idealized visions of a perfect society).

Notes

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- 3 In Matta-Clark’s own words, cited by Frances Richard in her *Gordon Matta-Clark: Physical Poetics* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 4.
- 4 Kristine Stiles, review of *Object to be Destroyed. The Work of Gordon Matta-Clark*, by Pamela M. Lee, *caa.reviews*, August 23, 2000, <http://www.caareviews.org/reviews/350#.XY4SQUYzaUk>. Accessed on September 29, 2019.
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- 7 Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1986 [1931]), 17, 47.
- 8 In the interview, Marcel Duchamp replies to Pierre Cabanne’s question on the expectation from painting: ‘I have no idea. I really had no program, or any established plan.’ Read in: Pierre Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp*, trans. Ron Padgett (Da Capo Press, 1971 [1967]), 25.
- 9 Frances Richard, *Gordon Matta-Clark: Physical Poetics* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 244.

- 10 Cit. Keller Easterling in: George Papamattheakis, ‘Inside Keller Easterling’s personal medium design’, *Strelka Mag*, September 18, 2019, strelkamag.com. Accessed on September 30, 2019.
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- 14 Yann Chateigné, ‘Material Thinking: Gordon Matta-Clark’, revu par Yann Chateigné, at CCA, Montreal, Canada, lecture June 7, 2019, on the occasion of the 2019–2020 Out of the Box exhibition opening at Octagonal Gallery, June 7–September 8, 2019.
- 15 Gordon Matta-Clark, *Splitting* (1974): 10:50 min, b&w and color, silent, Super 8mm film on HD video.
- 16 Francesco Casetti, ‘Mediascapes: A Decalogue’, *Perspecta* 51: Medium (The MIT Press, 2018): 21.
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- 18 Gordon Matta-Clark, *The Conical Intersect* (1975), 18:40 min, color, silent, 16 mm film on HD video.
- 19 Kristine Stiles, in *caa.reviews*, August 23, 2000.
- 20 Read about the dialectical images in Benjamin’s Arcades Project. Furthermore, the most compelling interpretation of dialectical image is to be found in Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989). See also Michael Jennings, *Dialectical Images: Walter Benjamin’s Theory of Literary Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).
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- 23 Hito Steyerl, *The Wretched of the Screen* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012), 55.
- 24 Ibid, 55.
- 25 This passage is from one version of Donald Wall’s conversation with Matta-Clark, where Matta-Clark discusses Duchamp in reference to Dadaist and Land Art concerns. Read in: Donald Wall, ‘Gordon Matta-Clark’s Building Dissections’, in: *Arts* 50, no.9 (May 1976): 77.
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Mass Representation: Unfolding Conflict Through the Filmic Representation of Crowds in Crisis Athens

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Abstract

By understanding the crowd as a mediatic object and as already an act of representation, this essay examines the digital representation of mass and its role in determining the structure and character of a contested public square in Athens, Greece, and in decoding how conflict plays out on it. Against traditional conceptualisations of crowds which focus on physicality, proximity, and touch, the point of departure is Kracauer's argument that the crowd is a highly cinematic object, whose essence can only be captured through film. The aim is to study how the digital staging and re-staging of three different processions through the square (as seen via YouTube) can unravel the space of conflict and the realities that emerge from it. Alongside performativity and artificiality, the roles of repetition and reproduction within digital culture will frame the discussion: can the 'virtual crowd', in a similar manner to the 'physical crowd', constitute a tool for the spatialisation of particular urban phenomena or is it reduced to an effect and an urban spectacle with the 'city in crisis' as its backdrop?

Keywords

Athens; Crisis; Filmic Representation; Mediation; Visual Culture

Film as a medium

Films come into their own when they record and reveal physical reality. Now this reality includes many phenomena which would hardly be perceived were it not for the motion picture camera's ability to catch them on the wing. And since the medium is partial to the things it is uniquely equipped to render, the cinema is conceivably animated by a desire to picture transient material life, life at its most ephemeral. Street crowds, involuntary gestures, and other fleeting impressions are its very meat.¹

For Siegfried Kracauer, film does not merely imitate and reflect what is happening in the world, but instead it captures and exposes transient aspects of physical reality as well as it adds something new to them; it makes visible (and it also enforces us to encounter)

phenomena that are often concealed in our inner restlessness, therefore acts of terror and violence, traumatic and catastrophic events, become key subjects of filmic representation.² These are situations, which the participant or the witness is unable to perceive to their full extent, according to Kracauer. Film, on the other hand, creates a valuable distance: a detachment from the site of the event, a representation of limited distortion, and a space of conscious observation.³ In this context, street crowds play a central role in Kracauer's theorisation of film due to their bigness, their power, and their transient nature. In their emotional and spatial extensiveness, masses can only anticipate filmic representation to be rendered perceptible.⁴ Paradoxically, Kracauer presents film as a medium that may distance us from the action it represents, but without excluding sensationalism: crowds are not only vast,

but they are also sensuous, and film is ideal in capturing their double essence. In defence of the medium, he argues, people have embraced cinema due to its ability to create intense sensations as well as they have always craved spectacles.⁵

In traditional theorisations crowds are underpinned by the sensory and the tactile. Elias Canetti argues that the most important principle that needs to be achieved for the individual's transcendence of personal boundaries is to overcome the fear of being touched.⁶ The fear of having physical contact with anything that is not familiar, the fear of touch of the unknown, determines the body's boundaries and establishes the appropriate distance around it. Within the crowd, this fear is no longer valid; on the contrary it is reversed. To be able to achieve unity and coherence, the bodies need to be touched, pushed against each other, and reshaped into a collective body⁷ that is – temporarily – more important than any individual body. By abolishing the distance with other people the individual feels secure and protected and possesses absolute freedom and power. Purely by the number of people who take part, the crowd gathers a 'sentiment of invincible power' according to Gustave Le Bon and releases instincts which individuals wouldn't have afforded, had they been on their own.⁸ However crowds are not solely about touch and pressure, but also aesthetic and dramatic and, returning to Kracauer, they have always called for the carnivalesque, the performative, and the spectacular, especially in terms of their reproduction and circulation as well as their mass spectatorship. Writing at the time of the Paris protests in 1968, John Berger argues that demonstrations are not so powerful because of their immediacy but due to their symbolism: it is not the physical strength of those who participate in the demonstration that has an impact, but instead the performance of the potential strength of protesters, who extend beyond the physical body of those present to the abstraction of a

potential mass.⁹ Demonstrations, according to Berger, are 'rehearsals for revolution', raising awareness and longing for the real performance.¹⁰ Along the same lines, in his essay *Uprisings in the Banlieues*, Étienne Balibar describes the spectacular character of violence as by no means secondary to its action; on the contrary, it signals the beginning of an age in which mass communication media underpin social movements and political expression.¹¹

By understanding the crowd as a mediatic object and as already an act of representation¹², this essay will examine the digital representation of mass and its role in determining the structure and character of a contested public square in Athens, Greece, and to decode how conflict plays out on it. Against traditional conceptualisations of the crowd, which focus on physicality, proximity, and touch, the point of departure will be Kracauer's argument that the crowd is a highly cinematic object, whose essence can only be captured through film.¹³ The aim is to study how the digital staging and re-staging of three different processions through the square (as seen via YouTube) can unravel the space of conflict and the realities that emerge from it. Alongside performativity and artificiality, the roles of repetition and reproduction within digital culture will frame the discussion: can the 'virtual crowd', in a similar manner to the 'physical crowd', constitute a tool for the spatialisation of particular urban phenomena or is it reduced to an effect and an urban spectacle with the 'city in crisis' as its backdrop?

Agios Panteleimon: between the Mass and the Square

Agios Panteleimon [meaning Saint Panteleimon], is a residential district to the north of the city centre of Athens, taking its name from the church of Saint Panteleimon, one of the largest Christian Orthodox churches in the Balkans. The area was established as one of the first extensions of the Athenian city-centre to the north in

the 1920s, though it was densely built with 'polykatoikias' (the typical multi-storey residential buildings in Athens) during the rapid urbanisation of the city between the 1950s and 1970s. It was originally a lively upper/upper-middle class district, whose residents eventually moved to the suburbs of Athens around the 1980s and were progressively replaced by immigrant populations who arrived in the city during the 1990s mainly from the Balkans. After 2000, the increasing immigrant population (of diverse backgrounds, most recently due to the refugee crisis in the Middle East and Africa) and their presence in the city's public spaces in combination with the declining social conditions of the remaining older residents in the context of the economic recession have led to the development of aggressive, xenophobic, and nationalist behaviours. This provided fertile ground to Golden Dawn, a long-standing neo-Nazi group¹⁴ which grew in popularity during the years of the financial crisis and which, for a number of years and until recently, enjoyed significant parliamentary representation.¹⁵ Agios Panteleimon became one of Golden Dawn's key sites of operation: members and supporters developed food banks and soup kitchens to help the ethnic Greek residents only, while they turned against migrants in their attempt to rule over the neighbourhood. Symbolically, the central square in front of the church – and the only significant public space of the otherwise very densely built district – has become a site of violence of far-right groups against immigrants and has given space to clashes between far-right and anti-fascist groups. Most recently, much of the group's criminal activity has been exposed and many of the founding members, including their political leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos, have been prosecuted to trial, which has led to their disappearance from the public life of the city.¹⁶ The three clips presented here traverse the recent history of the square, from 2008 to 2017 through the diverse crowds that have been active there [fig. 1].

The first film is titled 'The Entrance of Golden Dawn in Agios Panteleimon'¹⁷ and was posted online in November 2008. It shows the end of a march of Golden Dawn supporters throughout the neighbourhood and the culmination of their demonstration on the square. It is filmed by someone within the crowd and, despite its low resolution it creates a fearful and alarming experience. Unable to focus on individuals or on the square itself, one can only focus on the mass, on the expanse of the crowd, and the innumerable Greek flags featured, while slogans such as "foreigners (stay) out of Greece" (0:02), "Hellas, Hellas, protect us too" (0:38), "Greece belongs to the Greek nationals" (0:59) are rhythmically chanted. As the camera stops moving and focuses on the crowd loudly singing the national anthem, we can almost discern the south-east corner of the church at the background [fig. 2]. One can only follow the mass as they move through the neighbourhood, leaving no space for opposition, for discourse, for otherness. And indeed that was a period when numerous violent and physical attacks against immigrants have been registered in the area, however, in examining this video, the question of performativity also arises. Is it the crowd in its actual presence and strength that is overwhelming here, the bodies pushing against each other and forming a mass body, or the representation of this strength alongside our understanding of a vast crowd that fills and perhaps extends beyond the big square? The overwhelming crowd is clearly staged through the film by being at the forefront, but at the same time the square is also staged through the crowd as a place of nationalism, discrimination and exclusion. The presence of the church at the background reinforces the demand for 'Greekness' and 'purity' as expressed through the fascist slogans.

The second video comes from 2011 and presents us 'The Battle of Agios Panteleimon'.¹⁸ It unfolds the square as a place of conflict depicting members of

Golden Dawn clashing with anti-fascist groups and the riot police over the control of the site. It is filmed from the balcony of one of the residential buildings across the entrance of the church. The camera zooms in and out of the crowd. Nikolaos Michaloliakos, the leader of Golden Dawn, who was a councillor of Athens at the time, gives a speech against foreigners, and then we see him commanding members of Golden Dawn who are lined up in a military deployment. Then comes the fight with the riot police and the crowds dissolve within tear gas and fires while objects are being thrown from the one side to the other. The residents stay around the square, and once things calm down, they return on it, holding and waving their Greek flags and singing the national anthem. The crowd dissolves and reconvenes many times through the film. The events are presented as spontaneous reactions and we can only assume that the clashes occurred in an unexpected manner as presented in the video, however the crowd itself is less spontaneous in its making and finely orchestrated around key spaces on the square.

Reflecting on the more or less spontaneous nature of mass assemblies, Canetti differentiates between open and closed crowds: the former are attractive and unlimited, with a constant desire to grow, yet they dissolve as unexpectedly as they form due to their receptiveness and their loose structure.¹⁹ The closed crowd, on the other hand, features very specific boundaries and clearly defines who is included and who is excluded from this process. Although it may not infinitely increase, as the open crowd does, it maintains full control of its members; its boundaries prevent its dispersal and as such it consolidates its strength and impact. More importantly, they establish a permanent presence. Repetition is central in this operation: the crowd discharges because it has the ability to reassemble again in an equally powerful way.²⁰ The Golden Dawn crowds are in this respect highly controlled and therefore

less spontaneous in their deployment. They develop against the riot police with an equivalent rigour and severity, following the instructions of Michaloliakos. The figure of the leader also plays out strongly in the video, which brings to mind Theodor Adorno's theorisation of fascist masses. In his essay 'Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda', Adorno argues that fascist masses owe their power to their artificiality as well as to the irrational – and erotic, drawing from Freud – relationship between the crowd and its leader.²¹ In order to sustain control over the crowd and to increase its power, the leader re-animates the idea of an omnipotent and overpowering paternal figure (another form of representation) and imposes artificial hierarchies on it.²² This is accompanied by the standardisation and the over-simplification of the crowd's demands – in this case the source of the evil is the presence of foreigners and those who protect them. In response, equally standardised and uncomplicated slogans are repeatedly chanted and participants (reduced to social atoms surrendered to the mass according to Adorno) perform their identification with their leader.²³

The main areas of conflict on the square also play an important role in this performance. The fenced area on the south-west was a playground that a so-called 'residents' committee' had kept locked for years so that immigrants' children (and by extension their own as well) would not play in.²⁴ We see the speeches at the beginning of the video taking place in front of it and later on clashes take place all around it. Then the big sign on the paving of the square, where the Golden Dawn members line up at the beginning of the video and where a man stands holding a Greek flag during the clashes [fig. 3] reads 'foreigners (stay) out of Greece' and 'Greece my homeland.'²⁵ This is a sign that has remained on the square for many years and which had become emblematic of the area. The camera on the video regularly returns to it



Figure 1 The square as seen on 10 August 2019. Image credit: Aikaterini Antonopoulou

Figure 2 Singing the national anthem: the church at the background. Source: kastorpolydeukis.

as the events unfold and the people featured on the video also return to it and defend it against the riot police and the anti-fascist groups.

The third video²⁶ from March 26, 2017, comes as a carefully directed response to the ones presented above. It presents the moving of an antifascist social space, *Δίστομο* [distomo], from the basement of a residential building on the south-west edge of the square (81 Alkiviadou St) to the centrally located ground level space (formerly an empty shop) to the west of the church and by that, their symbolic unobstructed presence on the square. Faces are blurred or concealed in this video, but we see a group of people organising their space, before performing a confident walk through the square during which they disseminate flyers with their new address. As the night falls, they are shown to spray anti-fascist slogans on walls and to organise an informal barbecue on the square, presumably open to anyone who might be around, and to eat together. The clip culminates with a dramatic march around the church and with the group's deployment at its front – across each other and on the steps of the church, framing the surface that was previously marked by the racist inscription. They light flares and they chant anti-fascist slogans as the camera zooms onto a long black banner concealing the entrance of the church and quoting the National Liberation Front (Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο, EAM), the main force of resistance during the Axis occupation of Greece: 'when people are in front of tyranny they choose either the chains or the weapons.' The film is carefully edited (Dropkick Murphys' 'Which side are you on' playing at the background) and unreservedly demonstrative, aiming to attach new meanings to the square.

Δίστομο responds directly to the performativity of the previous filmed events with their own staged performance on the square, incorporating the same spatial attributes, which are yet re-

presented differently: the church bells are heard ringing at the start of the video; the march on the square leaves uninterrupted the children that are playing around and the people who pass by; the barbecue invites everyone to take part; new inscriptions are being registered on the walls of the city. The grand finale takes place between the cleaned inscription at the foreground and the big church at the background. Although the film aims at highlighting the return of the city's 'real' everyday life on the square (as multi-cultural and inclusive, epitomised by the children and the strollers), it does so by closing with an almost 'unreal' scene. [fig. 4]

The more mediated the more real.²⁷

And it is indeed this 'reality' of the city that we are called to examine through these three rather 'unreal' situations (unreal in the sense of their extremity and their improbability). Most importantly, we need to ask whether there is one reality or instead multiple realities which could help us decode the square as the space of conflict. In this context, we are also urged to ask: what is the agency of film in constructing this space of conflict? And, what is the agency of the crowd (in its virtual and representational form) to tell the story of this space?

Drawing from their own perspectives and for their own purposes, the three processions displayed here manage to manipulate the pre-existing space and sites and they produce unique representations of these places. The church's front steps, the former and latter inscriptions, the old playground get animated and then branded and re-branded, and – as we know after watching a video on YouTube, the platform follows up with tens of similar others and all these accumulate and they are infinitely reproduced and even consumed in particular ways, so that to the performativity, artificiality, repetition as characteristics of the virtual crowds, reproduction needs to be added as well. And through this infinite



Η μάχη του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα - 15/1/2011

315,346 views • 16 Jan 2011

901 420 SHARE SAVE



ΕΓΚΑΙΝΙΑ ΚΑΙΝΟΥΡΓΙΟΥ ΧΩΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΦΑΣΙΣΤΙΚΟΥ/ΑΝΤΙΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΣΤΕΚΙΟΥ "ΔΙΣΤΟΜΟ" 25/03/17

20,029 views • 26 Mar 2017

319 162 SHARE SAVE

Figure 3 The inscription: 'foreigners (stay) out of Greece' and 'Greece my homeland.' Source: anypotaxtosEllhnas.

Figure 4 Distomo: between the erased inscription and the square. Source: Rouvikonas.

reproduction and the fact that they provide powerful images (and often simplistic and straightforward narratives to support their propaganda) these scenes often become public spectacles and images of themselves or, further, generic and reductive images of the ‘urban crisis.’

By bringing many of these oversimplified and often shallow narratives together and by seeing them alongside each other, however, these stories reveal an extensive field of action for understanding the city in its complexity. Commenting on Isabelle Stengers’ ‘Cosmopolitical Proposal’,²⁸ and against the idea of the all-embracing ‘one cosmos’ which

has disappeared forever, Bruno Latour emphasises on the place of conflict as the starting point for a “same world” to be slowly composed anew, slowly, and by all parties together.²⁹ In Latour’s constructivist approach, the realities that the humans bring forward carry within themselves their own mediations, so that realities and mediations together are made by diversified components and histories. And these realities are always open to new interpretations and further mediations, extensions, and even failures, and they become tools for the construction of new worlds.

Notes

- 1 Siegfried Kracauer, *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), ix.
- 2 Ibid. 57-58.
- 3 Ibid. 57.
- 4 Ibid. 58.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power* (New York: Continuum, 1962), 16.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: a Study of the Popular Mind* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), 10.
- 9 John Berger, “The Nature of Mass Demonstrations,” *International Socialism*, no.34 (Autumn 1968), 11-12.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Étienne Balibar, “Uprisings in the Banlieues,” in *Constellations*, vol. 14, issue 1 (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), 47-71; 51.
- 12 Andrew V. Uroskie, “Far Above the Madding Crowd: The Spatial Rhetoric of Mass Representation,” in Jeffrey T. Schnapp and Matthew Tiews (eds.), *Crowds* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 307-334; 307.
- 13 Kracauer emphasises on the attraction between crowds and (still and motion) cameras and he argues that it is not accidental the fact that the tool of reproduction made its appearance almost at the same time with one of its key subjects: the masses.
- 14 Dimitris Psarras argues that the most accurate way to describe the party’s ideology, organisation, and practice is that of a “Nazi party,” instead of a fascist, far-right or a neo-Nazi one. Dimitris Psarras, *Η Μαύρη Βίβλος Της Χρυσής Αυγής* [the Black Bible of Golden Dawn] (Athens: Polis, 2012).
- 15 21 seats with 6.97% of the total votes in the national elections of May 2012 [Source: Greek Ministry of Interior Affairs, <http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2012a/public/indexhtml#%22cls%22:%22main%22,%22params%22> Last accessed: September 19, 2019], 8 seats and 6.99% in the national elections of September 2015 [Source: Greek Ministry of Interior Affairs, <http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015b/v/public/index.html#%22cls%22:%22main%22,%22params%22>. Last accessed: September 19, 2019] and no seats and 2.93% in the national elections of July 2019 [Source: Greek Ministry of Interior Affairs, <https://ekloges.yes.gr/current/v/home/parties/>. Last accessed: September 19, 2019].
- 16 The starting point of this exposure has been the stabbing to death of Pavlos Fyssas, an anti-fascist artist, in a clash between fascists and anti-fascist, by a 35-year-old man who was found to have strong ties to the official Golden Dawn party (18 September 2013).
- 17 ‘Η Είσοδος Της Χρυσής Αυγής Στον Άγιο

Παντελεήμονα [the Entrance of Golden Dawn in Agios Panteleimon]’, YouTube video, 2:39, posted by kastorpolydeukis, 25 November 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IG0yhtelPeA>. Last accessed: October 10, 2019.

- 18 ‘Η Μάχη Του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα – 15 January 2011 [the Battle of Agios Panteleimon – 15 January 2011]’, YouTube video, 36:19, posted by anypotaxtosEllhnas, 16 January 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMmGzwP41TI>. Last accessed: 10 October 2019.
- 19 Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 16-17.
- 20 Ibid. 17.
- 21 Theodor Adorno, “Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda,” in Andrew Arato and Eike Gephardt (eds.), *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader* (New York: Continuum, 1982 [1952]), 118-180; 124.
- 22 Ibid. 124; 128.
- 23 Ibid. 136-7.
- 24 The playground was relocated to the northwest of

the church and opened again in 2016.

- 25 The graffiti on the square was erased at some point in 2015.
- 26 ‘εγκαινία καινούργιου χώρου αντιφασιστικού/αντιεξουσιαστικού στεκιού “διστομο” 25/03/17’, [Opening of anti-fascist/anti-authoritarian social space ‘Distomo’], YouTube video, 2:39, posted by Rouvikonas, 26 March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XRfa3sNSqu8>. Last accessed: October 10, 2019.
- 27 Bruno Latour, “Whose Cosmos, Whose Cosmopolitics? Comments on the Peace Terms of Ulrich Beck,” in *Common Knowledge* 10, no. 3 (2004): 459.
- 28 Isabelle Stengers, “The Cosmopolitical Proposal,” in Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (eds.) *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005).
- 29 Latour, “Whose Cosmos”, 455.

Save Lifta? Mediating the Architectural Imag(e)ination of a Conflictual Space

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Abstract

The paper examines images of Lifta, a depopulated Palestinian-Arab village, studying the constitution of the gaze of the planner, the technologies of architectural representation, and their relations to the agency of mapping. Lifta lies in a green valley at the western entrance to Jerusalem. Its remaining houses are a prime example of Palestinian stone carving. Inhabited by Arabs since the 16th century, it was depopulated in 1948, and repopulated by Jewish immigrants in the 1950s, many of whom were evacuated by the state in the 1960s. Since then, its future has been considered by the authorities, with no conclusive 'solution' found. In 2006, a plan to sell the lands, renovate the houses, add new ones as well as a commercial area and a hotel was approved, and Lifta became the subject of heated controversy. The plan was halted after the court ordered an archaeological survey revealed ancient layers. The village's status remains unclear.

In this paper, we review images of Lifta created since the 1950s by Israeli architects, students, artists, and activists. Some conceive it as a collection of architectural objects to be conserved and commercialized, others imagine a revival of its past, and still others de-territorialize the political injustice by conceiving the houses as useful for other social causes. We examine how the images and mapping strategies reflect the agency embedded in their aesthetics. Our insights are inspired by James Corner (1999), who argues for an agency of mapping that lies in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined. Finally, we discuss whether and how mapping and imaging in the Lifta case study reflect attentiveness towards communities that were driven out of their homes and lands and never allowed to return.

Keywords

Lifta; Landscape; Architects Gaze; Image; Mapping

In this paper we examine images created throughout seven decades of conflict over Lifta, a depopulated Palestinian village in the outskirts of Jerusalem. Lifta is located in a valley outside the capital that is visible from the road that ascends into the Holy City. It is a beautiful yet melancholic 'landscape', a consequence of the fact that Lifta's remains — around 45 partly destroyed stone buildings of unique quality and rare quantity (compared to similar, depopulated sites) — are set among olives,

vines and other local plants, terraces and a stream, painting a deceptively pastoral picture of century-old rural coexistence with nature. It is perhaps this picture of ancientness, transcendent of politics and local development that saved Lifta's remains from being obliterated after 1948, unlike so many other Palestinian settlements throughout the country [fig. 1].¹

In 1966, the village ruins were declared a natural reserve, and thus saved from destruction for the next four decades:

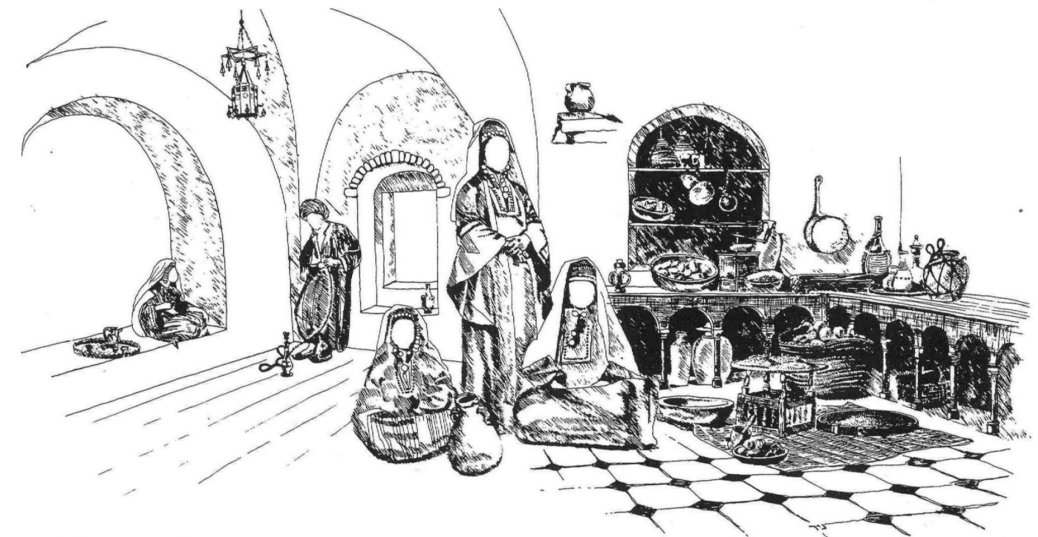
instead, it became a landscape. Since then, various design proposals have been presented by prominent Israeli architects. In 2006, the Israel Land Authority decided to sell the land to private developers and another architectural plan was prepared to conserve the houses, build new 'ancient style' ones, and add a hotel and a commercial center. This was followed by public uproar, with activists arguing that Lifta should be saved, and that the plan for the new neighborhood must be cancelled. Present and former residents, together with activists, formed a coalition and appealed to the court.² The court demanded that a thorough archaeological survey should be conducted. After the survey was presented in 2017, in which ancient layers were discovered, the plan was halted for the time being.

In this paper we examine images of Lifta created since the 1960s by Israeli planners, and plans made by planning professionals and students throughout the years, most of which excluded its former Palestinian and present Jewish dwellers. Students' projects in Lifta produced in the years of the heated public controversy envisioned using the houses for other social causes, by proposing village remains and natural landscape for social and health institutions, such as a psychiatric hospital³, or an old age nature-related institute, as to de-territorialize the political injustice. Conversely, works of alternative mapping and archiving, such as a guided sound tour and a VR project, have attempted to give presence to the complex layers of Lifta⁴

The contemporary legal-architectural status of Lifta is still unclear. In 2017, following the residents and activists' appeals, Lifta was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, potentially saving it from destruction. However, as the Israeli government stopped cooperating with UNESCO in 2015⁵, it is yet to be seen whether the site's legal implications and complex meanings will be taken into consideration in future plans.⁶

Images of Lifta were created through various methodologies: architectural drawings, hand-drawn images, 3D modelling, cinematic and sound works, and VR. The plurality of images expresses a multiplicity of professional gazes. What are these gazes? How have they transformed or reflected the cultural transformation of Lifta from a distant but ahistorical object to be untouchable and protected into a commodity, a museum, and a heritage site? The artistic or planning choice of a particular technique or technology for representing the Palestinian village is related to a number of ethical design aspects. Though appearing as neutral, set on high accuracy and objectivity, these choices are inherently political, and their ethical consequences must not be overlooked.

James Corner argues for an agency of mapping that 'lies in neither reproduction nor imposition but rather in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined, even across seemingly exhausted grounds' and that 'precipitates its most productive effects through a finding that is also a founding... it remakes territory each time with new and diverse consequences.'⁷ In what follows, we examine examples of mapping and planning of Lifta, and its concealing or revealing, layers of what is *there*. We begin by looking at the process in which Lifta was transformed, through planning and mapping, from an abandoned living village into 'landscape', and 'museum' of a village, and we will ask about the absence of the Liftaweens (descendants of the original Palestinian villagers), many of whom live close by, in East Jerusalem, from the plans. Following Corner, we analyze alternative agentic forms of mapping and documentation, which through techniques of cinematic movement, sound and voice create a more immersive image of the place. We conclude by wondering whether reconstructing the experience of a place, through digital mapping and immersive imaging, contributes to the revelation or



Ethnographic display by craftsmen demonstrating ancient traditional work methods.

Figure 1 Halprin, Aronson, Mendel, Kertesz Architects "Mey Naftoah National Center for Nature, and Human Heritage in the Land of Israel", 1986, Courtesy of Shlomo Aronson Architects Collection.

another layer of concealment.

Lifta as 'landscape' and 'museum'

Lifta is situated in a scenic location, in a valley seemingly untouched by time at the western entrance to Jerusalem. Its ghostly presence contributes to the city's image of a place that is holy, ahistorical and must be preserved or at least distinct from modern parts of the country – an image that prevailed in British mandatory planning and influenced the Israeli state architects and landscape designers, particularly after the 1967 war. Currently, Lifta's lands belong to the Israel Land Authority.⁸ In the 1950s, the state settled it with Jewish immigrants from Yemen and Kurdistan, and in the 1960s, a community of immigrants lived in the Palestinian houses, and even operated a school in one of them. The families were evicted later in the 1960s, after which the domed rooftops of the buildings were bombed to prevent 'squatting'.

The Land Authority further planned to bulldoze the remains of the deserted village, but this was strongly opposed by architect Eliezer Brutzkus, in charge of landscape and nature preservation on the national level. Like other contemporary architects and artists, he saw in it as a relic of the ancient local landscape that should be saved for future generations. Brutzkus repeatedly argued for the formative role of such Orientalist landscapes in consolidating an Israeli built heritage: as notes Nitzan Shifan, the occupier needed the material culture of the occupied in order to define its own patrimony.⁹ This was an Orientalism that aimed to recover Jerusalem's past by accentuating the tangibility of its authentic remains. It actually continued the approach of the British Mandate of Palestine (1917-1948) of separating the remains in order to guard them, based on the principle/idea of protecting the picturesque landscape and keeping it untouched as an image of a biblical past, an image that was a cornerstone for Zionist revival. In 1966, Brutzkus

assembled a situated coalition of artists and architects, as well as students from The Bezalel Art Academy, in order to save Lifta. He proposed a simple, yet effective strategy: declaring the village a national park and developing it in collaboration with the National Park Authority and the Jerusalem Municipality.¹⁰

Since then, various design proposals were presented by prominent Israeli architects. In 1968-1970, Arie and Eldar Sharon proposed a massive, out of scale mega-structural housing at the entrance of the city. In their proposals, which included several alternatives, the village remnants would be a backdrop, amplifying the contrast between old and new [fig. 2]. The Arab houses would become a leisure area, with discotheque and a night club. In 1976, a plan for Lifta was made by architect Ulrich Plessner, who was in 1974-1976 the city engineer. He believed that Jerusalem required unique planning, and proposed a nature reserve and museum in Lifta. Plessner prepared a landscape plan, a walking trail that followed the old path of the village, and a conservation of the buildings. It is an example of the idea of turning Lifta into a museum, a village frozen in its uninhabited condition, for purposes of learning of the past, without being very particular about whose past.

In 1986, landscape architect Shlomo Aharonson developed the museum plan even further. His version was titled 'Mey Naftoah National Center for Nature, and Human Heritage in the Land of Israel' (using the Hebrew name attributed to the place, after Joshua 15:9 and 18:15).¹¹ The proposal now clearly suggested turning the remaining houses into a museum of nature and agriculture, the images showing a live exhibition of traditional crafts with actors dressed in Yemenite clothes, perhaps a way of symbolically including both the Arabs and Yemenite Jews who used lived there, both suitable as examples of Oriental figures [fig. 3]. The images reflect the professional Western gaze at Lifta as

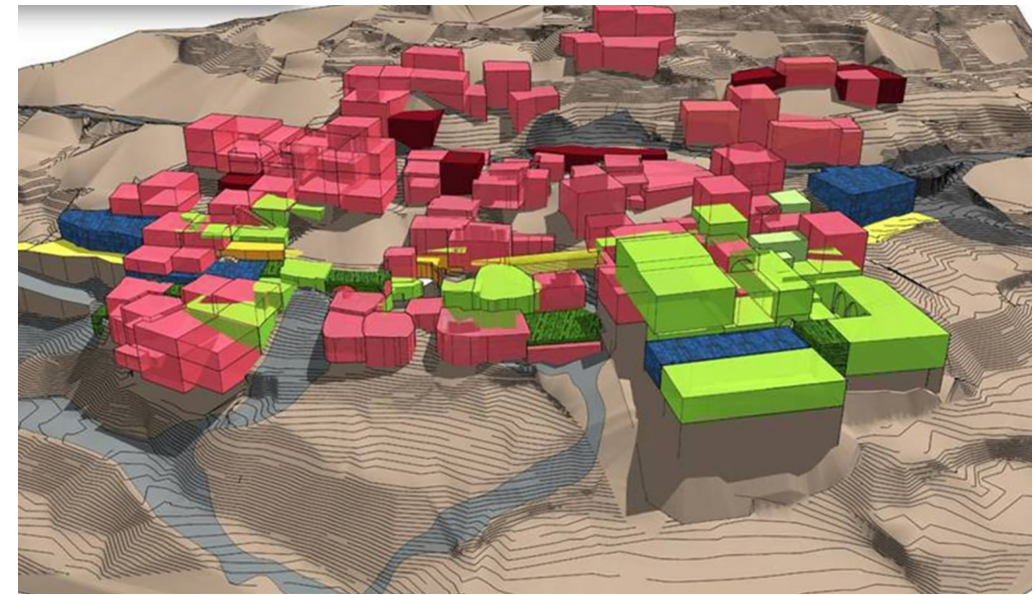


Figure 2 Industrial system and covered path with 6 olive presses, image taken from the Lifta Survey of the Conservation Department of the Israel Antiquities Authority, 2017, All rights reserved to the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Figure 3 Reconstruction of Lifta, Final project, Ariel Naor, Ariel University in Samaria, 2013

Oriental landscape, as Mitchell puts it ‘a compensation for and screening off of the actual violence perpetrated there’.¹²

Years later, as none of the plans was realized, in 2006, Plan 6036 by the architectural firm of Goby Kertes and Shmuel Groag was approved. The municipality, along with the Land Authority decided to change the zoning status of the village from natural reserve to housing, and a hotel and commercial center were added to the new ‘ancient’ style houses and the renovated ‘conserved’ ones. Since the approval of the plan, Lifta has been the subject of heated controversy. The Israel Land Authority has been promoting a proposal to ‘redevelop’ and rebuild it with residential and tourist programs, and on the other hand, still a variety of voices oppose redevelopment. These voices include Palestinian refugee descendants, Jewish families that have continued living there as ‘trespassers’, nature activists who wanted to conserve one of the remaining natural reserves in the Jerusalem area, and one of the planners of 6036 plan, architect Shmuel Groag, who soon came to realize the injustice of the plan after meeting the Liftaweens in court.

In 2010, academics, former residents, and activists established a coalition, fighting to ‘Save Lifta’. In this ongoing struggle, participants promote different agendas, but agree that any development should be halted. Former Palestinians residents, as well as Jewish ones, have begun holding guided tours where they speak about the daily life in the village, and narrate its complex history. As mentioned, throughout the years, Liftaweens have been returning to Lifta to visit and remember, and some Jewish families continue to live there, and they also were part of the appeal to the court made in 2006, after the plan was approved. Architect Shmuel Groag, a conservation specialist who made the plan approved in 2006, abandoned his earlier ideas after meeting the village’s Palestinian refugees

in court: ‘I changed my mind when I met the Liftaweens. I didn’t know they were living in Jerusalem. I saw real people, connected to the real houses, that dialogue was what changed me’.¹³ He became a leading activist in Save Lifta, and one of the central activists against his own plan.

In 2012, when controversies brought the plan to court, the judge demanded that the Israel Antiquities Authority conduct an in-depth survey of Lifta. The results were presented only in 2017. The images of the archeological survey [fig. 4]¹⁴ uncovered additional layers of ancient history of high significance, which would be severely damaged if the plan were to be implemented. At a conference held in Jerusalem in the presence of ICOMOS representatives in March 2017, Avi Maschiach, the head of the survey team, presented the key findings from Lifta: ‘The basic thing that undermines the village’s preservation is the new subdivision of the site, which does not refer to the traditional layout of the village and does not allow for the village’s preservation, and which is the key to understanding the village.’ The planned roads will damage the village’s fabric and its potential for preservation.¹⁵ Groag, following the findings, proposed ‘gentle and long-term preservation, keeping Lifta as a space of shared heritage for future generations, sustainable conservation of Lifta’s cultural landscape, and sharing future plan with all the past and present communities.’¹⁶ In the meanwhile, the survey has stopped the marketing of the new plan. Note, however, that it does so in reference to ancient history, rather than to the politically charged situation of communities, both Palestinian-Arab and Jewish-immigrant, that lived in the place in the past century.

In the aftermath of 6036: images

As Lifta came to the forefront in the mainstream media and academic discourse, new images were cultivated by the coalition created to save it. Consequently, Lifta was



Figure 4 Arye and Eldar Sharon, Lifta Competition Proposal, 1979, Arye and Eldar Sharon Collection, Courtesy of the Azrieli Archive of Architecture.

no longer only a distant tableau, but a lived experience. The following images and moving images, created by students and architects, open a variety of possibilities to map a territory, story, and history. Each reflects on the constitution of the gaze, and the possibilities embedded in mapping, out of a raised consciousness to the possibility of changing Lifta forever.

Israeli architecture student Ariel Naor presented 3D CAD model based on drone footage (2013). The purpose of the project was to create a combination of modern and vernacular, and use the pivotal point in which Lifta is situated to create a new Western entrance to the city. It does not challenge the Plan 6036, but proposes an alternative that would make Lifta a more integrated part of the city rather than a secluded neighborhood for the wealthy. A camera was inserted into the virtual model, and the point of view of the spectator moves swiftly through the modern-vernacular street, showing sleek masses on the sides of the main street, that follows, or perhaps mimics, one of the old village trails.¹⁷ Naor's mode of representation is determined by the CAD interface: the masses are cubical, the movement of the camera inserted into the model is mechanical and smooth. This dovetails with the contemporary message of his project – cancelling the mandatory and earlier Israeli logic of maintaining the village as a separate, 'antique object', and annexing it as a luxurious neighborhood at the entrance to contemporary Jerusalem, disregarding the political issues of the 'ruins', which are not visible as such any longer.

Conversely, the images made by another Israeli architecture student (Assaf Chorin, 2013) are drawn by hand, in watercolors. In his delicate work he proposes to turn Lifta into a rehabilitation center for the mentally and physically ill, proposing that nature, air and water, which Lifta provides plentifully, would heal body and soul, even as old and abandoned as Lifta itself. On a similar approach, a group of

French students who took part in a weeklong seminar in Lifta (2016)¹⁸ proposed to turn Lifta into a treatment center for Alzheimer's patients [fig. 5]. This work is composed of a series of collages made from superimposed photographs showing gardens, architectural structures, and figures, combining manual and computer work. A sense of the passing time is created by the passage from one serene and delicate image to the next, each in another time of a day, and more significantly, by diegetic sound, recorded in Lifta, and added to the images. As in the work of Chorin, the students' proposal implies an unspoken awareness of tragedy of the depopulated inhabitants and yet there is no acknowledgment of political injustice and an inability to come to terms with it. In both projects, the mode of representation expresses the delicate experience of being-there, in Lifta, and an awareness of time, history, and to the 'spirit' of the place. However, clear reference to Palestinian residents is absent, and the stated programs of the projects appear to be an attempt to mend the past by promoting another good cause.

Antoine Raffoul is a British-Palestinian architect who in the 1990s discovered photographs of pre-1948 Lifta, and since then has studied its architecture, urban structure, and cultural significance in the region. Produced in 2010, his images are based on a 3D computer reconstruction of Lifta, and he wishes his work would be used in the future for its actual reconstruction. Raffoul allows himself to imagine the rebuilding of Lifta to its original condition, perhaps as a world heritage site, and bases his work on air photos and on architectural study of the ruins.¹⁹

Alternative mapping/archiving

In an interactive video tour 'House No. 66' (2013), part of the Mare'e Makom research project, which included students from the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design in Jerusalem as part of the partnership of the academy with 'Save Lifta' coalition. An



Figure 5 Treatment center for Alzheimer's patients, Rachel Cohen, Marie Houdret-Lobjoit, Caroline Mercier and Mado Rabbat, 2016, Courtesy of Prof. Sylvaine Bulle, Ecole Nationale d'Architecture, Paris Val de Seine

Figure 6 Housing arches built for the returning refugees of Lifta, image is part of the exhibition *Remapping Lifta: Critical Cartography*, 2017, curated by Mahdi Sabbagh, presented at the Yabous Cultural Center سوبي زكرم, Jerusalem, as part of the photographer: Umar al-Ghubari.

attempt was made to invest in an archival study of the house of the head of the village, the Mukhtar, with its narrated and visual history of its usage, and mix it with the experience of walking to and inside of it.²⁰ The bodily experience of walking invests space with symbolic and material layers of memory, through movement and narration. Viewing the video, a strong sense of time, the stories, and narratives of the people who inhabited the house in the past 100 years are sensed, as is the view of a visitor who experienced the place through the movement of his own eyes and the rhythm of his own footsteps.

In 2019, another attempt at alternative archival work was made, this time using contemporary, cutting edge methodologies of representation. 'Digital Archeology, Virtual Narratives: The Case of Lifta', is defined as an alternative archive, based on a virtual reality experience of the village.²¹ Using advanced simulation techniques, 3D scanning, and real-time rendering, as well as an array of archival, historical and scholarly resources, students produced experiential representations of Lifta, in which they challenge both the traditional understanding of the site's past, as well as the traditional approaches to the study of conflicted histories. In an exhibition that presents four immersive and connected virtual reality experiences, the audience is exposed to the various mainstream narratives about Lifta, and those constructed by the students, through which Lifta's complex histories can be seen anew.²²

The images and voices of Lifta: frozen past or vital future

What we have shown so far are modes of visualization and documentation of space in conflict, showing how contemporary techniques enable recreating the experience of its multiple and conflicting memories, reconstituting an alternative story, recasting history on the present-day issues, and investing the visual and audible stimuli

with depths of knowledge, senses, and emotions.

While from the 1960s to 2006 Lifta was represented as a landscape without a people (but, according to its statutory situation, was not under threat of destruction), after the 2006 plan, design proposals worked in a mode of emergency towards saving Lifta, culminating in the 2017 archeological survey that is currently protecting the village ruins from any sort of destruction and re-planning.

The video tour (2013), and the VR project (2019), are immersive; they include direct reference to the refugees, involving even the archivist inside the archive – no longer an outsider – his own point of view becoming central to the experience of Lifta. These works of alternative mapping and archiving attempt to give presence to the complex layers of Lifta. It is evident that the difference between them and the 2D and 3D images is not only technological, but more deeply concerns the type of experience designed for the user and especially their 'being in the world' – that is, their living and active relationship with the lifeworld that surrounds them, with the objects and subjects that inhabit it, and with its temporal and spatial dynamics.²³ While in the sound-video tour, the viewer-listener walks in Lifta itself, in the VR experience, the experience is so immersive, that it is questionable whether the existence of Lifta as a physical place is still necessary in order to remember it.

What is the contribution of the immersive experience, the voices of Liftaweeks documented in the sound-video and VR works? Are they to remain ghostly representations, or will the people who they belong to, many of whom live nearby in East Jerusalem, return to the 'saved' Lifta?

Imagining return?

Rana Barakat argues that Lifta has been going through a process of 'museumification'. She argues that treating Lifta as a site of ruins begs the question of

whose history is being written through the various proposals of how to treat the site. Barakat argues for replacing the uniqueness and preservation of Lifta with a vitality, claiming that the 'saving' campaign places a settler ethos of ruins to the forefront. She wishes to examine how to return Lifta to an indigenous articulation of Palestinian history, and how that restoration might in turn facilitate a different sort of return – one of Palestinians to Lifta as part of a collective right of return to a decolonized Palestine.²⁴

An early attempt to architecturally imagine a future of return appeared as a reaction to the approval of plan 6036, in 2006. Architect Malkit Shoshan, together with Eitan Bronstein of Zochrot, argued that the village refugees 'are only part of the hidden element of these plans, the element that should categorically not be taken into consideration. They are too close to be a part of it.' In a workshop on the subject she organized the same year, Shoshan raised the questions: 'What are the criteria for ordinary environments to be protected? If history is written by the victors, how can the losers' heritage be protected? And how can the planning community address the political and ideological abuses of planning?'²⁵

Another attempt to relate to return to Lifta, was made in 2012, when a group of Palestinian architects and planners from Jerusalem and Bethlehem met to discuss a comprehensive response to plan 6036 in a series of workshops. The project dealt with a visual articulation of the Palestinian narrative on Lifta, imagining urban and infrastructural organizations that would facilitate the practice of return, and experimenting with the notion of "preserving collective imaginaries of the future" by displaying 'ideal imagined scenarios'

through fake media, and also a Return Campaign, a 'post-return' effort to create images, postcards and posters that present a thriving decolonized Lifta [fig. 6]. As noted by Mahdi Sabbagh, 'it became clear to us that our initiative had to expand to become truly collaborative [...]. It culminated into a body of work that had to be returned and presented to Palestinian society.'²⁶

Save Lifta?

Throughout this paper, the term 'Save Lifta' came up repeatedly: as an architectonic approach to a 'beautiful landscape' in the 1960s, as a name of an activist coalition against a massive development plan in the 2010's, or as a civic political call for the right of the original Palestinian inhabitants to return.

What, then, is the Lifta that has to be saved? For whom? And how? Is it the village? Its ruined houses? Their original dwellers? Their memory? Their narrative? The narrative of others?

As mentioned, in 2017, as part of the effort to devise a new approach to conservation in Lifta, Shmuel Groag proposed 'gentle and long-term preservation',²⁷ claiming that Lifta was not 'a problem that requires an urgent solution' but a long-term process, seeing urgency as a tool that leads to destruction and prevents preservation. Following this suggestion, we ask whether the ruined houses should be saved not only for their intrinsic architectural value, but also, and perhaps more importantly, in the hope that with time, new possibilities of reconciliation would emerge? Is his solution of 'delaying the solution' relevant for the village's aging refugee population, or is it that for them, reaching a solution of political justice is an urgent necessity?

Notes

- 1 As Noga Kadman assumes, it remained due to the bulldozers being incapable of ascending the steep mountain slope. See: Noga Kadman, *Erased from Space and Consciousness: Israel and the Depopulated Villages of 1948* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015) It seems that this is only part of the narrative of how Lifta turned into the central instigator of architectural imagination which it is today.
- 2 Daphna Golan, Zvika Orr, and Sami Ershied, "Lifta and the Regime of Forgetting: Memory Work and Conservation", *Jerusalem Quarterly* 54 (2013): 69-81. Last accessed: January 17, 2020. <http://savelifta.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Jerusalem-Quarterly-54-final-1.pdf>
- 3 This proposal is not as outlandish as it may sound. In fact, several extant houses in the nearby depopulated village of Dir Yassin, the site of a famous massacre perpetrated by Jewish militias in April 1948, are still used as a psychiatric hospital, established in 1951 (Kfar Shaul Hospital).
- 4 Eytan Mann and Eliyahu Keller, 'Digital Archaeology, Virtual Narratives: The Case of Lifta', in this volume.
- 5 <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6061/>, Last accessed: January 17, 2020.
- 6 In this paper, we focus on plans made throughout the years by Israeli planners, which have not seriously taken into account the return of refugees. However, there are such planning attempts, though on the sidelines of planning discourse, that will be shortly mentioned at the end of this paper.
- 7 James Corner, "The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention". In *Mappings*, edited by Denis Cosgrove. (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 213-52, p. 213.
- 8 A state body established in 1960. It inherited the Authority of Development that was established after the 1948 war to manage all non-private lands in Israel, including the former Palestinian lands that constitute the large majority of this real estate.
- 9 Nitzan-Shiftan, Alona, *Seizing Jerusalem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 159-160.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Caption : Shlomo Aharonson architects, Plan 2351, 1986.; <http://savelifta.org/he/article/תוכנית-2351-דיונו-עבטל-תשרומ-זכרמ-תמקה-2351>, Last accessed: February 4, 2020.
- 12 Mitchell argues that landscape, any landscape, is a construct of western knowledge, a European and modern phenomenon. W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 7.
- 13 Shmuel Groag, Interview with Liora van Ree, Tel Aviv, 12/5/2013, published 29/07/2013 <https://zochrot.org/he/testimony/54898>
- 14 Caption: Lifta Archeological Survey, Israel Antiquities Authority, February 2017.
- 15 The survey is considered the most detailed and expensive survey that the Antiquities Authority had ever conducted. See Summary of the Lifta Landscape and Culture Conference, March 30-31, 2017, 1. <http://savelifta.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/3תופס-סוכר-1-1.pdf>
- 16 Shmuel Groag, Architect and conservation consultant, Department of Architecture, Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, Jerusalem, "Lifta-Principles for a Conservation Plan in a New Perspective," presentation at the Lifta Landscape and Culture Conference, March 30-31, 2017, Hansen House, Jerusalem.
- 17 Caption: Ariel Naor, "From Vernacular to Modern," Ariel University in Samaria, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yh-VZbSbsmY&t=254s>
- 18 Rachel Cohen, Marie Houdret-Lobjoit, Caroline Mercier and Mado Rabbat, students at Nationale Paris Val de Seine, in a Lifta seminar coordinated by Prof. Sylvaine Bulle.
- 19 See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yGxDji-Afts>
- 20 Interactive Tour House No. 66, <http://savelifta.org/article/interactive-tour-in-house-no-66-arabic/> Last accessed: February 4, 2020. The video was made by a group of students in the framework of 'Mare'e Makom' project which supported collaborations of students from various departments in Bezalel, like art, design and photography, in partnership with social organizations.
- 21 See: <https://sap.mit.edu/exhibit/keller-gallery/digital-archeology-virtual-narratives-case-lifta> [Last Accessed: June 04, 2020]
- 22 See article included in note 4. It is the product of a collaborative workshop between MIT Department of Architecture and the Department of Bible Archeology and Ancient Near East Studies at Ben-Gurion University (BGU), (Instructors: Professor Mark Jarzombek, Professor Takehiko Nagakura, Eliyahu Keller, Eytan Mann). <https://calendar.mit.edu/event/digital-archeology-virtual-narratives-the-case-of-lifta#.XhbJF0dvY2w>
- 23 Biggio et al. distinguish between bystanding media (e.g. cinema), bystanding-immersive media (e.g. hypertexts, video games, and various forms of augmented reality), moderate immersive media (e.g. cinematic virtual reality), and radical immersive media (e.g. mixed reality). See Federico Biggio, Victoria Dos Santos, Giuliana Gianmarco (eds.), *Meaning-Making in Extended Reality*, (Rome: Aracne, 2020).
- 24 Barakat, Rana. "Lifta, the Nakba, and the Museumification of Palestine's History", *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 5, no. 2 (2018). Last accessed: January 9, 2020. doi:10.5749/natiindistudj.5.2.0001.
- 25 <http://seamlessterritory.org/lifta-zionist-planning/> Last accessed: February 4, 2020.
- 26 Mahdi Sabbagh, Re: LIFTA, Within the Right to Plan is the Right to Imagine Return, 25/11/2012, <https://arenaofspeculation.org/2012/11/25/re-lifta/>
- 27 Shmuel Groag, *Lifta-Principles for a Conservation Plan in a New Perspective*, presentation at the Lifta Landscape and Culture Conference, March 30-31, 2017, Hansen House, Jerusalem.

Spatiality and the Memorialisation of Conflict

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Abstract

Territory holds an emotional value, as does social memory, which play a significant role in spatial relations both during and after conflict. The physical memorialisation of the process of remembrance tries to encompass a collective memory that is becoming increasingly charged with questions of whose memory, or whose past is being represented. Memory is used to claim spaces for particular agendas while forgetting is also used to eliminate inconvenient pasts. Conflict is often seen in causal terms through a narrative of 'who did what to whom' or a chronology of war and peace. Often the nature and magnitude of data relating to conflict can be simultaneously overwhelming and fraught with political cognisance. Frequently the realities of individuals involved are forgotten in the sheer scale and nature of the event to which the data pertains. Yet to memorialise the conflict and sacrifice of a multitude at an historical distance creates enormous responsibility whilst at the same time isolated from intensely personal manifestation, making sacred the concept or purpose rather than the individual. This paper aims to redress the balance and explore how spatiality and memory construct a personal experience reflective of the time of conflict from a historical distance.

The centenary of the First World War marked the last chapter in the national collective consciousness of the war to end all wars. The horrors of the European battlefields consigned to the pages of history, living memory now departed. Yet, the scale, suffering and terror of so many who fought is in and of itself sacred and should be remembered. This paper explores spatiality, and the memory of conflict in the process of mediated memorialisation in the form of Interstices, derived from a disruptive data map chronicling the war experience of army personnel recuperating at Stamford Military Hospital. The sculpture was exhibited as part of the 'Sanctuary from the Trenches' exhibition at Dunham Massey in Cheshire highlighting the individual experience in the chaos of conflict.

Keywords

Interstices; Memory; Conflict; Data Derived Form; Sculpture; WW1 Memorial

The impact of crises affects the way people produce, understand, and inhabit spaces and places. Conflict is often presented as an 'event' that interrupts and disrupts 'normality' in the case of the First World War, this was a conflict that transformed not only the theatre of war but also society itself. Priest has argued that whilst conflict is inherent in society, it should be better understood as a transformative process by which opposing ideas and visions are voiced and root causes of major social problems, inequalities or injustices are challenged.¹ Time and history are dominated

by a 'culture of war and occupation',² events polarise around these catastrophic events creating a personal conflict zone influenced by feelings of fear, memories of past conflicts, short-term behaviours or displacements, identities and social networks. Yet historical distance creates a peculiar problem. How can we memorialise an event that devastated Europe, if not global society and transformed the world as we know it, at once uniquely modern yet outside of living memory? Poet John Glenday described this resonance of modernity and memory as the 'immensity

... of a continuously contemporary event ... whether we are aware of it or not, it resonates through us all'.³

Designers and architects seek to unscramble the questions concerning the language, form and content of memorial design. How can history and loss be represented? How can large issues of cultural memory relate to a specific memorial? It has been said that memory begins where history ends.⁴ History is not continuous, it is made up of starts and stops, presences and absences. The presences mark the time of active living in motion, feeding on its own energy to create a narrative, the absences form the voids in between. The act of memorialisation suggests for the observer a commemoration of a significant historical event. Some function as just a reminder to recall the event on the mind of the observer, however some define a specific mode of remembering. As Yilmanz has noted, memorialisation as the reification of past experiences crystallises the bi-directional relation between memory and architecture in its pure form.⁵ Memorials, because of this long-established relation, constitute an expense area of knowledge where the social, psychological, cognitive or architectural theories of diverse studies intersect, providing an immediacy we feel has been lost from history.⁶

In the aftermath of the First World War, there was a rush to commemorate and memorialise the collective horror and overwhelming loss experienced by the Nation. From the distance of 100 years the village war memorial has become an expected and familiar landmark, present across the country whose reason for being, latterly for some, (previously it was a huge emotive and civic response) which now only comes into focus once a year when a wreath of poppies will be laid. If we think of any architectural response to the First World War, it is likely to be one of these: a village war memorial, the seemingly endless names on the larger, national memorials, or rows and rows of white grave markers. As

a result of this, concepts of war experience, memory and death within the architectural response have become inextricably entwined. Unlike the visceral landscapes of Paul Nash or Percy Wyndham Lewis or the war poetry of Rupert Brooke, Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon there is no life in them. The architectural response to the war has come to represent only death.

Up until the late 20th century, war memorials often employed iconic figures or imagery to commemorate those who had died during military service, or a victim's loss during a catastrophic event. Yet monuments or memorials were often constructed within living memory of the event they remembered. The memorialisation of the centenary of the First World War posed an unusual moment in the national consciousness, revisiting the horror and scale of loss at a distance, whilst trying to memorialise without the benefit of contemporary first-hand experience, acknowledging without focusing on a political statement of victory or loss. Director Peter Jackson in his film *They Shall Not Grow Old* (2018) encapsulated this dichotomy by using original footage filmed at the Western Front, digitally colourising the images in order to physically manifest the impact of war and individuality at the same time.⁷ Using over 600 hours of original footage⁸, the colourisation and use of voice actors to provide a narrative resonated across generations. The people depicted sharing a joke or a cigarette became through the colourisation process more immediate and identifiable than the uniformed soldiers looking back at us through the faded sepia photograph we are used to. In this instance commemoration in both the medium of delivery and the use of dialogue personalised the viewing experience to the extent that the viewer could identify with it. Anthropologist Marc Auge and historian Pierre Nora use the concept of 'lieux de memoire'⁹ where realms of memory place a symbolic value as a constitutive element

of the identification process. Collective memory not only draws a link between individuality and community but also between past and present, dead and alive, explicit and implicit, in and out, moving and still. Representations of space, and especially of spatial boundaries, help define the identity of the group and differentiate itself from the 'other'.¹⁰

War undeniably reshapes and alters architecture. The two World Wars of the twentieth century played a particular role in architectural development. For the European powers of the First World War, the experience of preparing for and sustaining a military endeavour on this unprecedented scale, the relationship between rulers and ruled put the demands of the labour movement at the top of the political agenda. It also triggered a change in cultural attitudes; few could doubt that with the war the 'old world of our forefathers'¹¹ had gone forever.

Change

To mark the centenary of the beginning of the First World War, the National Trust transformed Dunham Massey Hall back into its former incarnation as a military hospital for the 'Sanctuary from the Trenches' Exhibition; a re-creation of 'Stamford Military Hospital' the convalescent hospital it became in 1917. Dunham Massey became a place of recovery and retreat where soldiers returning from the front received vital medical care. Most notably, none of the 283 patients stationed at Dunham Massey died there. The transformation created a physicality to a place of remembrance; a place where people honour events and individuals and in so doing come to an understanding of the past.

As part of the 'Sanctuary from the Trenches Exhibition', students from Manchester School of Architecture were commissioned with designing and building architectural sculptures in the Winter garden at Dunham Massey. The brief prompted a research process with a unique focus, to

empathetically engage with the sacred in a modern context in the grounds of a National Trust property. A distinctive aspect of memorial architecture is the way in which it can engender an awareness of how the user can experience a space, in speaking this universal language these memorials sought to serve as a device to record and transmit history. The aim of this research by design project was to explore novel methods and ways in which an international, multicultural cohort of young people would consider the effects and the appropriateness of the design to commemorate the recovery and recuperation of service personnel at Dunham Massey, in addition to the catastrophic loss of life in World War I. This project was particularly interesting as it was approached by a generation of students who were more familiar with data mapping than perhaps traditional standard war memorials.

The sculptures were assertive with space, rather than a specifically prescribed meaning, yet continually referencing the life, experience and service of those who served in the First World War. They reflected on the spatiality of conflicted territory in an attempt to understand the spatial dimension in order to generate a comprehensive response to resonate with the audience as memorials not intended to glorify war, instead they act collectively as a tribute to honour the soldiers for their service and sacrifice. The project began by looking at data; the sheer scale, number and distribution of both casualties and deaths in the theatre of war during this period of conflict. Surprisingly, photographic footage actually had less impact upon the cohorts designs, than the sheer overwhelming statistics presented graphically. There were many preliminary designs, however the design that proved most effective appeared to be the simplest.

Conflict and data: Interstices

Interstices, a three-dimensional physical data map explored the individual patient

experience of those service personnel sent to Stamford Military Hospital to recuperate, a critical site for the generation and inflection of affective bonds.¹² Its complex geometry referred to the broken pattern unable to be replaced or restored, instead inviting analysis and comprehension. The form; a series of stacked concrete blocks abstractly memorialises Stamford Military Hospital's patients [fig. 1], inviting the visitor to contemplate the monumental sacrifice of the Great War, through diverse interpretations or personal family remembrances of the event. Alluding to James Edward Young's view that 'in its hermetic and personal vision, abstraction encourages private visions in viewers, which would defeat the communal and collective aims of public memorials'¹³, the sculpture intends to create a dialogue between the juxtaposition of a considered and precise axial positioning and the potentially random act of violence in the theatre of war that caused injuries resulting in that soldier arriving at Dunham Massey's Stamford Military Hospital.

The physicality of the structure set the stage, but left the meaning empty for the spectator who participates as an actor in the construction of meaning. Essentially, the physical data map asks the question, can we live with our maps differently? Can we ascertain complex layers of meaning and move beyond conceptualisations of "the map" as a simple, static cartographic image or model that uses an iconography established over hundreds of years, and rethink the relationship between representation and spatio-temporal experiences such as movement and reading. With its Cartesian, rectilinear, regular angularity and gritty (adobe/irregular) materiality, Interstices causes the viewer to consider; to question the scale if not the context of their focus. And that is precisely the point; its interpretation is a matter of scale and context. The purpose of the sculpture was to cause the viewer to consider in a politico-Cartesian manner the scale of effects made from a safe distance

by a few; the impact decisions made by individual wargame strategists had a causality on almost countless regimental anonymous masses of people.

At the distance of 100 years, the sculptures refer to the lives rather than the deaths of the service personnel at Dunham Massey, but most importantly to remember them. Interstices honoured the 283 soldiers that were cared for at Stamford Military Hospital. The design was derived through data mapping collecting memories and experience of the past in an algorithmic data set, each soldier being represented as a statistic in a three-dimensional landscape. Being a soldier is being one unit of a system, and for this reason the unit comprised of 283 cubes, collectively representing each of the soldiers whilst communicating the sad reality that masses of soldiers' lives became components in a seemingly endless list of data, spatio-temporalising new mediums according to the cartographic logic of the map [fig. 2].

The materials chosen for this project sought continuity with the traditional war memorial; the materials of war and materials of memory. Hard, resilient, sombre and imposing; a masonry core barricaded by metal fencing [fig. 1]. Materiality here is as much poignant as practical. 283 blocks of concrete bore the visual strength of the structure. However, in contrast with external metal, these hid an individual and different lightweight polystyrene core. This was as practical as it was poignant. The internal core positioning and size made it only successfully positioned in one particular place on the grid map. Therefore the position, experience and load, emotional or physical were as unique as the person they represented [fig. 4].

Each concrete cube was unique and was coded with a specific patient number sourced from a log book kept by the sister in charge, however one soldier remained nameless, his cube was included in the Interstices landscape, however his cube remained blank. Instead of the



Figure 1 Interstices in situ, Dunham Massey, UK. Source: Author

inscribed names of the lost, or those heroes of a victorious campaign, the patients at Stamford Military Hospital only had a number, representing both their individuality and anonymity from afar. Like the massed uniformed battalions of individuals marching as one, each separate block is simultaneously an individual, but also part of a whole: a unit. Like Woods's theory of spaces voided by destruction, the concrete blocks obtain new meaning and value, and whatever exists there, experiences new change; "both what has been lost and gained exist as scars of pride and pain".¹⁴

The physical data map therefore sits somewhere in-between maps and media, somewhere between the vestiges of the cartographic ordering of space and time¹⁵ and the deictic aesthetic of looking.¹⁶ Visitors to the property could then digitally access each patient record from the Dunham Massey archive as part of the Sanctuary from the Trenches exhibition. There is a certain implicit ambiguity to the stark concrete blocks, redolent of mass production, an almost systematic war machine. Yet each block was hand produced, the concrete poured by hand, the formwork produced by hand and the numbers added by hand. Each cube, although appearing regular and uniform was unique, representative of the person they were intended to represent and their personal history [fig. 3]. The materiality of which also causes the viewer to deliberately consider the sacrifice of the multitude at a multiplicity of scales. The sculpture was designed for a specific site on the parterre at Dunham Massey enabling it to be viewed from all angles and connected to the exhibition in the house itself. Its location also created a glaring juxtaposition with the formal beauty of the house, lake and garden.

An interactive booklet was created to enable visitors to search for a specific soldier in the Interstices landscape. The three dimensional location was defined by a horizontal location on a 10x10 grid

followed by a vertical location in the grids corresponding stack. The maximum height of each stack was 7 cubes, the minimum was 0 where no soldiers data defined the location. The undulating appearance of the created landscape iterates the individuality a person can demonstrate even if they are simply a component in a list of data. Interstices intention was to generate a new set of experiences, in which the subjective and affective remnants of memory came into contact with the rigid discursive structure of the representation archive, bringing to the fore the distortion between situated and embodied experience, the affective nature of memory and memorialisation, and the abstracted and rationalised representation of that experience. The positioning of each block corresponded with the amount, complexity and breadth of information regarding each patient; the duration of their stay at Stamford Military Hospital, the severity of their injuries, their regiment and active service record, a three dimensional representation of Casey's argument that lived experience of place, creates points which combined together make a line of experience [fig. 4].¹⁷

Yet as Avery Gordon has argued, the world is filled with 'seething absences and muted presences',¹⁸ the unresolved and forgotten people and stories that lie littered about in a world that has been consigned to the pages of history. They appear in the form of ghosts, stories that do not make sense, or people who have disappeared, which in turn point to hauntings, the pervasive presence of an unbalanced history invisible between the lines of a predetermined Cartesian grid.

Scale/locus

Collective memory of the scale and horror of the continuously contemporary event resonates across space and time. Place and remembrance are intrinsically linked, Casey has argued that 'memory is naturally place oriented or at least place supported',¹⁹ yet Interstices has a multiplicity of meanings, place is simultaneously central

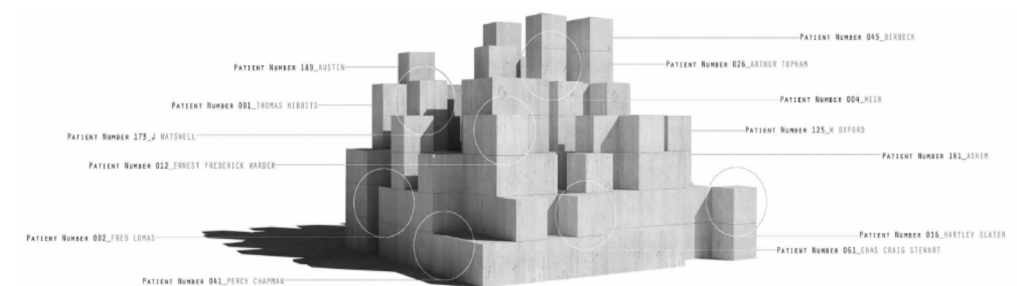
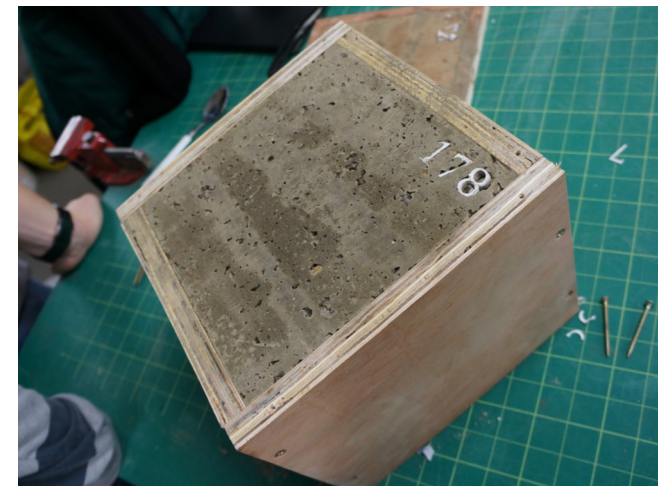
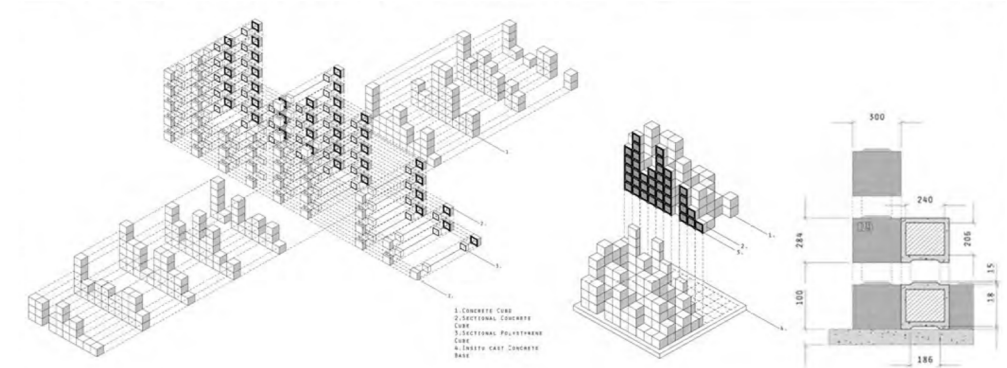


Figure 2 Sectional Isometric. Source: Danielle Foster, image used with permission

Figure 3 Concrete blocks after casting, application of patient identification numbers. Source: Author

Figure 4 Interstices Patient Location Diagram. Source: Danielle Foster, image used with permission

to and yet apart from the locus of meaning. The created landscape echoes the European theatre of war, a map created from personal history, an abstraction of territorial loss or gain. It refers to the arts of memory, an in-between nexus encoding long-term memory and memorialisation into a single object. Memorials are erected not merely to become a promise of enduring remembering, but also are the symbols of ephemeral memory whether permanent or temporary.²⁰ Data and the urban interface have changed the agenda of expected memorialisation, monuments can now be ephemeral; data derived or driven. The cartography of territory and its implications in a digital age have now taken the first mechanised war machine and clinically catalogued the loss and sacrifice on a human scale.

When each casualty of the war is represented by a pixel, on close inspection they are individual, but when zooming out, the spaces between them blur into one; the sheer number of casualties is visually overwhelming. Again, it is a matter of scale. The person becomes lost in the anonymity of statistics. The enormity of scale is what Interstices tried to convey, and at the same time enable the viewer to rediscover the individual, and their journey of recovery at Dunham Massey. The man who left for war as someone's son, brother, husband or friend, became processed and prepared for war; uniformed and numbered. He returned, still uniformed yet changed, and at Dunham Massey received his new number. The number now inscribed on his own block, the number which now is key to learning about his recovery and return, as a veteran civilian who arrived back to the home he

had left [fig. 5]. This landscape then, the territory of the full, interrupted, sequence of that man's war experience. The viewer is invited to look down upon the sculpture from the wards the men it commemorates inhabited, as if through a microscope at a crystalline structure, and at the same time, as if taking an aerial photo of a modern city [fig. 6] alluding to the mass mechanisation, standardisation and production the First World War heralded.

Although the blocks appear uniform, each is unique bearing a codified interpretation of the individual experience of each soldier, a reflection and exposure of a unique and personal war experience. Soldiers had much in common, but their wounds were their own, their pain personal, and their recovery unique. So again, from a distance they look regular, like the photos of soldiers in their hospital uniform, but each soldier upon close inspection is different. He has a different face, name and experience, a different future.

Interstices occupies an architecture and a territory of the in-between. Designed for a formal garden in a Cheshire stately home it is at once site specific and site ephemeral. In between digital mapping, data and media an invisible breadth of perception sits, which haunts the epistemological and phenomenological architecture of contemporary cartographies. In-between mapping and media, personal perception lingers as a haunting — a ghostly rendering of a memorialisation of memory and sensation intended to destabilise traditional cartographies of the theatre of war, the experience of which demonstrates that indeed, we can live with our maps differently.

Notes

- 1 Brigitte, Piquard and Mark, Swenarton, 'Learning from Architecture and Conflict', in *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 16, issue 1, (2011): 1-13.
- 2 Ibid, 4.
- 3 John Glenday, quoted in 'WW1 Centenary', in

The Poetry Society, <https://poetrysociety.org.uk/> (2014). Last accessed: 18th September 2019.

- 4 Klein, Kerwin, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', in *Representations* (69) (2000): 127-150.

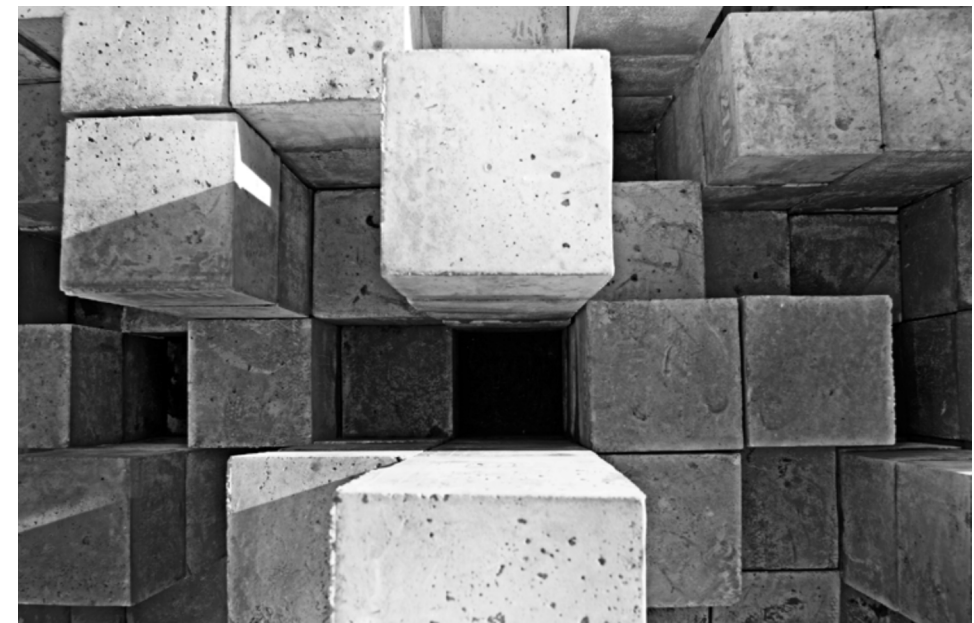


Figure 5 Concrete blocks showing individual patient numbers. Source: Author

Figure 6 Interstices aerial view. Source: Author

- 5 Ahenk Yilmanz, 'Memorialization as the Art of Memory: A Method to Analyse Memorials', in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 27, issue 1, (June 2010): 267.
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- 20 Yilmanz, 'Memorialization as the Art of Memory', 276.

Rehearsing the Border: Four Contemporary Artworks in Kars and Ani, Turkey

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Abstract

Ever since Gloria Anzaldua's seminal book *Borderlands / La Frontera* (1987), borders are marked in critical theories of artistic practices as sites of resistance and sources of radical creativity. Through their spatial and performative aspects, border art practices have the potential to mediate the conflicts of and to subvert border conditions. Although border artworks across geographies are well-documented and subject to scholarly research, the conflict-ridden borders of the Caucasus are hardly studied in artistic scholarship. The border between Turkey and Armenia has been closed since 1993 and no official relationship exists between the two countries, but the Armenian genocide (1915) binds the lands and peoples of both sides through the denial of violence by Turkey and a claim for recognition by Armenia. Due to this ongoing conflict, the sudden appearance of four high-profile artworks on Turkey's side of the border during the period 2006–2015 requires an analysis: Mehmet Aksoy's *Monument of Humanity* (2006–2011), Fatma Bucak's *Blessed Who You Come: Conversation on the Turkish Armenian Border* (2012), *Helping Hands* by Wouter Osterholt and Elke Uitentuis (2013), and Francis Alÿs' *Silence of Ani* (2015). This paper examines how these artworks relate to the legacy of the border by investigating in what way they engage with the remaining Armenian cultural heritage in the region, its continuing ruination, and the homogenized population of Eastern Anatolia. I argue that artistic practice has the potential to mediate the legacy of the border, but that some artworks ultimately fail to do so due to a lack of performativity.

Keywords

The Turkey–Armenia Border; Border Space; Artistic Practices

The border between Turkey and Armenia has been closed since 1993 and no official relationship exists between the two countries. Nonetheless, the Armenian genocide — the state-led violent and forced displacement of Armenian peoples from Anatolia — binds both lands and peoples together through a denial of violence by Turkey and a claim for recognition by Armenia. Around the centennial of the Armenian Genocide in 2015, four artworks concurred on Turkey's border with Armenia. These artworks are Fatma Bucak's performance *Blessed Are You Who Come:*

Conversation on the Turkish-Armenian Border (2012), *Helping Hands* by Wouter Osterholt and Elke Uitentuis (2013), which formed a response to the demolition of Mehmet Aksoy's much discussed sculpture *Monument to Humanity* (2006–2011), and, lastly, Francis Alÿs' video work *Silence of Ani* (2015). Despite this sudden burst in artistic activity in this border region, these artworks were followed mostly by silence instead of sparking renewed engagement with the region's conflictual history and present. This paper examines how these artworks relate to the legacy of the border

by investigating in what way they engage with the remaining Armenian cultural heritage, its continuing ruination, and the homogenized population of Eastern Anatolia. I argue that artistic engagement with the border space has the potential to mediate this legacy, but that some artworks ultimately fail to do so due to a lack of proper engagement with the border space and its dwellers.

To do so, I utilize Claire Bishop's conceptualization of delegated performance as a tool to analyze the performance works discussed in this paper. While it is useful for interpreting certain aspects of these artworks, I suggest that the notion fails to properly engage with the particular spatiality of border artworks. This lack, I maintain, can be mitigated by interpreting delegated performance through Judith Butler's notes on the spatiality of performativity. Bishop defines 'delegated performance' as "the act of hiring non-professionals or specialists ... to undertake the job of being present and performing at a particular time and a particular place on behalf of the artist and following his/her instructions."¹ Delegated performance is one method of participatory art in which participants represent someone other than the artist. Although *Monument to Humanity* makes no effort to include the border dweller, the other three works in the paper do engage or collaborate with the inhabitants of the region. However, it is important to consider the particular politics that emerge from the participation of border dwellers. While in certain cases the participants of a 'delegated performance' might not invoke a particular spatiality, in the context of a border region it is impossible to separate the border dweller from the complications of their *space* — an aspect of border art in general that is not addressed by Bishop's conception of delegated performance.

To elaborate on the participation of the locals and to further explain how the border artwork is inextricably tied to the border space, I turn to Butler's recent

work on performativity and focus on her interpretation of the 'space of appearance.' For Butler, the space of appearance is the space where bodies gather to appear politically. In many cases, to gain access to this space — to become visible — requires a struggle for the right to appear in public in the first place. In the context of this particular paper, I want to focus on the space of appearance as the border space where artists and locals gather under highly politicized conditions. In *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*, Butler states that "the space of appearance is not ever fully separable from questions of infrastructure and architecture, and that they not only condition the action but take part in the making of the space of politics."² People always already depend on the built environment to appear in public. Space is thus more than just background; it is an intricate part of the very possibility of the political. Especially those struggles that are about the right to appear (or, even more clearly, about the right to have access to sufficient infrastructure) are fundamentally conditioned by and can never be separated from the built environment in which they take place. Butler further elaborates on this relationship when she states that "we cannot act without support, and yet we must struggle for the support that allows us to act or, indeed, that are essential components of our action."³ These supports can be both human or nonhuman and, therefore, include the (built) environment. As such, Butler's space of appearance suggests a new way of thinking about the role of the built environment in border artworks by conceptualizing the relationality between the built environment and the bodies that gather in it as one of (mutual) support.

With this theoretical framework in place, I will first discuss Bucak's *Blessed Are You Who Come*. This performance is a curious conversation on the border engendered by the gathering of various vulnerabilities. Bucak is barefoot; old men are restlessly standing around, some

leaning on their walking sticks; and there is an architectural structure, a ruin, its rubbles not yet removed. During the performance, Bucak never speaks but moves while the standing men talk. Their accents help to identify them as a particular group of border dwellers: the locals of Kars. Neither their gestures nor their conversations are edited. In addition to "the act of hiring non-professionals or specialists", Bishop adds that the artist 'tend(s) to hire people to perform their own socio-economic category, be this on the bases of gender, class, ethnicity, [or] age.'⁴ The old men talk with each other to make sense of the performance. So, one could argue that the very concept of the performance separates the artist from the old men: on the one hand there is the cosmopolitan artist introducing a conceptual performance and, on the other, the local inhabitants marked by a regional Turkish accent. Thus, Bucak's work almost fits Bishop's delegated performance, yet not quite since Bucak performs alongside the local inhabitants and there is no script in place for these men to follow. As such, Bucak's deviation from Bishop's conditions of delegated performance suggest various dimensions specific to the border artwork. Bishop's conceptualization discusses the participatory artwork as playing with the political through light humor, which results in ambiguous politics. The scripted participation on behalf of an artist is the method of such work. However, as Bucak suggests, only when an unconditional invitation is extended to the border dwellers can a conversation on the border be enacted. Bucak exhibits a sensibility to the particular conditions that shape the border space, departing from a realization that a conversation on the border can only be enacted if she does not script the participation of border dwellers nor make them perform on her behalf.

To further see how this sensibility plays out in Bucak's performance, it is useful to discuss the particular setting in which the conversation takes place. She positions

the performance in a specific place: the surviving section of the ten-century old Sourp Prghich,⁵ located among the ruins of the ancient Armenian city of Ani, today within the borders of Turkey. Thus, this location immediately reminds us of the dispersed and displaced Armenians who once lived in the region. At a second look, the stage of the performance recalls the drawings of Greek and Roman ruins, such as Piranesi's domesticated yet uncanny imageries. The structure has a homely curvilinearity; yet, it is overshadowed by the stone rubble: the consequence of ruination. Overall, this staging becomes an ode to a now-extinct civilization, with the ruin standing for both its fragility and power. As such, the assembled bodies in the performance enact a sphere of appearance that takes Ani's remaining infrastructure as its material conditions. Here we can see how Bishop's delegated performance fails to engage with the spatiality of the artwork by focusing on the participation of the human (supports) and ignoring the spatial ones. As such, it is of limited use to interpret and discuss Ani — a space that is marked by its own forms of vulnerability. Following Butler's conceptualization, this conversation can alternatively be interpreted as a form of performative assembly, in which the very possibility of the conversation depends on and is fundamentally shaped by both the border space and its dwellers. Without such a gathering of vulnerable bodies within the spatial vulnerabilities of Ani, Bucak performance cannot engender a conversation on the border conditions of this region.

However, the way Bucak stages the locals and emphasizes their difference might also be read as substituting the other (side) of the border given their relationship to Bucak. Although she shies away from dialogue — a much-used word for the peoples and states of conflicted borders — she still suggests a conversation between differently conceptualized peoples. Is her performance a rehearsal of a conversation

between Armenians and Turkish peoples? Additionally, for some the stage might invoke orientalist paintings, marked by highly realistic spatial details juxtaposed to surreal depictions of incommensurable people, creating a conundrum about the cosmopolitan artist and the ambiguity of her performance.

Like Bucak's performance, the video work *Silence of Ani* by Francis Alÿs is also staged in Ani and includes locals as performers.⁶ However, although Alÿs uses participatory art as a method to address the border, the work ultimately fails to communicate the particular violence of this border because Alÿs limits the participants of this work by scripting the performers and keeping information away from its audience. *Silence of Ani* was exhibited at the 14th Istanbul Biennial in 2015. The black and white video begins with a shot of the Araxes river, a natural border that overlaps with the political boundaries separating Turkey and Armenia. Next, we see Ani's landscape, consisting of various structures and ruins. We hear various bird sounds and see their producers somewhat hidden around Ani's rumbles: they are the students from a local high school, performing a variety of birdcalls designed by Alÿs.

As these bird calls create music, the performers' movements resemble those of the game hide-and-seek. Artist and critic Pinar Öğrenci read those movements as a children's game, a claim that is supported by Alÿs' repeated use of children's games and his quoting from Nermin Saybaşı on children's games at the border.^{7 8} I disagree with interpreting the work in terms of a children's game because of these bird calls. The beautiful bird calls limit the performers like a script: the students become mere performers of bird calls with their movements also resembling those of birds. The fundamental issue is that their performance is not in any way generated by a children's game but is merely theatrical. Certainly, such

theatricality could be considered a form of participation. However, Bishop is careful to distinguish between delegated performance and the "theatrical and cinematic tradition of employing people to act on the director's behalf."⁹ While the former underlines a method in participatory art, the latter refers to more limited participation like that of a movie actor. In the end, then, Alÿs' beautifully carved bird calls function like a script, canceling out the game and limiting the participation of the performers to that of an actor.

It is also important to discuss how Ani figures in Alÿs' work. Its present state of ruin is represented by the black and white shots and, towards the end of the video, an illustration displays an image of the city in its built condition. Moreover, a narrative about the city touches — although in a rather short and limited manner — on the history of Ani and poses the main question behind the work: "can't we do better than silence?"¹⁰ This question shows that Alÿs aims to produce apparatuses to break the silence, the silence that persists on Ani and results in its ruination. Framed to the participant of the Istanbul Biennial, Alÿs' question makes sense as a trigger for action to keep and care for the site, reflecting Butler's statement that "we cannot act without supports, and yet we must struggle for the supports that allow us to act or, indeed, that are essential components of our action."¹¹ Despite these valid concerns, however, Alÿs shies away from calling Ani Armenian and instead frames Ani as a once glorious but now abandoned medieval city. Without the crucial piece of information that Ani was an ancient Armenian capital, its ruination gets lost among other examples of lack of care in Turkey, and the opportunity is lost for Ani to mediate the conflicts, persisting violence, and conflictual past of this border region. To conclude, the theatricality of Alÿs' piece exposed by the birdcalls suggests a lower-level form of participation by the performers who are thus rendered comparatively passive.

Furthermore, Alÿs' inadequate framing of Ani shows a shying away from discussing the issues of this border region through Ani. As such, I would argue, the work uses the border space and its inhabitants *extractively*, without the performative engagement with the border space found in Bucak's work.

To further substantiate how this spatial engagement might relate to — if not mediate — the border and the violence it perpetuates, I will now discuss two more artworks in relation to each other: Mehmet Aksoy's *Monument to Humanity* and *Helping Hands* by Wouter Osterholt and Elke Uitentuis. *Monument to Humanity* is a sculpture originally commissioned by the mayor of Kars. Its artist, Mehmet Aksoy, states that the sculpture symbolizes split human/ity and that 'Turks and Armenians are sisters and brothers' and "it is time for both of us to open our hearts to each other and heal our traumas."¹² Made of stone, the sculpture consists of two human figures facing and extending a hand to each other. Erected in 2006 on the top of a hill in the city, it was the biggest sculpture in Turkey with 30 meters in height and 35 meters in width until its demolition in 2011. The critical and scholarly investigations by Pelin Başaran and Ayla Erbal of the sculpture help me explain its shortcomings as a border artwork. Başaran convincingly argues that both the mayor and the artist were ultimately working to open the closed border and to resume trade, while their positions were ambiguous regarding the violent past of the region or its persistence in the relation between the two countries.¹³ I would add that the choice for the particular location of the sculpture strengthens Başaran's argument on the ambiguity of their standpoint on the violent history of this border region. To choose the Muslim border city Kars over Ani as the sculpture's location is a means to bypass the issues of violence towards Armenians and other former inhabitants of Eastern Anatolia. Erbal offers another argument

for the problematic relation of the statue to the region's violent past by investigating the building process of the sculpture and by underlining the lack of deliberation in this process. Simply put, she argues that any work at this border should consider Armenians and their requests, something which was lacking throughout the building process.¹⁴ As such, Başaran's emphasis on the extractive view of the border as an economic outlet instead of as a symbol of violence is expanded by Erbal's stress on the absence of Armenians and the denial of the genocide in the conception and, as we will discuss now, later demolition of the sculpture.

In his visit to Kars on January 8, 2011, then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan called *Monument to Humanity* a freak and demanded its demolition.¹⁵ The sculpture was disassembled later that year on April 26.¹⁶ Its demolition ignited some discussions, which were almost all completely focused on Erdoğan's wording and subsequent selectiveness of the government on limiting artistic expression, ignoring the sculpture's implications for Turkish–Armenian relations.¹⁷ Erdoğan's use of the word "freak" was picked out by the media, focusing rather sensationally on this particular phrasing and discussing the sculpture without any mention of the genocide. As the topic of censorship spearheaded the discussions, it further censored the genocide and its legacy. The artwork *Helping Hands* — presented at the 13th Istanbul Biennial — responded to the demolition of the sculpture in similar terms.

Helping Hands by the artist duo Wouter Osterholt and Elke Uitentuis is a documentation of a performance spanning from Kars to Istanbul. Osterholt and Uitentuis reproduced the hand of the demolished sculpture to carry it on a street vendor cart through Istanbul. They also collected castings of the hands of local people from Kars to be used in an alternative monument. Exhibited at the biennial were photographs, the cart, and a pamphlet

outlining the alternative monument. The photographs show artists struggling (to carry the sculpture) thus underlining their individuality while they mute the locals. At the same time, the pamphlet informs the audience that the police intervened and stopped the alternative monument, which emphasizes a struggle (against censorship).¹⁸ This suggests that it mainly represented the artists' concerns if not only the censorship. The Dutch artists seem to engage with the locals in Kars via interviews and the deliberative alternative monument and in İstanbul by bringing the reproduced piece closer to them. Although both are suggestions of participatory methods, the representations of their struggles as argued about the photographs and the pamphlet expose their limitations on conceiving the locals partake in the work. The locals were not considered as collaborators of the work. Additionally, the opportune connection between Kars and İstanbul was not well utilized because their connections to the violence were not considered. Overall, Osterholt and Uitentuis perpetuate the censorship talk, albeit important, it manipulates the topics that engagement with the border could foster.

To conclude, the artworks discussed in this paper were produced and exhibited on the Turkish side of the border, and as such, can tell us something about contemporary Turkey and the various attempts to and imaginations (or the lack thereof) of communicating the Turkish-Armenian border. Especially because of the relatively sudden burst in border art practices in Turkey, an analysis of these works seems required and timely. To do so, I argued that Bishop's delegated performance in combination with a spatial understanding of Butler's performativity, offered an adequate perspective. Bishop's

notion of delegated performance exposes the politics of participation regarding the inhabitants of the border region. On the other hand, Butler's space of appearance accentuates the spatial relationality that I argued is lacking in Bishop's conceptualizations. While *Monument of Humanity* and *Helping Hands* are set in the border space of Kars, I argued that both fail to engage properly with local inhabitants and the border space as such. *Monument of Humanity* ignores both the border dwellers and the violent history of the region. While the border dwellers do appear in *Helping Hands*, I argued that the highlighted individualities of the artists expose a selective approach to the border space: targeting the problem of censorship while disregarding the complexities of the border space. The other two works discussed display a more substantial engagement with the border by making the powerful site of Ani a part of their performances. However, I argued that Alÿs' work *Silence of Ani* ultimately fails in this attempt by limiting the local's participation through a scripted performance. Furthermore, while Alÿs aims to invoke the audience to engage with Ani in a "struggle for the support that allows us to act,"¹⁹ he fails to expose the violence of the border region. Specifically, he limits Ani's wider symbolic meaning as a highly important cultural heritage for Armenians and, thereby, leaves unaddressed that its ruination is representative of the legacy of the genocide. In the very first work discussed, Fatma Bucak, standing barefoot in front of some murmuring old men and a half-demolished church in Ani, breaks eggs with a grand gesture. This is, I suggest, a better position to start discussing the Turkish-Armenian border — without forgetting the pre-existing inequalities that condition every conversation.

Notes

- 1 Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 219.
- 2 Judith Butler, *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 72.
- 3 Ibid., p. 72.
- 4 Bishop, *Artificial Hells*, p. 219.
- 5 Sourp Prgich was built in 1035. See: Samvel Gevorgi Karapetyan, *Ani 1050: [patkerazard girk'-albm]* (Erevan: Haykakan Chartarapetut'yunn Usumnasirogh Himnadram, 2011), pp. 129–39.
- 6 Francis Alÿs mediatizes the work as 'in collaboration with the teens of Kars.' <http://francisAlÿs.com/the-silence-of-ani/>. [Last Accessed: May 14, 2019].
- 7 Nermin Saybaşı, *Sınırlar ve Hayaletler* [Borders and Ghosts] (İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2011).
- 8 Pınar Öğrenci, 'Francis Alÿs', *Artunlimited*, September, 2015. <http://pinarogrenci.com/2015/francis-Alÿs-2/>. [Last Accessed: May 14, 2019].
- 9 Bishop, p. 219.
- 10 Alÿs, *Silence of Ani*.
- 11 Butler, p. 72.
- 12 Nick Kirckpatrick, 'Peace statue sculptor faces jail for "criticizing" Turkish president', in *Washington Post*, June 25, 2015. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/06/25/turkish-president-calls-peace-statue-a-monstrosity-now-sculptor-faces-4-years-in-jail/>. [Last Accessed: May 14, 2019].
- 13 Pelin Başaran, "'Ucube Heykel" den Öncesi Var!', [Before the Freak], *Bianet*, January 15, 2011, <https://www.bianet.org/bianet/diger/127201-ucube-heykel-den-oncesi-var>. Başaran also considers the monument from many angles in her long essay: Pelin Başaran, "'İnsanlık Anıtı" Üzerinden Kars'a Bakmak'. [Looking at Kars through Monument to Humanity], *siyahbant.org*, n.d. www.siyahbant.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Basaran-InsanlikAniti.docx.
- 14 Ayda Erbal, 'Lost in Translation: The Monument's Deconstruction', in Alexis Demirdjian (ed.), *The Armenian Genocide Legacy*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Genocide (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), pp. 212–26.
- 15 'İnsanlık anıtına "günlük siyasi dilde" saldırı' [Attack on Monument to Humanity in 'daily political language'], *Hürriyet*, January 13, 2011.
- 16 Nanore Barsoumian, "'Ucube" Decapitated in Kars: "Monument to Humanity" Demolition Underway', *Armenian Weekly*, May 11, 2011. <https://armenianweekly.com/2011/05/11/ucube-decapitated-in-kars/>. [Last Accessed: May 14, 2019].
- 17 Erbal, 'Lost in Translation'.
- 18 Wouter Osterholt and Elke Uitentuis, 'İnsanlık Anıtı: Yardım Eden Eller' [Monument to Humanity: Helping Hands] (Pamphlet, 2011), İstanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı.
- 19 Butler, p. 72.

Reconstructing Memory through a Generated - Environment

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Abstract

The Khiam Detention Center (KDC) was established in 1985 by Israel and operated by its proxy, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), during the Israeli Occupation of South Lebanon (1982-2000). During the operation of KDC, Lebanese and Palestinian inmates were condemned to sporadic mistreatment, torture, and unjustified imprisonment. Memories of the crimes committed within the Camp are unfortunately largely subject to filtered narrations by political entities that restrict the authentic retelling of said experiences. Political restrictions to be considered include Israel's attempt at erasing the memory of crimes taken place in KDC through the bombing of the site in 2006, and Hezbollah's emerging reconstruction plans for the inauguration of a "Khiam Museum" structured around a Hezbollah-filtered retelling of the site. The holistic outcome of this project thus combats the attempted erasure and reconstruction of KDC by introducing an alternative method to KDC's restoration via an online digital platform labeled the "Generated-Environment" (GE). To inform and justify the digitized remodeling of KDC, this study explores former prisoners' memories (of torture) while in KDC in consolidation to the current physical structure of the site, their opinions on reconstruction, and perceptions of surveillance in the South of Lebanon. The GE forces spectators/visitors to grapple with restrictions of sight, sound, and mobility, similarly experienced by former inmates of KDC – in efforts to preserve the memory of torture and engage spectators to sense-experiences of occupation and oppression.

Keywords

Memory; Reconstruction; Khiam Detention Center; Occupation; Borders; Surveillance

Introduction

The link between memory and its place of storage is crucial to the process of retrieving a certain memory. Without that link, memory would be inaccessible. Memory is a recollection of significance oriented towards the past. It comes in several forms and can be stored in different media. This study is concerned with the media pertaining to: the collective memory of previous prisoners, audio-visual data-archives, and the spatial structure of the built-environment. The security of the storage place is a guarantee of a memory's presence and endurance with respect to time; any meddling with the storage structure impacts the fidelity of the stored

memory. Herein, the security of the designated storage subsequently means the security of memory itself. The more media — or formats — that a memory is stored in, the more its presence is safeguarded against interference and/or tampering by both human actors and environmental. This study surveys three storage media that contain the memory of KDC: the collective memory through interviews conducted with previous prisoners; the data-archives of a documented radio program; and the medium of the built-environment through sonic mapping exercises. The preservation of the prisoners' memory of KDC is an urgent effort at combatting attempts of erasure and revision of the history of KDC

by both Israel and Hezbollah.

This study's ground of operation is physically situated at the link between memory and its place of storage. It seeks to establish another link that would connect the memory of KDC to a new storage medium that is potentially immune to political interference and true to the memory of former KDC prisoners. This is done through a process of transferring memory from the existing storage media into a Generated-Environment (GE). Today, some of the existing storage media of KDC's memory are being refigured and remodeled by the dominant political actors to comply with their respective agendas. By sourcing data from the collective memory of the witnesses, the data-drivers of archives, and the built-environment, the GE prepares for a post-structure and post-witness scenario. By participating in the GE, the general public will be able to virtually access the aggregated memory of KDC, which consists of a compilation of the collected data transformed into accessible experiences through online digital simulation. Thereby, in addition to accessing the raw data, users also access a toolkit to activate vivid experiences pertaining to certain feelings, thoughts, preferences, and aspirations of KDC's prisoners. The impermanence of the current storage media necessitates that the memory of KDC be preserved in a new storage medium, the GE, through a memory transfer process that involves acts of archiving, reconstructing, and simulating memory.

Background

Khiam Detention Center (KDC) was a notorious prison camp established by Israel and operated by its proxy, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), during the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon from 1985 until 2000. It had the capacity to imprison 300 people and it contained approximately a total of 3500 inmates during its years of operation. The KDC was infamous for detention with indefinite sentences and without trial and

for its enforcement of unique physical and mental torture techniques. The physical torture was specific to the interrogation phase of imprisonment, and always involved the covering of the prisoner's head with a brown straw bag. This resulted in the association of pain with the visual sense of complete darkness among the prisoners. Such torture techniques included: excessive beating, electrocution, hanging upside down a pole, sleep and food deprivation, and being caged in a 50x70x70 cm red-box. Psychological torture techniques aimed at destabilizing the mind included a series of mechanisms that were designed to fool the prisoner's perception of space. One of the interviewed witnesses recalled a story of how he was made to believe that his mother was being tortured in the adjacent room. It was done in an attempt to subjugate the prisoner to comply with the interrogation process in case he refused to cooperate.

Following the death of one of the inmates under torture in 1996, the International Red Cross organization was allowed to enter the camp for the first time. After conducting an evaluation assessment, several adjustments were made including the merger of every five adjacent prison cells into one, prohibition of the use of the red-box, introduction of beds, mattresses, and radios to cells. According to the witnesses, the most trenchant memory of KDC was in its conditions before the Red-Cross alterations.

Following the Israeli military withdrawal from South Lebanon in 2000, the SLA disintegrated and fled into Israeli territory, leaving KDC behind. However, during the Summer War in 2006 between Hezbollah and Israel, KDC was the target of aerial bombings by Israeli fighter jets [fig. 1]. The attack all but completely obliterated the structure attached to the collective memory of KDC, with the exception of the interrogation rooms and one of the four prison sections. However, the act of bombing in itself may be interpreted as a tampering with evidence,



Figure 1 An overview of the Khiam Detention Center in its current form following the Israeli aerial bombing in 2006. Source: Author. Khiam Detention Center. September 17, 2019. Khiam Detention Center.

and its occurrence further confirms the infamous legacy of the camp. In addition to the Israeli attempt at destroying its memory, Hezbollah is currently involved in rewriting the history of the KDC as befits its own political aspirations. This is in accordance with Hezbollah's growing interest in field of museology, exemplified by the inauguration of its first war museum, the Mleeta Landmark in 2010. It proved to be a successful technique in legitimizing the party's presence as a non-state player through cultural production. Today, Hezbollah prepares to uncover the design proposal for the architecture reconstruction of KDC. The party hereby consolidates the memory of KDC into its own, despite the implication of a wide variety of other political factions and movements in the history of the KDC.

Alongside the Southern Lebanese border, there exists a series of visible Israeli antennae that routinely survey the area. This is compounded by an almost complete absence the Lebanese state control, far outweighed by a subterranean Hezbollah presence. The surveillance of civilian activity subsequently raises issues of privacy for the population residing in the given area. Digital spatial mapping and "locative" technologies allow people and objects to be geo-surveyed, i.e. to be tracked, marked, noticed, and logged as they move from one place to another. It includes RFID (radio frequency identification) chips, location-based services, cell phones, GPS, and many other locative technologies.¹ The intensity of the super- and subterranean antennae has transformed the land from a territory under Lebanese sovereignty into an off-grid ecology. This is due to the interference that such surveillance causes to the electromagnetic field. Moreover, during times of war or political tension, the off-grid ecology can be completely shadowed off the map once the jamming capacities of the antennae are activated. One of the features demonstrating the functionality of this ecology is the inability

of contacting the Lebanese Police hotline (112) from within it. In fact, a call to 112 from inside the territory is answered by Israeli Police. The qualities of this ecology further corroborate the omniscience of the dominant political actors who operate the surveillance infrastructure.

Methodology

The extraction of memory from KDC's storage media required a specific set of tools and techniques to guarantee a high-fidelity transfer of data to the GE. The collective memory of the witnesses was accessed through a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with previous prisoners — and current witnesses — of KDC, inclusive of different social backgrounds, political affiliations, religious associations, gender, and physical ability. The challenge in applying this method lay in distinguishing between the witness's imagination and the reality of their memory. David Hume, renowned for articulating this exact challenge, states:

It is evident at first sight, that the ideas of the memory are much more lively and strong than those of the imagination, and that the former faculty paints its objects in more distinct colors than any, which are employed by the latter. When we remember any past event, the idea of it flows in upon the mind in a forceful manner; whereas in the imagination the perception is faint and languid, and cannot without difficulty be preserved by the mind steady and uniform for any considerable time.²

Herein, the materialization of memory from a witness's mind to written data was achieved through a process of evocation. The overlapping memories of the dispersed group of witnesses further validated the reality of the memory being recalled.

Moreover, the memory of the prison stored in the data-archives of a radio program titled "مذكرات انون مطري حبيب نوح" ("We

are alive, tell us if you are") was accessed after receiving consent from the radio channel "Sawtul Sha'ab" that hosted the program. It was established in the 1980s out of a necessity of connecting Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners to their respective families. People broadcast live messages through the platform, hoping to locate missing loved ones or speak to prisoners. A reply to a live message would usually come months later in the form of a letter sent from the prison. The program organizers would then use audio montage to cut and paste the questions from the live broadcast to punctuate the responses written in the letters. The delayed auditory feedback structure of this program is replicated in the GE through speech simulation. This was done in an attempt at emulating the style of communication between the prisoners with the world outside KDC through an interactive speech game.

Lastly, the memory stored in the built-environment was accessed through data collected from a mapping exercise conducted on two spatial entities of KDC: its physical structure and the electromagnetic field surrounding it. By using imagery and 3D modeling tools, the built structure was retraced digitally throughout its physical evolution in history. This resulted in a visualization of the impact of political interferences, both, subtractive or additive, on the physical structure of KDC. On the other hand, data pertaining to the electromagnetic context of KDC was collected through a sonic-sensory device that was built with the capacity to receive and transmit audio with a wavelength ranging from 75MHz to 108MHz. The components of the sonic-sensory device include a transmitter, receiver, tuner, antenna, microphone, speaker, and a 5-Watt broadcaster [fig. 2]. First, it was activated as an audio recorder on site to record the natural sounds of KDC, then as a radio receiver to collect the electromagnetic waves from its location. In an attempt to capture the sound of the

physical material of the red-box, the sonic-sensory device was placed inside of it. In a similar mechanism to Alvin Lucier's *I Am Sitting in a Room* sound art piece, the microphone and the speaker were placed on opposing sides of the red-box's interior.

The sonic-sensory device had to be disassembled by removing its broadcasting capabilities before reaching a Lebanese Army checkpoint situated before the town of Khiam where the KDC is located. Several friends from South Lebanon warned us about the risk of carrying a broadcaster when being in a proximate distance from the border with Israel. The vigilance against broadcasters is a result of their use by Israeli spies operating in Lebanon when communicating back to Israeli authorities. The initial intention of the red-box experiment was to broadcast the sonic outcome; however without the broadcaster, this data was manually uploaded on the GE as sonic evidence of the existence of the torturing device.

Through the techniques described above, the study relied on raw data during the translation process of the memory of KDC from its storage in the current media into a new information-generated environment (GE). The GE is accessed through kdctoge.com.

Prisoner Versus Visitor: an Ethnographic Observation

A certain pattern emerged when witnesses were prompted to describe the memory of their prison cells, detailing the distinction between the physical construct of the cell and the symbolic representation of its space. The witnesses objectively described the physical creation of the cell's interiors - its dimensions, material, color, and furniture. On the other hand, the symbolic and phenomenological experience of his or her embodied space within the cell was unique to each witness. They each individually constructed their own perception of space, as mediated by sociopolitical processes of control, conflict, and exchange. Thus,

the spatial construction of the cell is the actual transformation of space — through prisoners' exchanges, memories, images, and daily use of the material setting — into scenes and actions that convey symbolic meaning³. Hence, the term “place” will be used to describe the physical and material setting of the cell, whereas “space” will refer to the symbolic construct of the cell by each witness.

Following the Israeli withdrawal in 2000, the witnesses stated that it was their first time seeing the camp as a whole, as did the regular visitors. The duality of the witness's status as a prisoner/visitor may be analogized to the space/place dichotomy described above. There was a distinction between that which was experienced and spatially constructed by a prisoner, and the actual physical boundaries of the structure, which are closer to those experienced by the visitor. As prisoners, the interviewees had a defined axis of movement that encompassed their cell, shower, and on occasions, the sunroom. This conditioned them into prioritizing their sense of hearing over their sense of sight. While sounds had the capacity to travel across the boundaries of the cell, vision was confined and limited. This reality equipped the prisoners with the needed presets to transform the cell from its physical boundary to a nexus of relations produced out of interactions between the prisoners and the physical space. Such interactions include: synchronized banging on walls as a method of communication with adjacent cells, anticipating the guard's purpose of visit based on the speed of their footsteps, and associating the recurrent sound of a helicopter passing overhead with the time of 11:30 am. These examples illustrated how the production of space is impacted by indirect forces outside the cell, as well as from within the cell's place. The space occupied by the body, and the perception and experience of that space, contracts and expands in relationship to a person's emotions and state of mind, sense of self, social relations, and

cultural predispositions. However, when the witnesses entered KDC as visitors, they were unable to easily reactivate the previous spatial productions that they had constructed as prisoners. After visiting her cell as a visitor, one of the witnesses expressed her disbelief that this “four-walled box” was the site of her vivid experiences and spatial perception. Hence, the cell's “place” was reproduced by human agency — in the prisoner status — as a spatiotemporal unit with feelings, thoughts, preferences, and aspirations.

Furthermore, the architectural design and furnishings of KDC are also subject to symbolic interpretation and manipulation by the prisoners in such a way that the designs and material conditions can become symbolic representations to the prisoners themselves. A witness described a method that he developed that allowed him to access an alternative state-of-mind whenever he placed his head and back on the wall of his cell. Due to the recurrence of that position against the wall over the years, the wall morphed to take the form of his head and shoulders. He explained that this mold was specific to his silhouette and that it induced a vivid evocation whenever his body interlocked with it. Herein, the mold in the wall acts as a material extension of the prisoner's body through re-purposing the wall into a spatial extension of the mind and away from its function as an object of separation. Moreover, the red-box, as a torture element, was appropriated by some prisoners as a site of extensive self-reflection sessions. The prisoners compensated for the loss of physical movement by expanding the mind's activity. Thereby, the physical setting of KDC is interpreted as a location where human experience and consciousness take on material and spatial form.

Memory to Data: Found in Translation

The reconstruction proposal set forth on September 2019 by Hezbollah was widely criticized by the majority of the witnesses.



Figure 2 The sonic-sensory device, used during data collection in the field. Source: Author. Sonic-sensory Device. September 17, 2019. Kham Detention Center.

According to the former concierge of KDC — who is also a witness — the proposal consists of a faithful reconstruction of the majority of the ruined structure while maintaining one section in its ruined state. It is a master plan that dictates the trajectory of visitors from one space to another, starting with an introductory audiovisual compilation of Hezbollah triumphs [fig. 3]. This is hosted in a ‘panorama room’ that is reminiscent of the one in Mleeta, through the addition of a new structure near the front gate. In addition to Hezbollah’s revisionist administering of the image of KDC, the witnesses also fear that any reconstruction attempt of the demolished prison would ultimately replace its original memory. Construction with new building materials could produce an architecture objects that either appears as a new prison or as a counterfeit. On the contrary, witnesses proposed alternative methods to provoke feelings and sensations that are similar to those that had encountered while in detention. In an attempt to reignite ‘the smell’ of KDC, a witness proposed covering the camp with a dome-like structure in order to control environmental factors inside. Amounts of sun and levels of humidity could then be calibrated to create the needed environment for moisture to flourish. This would induce an output that is reminiscent of KDC’s original smell. This is an illustration of the importance of incorporating sensual factors into the reconstruction process, in order to guarantee a high-fidelity transfer of experience from the prisoner to the visitor. The transfer of memory from the three storage media of KDC into the Generated-Environment, the GE, is achieved through the recreation of the collected data as interactive simulations. The following section of this paper will offer an overview and analysis of the process of transformation of memory from raw data to reconstructed simulations. The symbolic interpretation and manipulation of physical entities by the former prisoners is envisioned in the red-box experiment.

Secondly, the style of communication between the prisoners of KDC with the world that was characterized in the form of a delayed auditory feedback is recreated in an interactive speech game. Lastly, the built environment was recreated as a spatial construct based on the prisoner’s perception of space, rather than its true physical manifestation.

Surveillance is reintroduced in this section in the aim of exploring the electromagnetic field as a potential medium for spatial production. The relationship of power and space was approached with the premise that architecture is a political technology for working out the concerns of political actors on either side of the border. The aim of such a technology is to create a ‘docile body’ through the surveillance, enclosure, and organization of individuals in space.⁴ One of Foucault’s most known discussions is the treatment he gives to the structure of the panopticon in *Discipline and Punish*, where the concept of the panopticon is deployed as a political technology to induce in the inmate a state of self-consciousness and a sense of permanent visibility, to assure the automatic functioning of power. “This is completed via the installation of a secluded structure, in which an inmate is confined with limited visibility to their external surroundings, and thereby forced to embrace the uncertainty of when they are being observed.”⁵

Visible to the inmate is the outline of the central tower from which they are surveyed. However, it is unverifiable at which point in time they are being observed, and so reluctantly the prisoner is forced to behave under the assumption that they are always under surveillance. The super- and subterranean surveillance infrastructure similarly enforces a state of permanent surveillance. One of the interviewed witnesses who work for a company that digs water wells mentioned that surveillance in the area has reached new extremes with the advancement of technology, and that it is common to find an



Figure 3 A model of the reconstruction plan proposed by Hezbollah, placed on display in the Kham Detention Center. Reflected on the model is the portraits of prominent Hezbollah and Iranian figures, including the portrait of young Hassan Nasrallah on the left. Source: Author. Hezbollah Reconstruction Model. September 17, 2019. Kham Detention Center.

Israeli drone hovering overhead to observe his routine excavations. Prior to the year 2000, the IDF would practice forms of intimidation against the Lebanese civil population by tapping into or mass-calling landline phones and sending pre-recorded messages. These messages consisted of undercover military recruitment, messages warning of an upcoming attack, or awareness campaigns on the dangers of cooperating with Hezbollah. The following excerpt is located in the GE in the form of audio, spoken in Arabic. This passage is a constructed sample mimicking a common awareness campaign sent by the Israeli state to effected populations in Lebanon [refer to fig. 4]:

يوليئارسإل شيج ديزيس، يوليئارسإل شيج إل انّه
 قرمتسمال عي باهرالالامعألادض نانبل يف هلامعألان
 ينطاوم نع عفدلأ عيغب نانعلالقلطمالهللأبزل
 ليئارسإل قلود
 يذالاقالعلع نمب انتبغرو مكتمالسلحألان
 نمعانتمالامكيلع نيطرولمأ ريغب نيي ندملاب
 لمعويو اديف دجاوتي يتالانكاملأب دجاوتال
 اهنم
 ليئارسإل قلود دض هللأبزل

[Translation of automated message]

“This is the Israeli Army. To the residents of Lebanon: the Israeli army will expand its operations in Lebanon against the continuing terrorism of Hezbollah, in defense of the citizens of the state of Israel. For the sake of your own safety, and in our wish not to harm any civilians that are not implicated, you must keep away from the locations where Hezbollah is present and acting against the state of Israel.”

Herein, the infrastructure of surveillance is used as an extension of state control beyond national borders by engaging in an imposed — and one-sided — visual and sonic dialogue with the inhabitants of another state. The hovering Israeli drone and the automated message represent

the manifestation of the visible aspect of surveillance. However, even in the absence of similar elements, the inhabitants do not know precisely when, where, and how they are being watched. Such breaches allow for the expansion and contraction of the virtual border separating Lebanon from Israel, whereas the border, as an artifact, becomes only symbolic. The following realities, in addition to the existence of a Lebanese Army checkpoint about 30 km. away from the border, have spatially rendered this territory as a buffer zone and an off-grid ecology. This has impacted concepts of privacy, control, and freedom of speech amongst the inhabitants. From within this ecology, the urgency to challenge the dominating infrastructure of surveillance was formulated. The sonic-sensory device with its broadcasting capacities was intended to transmit the outcome of the following red-box experiment. Unfortunately, the use of the sonic-sensory device to its full capacity was omitted as a precaution taken to avoid alarming or flagging military radars of the location of the breach being the coordinates of KDC.

Reconstructing through Simulations on the GE

The red-box was a local invention, thought to be the first of its kind according to witnesses. Ironically, its engineering corresponded to the user's gender, giving an extra 10 cubic cm. for women. According to the witnesses, the endurance and functionality of the red-box was first tested out on a prisoner for the duration of two weeks; he came out with reddish skin due to the prolonged exposure to metal [fig. 5]. Due to its notoriety, the red-box was chosen to be the host for the sonic-sensory device. In a similar mechanism to Alvin Lucier's *I Am Sitting in a Room* sound art piece, the microphone and the speaker were placed on opposing sides of the red-box's interior. The red-box experiment plays the recording of the aforementioned automated message hosted by the IDF,

إلى السكان اللبنانيين

سيزيد جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي من أعماله في لبنان ضد الأعمال الإرهابية
 المستمرة لحزب الله المطلق العنان بغية الدفاع عن مواطني دولة إسرائيل.

من أجل سلامتكم ولرغبتنا بمنع الحاق الأذى بالمدنيين غير المتورطين عليكم
 الامتناع من التواجد بالأماكن التي يتواجد فيها ويعمل منها حزب الله ضد دولة
 إسرائيل.

بما في ذلك:

- أماكن إطلاق الصواريخ باتجاه أراضي دولة إسرائيل
- أماكن تواجد مخازن الذخيرة والعتاد العسكري لحزب الله
- مراكز حزب الله في جنوب بيروت والمناطق التي تحت سيطرته
 في جنوب لبنان
- ضاحية بيروت الجنوبية مركز الإرهاب

يدعو جيش الدفاع الإسرائيلي السكان اللبنانيين والجيش اللبناني إلى الامتناع عن
 تقديم المساعدة سواء كانت مباشرة أم غير مباشرة لعناصر حزب الله
 كل من يفعل ذلك سيعرض حياته للخطر.

اعلموا ان استمرار الإرهاب ضد دولة إسرائيل و نزع عنكم العيش بمستقبل أفضل.

دولة إسرائيل

Figure 4 Israeli leaflet indicating future aggression against an impacted area. Source: No author. Israeli Leaflet of 13 July. No date. Israeli Propaganda Raids on Lebanon. <http://www.psywarrior.com/IsraeliLebanon.html>.



Figure 5 The notorious “red-box,” used to isolate prisoners and torture them through elongated confinement and sound manipulation via the verberation derived from excessive banging by guards. Source: Author. The “red-box.” September 17, 2019. Khiam Detention Center.



Figure 6 An overview of the content located on the GE, featuring all three storage mediums. Source: Author. The GE. December 2019. <http://kdctoge.com/>.

into the red-box, and then is re-recorded to capture the resonance of the sounds echoed within. The new recording is then played back and re-recorded. This process is perpetually repeated in the aim of morphing the original sound. Due to the specific characteristic resonance pertaining to each space (e.g. size, furnishing, and material), the effect is that certain frequencies are emphasized as they resonate in the red-box, until eventually the words become unintelligible and replaced by the pure resonant harmonies and tones of the box itself.⁶ In its ambient conversion of speech modules into the materiality of the red-box, the essence of the prisoner's experience is transformed into to readable data that can be accessed through the GE. Then, the broadcast was supposedly scheduled to occur, using the sonic-sensory device to broadcast the harmonies and ambient tones of the red-box. The broadcast attempt is reminiscent of the sounds that the red-box caused during the operation of KDC. The guards would routinely hit the red-box with their sticks intending to cause injury to the prisoner through the deafening spiral of echoing sounds that the blow causes. This used to simultaneously cause an echo sound that travelled across the boundaries of KDC, reaching several nearby villages. The broadcast would have thereby been a symbolic sample of torture, however this time it would have echoed throughout the electromagnetic field.

The nature of communication between the prisoners and the world outside of KDC was unveiled after accessing the archives of the radio program *We are alive, tell us if you are*. The gap between the live broadcast message and the reply via a written letter from the prison can be referred to as delayed auditory feedback. The delay was seen as an enervating experience that the prisoners endured when attempting to communicate with their loved ones. By definition, delayed auditory feedback extends the time between speech and auditory perception. It is a technique

used for the treatment of people with speech difficulties, but its usage with a 175-millisecond delay has been shown to induce mental stress. The delayed auditory feedback structure of this program is reconstructed in the GE in the form of a speech game that enables the users to interactively witness the communication process of KDC with the outer world.

The historic evolution of the prison is portrayed through 3D models that document the politically motivated alterations carried out on the structure of KDC over the years. On the other hand, the built environment is recreated as a spatial product of the prisoners' perception of space through their sensations, control, and exchange with their surroundings. Through a navigating orbit tool located in the GE, users are able to navigate through the spatial forms of the prisoner's visual constructs. They also have the option of overlaying their virtual tour with audio recordings related to the direct and electromagnetic contexts of KDC in an attempt to experience a recreation of space closest to that experienced by the prisoners. [fig. 6]

Conclusion

Through research and curatorial work, the memory of KDC is transferred from its currently fragmented and vulnerable storage media into a Generated-Environment, the GE. That memory is collected through techniques specific to each storage medium to ensure the highest-fidelity simulation and construction of a user experience through the GE by eliminating the dichotomy between visitors and prisoners. Through it, the users are exposed to the recreation of the prisoners' spatial constructs rather than the revisionist constructs of Hezbollah and Israel. This research prepares for a post-structure and post-witness scenario by creating a storage medium that challenges politically motivated narratives of KDC. Moreover, it guarantees the persistence of a memory that is closest to that of those who

witnessed first-hand the bloody history of the KDC.

The GE renews the dialogue on an otherwise silenced topic by introducing individuals to alternative forms of experiencing the witness's memories. The users exploring the GE will luckily never witness torture first-hand. They are however invited to experience its reconstruction through interactive simulation. In this

framework, the GE functions as an inverted form of surveillance by granting the users the freedom of navigating through all the storage media as an 'all seeing' figure. They are able to access the witnesses' minds, listen to the archives, and steer through walls of the built-environment with no limits. It functions as an awareness mechanism that sheds light on the reality of previous and continued torture.

Notes

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Critical Urban Practices for Conflict Transformation

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Abstract

Can we keep architecture relevant in territories that are dominated by conflict and various states of exception? In this article, we use the perspective of critical urban practice and its pedagogies as a potentiality based on their capacity to constructively transform conflicts, thus undermining states of exception. Critical urban practice encourages us to establish a new regard on design practices that deal with urbanization processes, urban ecosystems, as well as urban planning, policy, and governance. We use the critical pedagogical approach to revisit the design project as a matrix of interrelated elements and processes of physical, temporal and actorial character. Such a kind of project expands the countermapping potentialities in architecture, such as making visible the unsaid and unseen dynamics of dominating powers behind conflicts and states of exception. Moreover, we look into designerly ways that support constructive conflict transformation processes by focusing on two recent diploma projects from the Department of Architecture, University of Cyprus. They contribute into conflict transformation processes that support democratic practices, aiming to change the status quo of two zones of exception in Cyprus: the United Nations Cease Fire Zone and the United Kingdom sovereign base in Dhekelia. We discuss the mediating role of architecture by transforming infrastructures, networks and everyday spatial practices to obstruct States of Exception.

Keywords

Critical Urban Practice; Cyprus; Conflict Transformation; State of Exception; Critical Pedagogies; Countermapping

Introduction

Can we keep architecture relevant in territories that are dominated by conflict and various states of exception? In this article, we introduce the perspective of critical urban practice and its pedagogies as a potentiality based on their capacity to constructively transform conflicts, thus undermining states of exception. Through the perspective of critical urban practice, countermapping is introduced and becomes a multidimensional approach to address everyday spatial practices, networks and landscapes, as well as urban imaginaries and mental maps, in a designerly way. We use two diploma projects and their pedagogical background, written by Marina Antoniou

and Eleni Andreou respectively and supervised by the author of this article, from the Department of Architecture, University of Cyprus, as a case study to address the challenge. We argue that these projects and their pedagogical approach fall into the approach of critical urban practice and do offer a response to the aforementioned question. In the first section, we briefly refer to the current debate on conflict in the cities and the instrumentalisation of the urban conflict, the states of exception and the potential role of architecture for constructive conflict transformation. In the second section, we refer to critical urban practices, their active agencies and countermapping as a practice of making

visible the unsaid and unseen dominating forces underlying the states of exception. We use the concept of critical urban practice to demonstrate how architecture can mediate the spatiality of conflicts. In the third section, we put critical pedagogies on the foreground to understand the contribution of architecture to constructive conflict transformation. Such contribution starts from the process of emancipation of the students-to-be-architects that should challenge the overwhelming dominant narratives of their everyday lives. In the fourth section, we present an outcome of the critical pedagogical approach implemented by the author at the Department of Architecture, University of Cyprus. It is a case study based on two diploma projects and their perspective of the two states of exception at stake in Cyprus. In the fifth section, we discuss some of the findings of the two diploma projects and their critical pedagogical approach vis-a-vis the concepts introduced in this article, especially that of countermapping. Finally, we conclude with a few insights into the relevance of critical urban practices as designerly ways for countermapping states of exception.

Conflict in cities, conflict transformation & state of exception

Conflict is an expression of the heterogeneity of interests, values, and beliefs that arise when new formations generated by social change come up against inherited constraints.¹ Both the political aspect in democratic practices but also hegemonic forms of violence are associated with conflict. We can consider conflict a mode of shaping the city and its citizenship but at the same time a danger for corroding citizenship and the urban environment.² Cities dominated by conflicts see their urban elements, spaces and social practices instrumentalised by the conflict itself.³ According to Wendy Pullan⁴, to understand how conflicts work and to be able to contribute to their resolution, we need to look carefully into conflict infrastructures,

mobility habits, informality, education and shared spaces in the cities concerned.

Such a challenge of handling conflicts with constructive but also destructive consequences has been a major topic in the political sciences. Political scientists state that the escalation of conflict diminishes the political space, especially when conflict derives from issues of sovereignty, the context of Wendy Pullan's references. Conflict escalation may take place due to the inability to address disagreements.⁵ The challenge of contributing to the transformation of conflicts associated with democratic processes is addressed by conflict transformation theory. This theory demonstrates the dynamic character of conflicts and their constant change, going beyond both their sometimes static appearance and their symptomatic manifestations.⁶ Conflict transformation theory focuses on actors and structures, thus understanding the complex and contradictory processes of conflicts.

The concept of state of exception has become the means to legalise hegemonic forms of violence.⁷ Giorgio Agamben revisits the term, in light of Roman law, and the camp as its spatial entity. According to Agamben, the idea of the camp is naturalised in ordinary spaces.⁸ He argues that it has become a way of governance to suspend the law in the name of emergency or crisis. The declaration for a state of exception requires a necessary link between sovereignty and power. Consequently, the interruption of laws during a state of emergency acquires a lasting character, depriving people of their citizenship.

Keller Easterling in her book titled *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space* takes on Agamben's understanding of state of exception to explain how infrastructure space works in the hands of hegemonic powers. She sees it as a site of nested, overlapping or multiple forms of sovereignty, where domestic and

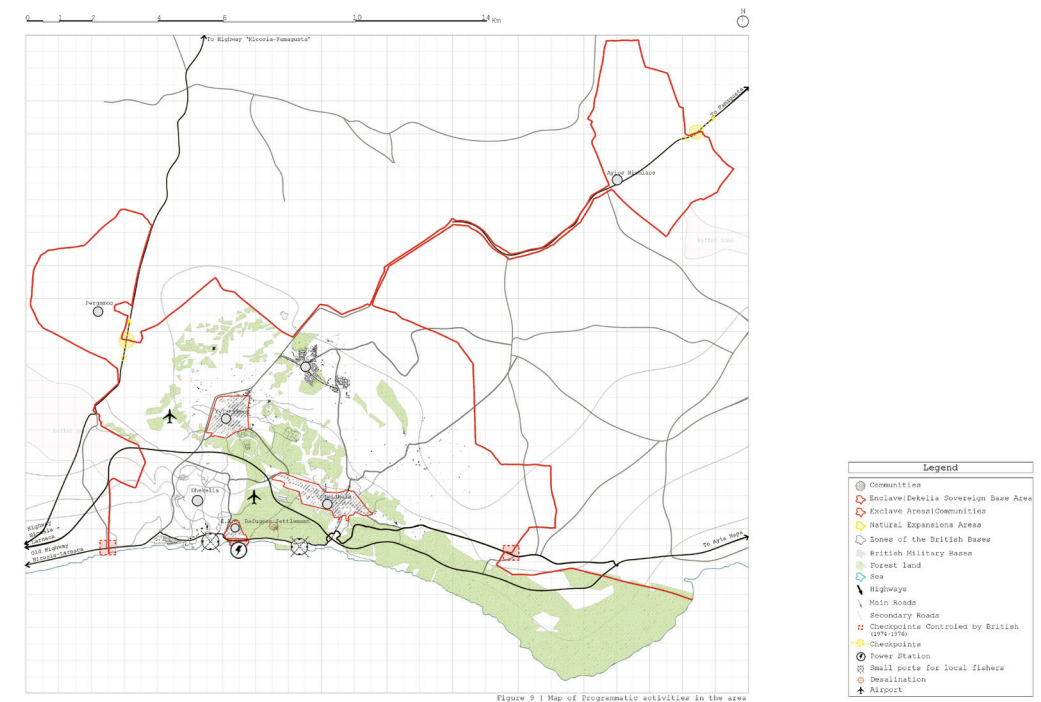
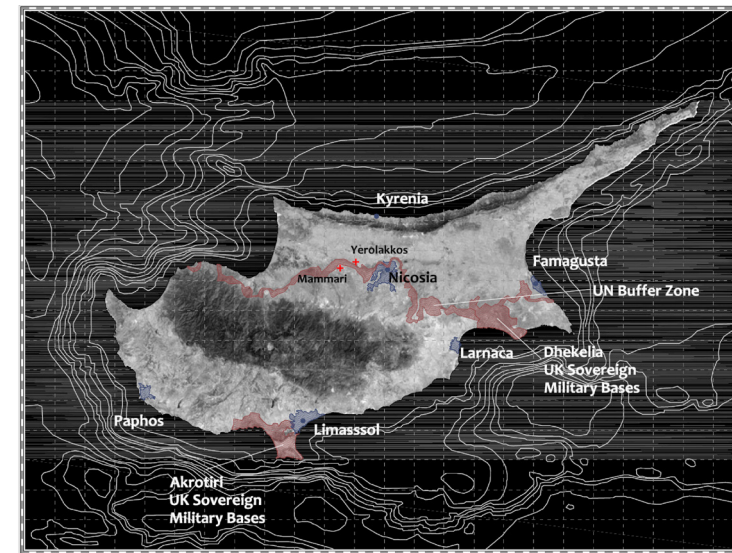


Figure 1 Cyprus map with the two states of exception, courtesy of AA&U- Hands-on-Famagusta.

Figure 2 Map of the Dhekelia UK Sovereign Base, courtesy of M. Antoniou.

transnational jurisdictions collide. She argues that infrastructure space becomes the medium for what she actually calls extrastatecraft, a coverage, a camouflage for concealed activities taking place by proxies handling global capital investments, quite often in collaboration with the States.⁹ She invites us to look carefully into a matrix space of protocols where such activities take place, falling out of the established agreements of city governance. Easterling invites architects to hijack such matrix space by understanding how the regulators of sovereignty operate. To do so, we need to identify new clusters of players, as well as to identify the multiple sovereignties at stake. Although Easterling refers to contemporary globalised urbanisation, her invitation to hijack the matrix space opens up countermapping opportunities regarding any sort of state of exception.

Our investigation builds on such invitation to propose a potential role of architecture in supporting the transformation of conflict associated with the political aspect in democratic practices. We suggest that such approach may contribute to undermining the dominance of state of exception.

Critical urban practices, active agencies and countermapping

“Other ways of doing architecture”¹⁰ has been a major critic of the prevailing architectural culture that undervalues agencies of buildings regarding their temporality and their relations to society, to the political aspect and to nature.¹¹ Among the critics are Awan, Schneider and Till who have documented architectural practices in a systematic way with a critical stance that acknowledge the active agencies of architecture beyond building.¹² Along the same lines, Jane Rendell coins the concept of Critical Spatial Practices to discuss the synergies of architecture’s active agency with visual artistic practices. She suggests that such a concept can offer a designerly approach to critical theory.¹³

Agonism instead of antagonism is the value of such design practices. They draw their resistance by composing different sources of knowledge including both tacit and experiential ones. They profit from the social untidiness of the contemporary world and the permanent and positive aspect of conflict.¹⁴

Critical Urban Practices has been the title of a recent exhibition at Parsons New School of Design where the final work of two graduate programs was exposed and discussed.¹⁵ The concept of critical urban practices¹⁶ falls into the same logic as that of critical spatial practices. In addition, it encourages us to establish a critical regard on design practices that deal with urbanisation processes, urban ecosystems, as well as urban planning, policy, and governance.¹⁷ Such a designerly approach helps us to reveal active agencies within the processes of project design and implementation. We can identify various agencies when we look carefully into the relations among design methods, project actors and users, communication and representation tools, among physical, temporal and actorial aspects of design that interrelate form and content, as well as analysis and synthesis.¹⁸ We can also imagine how, by making explicit such a system of relations, we unravel the matrix space coined in by Easterling and, thus, facilitate countermapping to penetrate deep into the design process.

Countermapping has emerged thanks to critical cartographies in the field of geography and has spread in many fields including architecture, urbanism, and visual arts. It is quite often supported by militant research and activism. Countermapping gives voice to the ignored everyday spatial practices that do not comply with any dominant narratives. It entails a sense of autonomy and contributes to the production of new knowledge, subjects, social relations and practices.¹⁹ Knowledge production becomes a political task producing alternative ways of visualising

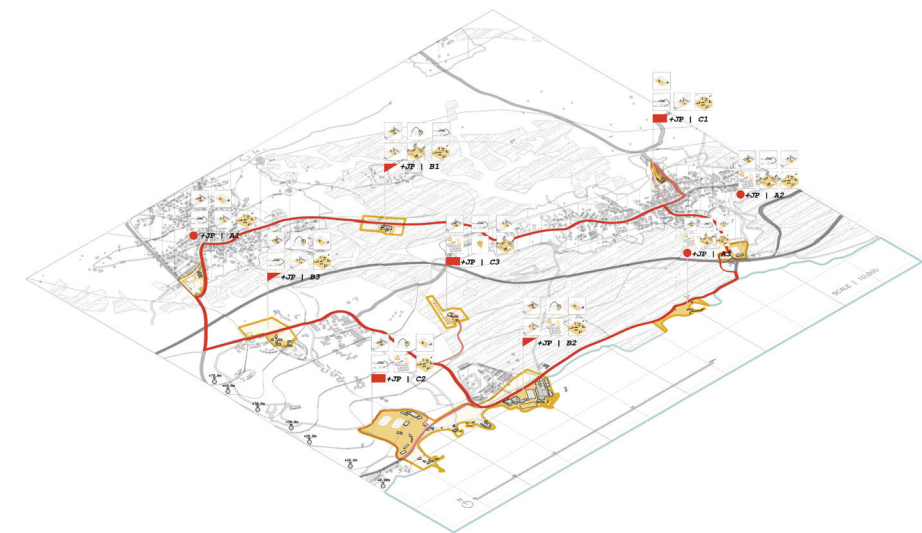


Figure 3 View of the area, courtesy of M. Antoniou.

Figure 4 The road loop – Solar Energy Nodes, courtesy of M. Antoniou.

and inhabiting the world. At the same time, countermapping proliferates ways of visualising and realising new possibilities.²⁰ Many collectives, support structures and social architecture movements have been employing countermapping practices as a critical cartographic tool to participate in commoning processes all over the world. The countermap collection put together by Laura Kurgan including the “Million Dollar Blocks” project is quite relevant.²¹

Pedagogies for critical urban practice in architecture

Critical pedagogy in architecture has become, since the mid-1990s, a relevant pitch to revisit architectural education.²² It encourages us to interweave the hidden with the formal curricula, i.e. the production of social practices with designerly knowledge.²³ The formal curriculum has to do with the designerly knowledge the students should have by the end of the studio’s semester. The hidden curriculum refers to the ideology of the designerly knowledge and of the social practices that structure the experience of students and tutors, as well as the position they occupy.²⁴ Therefore, we move away from the “transmission” model that considers students as empty vessels, such as the Master / Pupil studio relationship that many contemporary architects still consider a valid mode of architectural pedagogy. Critical pedagogy has shown us how designerly knowledge is part of a social product grounded in relations of power²⁵, how the choice of the learning environment can encourage the shift of power relations between students and tutors. The increased interaction and knowledge exchange among students exposes them to competing interpretations. Thanks to countermapping, they formulate their own questions and develop a critical thinking that engages the social and the political aspects.²⁶

The author developed a critical pedagogical approach in 2006 and has been implementing it ever since to

encourage the students of architecture at the University of Cyprus to unveil unstated values, attitudes, and norms driven by the on-going ethnic conflict on the island. The students are encouraged to document the relational, dynamic, and conflictual aspects of contested urban environments with a critical stance, to understand the high impact of the unstated dominant powers sustaining the status quo.²⁷

The two diploma projects that we will be presented in the following section are part of such a pedagogical approach. A diploma project is a year-long undertaking by one student as part of the five-year undergraduate professional program. The students formulate their own designerly questions supported by theoretical and empirical knowledge. At the same time, they establish visual means to unfold all sorts of implicit urban relations. The face-to-face meetings with the supervisor take place once every 7-10 days in the form of collective roundtable debates among the four to five students supervised by the author. The hidden curriculum in this case involves the horizontal transmission of knowledge among students during roundtable discussions. Also, it involves the understanding of their personal position in the conflict, their biases and their fears. We build on the hidden curriculum introduced by the author, during the third year urban design studio.

Countering states of exception in Cyprus The *Design the Switch of Sovereignty* project

The diploma project addresses the alienation of Greek Cypriots from the territories of their communities in the Dhekelia enclave of the UK military base. It offers ways of reclaiming such territories. The military base encloses a few exclaves of Greek Cypriot villages and that of an old powerhouse, still used by the Republic of Cyprus [figs. 1, 2, 3] The United Kingdom keeps two such military bases backed by additional valuable facilities on the island

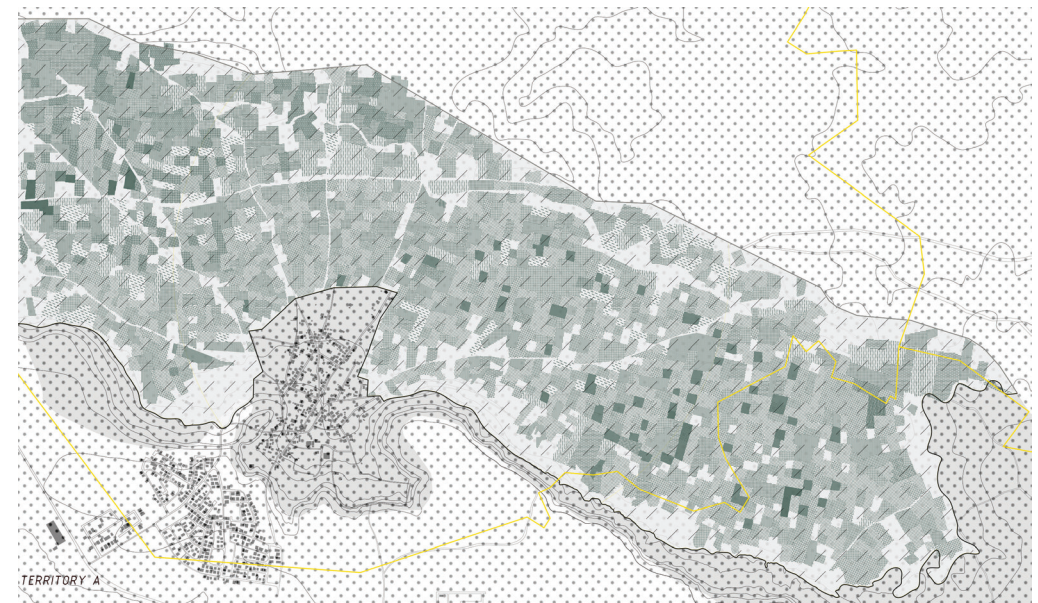
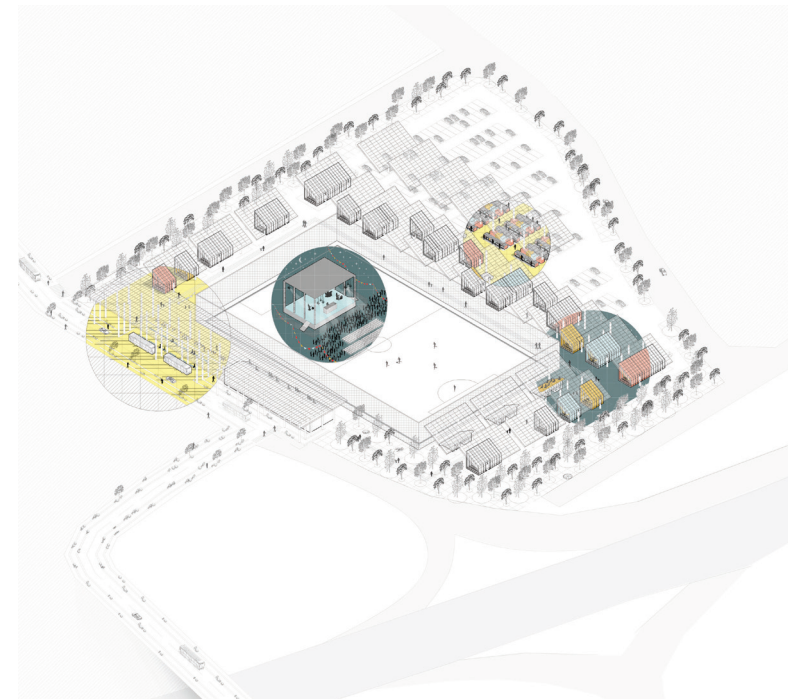


Figure 5 Double Face Node of the Infrastructure, courtesy of M. Antoniou.

Figure 6 Spatial patterns of agriculture activities, courtesy of E. Andreou.

The diploma project addresses three scales, that of the Eastern Mediterranean basin, that of the UK enclave and that of public facilities of the Republic of Cyprus located in the enclave to make explicit the geopolitical forces behind the conflict. The project offers tools to the inhabitants to undermine the actual territorial power structure in the enclave. The project initially maps the stakeholders and the overlapping sovereignties. Then, it introduces a third agent, that of renewable solar energy to existing public facilities that are, thus, transformed into nodes of a proposed road loop [fig. 4]. The proposed infrastructures with their nodes acquire a double function: an official one respecting the actual regime and an undercover one by being easily hijackable by the inhabitants' spatial practices. The prohibition of extending their living quarters is transformed into short term camping and staying for events under the new structures of solar panels. The project develops types of switch in the form of tactics and strategies that transform the existing situation [fig. 5].

The second diploma project challenges the inaccessibility of the 45-year long UN cease-fire de-militarised zone (UN buffer zone). The project maps the emerging checkpoints connecting the north and south parts of the island across the UN buffer zone and the infrastructures of the Republic of Cyprus that challenge the south edge of

The UN buffer zone stretches from the northwest to the eastern part of the island keeping in a safe distance the Turkish military army in the north and the Cyprus National Guard in the south. The width of the UN Buffer zone varies from being as wide as a street in old Nicosia to extending to a few kilometers wide in the countryside. It is controlled by the United Nations Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP). The design project focuses on the UN buffer zone area, west of Nicosia, close to the villages of Mammari and Yerolakkos [fig. 6].

The diploma project provides tools to support both everyday social practices and natural habitats [fig. 7].

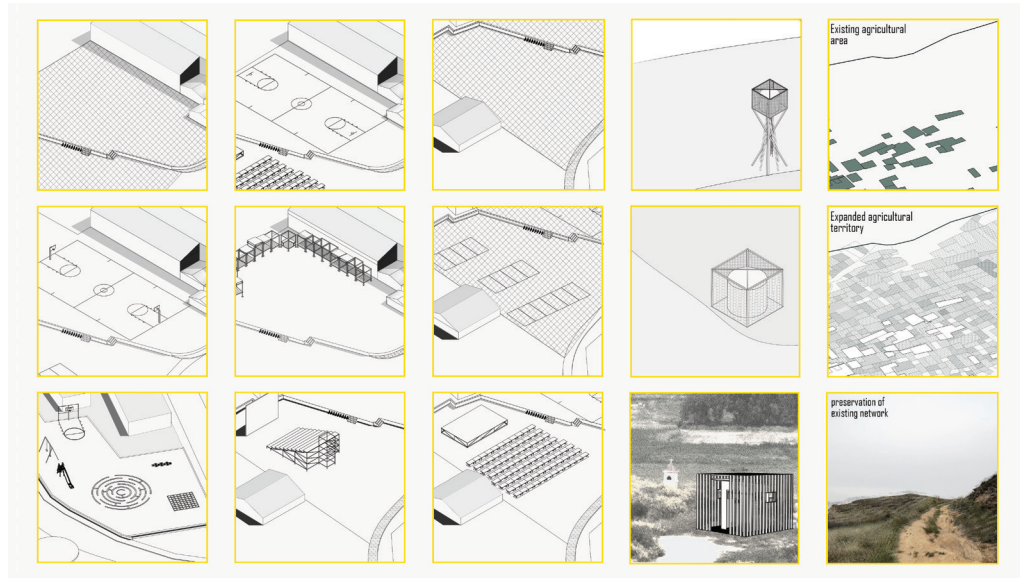


Figure 8 The support structures on site, courtesy of E. Andreou.

The interventions proposed are water tanks for irrigation, observation areas for watching wild life, nests for birds, the maintenance of existing earth roads and the refurbishment of public space in Mammari community, trapped in the UN buffer zone [fig. 8]. The interventions seem to respect the UN buffer zone regulations. However, they implicitly undermine them due to the regrouped individual spatial practices, the reorganised networks of mobility, and the new typologies that manipulate the line separating the inside of the physical territory of the zone from the outside [fig. 9]. The interventions help to upscale the porosity patterns of the actual spatial practices. A three-fold guide and a smart phone application support such upscale [fig. 10]. They aim to change the Greek Cypriots' mental map of the UN buffer zone as an inaccessible, dead, no man's land.

Designerly ways for countermapping states of exception

Countermapping as regards the two diploma projects is a threefold endeavor that produces knowledge and becomes a political task. The first one is about identifying the normalisation processes in the territories bound by the two states of exception. The second one is about making visible the existing players and overlapping sovereignties, as well as the inhabitants and users' silent spatial practices that undermine the restrictions imposed by the two states of exception on the island. The third one is about a designerly turn to countermapping. The two projects offer different ways of visualising and realising new possibilities by instrumentalising what is already there to support the commons.

The *Design the Switch of Sovereignty* diploma project translates Easterling's Extrastatecraft suggestions with the aim of unveiling the infrastructures and the players at stake. It makes explicit the infrastructural space from which the UK Sovereign Military Base in Dhekelia

draws the power to impose the state of exception on the territory. The designerly turn to countermapping comes with the introduction of an additional cluster of players thanks to a new agent, that of a solar energy network to be managed by the 'exclaved' communities. The nodes of the solar energy network are to be located in proximity with the existing public uses of the 'exclaved' communities. The collective management of energy production, the activation of a mobility loop around the nodes of production, as well as the undercover potential use of the network and its nodes, aim to change the power relations imposed by the State of Exception.

On another take, the *Rethinking the [UN] Buffer Zone as a Network of Exceptions* diploma project takes into account Pullan's comments in understanding the everydayness in spaces of conflict. As we have already mentioned, the project maps systematically existing social practices and their everyday tactics that cause porosity in the UN buffer zone. Making such practices public is an additional countermapping act. The designerly turn to countermapping is the instrumentalisation of the existing spatial practices thanks to designed support structures that sustain and scale them up at the same time. The designed guide and the smartphone application play an important role.

The main characteristic of the interventions proposed by the two diploma projects is their apparent conformity with the restrictions imposed by the two states of exception. The foundation of their approach is the everyday social practices, the overlapping sovereignties and their players in the two zones under the state of exception. The design outputs may seem to be the inserted physical objects, programmatic elements with guidelines of use, as well as solar energy infrastructures and reorganised mobility networks. However, they are Trojan horses that support the gradual and undercover



Figure 9 View of the farming infrastructure, courtesy of E. Andreou.

Figure 10 A threefold map for Walking the Buffer Zone, courtesy of E. Andreou.

defiance of the states of exception based on the sustainability and upscale of the actual spatial practices, as well as the introduction of new ones thanks to a new cluster of players.

Conclusion

Through this article, we have suggested ways of keeping architecture relevant in territories that are bound by conflict and states of exception of all sorts. We have introduced the approach of critical urban practice and its pedagogies as a perspective thanks to their capacity to constructively transform conflicts and, thus, undermine states of exception.

The role of states of exception, as we have seen, operates as a tool of domination of hegemonic forms of violence causing various conflicts and corroding citizenship and the urban environment. Cities dominated by conflicts see their urban elements, spaces and social practices instrumentalised by the conflict itself. We have emphasised that conflict is useful when it is associated with the political aspect in democratic practices.

Consequently, our research question has addressed the challenging role of architecture and its pedagogies in contributing to the constructive transformation of conflicts associated with hegemonic forms of violence into conflicts associated with the political aspect within democratic practices. We also unpacked the countermapping practices in architecture-as-critical-urban-practice and their potential contribution to a constructive transformation of conflict.

The two diploma projects under study, a result of a critical pedagogical

approach at the University of Cyprus, have invited us to think of “other ways of doing architecture” by putting on the foreground the active agencies of design. Countermapping has opened up possibilities towards other ways of doing architecture that aim to obstruct states of exception. We can see countermapping inserted within a matrix of project elements of spatial, programmatic and actorial character. In that manner, the two diploma projects instrumentalise infrastructures and everyday spatial practices to support conflict associated with the political aspect in democratic practices, countering the dominating states of exception in Cyprus. We have acknowledged the pedagogical dimension of such an approach where architects-to-be claim an uninvited role in processes of conflict transformation to support the urban commons. The hidden curriculum of the pedagogical method encourages the emancipation of the architects-to-be, escaping therefore from the dominant narratives that sustain the states of exception in which they live. To contribute to a change in urban imaginaries is a start. To instrumentalise what is already there to support the commons is a sound potential.

Mediation of conflicts could profit from a designerly turn to countermapping, but at the same time we need to be honest about the limitations of the field. Cyprus shows us extreme conditions of states of exception caused by hegemonic forms of violence. Nonetheless, we are gradually finding out that we all live in such kinds of conditions that we need to unveil and confront.

Notes

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Disarming Design

From the Interstices of Space, Conflict and Society: Creative Practices in Palestine

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Abstract

While many scholars tend to focus on the geopolitical annexation of land, there are other aspects to the spatial politics in the Palestine-Israel conflict that are worth attending to, especially since these spatial politics give intimately shape to the ecology of relations and creative practices within the space of Palestine. Yet, in what way is the conflict mediated through creative practices? And, above all, what are creative practices capable of in times of conflict in contemporary Palestine? By drawing on my fieldwork in the West Bank during September 2019, I will attend to the interstices of conflict, space, politics and society in which creative practices in Palestine seem to operate. In order to provide an answer to the questions, this paper takes up the work by design collective 'Disarming Design from Palestine' seen through the lens of space and discussed through the axis of time. What becomes apparent is that creative practices, like the ones of 'Disarming Design from Palestine', can offer a political horizon while exploring a Palestinian identity, new terrains and realities that open up the space for alternative futures to emerge. This paper reveals the way in which the aesthetics of these creative practices are able to evoke a reactivation of social and political sensibilities, and how one can attend to the land, the people and the future. Creative practices in Palestine therefore use aesthetics not as the means, but as the end: an art of living.

Keywords

Palestine; Speculative Philosophy; Speculation; Design; Space-time; Conflict; Spatial Politics; Israel/Palestine; Creative Practices; Artistic Practices.

As is often the case in many areas of conflict, the Palestine-Israel conflict is first and foremost one over land. The land stands at the centre of the historical and socio-political tensions in Palestine, with its borders and ownership constantly subjected to change, as a transitional, shrinking land.¹ The two questions that seem to dominate are 'who controls what where' and 'who has the right to possess and populate land in Palestine/Israel (whether this is given by God or not)'.² The possession of the land has been slowly taken over and dominated by Israeli forces using various mechanism of dispossession. Even though the state of Israel was not able to obtain the entirety

of the land, its efforts continue to gain the remaining acres of the Palestinian land, as Falah underlines.

The land thus forms the physical material of the conflict. But the notion of land, or space, and how people take it away or reclaim it, goes much further than a geopolitical approach to who plants a flag, occupies, annexes or takes operational hold of a territory. It also concerns a whole host of affective and aesthetic relations to e.g. the land, space, memory, and heritage, which themselves become the loci of political and creative contention. The spatial politics and conflict that unfold in Palestine thus do not only give shape to the geographic space,

but also to the ecology of relations and creative practices that inhabit that space. But how is the conflict mediated in these creative practices? And what are creative practices capable of in times of conflict?

It seems that it is exactly in the interstices of conflict, space, politics, and society that the creative practices in Palestine to operate. This paper aims to answer the question: what are creative practices capable of in times of conflict in contemporary Palestine? What are the social and political forces that animate creative practices and what alternative possibilities and realities are opened up? How can artistic practices tap into the dimensions of memory to preserve land, nature, culture, and people and imagine social and political futures? I will address these questions by drawing on my fieldwork in the West Bank during September of this year, where, among other initiatives, I visited a design label called *Disarming Design from Palestine* in the university town of Birzeit. I will offer a speculation about what art is capable of in times of conflict by bending the creative practices of *Disarming Design* through the axis of time. After providing a minor contextualization on the socio-political and cultural climate in Palestine, I will discuss past and present, concluding with the future. By taking *Disarming Design from Palestine* and their practices as an example, I aim to look at the generative forces that are implied and contribute to the art of living and the creation of a future within a space of conflict.

A shift of hope: from political parties, to NGO's, to... creative initiatives?

Before talking about *Disarming Design*, I would like to sketch out the context in which initiatives such as these have emerged, how they are embedded in the socio-political climate, and the relationship people have to it. The Oslo Accords in 1993 marked a turning point in the Palestinian political structures. The founding of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)

in 1964, brought together a number of political parties and fractions with the goal of 'liberating Palestine through armed struggle'.³ But after the Oslo Accords, the armed struggle was abandoned and the Palestinian Authority (PA) took over the governance of the land. But as Arda and Banerjee point out, the PA was far from a state, as it had no control over its external borders since these were under the control of the Israelis.⁴ Moreover, the territory they were governing was subject to continuous change with a limited governing power over its resources, such as land and water.⁵ After the Oslo Accords, a strong presence of NGOs and international aid started to appear in the region. Smaller grassroots initiatives were absorbed into professional organizations like NGOs, resulting from the influx of conditional international funding.⁶ Many of the previous generation disregarded political parties and politics as a whole as a solution for Palestine, something their fathers still believed in. Instead, they found in the NGOs and civil society an environment to host their hopes and dreams. The NGOs took over much of the responsibility from the PA that it had towards the community, while also other services that should have been the provided by the PA were taken up by the NGOs. The PA felt happy that such a burden had been moved onto the NGOs, but it became an industry and heralded the failure of the PA and the liberation project set up by the PLO. This consequently yielded a younger generation dissatisfied with the older generation and the NGOs, even though they might work for them now, as Yazid Anani, director of the public programmes of the A.M. Qattan foundation, told me.⁷

Moreover, 'It is this younger generation that feels frustrated about what is currently happening and the lack of a political horizon'.⁸ He explains how the police state of the PA manifested itself more and more in oppression of demonstrations and freedom of expression. The younger generation started to create

alternative initiatives in, for example, the field of agriculture or literature. Thus, for the past ten to seven years, many movements and initiatives began to emerge all over Palestine, including many involved in creative practices, working outside of the conventional institutions and with the local community, that are aimed towards building an alternative reality and future. The general spirit and social environment of these initiatives, as Anani describes, is one that tries to rebel against the stagnation of politics and the stagnation of an unforeseen future of what Palestine is by creating by themselves and together. This is the background where *Disarming Design* is located.

Disarming Design from Palestine.

What started as a collaboration between Dutch designer Annelys de Vet and the International Art Academy in Ramallah, Palestine in 2012, grew out to be design label *Disarming Design from Palestine*. Contemporary designers and artists work together with local producers and artisans in 'create-shops' where they develop new products emerging from existing production processes, merging innovation and crafts production. As they describe themselves:

The products spread alternative narratives about current life in Palestine and reflect upon the function of creative practices in situations of conflict (either symbolically or literal), of the lived experience of Palestinians. Additionally, the organization invests in academic and vocational support to designers and artisans. Design is employed as a powerful tool; how can it contribute to a more sustainable society and human-centred economy?⁹

The creative practices of *Disarming Design* are thus active on an international, local/communal, and individual level.

In September 2019, I visited

Disarming Design in their new location in the young university town of Birzeit, close to Ramallah, in a newly renovated location called 'Hosh Jalsa.' They describe the space as a 'knowledge and social space' that connects to contemporary design while maintaining an active relationship with local design and crafts communities. Both the in and outside of the space they try to connect with these communities and designers to engage with the surroundings and the space they live in, while discovering stories that they develop during the 'create-shops', into something new. As they explain, it is what happens in the process towards the product that matters the most, being able to immerse in social relations, community building, and (re)discovering oneself, that gives the participants a break from daily life and their worries to reflect on important issues. It is thus the creation of an alternative reality that is at stake in the creative practices of *Disarming Design*.

Past

What the creative practices of *Disarming Design* engender is the opening of a space of memory, heritage, and identity. As happens all over the world, old practices disappear in the face of modernity, and the same goes for practices in Palestine. What *Disarming Design* accentuates in their work is the distinctive Palestinian spirit that inhabits this space of memory, heritage and identity. This is a spirit especially present in the crafts they employ in their designs that reflect what it means to be Palestinian and can be found in, for example, the practice of cross-stitching. In their design academy, they talk about why the patterns are there, why those colours were chosen etc, to stimulate a deeper understanding of their own heritage and reconnect with the land, as the land, and the nature that flowers on it, is the main source of inspiration for the embroidery.¹⁰ However, this does not imply that they are trapped in feelings of nostalgia; on the contrary, it is something that has to be studied and especially developed as the

crafts are dynamic, not static. The patterns and stitching on the old dresses only work in *their own time* it was produced in and should therefore be developed to make it work in *our times* in order to keep this spirit alive.

But it also touches upon the subject of identity and questions of why they are in the place they are. These retrograde movements to the past are new ways of attaining a Palestinian identity that replaces the one that has been lost after Oslo, as Anani points out to me. By going back to the land and the Palestinian rootedness in it, e.g. as reflected in ecological movements and the creative practices, these smaller initiatives are trying to entrench the Palestinian identity in their practices, retaining an identity that has been lost. An example from *Disarming Design* that opens up the space of memory, heritage and identity is a project on the *Safartas*, a traditional food container. One of the designers, Qusai Saify, tells the story of how he saw a billboard on his way to Ramallah, showing an enormous traditional building with the tagline '*future home*.' He talks about the resemblance of the building to the building and the one he lives in now with his family and recalls the village where he lived as a child and the "magical garden" he can no longer enjoy.

It has become a place that I visit in my memories regardless of my physical presence there. [...] I remembered all the gardens and lands that my grandfather has owned. Remembering the land, I immediately recall his face, only because he used to work at his land. Now, being an old man, he cries for it.¹¹

Saify enters the space of memory that tap into the land and the social and emotional relations that it fosters. He remembers carrying the *Safartas* with food made by his mother to share it with the others.

Departing from his memory he

thinks about the '*future homes*' on the billboard and its bulky rectangular boxes designed to store people, yet still called homes. This opens up questions about the future of Palestine and its shrinking land, but also the visual language of the buildings that is formulated in verticality exactly due to the loss of land. The food container draws on its similarity with the buildings, as it is both designed to store something temporarily; a social and economic act of sharing what you have. But the *Safartas* is able to connect with others through food by taking the pieces apart, while inside the 'home', you are disconnected and can't consider it a real home once you take the pieces apart.¹² The space of memory is thus opened through the *Safartas* in order to imagine a different future, while offering a critique and alternative to the current conflict and spatial consequences.

Present

Drawing on past times to reconstruct a Palestinian identity seems to manifest itself in an alternative kind of nationalism that was lost after Oslo. Moreover, the neo-liberal culture that is imposing a global identity, that is perhaps closer to the Israelis and Europeans, informed by the (past and present) colonial condition, results in a clash, according to Anani. Therefore, the search for rootedness in the land and the formulation of a different identity is also reflected in the creative practices that are currently dominant. This reconnection of the past in the present triggers a social responsibility towards keeping old crafts such as woodworking or cross-stitching alive, while at the same time developing these crafts to keep its distinct spirit alive. The beauty, information and knowledge are bridged from the past to the present. One of the initiators of *Disarming Design* that I spoke with, Ghadeer Dajani, points out that making these crafts and heritage relevant for present times means that it is able to reflect one's beliefs and ideology, which is consequently an important aspect

in the creation of a vision for the future and the drawing of a political horizon.¹³ The creative practices of *Disarming Design* are thus navigating the conditions that the conflict imposes on Palestinians while tapping into an ecology of relations on a communal and individual level.

One product that arose from these practices is a seemingly normal black leather backpack with numerous pockets. But this 'checkpoint' backpack in fact narrates the lived experience of Palestinians who go through checkpoints on a daily basis. The backpack touches upon social issues that are normalized. But underneath this normalization, everyday violence exists, whether it is concealed or visible that impacts the Palestinian environment, such as the presence of Israeli soldiers, checkpoints, and other more sophisticated systems of surveillance that are present to secure the safety of the Israeli settlers, and restricting the freedom of movement and daily life of the Palestinians.¹⁴ The normalization is not due to the Palestinians' obedience, but rather an outcome of the physical violence that constantly threatens the Palestinians crossing a checkpoint, a threat that is consistent with what he or she experiences daily under Israeli Occupation.¹⁵

The 'checkpoint' backpack works within the interstices of the conflict, with the occupation and normalization, pointing out aspects of Palestinian life that one should be reminded not to accept as normal. In conversation, the design label outlines that 'you should never have to put this in your system and normalize it, then we become machines and you lose your humanity.'¹⁶ Behind the apparent 'normal' design of the backpack, thus lies a deeper message. The many pockets are designed to put all one's possessions in the pockets to make it easier to get them out once arrived at the checkpoint. In this sense the backpack reveals the design of the checkpoint itself, how it is designed purposely to make the experience of going through as annoying as

possible. The makers state that the backpack is not designed to adapt to, or give in to the system to enhance the normalization, but rather it aims to challenge the system and empower the person that is wearing the backpack.¹⁷ Furthermore, the bag is designed in such a way that it feels especially comfortable when wearing it while waiting in line for the checkpoint, an often-cramped space with people bumping into each other. Furthermore, the horizontal line of zippers makes it easier to access all the components of the bag in one easy movement. Another hidden message is incorporated into the backpack, but this time for the Israeli soldiers operating the checkpoint. In a special component, a pattern of keys is incorporated, that refer to the 'right of return' and is only visible with an X-ray machine such as the ones used in the checkpoints.¹⁸ In such a way, the backpack becomes a true 'statement bag' that addresses the right of return and freedom of movement, while shedding light on how ridiculous and absurd each passage through a checkpoint actually is.

Future

These smaller creative initiatives in Palestine, like *Disarming Design*, is thus where the younger generation, the future of Palestine, places their hope and voicing how they are imagining the future and speculate what Palestine is.¹⁹ As Yazid Anani speculated when I interviewed him: 'perhaps these independent initiatives are a new form or structure that might take over the current order, where all these initiatives connect and find communalities in between. In particular, since the political parties became obsolete and little trust is put in the PA to govern'.²⁰ One could ask, does the new politics of Palestine consist of creative practices?

But in order to understand and think of what Palestine will become after the liberation, it is important to understand its history and the failures that are part of it, as you can only understand who you want to

be when you know who you are. This does not mean, however, that know truths should be reasserted, but rather, creative practices should attempt to explore new terrains and things we did not see before. It is through creative practices that an alternative reality is asserted, which opens up the space for an alternative future. This is exactly where creative practices can be located, in the creation of the future from the interstices that is different from the situation where the conflict took them. Creative practices thus contribute to society in an active way, rather than for example, representative art that often asserts the Palestinian victimhood,²¹ which is why creative practices should be used as a means of change, as is the case with *Disarming Design*. And as Anani explains, there is no political horizon, which is the reason why everything reacts in a chaotic manner. But the fact that there

is no horizon means that possibilities are open, and a horizon can be drawn. Creative practices are therefore more a kind of tool.

What the creative practices are capable of is establishing a reconnection with the land and Palestinian heritage, an aesthetic appreciation that awakens a sophistication of the self, which stimulates a care for oneself, the community, and the land, a reactivation of spatial and social sensibility. Because attending to the land, means attending to politics and the future of Palestine. It is capable of exposing the context and practices of living with the conflict all at once. Creative practices are thus working in the interstices of the conflict and bend and sculpt not material, but experiences into something that is invisible and affects us, an art of living. Aesthetics, in this way, are not the means but the end.

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The Spatial Extensions of the Right to Seek Asylum: The Eastern Mediterranean Refugee Route

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Abstract

The spatial extensions of the right to seek asylum is a critical cartography project to investigate the first response of the European mainland to the humanitarian refugee crisis of 2015. The site of exploration is the Eastern Mediterranean Route, a passage expanding from Greece to Germany through the Balkans, used for many years as an entry path into Europe. During the first quarter of 2015, the European Union temporarily formalized the EMR. It was the first time after the Second World War Europe addressed statelessness in its territory to this extent. The paper discusses the institutional geography, infrastructure, program, and strategies employed to address the humanitarian refugee crisis. It is a visual essay to create evidence on the EU's first reflexes to the worst refugee crisis of our time and explore alternative ways to access and interpret refugee policy on a regional scale.

Keywords

Europe; Syrian Refugee Crisis; Eastern Mediterranean Refugee Rout; Ethics of Admissions; Critical Cartography

In August 2015, in light of the worst refugee crisis met on European grounds since the aftermath of the Second World War, Berlin declared the denounce of the Dublin agreement¹ and an open-door policy on German grounds.² The announcement led to the temporary formalization of the Eastern Mediterranean Route (EMR), defined by Frontex³ purposes as the passage used by migrants and refugees crossing through Turkey to the European Union via Greece. [fig. 1] During the Fall of 2015, the EMR accommodated approximately 30 times more population than the previous year and reached the highest level since the beginning of border crossing data collection in 2007.⁴

The project is a critical cartography investigation of migration and refugee policy in European grounds to create evidence and explore alternative ways to

access and represent legal processes and their spatial extension in territorial scale. It is a project to make visible and help to understand the first response of European Institutions during the humanitarian refugee crisis before the introduction of formal agreements.

It is the outcome of a challenging process of collection, analysis, and synthesis of data. The challenge relates to the mechanisms of producing and disseminating relevant information. The humanitarian refugee crisis found the EU and the rest of the EMR concerned states unprepared. Institutional responses were slow, uncoordinated, and in continuous flux. Similarly, institutional mechanisms for sharing related information were either nonexistent or inefficient. The collection of information demanded traveling along the EMR to document the journey of

the population on the move and collect testimonies from asylum seekers, local authorities, and neighboring communities.

The project describes the geography and programs of the EMR for Greece, North Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, and Germany during the Fall of 2015. The drawings focus first on the European mainland in its totality, second at the level of border passages and third on their relation to the existing legislative and philosophical framework of migration and refugeehood. The project demonstrates roles, responsibilities, and interdependencies of EMR countries, design strategies for inclusion and exclusion, and policies related to the ethics of refugee protection on the EU and national level. The weaving of space, policy, and law makes visible the European reflexes on migration and refugeehood within a state exception, the temporary activation of the EMR corridor.

Spatial trajectories to seek asylum at the territorial scale

The spatial trajectories to seek asylum in the European mainland during the last quarter of 2015 are an exception to EU contemporary history. The unprecedented flow of refugees and Germany's call to arms, declaring, 'if Europe fails on the question of refugees, it will not be the Europe we wished for'⁷⁵ activated the Eastern Mediterranean Route from an illegal smuggling route to a formal corridor to Germany and other like-minded countries.

This section records the geography and program of the new EMR reality across its length. It marks the location, type, and program of infrastructure for the population on the move, the type of infrastructure for the population in wait for asylum decisions, asylum acceptance rates as well as the types of border control from Greece to Germany through time. It discusses the *EMR, Spatial Trajectories to Seek Asylum* [fig. 2] diagram that makes visible stakeholder testimonies, combined with news articles, GPS route

tracking, and when possible municipal data. It describes the spatial dimension of Europe's first response to the refugee crisis on a regional scale.

The markings of border control across the EMR demonstrate the dominance of sovereign decisions on refugee protection over the EU call for common asylum policy. Moreover, the markings demonstrate how the normalization of the state of emergency is the means to obstruct the access to asylum-seeking processes and effectively disengage from abiding by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 'to seek and to enjoy asylum from persecution' and the EU Schengen agreement on the free movement of people and goods. In the Fall of 2015, three EMR countries: Macedonia, Hungary, and France declared a state of emergency related to the refugee crisis. Germany, Slovenia, Austria, and Croatia did not announce a state of emergency. That said, they imposed border controls against the right to seek asylum showcasing their disobedience to international agreements.

The program and infrastructure to facilitate the population on the move demonstrate the securitization of migration management and refugee protection. Registration centers for the recording of biometrics and Transit camps with restrictions on free movement facilitate population on the way to seek asylum. After the submission of application documents, it is common that EMR countries accommodate asylum seekers in prisons, detention centers, and camps.

Thinking about EU membership, Schengen status and asylum data one understands the different role involved states take up within the EMR. The external borders of Schengen in the mainland are discontinuous, interrupted by North Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia meaning that Greece and Slovenia are the Gates to Schengen territory, serving as arrival countries on the way to the destination for asylum and playing a significant role in controlling the migratory flow to

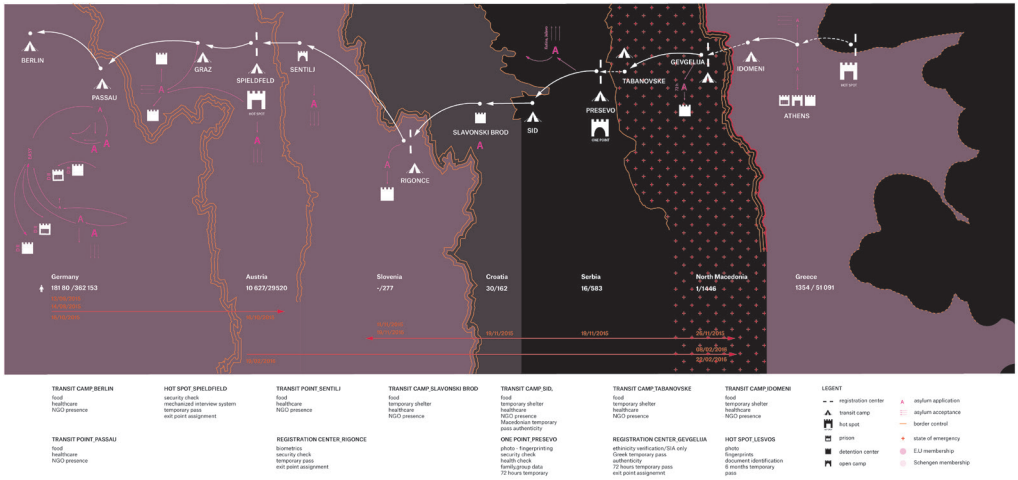
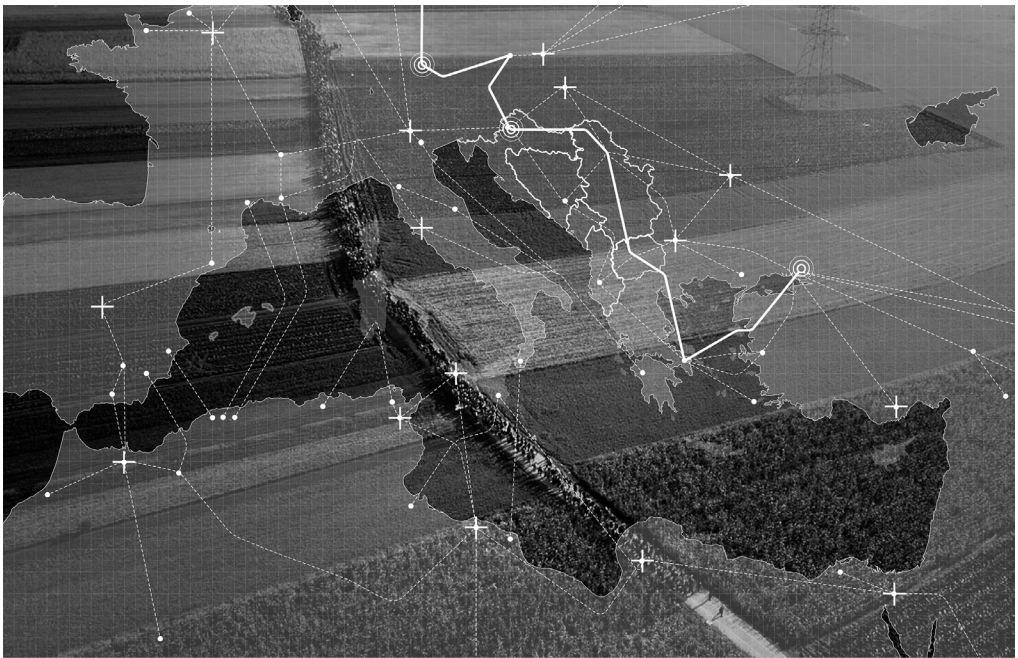


Figure 1 The Eastern Mediterranean Refugee Route. Source: Melina Philippou. References: Open Street Maps, 2015; Drone Footage, APTN, 2015; International Centre for Migration Policy Development, Frontex, 2014

Figure 2 EMR, Spatial Trajectories to Seek Asylum. Source: Melina Philippou. References: Open Street Map, 2015; US department of State, Eurasia, 2012; Department of State, Large-Scale; International Boundary (LSIB), September 2012; INSPIRE, Administrative Units, 2004; International Union of Railways ERIM database, 2008; EMR GPS tracking, Author, January 2016; Border Control tracking, Author, October-March 2016; Asylum Information Database, European Council on Refugees & Exiles, 2016; Europe-Country Reports, Global Detention Project, 2016; The right to asylum in the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, 2014; The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as a country of asylum, UNHCR, August 2015

Europe. The countries in between, North Macedonia, Serbia, and Croatia seem to primarily serve the transportation of people from one Schengen territory to the other. Beyond their geography their operation as Transit Countries is evident both to the low asylum applications and even lower first instance decisions during the Fall of 2015 that aggregate to less than 50 in total.⁶ Austria as an EU and Schengen member could be considered a destination country to the EMR corridor. That said the high number of German first instance decisions of approximately 182 000 showcase how Austria serves mostly as a Transit country to Germany.⁷

The correlation of EMR countries' role with time makes visible the domino effect one national territory sovereign decisions have over neighboring countries. Greece controls the flow to European grounds. Macedonia, the Gate to the Balkans transit corridor is heavily dependent and responds to Slovenian and Austrian border politics. Austria, the last country before a series of asylum destinations, is dependent and responds to German admission policies. The dimension of time additionally brings forth the fast pace of shifts regarding admission policies across the EMR. It helps to understand the frustration of the world's most vulnerable population on the route to safe grounds and showcases the lack of coordination among EMR countries.

The location of the related infrastructure brings forth the role of the national periphery in migration policy and refugee protection. While urban centers are absent in the EMR processes of Gate and Transit countries, small rural economies undertake the social and infrastructural responsibility of the receiving population on the move.

Border passages

Since the effective implementation of the Schengen agreement in 2004, the EU and national attention to border passages of

the mainland reduced. Greece, Hungary, Slovenia, Austria, Germany, all enjoy the advances of free movement of people and goods. The border passages architecture and the program were minimal. In the case of borders to third countries, the EU reinforced crossings with the presence of Frontex. The scope, infrastructure, and program of border passages changed radically in light of the EMR activation.

The *EMR, Border passages* [fig. 3] map series describes the shifts in EMR crossings during the Fall of 2015. The series marks the location and type of refugee infrastructure across national borders, residential environments, the route and means of mobility for refugee and civilian border crossings. The information was difficult to obtain. Border passages of the EMR were for years part of illegal activities. The introduction of facilities for registration, temporary accommodation, and processing to a different mode of transportation in border crossings were not mapped in open access documents. Last, access to EMR related facilities and processes was often restricted and contingent to permits issued by governmental agencies. The mapping of border passages was possible with site visits, permits, and when access was not possible with testimonies from humanitarian workers, local authorities, and neighboring communities. The map describes EMR border crossings as an interwoven system among the population on the move and civilians. It demonstrates the intentional separation of the two in a multiplicity of strategies.

The placement of refugee-related infrastructure in the entry and exit of EMR countries helps to understand the EMR operations. Each country participating in the EMR usually has:

- A registration center on the entry for security checks, biometrics, and interviews towards the issuing of a temporary pass to continue the journey
- A transit camp for the temporary

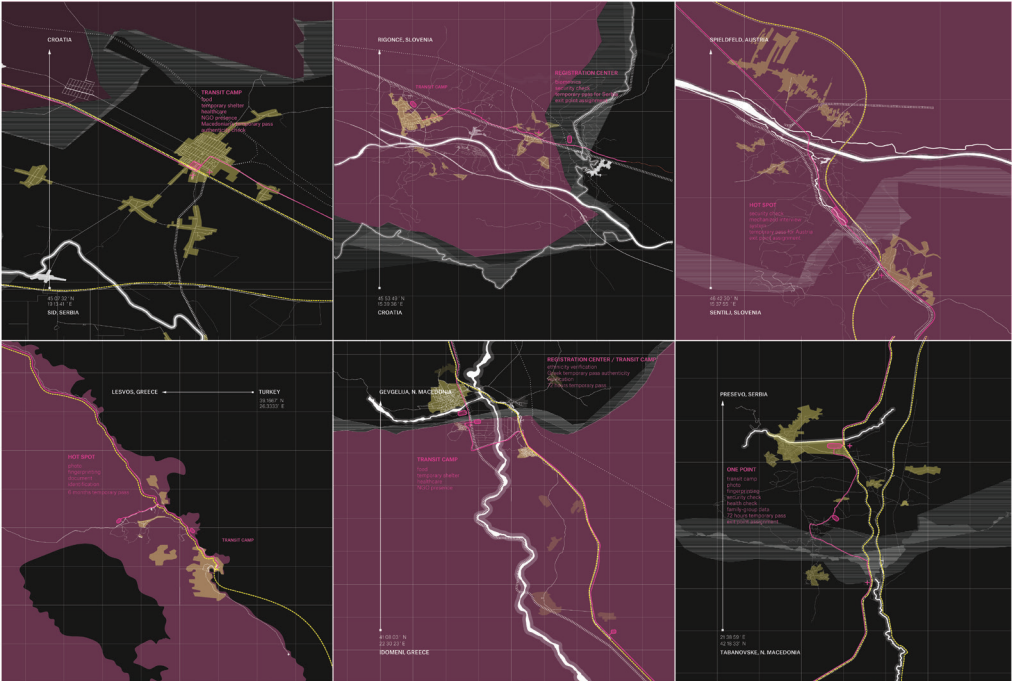


Figure 3 EMR, Border passages. Source: Melina Philippou
References: Open Street Map, 2015; US department of State, Eurasia, 2012; Department of State, Large-Scale; International Boundary (LSIB), September 2012; INSPIRE, Administrative Units, 2004; International Union of Railways ERIM database, 2008; EMR GPS tracking, Author, January 2016

accommodation of people and the regulation of flow.

- Additionally, in most cases, there is a transit camp at the exit point towards the next country. That transit camp serves the backlogs or bottlenecks resulting from different policies on managing the inflow of refugees by the neighboring country.

Exceptions on the usual configuration of border facilities add to the understanding of EMR countries' roles initially observed at the previous map. For example, the absence of border facilities at the exit points of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia supports the understanding of the Balkans as a transit corridor to Destination Countries. Croatia does not have a registration center at all, discouraging asylum applications and flagging its role exclusively as a corridor to the neighboring country. On the other side, Greece and Austria differentiate from the usual border passage configuration with an enhanced version of registration centers to include return operations. The presence of Hot Spots, part of the EU immediate action to assist frontline Member States, helps to understand the geopolitical role of these countries in regulating the flow of migrants and refugees. In the case of Greece, that is regarding the entry to EU grounds and of Austria towards Destination Countries.

The level of access to border crossing facilities adds to the findings of the previous map on the securitization of refugee protection. All transit camps regulate the mobility of migrants and refugees. Additionally, refugee border passage facilities in Macedonia and Croatia are restricted to external visitors as well. Access to the facilities is policed in a radius beyond the registration center or transit camp fence.

The precise locations of border crossing routes and facilities for both populations on the way to seek asylum and civilians demonstrate their separation in both movement and stasis. The documentation of refugee transportation

routes showcases buses following tertiary streets and track roads away from the visibility of the highway. While civilian border passages are met at the border to highway intersection or at the first train station of arrival, refugee border passages are displaced in the intersection of the rail tracks to the border, in the middle of fields.

The distance of EMR border facilities to residential areas and other civilian infrastructure reveals the visual separation between refugees and civic life. A characteristic example is the crossing to Spielfeld, Austria. The most significant EMR Hot Spot at the time was built in distance to urban environments and at the gorge between the civilian border crossing to the country. Exemplifying Weisman's 'politics of verticality' the segregation of non-civilians expands in section⁸. The elevation of the ground did not allow the commuter to notice hundreds of refugees sharing biometrics in confined spaces a few meters below. Asylum seekers moved across Europe from busses and trains to controlled facilities in distance to urban environments and separation to the life of civilians.

The philosophical and legislative framework of refugeehood

The spatial, the legislative and the philosophical are interconnected dimensions of the EMR operations. The project pursues to reverse engineer the philosophical dimension of the EMR through the spatial expression of the legislative. The *Legislative and philosophical framework of refugeehood* [fig. 4] discussed in this section marks a spectrum of key philosophical approaches on the ethics of facilitating refugees, the law, the connection to relevant conflicts from WWII until today, and the number of the subsequent displaced population. It is the outcome of translating philosophical texts, legal documents, and humanitarian institution statistics into a comprehensive visual language. The visualization is a tool

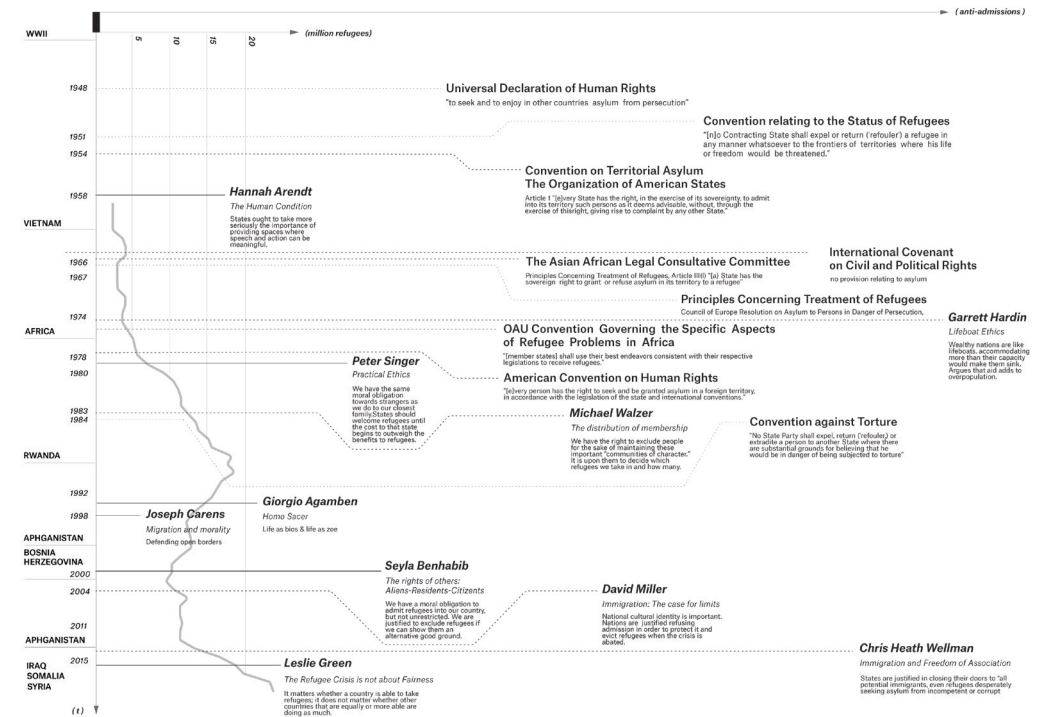


Figure 4 The philosophical and legislative framework of refugeehood. Source: Melina Philippou. References: Asylum Information Database, Country Reports, <https://www.asylumineurope.org/2016/> (Accessed October 16, 2019); Boed, Roman, *The State of the Right of Asylum in International Law*, 5 *Duke Journal of Comparative International Law* 1-34 (1994); Global Detention Project, *Mapping immigration detention around the world-Europe*, <https://www.globaldetentionproject.org/regions-subregions/> (Accessed October 16, 2019); Parekh, Serena, *Refugees and the Ethics of Forced Displacement*. Routledge Research in Applied Ethics 2. (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017); UNHCR-Field Information and Coordination Support Section (FICSS), UNHCR Historical Refugee Data, <http://data.unhcr.org/dataviz/> (Accessed October 15, 2019); UNHCR, *The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia As a Country of Asylum*, <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/55c9c70e4.pdf> (Accessed January 29, 2020); *The Refugee Project*. Accessed October 16, 2019. <https://www.therefugeeproject.org/>; Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. 1 edition. (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998); Agier, Michel. *On the Margins of the World: The Refugee Experience Today*. 1 edition. (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2008); Arendt, Hannah, and Margaret Canovan. *The Human Condition: Second Edition*. 2nd Revised edition. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Hardin, Garrett, *Lifeboat ethics: A Malthusian view*, 1987; Wellman, Christopher Heath, *Immigration and Freedom of Association*, *Ethics* 119, no. 1 (2008): 109-41. doi:10.1086/592311.

to understand better the EMR countries' approach to migration and refugeehood in the Fall of 2015 and beyond.

The markings of international and regional agreements reveal a consensus on the prevailing of state power over human rights by leaving the right to grant asylum in the realm of national sovereignty.

The markings of philosophical approaches to migration help to understand the broad spectrum of the discourse around including or excluding a migrant and refugee from a political community. Key documents discuss: the possibility for open borders, refugee protection as a moral obligation to humanity, the ontological deprivation in refugee camps, the political dimension of the harm of statelessness, the closure of borders as a means to protect the economy, as a means to protect the national identity or due to the lack of responsibility for the given conflict.

The markings of international agreements on refugeehood through time reveal the absence of new agreements or significant updates after the 1950s. Both the right to seek and to enjoy asylum, part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principle of non-refoulment, part of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, were breakthroughs in the aftermath of WWII. Though the number of refugees has been increasing continuously from 1975-1992 and then again from 2004-2015⁹ refugee protection institutional efforts remain stagnant and possibly not relevant to an increasingly interconnected world and the rise of disasters. Contrary, the production of critical documents in the area of ethics of admissions was particularly fruitful during the same periods.

This section will examine how a multitude of spatial expressions discussed on previous sections relate to the international law on refugee protection and discuss the affinities of these relations to the philosophical discourse on admissions, meaning the ethics around whether to include or exclude a migrant and refugee

from a political community.

The graph is a tool to reflect on migration and refugee national policies described in previous chapters by identifying affinities to philosophical groundings and alignment to international agreements.

Germany was the country to encourage a coordinated asylum policy across the EU and exemplify our moral obligation to humanity with an open door policy to refugees. Berlin's call connects to Peter Singer's approach to share similar moral obligation to strangers as we do to our closest family, to welcome refugees until the cost to the state outweighs the benefits for refugees¹⁰ expressed in first instance decisions accounting for 50.2 % of 362,153 applications until October 2015 to 42.1% of 745,545 applications in 2016¹¹. That said incidents of border management in September and October combined with the reconstituting of the Dublin agreement, instructing to seek asylum at the first country of entry in the EU, respond to Seyla Benhabib's call to admit refugees into our country but with restrictions, if we can show them an alternative good ground¹². The pro-admissions policies of Germany are disrupted with the detention of asylum seekers in prisons and accommodation centres violating the Declaration of Human Rights and reducing the life of stateless people to its biological existence and adding to the ontological deprivation of refugees.

North Macedonia was part of the Balkan mobility corridor and the first non-Schengen country after the entry of refugees to the EMR. At the end of August, the state declared a state of emergency and called the army to help address the inflow of migrants and refugees at the Northern and Southern borders.¹³ The announcement suspends Macedonian obligations to abide by international law, including both the right to seek asylum and the principle of non-refoulment. The militarization of managing migrant and refugee flows, the temporary

closing of borders, nationality-based border controls, and finally, the fencing of its border to Greece demonstrates the state approaching the inflow of the world's most vulnerable population as a national threat. The country pro-closure policy has affinities to Chris Heath Wellman's approach regarding the permissibility to screen migrants on the basis of ethnicity and to deny supporting refugees when they come from weak states implying a state is not to receive the burden of someone else's failure.¹⁴

Greece is the EMR Gate to Europe. In 2015 and while the country was going through reforms and austerity measures in the aftermath of a divisive referendum, the East Aegean islands of Greece welcomed more than 850,000 out of the approximately one million people to arrive in the EU.¹⁵ The country's asylum acceptance rate was 26.5% of 51,091 in 2015. Additionally, the country issued temporary admission passes that allowed access to employment. In that sense, Greek policy aligns with Leslie Green call regarding the absence of fairness in the refugee crisis. It does not matter whether other countries that are more able are doing as much, it matters whether a country is able to take refugees¹⁶. That said, the inability to process refugees from the islands to the mainland led to the overflowing of East Aegean islands, the entrapment of refugees in chartered boats in the sea, and the hampering of asylum-seeking processes. Additionally, the temporary accommodation of refugees in the mainland included overcrowded detention centers and cells of regular police stations restricting the freedom of movement. Accordingly, Greece's response to the crisis violated both the Declaration of Human Rights and the Refugee Convention of 1951. Reflecting on Singer utilitarian approach, one wonders if this is a case where the cost to the state outweighs the benefits to refugees¹⁷.

The interpretation of the first responses of a Gate, Transit and Destination

country of the EMR corridor based on the indicators identified in maps and the matrix introduced by the graph bring forth a consensus on the violation of the freedom of movement and hampering the right to seek asylum. Although the EMR was formalized in the rhetoric of a humanitarian corridor towards asylum seeking procedures, in the absence of effective citizenship and institutions for the enforcement of this promise, constituent countries invent ways to restrict access to them. These ways are spatially expressed, imply affinities to pro-closure thesis and translate in first instance decisions.

Conclusions

The visualization of the EMR was a productive tool to unravel the first response of European Institutions during the humanitarian refugee crisis. It demonstrated the distinct role of individual EMR countries as Gates (Greece, Austria), Transit Corridors (Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia), and Destinations (Germany). Additionally, it revealed the increased dependency between Greece-Macedonia, Austria-Germany, and Slovenia-Macedonia.

The EMR mapping made visible the material and immaterial barriers set in the process to seek asylum. Material barriers include the fencing of borders spearheaded by Hungary and followed by the partial fencing of borders in Slovenia, Austria, and Macedonia as well as the regulation of free movement in spaces accommodating refugees. Immaterial measures employed in Fall 2015 include time limits to cross the country, nationality-based border controls, and quotas per day.

It revealed the securitization of refugee processes. Both the journey and temporary accommodation of refugees was heavily supervised. Refugees shared biometrics in areas of restricted access and were accommodated in a spectrum of spaces of containment from camps, to detention centers and prisons. That said,

the most evident form of securitization is the state of emergency. At least 3 EMR countries perceived the reception of refugees as a national threat and suspended their obligation to abide by international and national law.

The project showcased the consistent programmatic and spatial separation of migrants and refugees from civilians. Asylum seekers moved across Europe from vessels of containment to vessels of containment through makeshift border passages under the radar in the distance from local communities and urban centers.

Lastly, it helped to understand the ways international agreements

position state sovereignty over the moral obligation to support refugees and how this asymmetry of power was applied to violate international law by a Gate, a Transit and Destination Country.

Europe responded to the Syrian Refugee Crisis with the activation of the EMR corridor to safe grounds. At the same time, the operation of the corridor resembles a response to threat: fortification of borders, state of emergency, spaces of containment, and military operations in open fields. If the EMR is Europe's place for non-civilians, displacement is the new enemy, and the EMR was warfare against the inflow of involuntary migrants.

Notes

- 1 The Dublin regulation III is the EU legislation related to admissions. The founding principle is that a third country national is to seek asylum in the first European country of arrival where he/she is identified by local authorities.
Regulation (EU) No 604/2013, Official Journal of the European Union, L180/31 (2013).
- 2 Angela Merkel announced "The fundamental right to asylum for the politically persecuted knows no upper limit; that also goes for refugees who come to us from the hell of a civil war," *Four EU States Refuse Migrant Quotas amid 'biggest Challenge' in Union's History*, Deutsche Welle, November, 2015, <https://www.dw.com/en/four-eu-states-refuse-migrant-quotas-amid-biggest-challenge-in-unions-history/a-18708760>. (Accessed January 29, 2020).
- 3 Frontex, is the EU border control agency. The EU founded Frontex at the end of the Schengen agreement transitional phase in 2014. Its primary role is to assist the Member States in the management of their external borders from air, sea, and land.
- 4 Frontex Risk Analysis Unit, *Frontex risk analysis quarterly, Q4-2015*, (Warsaw: OPOCE, 2016), 8.
- 5 Angela Markel quoted in İlke Toygür, Bianca Benvenuti, *The European response to the refugee crisis: Angela Merkel on the move*, (Istanbul Policy Center-Sabancı University-Stiftung Mercator Initiative, 2016), 1.
- 6 According to country reports by the Asylum Information Database and UNHCR regarding 2015-North Macedonia granted positive first instance decisions for 1 person, Serbia for 16 people & Croatia for 30 people.
AIDA, Reports, Asylum Information Database, <https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports>. (Accessed January 29, 2020)
UNHCR, *The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia As a Country of Asylum*, <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/55c9c70e4.pdf> (Accessed January 29, 2020).
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- 8 'I have previously called this layered political structure 'the politics of verticality'. Throughout the last decade, this evolving and elastic territorial architecture has hardened into a permanent mechanism of separation and control. Verticality has become a form of apartheid. The word should in fact be synonymous with it.'
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Conflictual Waste: Performance Art as Mediation Tool in the Work of Mierle Laderman Ukeles

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Abstract

In 1970 Pier Paolo Pasolini filmed the first national strike of Italian sanitation workers, sitting back and asking better treatment and recognition. Pasolini identified one of the many conflicts around urban solid waste: the one between the necessity of a removal chain and the repulsion surrounding it. Waste raises deep discomfort, identified by Lynch in the disturbing connections it holds with death, decay, consumption, and filth. The same discomfort surrounds waste management facilities and those close to waste, as sanitary workers or those relying on waste for daily support. At the same time, in the urban environment waste often becomes the weapon to fight social and political battles: practices as dumpster diving and freeganism are performed by citizens not accepting the status quo of individuals as customers and employing waste as tool to outline alternative consumption paths. The mediation of conflicts raised by waste is at the core of Mierle Laderman Ukeles' work, artist-in-residence at the NYC Department of Sanitation from 1977. Laderman Ukeles devoted her interest to the removal affecting waste and the oblivion around maintenance labour, working to foster awareness of public metabolism as the first step to deactivate conflicts caused by waste in the urban environment.

Keywords

Waste; Maintenance; Conflict; Stigma; Urban Metabolism; Performance Art

Introduction

For a documentary¹ he never edited, in 1970 Pier Paolo Pasolini filmed the first national strike of sanitation workers in Italy: for the first time, trash collectors sat back, leaving waste piling up in the streets to ask better treatment and recognition. In this episode, Pasolini identified specific conditions surrounding waste as the causes of the conflicts it raises: the essential role it plays in the urban metabolism, the non-recognition and stigmatization of the care and maintenance work it necessary requests, the direct involvement of citizens in its generation, the privilege of those who consume and the misfortune of those who handle the dross of this consumption, the repulsion waste causes. This repulsion plays a major role in all the conflicts raised by waste; in *Wasting Away*, Kevin Lynch

individuated its causes in the subtle and disturbing connections of waste with death, aging, decay, consumption, eating and discharging, cleanness and filth. Waste is an indicator of our time and the symptom of the deep dichotomy characterizing contemporary consumption: the awareness of resource scarcity and the abundance of waste, as well as the recognised necessity of a removal chain and the struggle to get closely involved. As shown by Pasolini's work, the urban environment is the setting where this discomfort explodes in different forms of conflict, of which the complex chain of collection and disposal of waste is a major trigger.

Waste in the urban environment: a public story of conflict and stigma

Urban environment has a tight relationship

with waste due to the growing density of contemporary cities and the consequent increasing necessity to maintain urban space safe and decent. This aim is pursued through a removal chain, which main purpose is to move waste through private and public settings towards a more convenient and less disturbing location without interfering with their operations. The chain is characterised, on one hand, by the scaling up of waste involved: the chain starts handling small items in the domestic environment and finishes with huge piles of trash in waste disposal facilities. On the other hand, a clear shift in the jurisdiction on waste takes place, moving from private to public. This shift in the responsibility on waste has characterised Modern Age, when first regulations and authorities around waste management were established in cities.

The public intervention in waste management were followed by changes and adaptations of the spaces devoted to handle waste in the domestic sphere: they 'shifted in location and nature; some were eradicated, other created'², transformed and moved continuously from the inside to the outside of the domestic sphere, from the backyard to the kerbside to fit raising hygienic standards, cultural habits and collection logistic, changing the domestic environment as well as the public urban landscape. In the first years of nineteenth century, the management of waste started to be included in the spatial organization of houses: the necessity to divide 'dirty' rooms and 'clean' rooms was essential, and other hygienic and sanitary measures started to be widespread, as flow of air and light into the rooms, larger spaces and spatial arrangements to increase the separation of social, private and service areas.³ First water closet facilities started to be created and spread out in their rudimentary forms, usually outside the dwelling. Cleanliness and hygiene, from social definer, became the centre of a privately-based sanitary movement⁴, which soon arrived to interest

the city: the necessity to manage waste became a driver of change. Streets started to be paved, sewers to be built, garbage collection services started to be established, representing a shifting of responsibility on household waste management from private to public. Sanitation systems were formulated to make waste 'invisible and odourless, and to prevent the population from any contact with it'.⁵ This purpose contributes today to maintain the oblivion around urban metabolism and waste chain, poorly known after the illustrated shift in jurisdiction. This oblivion regards all the maintenance work in the urban domain, not seen because performed with the purpose to create the least possible nuisance, and removed because dirty and discomforting. Despite remaining mostly unseen, the necessity of this work suddenly appears evident when the system collapses: when streets are not wiped and bins are not emptied, dirt and garbage accumulate. Maintenance work becomes visible when not performed, hence in its absence.

The discomfort caused by waste and the limited knowledge of the functioning of the removal chain interests the spaces and facilities where urban solid waste is managed as well: waste management facilities are often at the centre of Nimby syndrome-related struggles, on the basis of the dirt, pollution, noise, smell, unpleasantness, depreciation, danger they bring along. Although necessary, no one wants them nearby. Waste management facilities are generally inaccessible spaces, out of scale in comparison to the proportion of inhabited areas of the urban environment. Their dimensioning is studied to work with big amounts of matter, not matching human scale; their industrial, mechanical nature spreads a message of imperviousness and danger. Around them, a fine cloud of particles often infests a fallout area: the tangle of the public system lets items and materials slip – physically or administratively, leaving them fall back down or are abandoned outside. 'Waste

lacks pattern: in fact it spoils pattern'⁶; waste's innate nature is formless and its behaviour unpredictable, contributing in large part to the repulsion, disturbing and removal around it. Waste management facilities are part of this oblivion chain: they are 'monuments to the mystery of the separation of matter'⁷, swallowing garbage in an unknown logistics. Big effort and clamour are spent promoting meticulous management of waste in the private environment; little is known, among private citizens, about what happens when waste leaves the household and enters public but inaccessible facilities. The measures adopted to minimise the nuisance their operation may cause to public life contribute to make them warding off: big surfaces hiding manufacturing areas, chimneys to distance smokes and smells from the ground, entrance forbidden, nocturnal functioning. These facilities are perceived as murky and detrimental and are wrapped up in oblivion, when not repulsion, causing issues of integration in the urban fabric: not infrequently they generate conflicts out of their fences. The story of Fresh Kills landfill represents an example of how the management of public waste may closely affect the quality of life and the sense of belonging of those living nearby a facility. Opened in Staten Island in 1948, Fresh Kills has been the biggest landfill in the US until 2001, when it was closed and immediately reopened after few months to receive World Trade Centre's rubble and host the operations of recovery of human remains after 9/11; two years after, in 2003, remediation works started to convert the site, in thirty years, into the biggest urban park of New York City. Twice as large as Central Park⁸, Fresh Kills accommodated five hundred hectares of buried waste, more than fifty years of New York City's trash rising, in some points, up to sixty meters high. The documentary *The Fresh Kills Story: From World's Largest Garbage Dump to a World-Class Park* by Andy Levison narrates about the

unbearable and persistent smell emanated by the landfill, afflicting residents' life, forcing them, when leaving, to run from the doors of their houses to their cars and leading the administration to pour 'gallons'⁹ of pine scent on the site, as an attempt to mitigate the issue. Plastic bags were flying everywhere above the neighbourhoods, despite the retaining nets system set up around the landfill, evoking the visual landscape of a military camp, or a prison. Floating bags were covering up trees, as plastic leaves on ominous, artificial plants.¹⁰ Staten Island residents living around Fresh Kills area also reported high rates of emphysema, asthma and severe allergies. The landfill has been a long-time would for Staten Island, compromising the image of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

The same stigma suffered by Staten Island's resident is attached to those close to waste, who handle it for necessity or willingness: sanitary workers, as well as those relying on waste for daily support, as pointed out by Lynch: 'Dealing with waste as one's primary task is polluting in itself and indicates low status. Scavengers and junk dealers are never quite respectable, even when they earn substantial incomes'.¹¹ The aversion these subjects raise unveils the social and political potential of waste. Weaker categories have to deal with others' dross, depending on them for survival: this state of things defines and perpetuates existing power structures. In the last years, however, waste has more and more unveiled how it often retains remaining value, being a potential resource for new uses and emancipation practices. Therefore, it often becomes a tool to fight social and political battles in the urban environment against the high-consumption, unfair and excluding character of the established economic system. Dumpster diving, freeganism, kerb mining are performed in the urban space by citizens at the periphery of conventional politics¹², not accepting the status quo of 'citizens as customers'¹³; they 'protest over-consumption by abstaining

from consuming anything that must be purchased¹⁴ and employ waste as tool to outline alternative consumption and relational paths. These practices often raise conflicts among practitioners and other taxpayers, law enforcement, sanitation workers as they question the urban order, defended by administrators through specific rules to 'ensure that the city produces those spatial relations that are necessary for capitalism's reproduction'.¹⁵

Mierle Laderman Ukeles: performance art as mediation tool

The mediation of conflicts arisen by waste in the urban environment is at the centre of the artistic production of Mierle Laderman Ukeles, self-appointed unsalaried artist-in-residence at New York City Department of Sanitation since 1977. In her first years at NYC Department of Sanitation, Laderman Ukeles devoted her interest to the removal affecting waste and the oblivion around maintenance work. She worked to foster awareness and involvement of citizens in the 'social pact' of public metabolism as the first steps to deactivate conflicts caused by waste in the urban environment. Maintenance has been at the core of Laderman Ukeles' work since the beginning of her career. In 1969, after the birth of her first child, she wrote her *Manifesto for Maintenance Art*, casting light on the unseen maintenance work – private and public – required for the smooth operation of life:

Maintenance has to do with survival, with continuity over time. You can create something in a second. But whether it's a person, a system, or a city, in order to keep it, you have to keep it going. I think that one thing we must do is value and learn from those who provide this service.¹⁶

Her *Manifesto* was initially conceived as a series of notes for an exhibition named *Care*, which she later realised as a series of

three *Maintenance Art Tasks* performances put on during the course of 1973 at the Wadsworth Athenaeum museum in Hartford, Connecticut. She proposed to perform at the museum all the maintenance activities she performed at home with her husband and her son as a woman, wife and mother, exhibiting them as art:

I will sweep and wax the floors, dust everything, wash the walls, ... cook, invite people to eat, make agglomerations and dispositions of all functional refuse. The exhibition area might look "empty" of art, but it will be maintained in full public view. My working will be the work.¹⁷

After her designation as New York City Department of Sanitation's resident artist, Laderman Ukeles extended her research around maintenance to the urban and public sphere, identifying in waste a powerful potential for art purposes as a matter able to make maintenance labour visible or invisible with its absence or presence. The first work she produced for the Department was the performance *Touch Sanitation* (1979-1980), devoted to expressing gratitude and consideration to NYC sanitation workers as main actors on the public scene. She spent almost a year meeting 8500 employees of New York City Sanitation Department, shaking their hand and saying to each one: 'Thank you for keeping New York City alive'.¹⁸ The core idea of the performance was to intervene on the stigma surrounding sanitation workers, who are identified with the matter they handle: 'they get called garbage men, as if they were the garbage'.¹⁹ Meeting them, shaking hands with them, touching them – as the title recalls – Laderman Ukeles directly unhinged the prejudice they are haunted with; thanking them for the work they perform was an open recognition of the essentiality of maintenance work in the functioning of urban environment and public life.

Later, Laderman Ukeles focused on the spatial dimension of urban environment and its infrastructures as the essential mediums triggering the social pact of urban metabolism. In 1983 she was called to deliver a proposal for a permanent public artwork to be installed at the 59th Street Marine Transfer Station in New York City, one of the eight points where the city's garbage was offloaded onto barges, to be moved toward sorting facilities and Fresh Kills landfill. In her proposal, named *Flow City* and never realised, the artist suggested to incorporate into the building's structure a public art environment able to 'give the public access to an active work site'²⁰ in order to closely observe the public handling of the city's waste and 'immerse themselves in a captivating sensory experience of public witnessing and individual implication'.²¹ *Flow City* was composed of three main interlocking, walk-through spatial elements: a Passage Ramp, a covered passage surrounded by a spiral of twelve different recyclable materials running in parallel to the ramp used by garbage trucks, bringing visitors on the same path of waste through the facility. The Passage Ramp led to the Glass Bridge, from which visitors could observe the transfer of garbage from the trucks on a long cantilevered bay over a slide towards the Hudson river, into the barges below, assisting as an audience to 'the violent theatre of dumping'.²² This bridge provided a view of the city on one side and the view of the river on the other. The artist planned to install a communication system between visitors and sanitation workers, to be opened only if each one would voluntarily connect on their side. The end wall of the bridge was planned to be occupied by a 'permeable membrane', a wall made of monitors screening images recorded by cameras on the roof of the facility, above Hudson river's surface, underwater and at Fresh Kills landfill. This Media Flow Wall would 'track both the flow of the river and the flow of garbage

from the city to its final destination'.²³ *Flow City* was aimed to disengage the oblivion around waste, making garbage 'visible, not as static artefacts, but as a dynamic process'.²⁴ Within *Flow City*, the waste management scenario was opened to the public, welcoming citizens inside to show waste management tools, spaces and rituals, with the purpose to defuse unawareness and suspect surrounding these operations. The work also insisted on the idea of urban metabolism, conceiving and depicting the city as a stack of flows, which waste chain is an essential component. The Glass Bridge provided a view on the river – the flow par excellence – and a view on the waste stream, establishing an immediate relation. The Media Flow Wall composed different images of the river, the city and the phases of waste collection, separation, treatment, reiterating the connection among these flows

Conclusions

Mierle Laderman Ukeles conveyed in her artistic production ideas of normalization of waste and recognition of maintenance work, to deactivate the fear they raise with knowledge and awareness. The importance of her intuition about the essential role played by the spatial dimension of waste management infrastructures in the awareness raising process she advocated and the consequent mediation of conflicts raised by waste is reiterated by contemporary architecture, which in the last decade has been taking charge of waste as environmental but especially cultural issue. The same normalization strategies devised by Laderman Ukeles - visibility, accessibility, knowledge, education, communication - recur in recently designed waste management facilities, envisioned to make sanitation visible and familiar and include it in the perceived urban sphere as well-accepted functions as street lighting, water network, public transport. Contemporary facilities are often conceived as polarities in urban regions, in

a dialectic relationship with other public services such as stations, concert halls, sport centres. They integrate public spaces and common functions related to leisure and culture: visitor centres, panoramic paths, exhibitions, education centres. This resignification, within the framework of a deeper understanding of environmental issues as social and cultural as well, unveils the mediating potential underlying in the tightening of the relationship between citizenship and consumption,

already devised by Laderman Ukeles. The normalization of waste and maintenance work she promoted with her art offers promising sparks for a progressive conception of urban environment as a place of cohabitation: being maintenance ‘one of the several ways we establish our individuality’²⁵, a shared awareness and a public experience of maintenance has the potentiality to establish critical patterns of citizenship and mediate urban conflicts going beyond those raised by waste.

Notes

- 1 The film was found in 2004 and recut by director Mimmo Calopresti, with the title *Come si fa a non amare Pier Paolo Pasolini? Appunti per un romanzo sull'immondezza / How could one but love Pier Paolo Pasolini? Notes for a Novel About Garbage* (2005), presented at Berlin Movie Festival in 2006.
- 2 Mira Engler, “Repulsive Matter: Landscape of Waste in the American Middle-Class Residential Domain”, *Landscape Journal* 16, no. 1 (1997): 62.
- 3 Ibid, 67.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid., 68-69.
- 6 Ibid., 62.
- 7 Sara Marini, “As Blue as the Sky. Architecture and the Value of Waste”, *Piano Progetto Città* 27-28, (2013): 112-125; 116.
- 8 William Langewiesche, *American Ground*, trans. Roberto Serrai (Milano: Adelphi, 2003), 137.
- 9 Andy Levison, “The Fresh Kills Story: From World’s Largest Garbage Dump to a World-Class Park”, video, 54:19; [3:33], https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3hMhWOaX_0o
- 10 Ibid., 3:59.
- 11 Kevin Lynch, *Wasting Away* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991), 16.
- 12 David Bollier, “A New Politics of the Commons”, *Renewal* 15, no. 4 (2007): 10-16; 10. http://renewal.org.uk/files/Renewal_winter_2007.Bollier_Commons_.pdf
- 13 Wolfgang Streeck, “Citizens as Customers. Considerations on the New Politics of Consumption”, *New Left Review*, 76, (July/August 2012): 24-47.
- 14 Alex V. Barnard, ““Waving the banana’ at capitalism: Political theater and social movement strategy among New York’s ‘freegan’ dumpster divers”, *Ethnography* 12, no. 4 (November 2011): 419-444; 421. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138110392453>
- 15 Stavros Stavrides, “Common Space as Threshold Space: Urban Commoning in Struggles to Re-appropriate Public Space”, *Footprint* 16, (June 2015): 9-19; 9. <https://doi.org/10.7480/footprint.9.1.896>.
- 16 Mierle Laderman Ukeles and Anne Doran, “Flow City”, *Grand Street* 1, no. 57 (summer 1996): 199-213; 210.
- 17 Mierle Laderman Ukeles, “Manifesto for Maintenance Art”, 1969, <https://www.arnolfini.org.uk/blog/manifesto-for-maintenance-art-1969>.
- 18 Patricia C. Phillips, *Mierle Laderman Ukeles: Maintenance Art* (New York: Prestel, 2016), 99.
- 19 Laderman Ukeles and Doran, “Flow City”, 210.
- 20 Phillips, *Mierle Laderman Ukeles*, 142.
- 21 Ibid., 142.
- 22 Laderman Ukeles and Doran, “Flow City”, 213.
- 23 Ibid., 209.
- 24 Mark B. Feldman, “Inside the Sanitation System: Mierle Ukeles, Urban Ecology and the Social Circulation of Garbage”, *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies* 10, no.1 (2009): 52 <https://doi.org/10.17077/2168-569X.1082>.
- 25 Hilary Sample, *Maintenance Architecture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2016), 131.

Border(Line) Experiences in Spaces of Conflict: Mediation and Research Through a Ping-Pong Process

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Abstract

To open up other trajectories for architectural practice and research in spaces of conflict, this essay discusses one of Transbanana's urban interventions in Gorizia/Nova Gorica (Italy/Slovenia), a city divided – until 2004 – by the EU-external border. The original task consisted of an urban (re)connection of the two different political, historical, linguistic and cultural parts. The problem was the collective traumatization of urban residents on both sides of the border (caused by historical atrocities, border shifts, ethnic segregation and 'cleansing') and the 2 conflicted narratives. The initial task posed a complex question: How to treat a forthcoming border opening in such a conflict-laden area?

The paper argues that – in spaces of conflict – it is indispensable for architects to include the everyday life of the affected into urban design. The project 'Super 8 – Spremembazione' serves the study. In this design-related-research-project a film formed the intervention: Screenplay and directing convey its essence, but most important was its specific construction and presence in REAL SPACE. The conceived structure was developed from the divided city's psychogeography and dissolved completely into something 'liquid'. A programmatic network, a PING-PONG process across the border was implemented in the city, by which mediation and research could be carried out.

Keywords

Cross-border Urbanism; Experimental Mediation; City & Trauma; Conflicted Narratives; Project-orientated Research; Common Ground

The place in conflict

This essay will focus on a special place on a borderline: Gorizia/Nova Gorica (Italy/Slovenia), on the conflict in that place, and on an experimental mediation. Therefore, this contribution opens up other trajectories for architectural practice and research in spaces of conflict, which deal with physical and mental space.¹ It exemplarily illustrates one of Transbanana's urban interventions in Gorizia/Nova Gorica, a city divided by the EU external border until 2004. The former Cold War border should disappear in this city and the residents from both sides should be prepared for that change. But how is living together possible, when historical and psychological trauma in the form of pessimism and distance, have settled in the population?

Not only does this article see the potential of architecture and urbanism in the ability to visualize and create awareness of a conflict. It also sees the agendas in the actual creation of a 'common ground' and the exploration and formation of alternative realities. The aim of this paper is to describe the Transbanana intervention 'Super 8 – SPREMEMBAZIONE' and take the border(line) experiences of the participants as a case study, in the context of the Transbanana urban research project. Can architecture and urbanism be used as a strategy and tool for mediation, to (re)code spaces? To overwrite experiences? Can it create other spaces of possibilities for change? And if so, how does architecture as a practice need to be extended?

A ping-pong scenario: the borders and the wounds that have to be overcome on both sides

Situated not far from Trieste, the city of Görz belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy. Until WWII it was a multiethnic town at the collision point of the three major European language communities (Romance, Germanic, Slavic). Following bloody battles and Gorizia's annexation to the Kingdom of Italy in 1920, the political border was redrawn in 1947 again² and suddenly laid through Gorizia. The city was then divided like Berlin, but the geographical separation was like being stabbed in its multiethnic heart: after Slovenes and Croats had suffered tremendously under fascism in the interwar period,³ revenge against the Italians occurred towards the end of WWII and afterwards, resulting in ethnic 'cleansing' and division of the city. Jörg Wörsdorfer suggests in both cases to use the term 'exodus' for the border region.⁴

In order to escape from the 'Other', nobody wanted to live on the 'wrong' side in 1947. But there was almost no infrastructure for daily life, except the railway and station in the Yugoslav part of the city. For this reason and in order to position a new urban 'beacon of socialism'⁵ next to the border, which could shine across to Gorizia and the capitalist world, Yugoslav architect and urban planner Edvard Ravnikar was appointed to plan a new modernist town right next to medieval Gorizia in 1947.⁶ Its name: Nova Gorica.

A city, cut into two parts, in the midst of the political Cold War frontier and torn by the soft Iron Curtain between Italy and Yugoslavia, capitalism and socialism, Romance and Slavic languages and culture, reflected in its opposite on the respective other side. Although the Cold War border allowed various permeabilities over time, especially for the residents,⁷ and the trade of the 'differences' later flourished, the divided city and its residents went through a cultural difficulty resulting from the suffered history and its traumas.

Another intensive transformation process began after Marshall Tito's death: Socialist Yugoslavia fell apart. Following a brief period of war, Slovenia became an independent state (1991). While war raged in other Yugoslav republics and NATO bombed Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999, Slovenia was already on its way to becoming part of the Western World. This generated a new area for Gorizia/Nova Gorica, which culminated in becoming a full member of the European Union, in 2004 (Schengen 2007).

During this period of transformation the Transbanana projects took place. The EU outer border was supposed to be removed from this town in 2004 and the inhabitants and the city needed to be prepared for this change. Therefore, the original task for the architects consisted in an urban (re) connection of the two different political, historical and cultural parts of the city. The problem was the collective traumatization of urban residents on both sides of the border that fueled fear-driven pessimism and feelings of inferiority towards the other side. But how could a forthcoming border opening in such a conflict-ridden area be handled with the aim of creating a common ground? With which methods and means can we as architects/urbanists intervene in such spaces, tear down the imaginary walls and give the city an immediate input? 'The mayor of Gorizia, Vittorio Brancati, recognised the problem when he said: "The wounds of the 19th century are healing, but the walls inside people's heads must also come down."'”⁸

Super 8 – SPREMEMBAZIONE

This research-by-design project serves as a case study to further discuss this question. The term *Spremembazione* is programmatic: It is a new creation, a combination of the Slovene term *sprememba* and the Italian term *modificazione* – which both mean change.⁹

A film formed the intervention

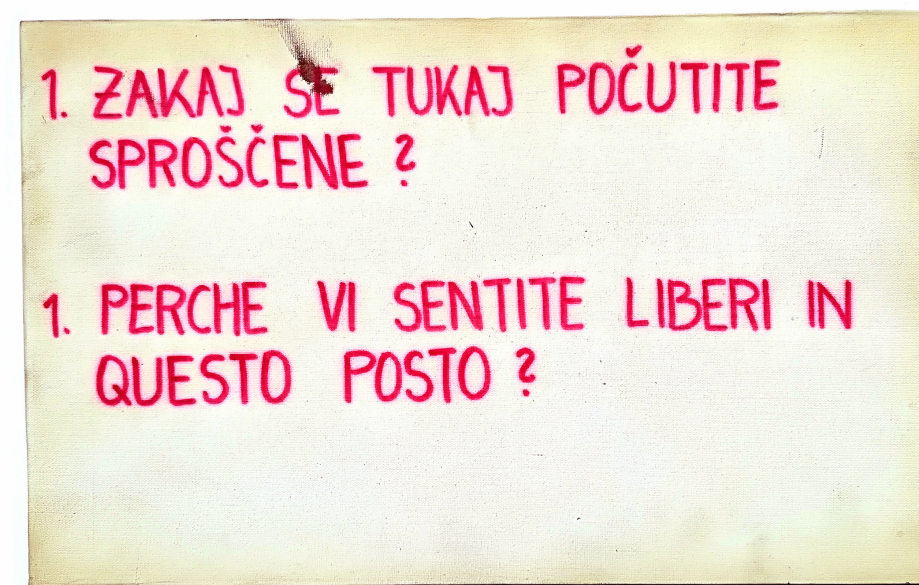


Figure 1 Protagonist A., at the place where he feels free. Super 8 – Spremembazione II. Filmstill: Transbanana - Mueller/Rajakovics/Vlay. 1998. Source: Architects Archive (transbanana), Vienna.

Figure 2 Canvas cardboard, white with red letters, 26 x 40 cm. Transbanana. 1998. Source: Architects Archive, Vienna.

‘Super 8 – SPREMEMBAZIONE II’. The screenplay and directing convey its essence, but most important of all was its specific construction and presence in real space. This included the entire film shooting, off-scene footage, and the participation of the residents and the architects themselves.¹⁰ The conceived structure was developed from the divided city’s psychogeography and dissolved completely into something ‘liquid’/fluid.^{11 12} This was precisely what had to be made tangible and sewn across the borders.

The method

A linear sequence of design-research/analysis/concept-production/realisation was replaced by the elaboration of a precise structure related to the context, which was then superimposed onto *real space* through action. In the sense of urban planning, this structure included both: physical and mental space. Research and implementation were bound together, as the architects (Margarethe Mueller/ Paul Rajakovics/Bernd Vlay) moved into the ‘Out There’,¹³ into urban space, and implemented a ‘Living Practice.’¹⁴ Across both sides of the border, the creation of a ‘ping-pong process’ as an urban design strategy and as research was initiated to generate knowledge and to direct processes of change.

The intervention

For the intervention across the border Transbanana founded ‘transbanana tv’. The architects were not a conventional film crew, but wanted to make an urban ‘intervention’ with their special film equipment. Wearing orange uniforms, they launched a communications offensive and asked inhabitants to participate in an international film. At the casting event candidates followed two instructions. Each was written on a board in both languages:

a. ‘Izberite si čas in kraj v novi gorici, kjer se počutite sproščene.’ (Slovenian)

[Choose a place and time in Nova Gorica where you feel free.]

a. ‘Scegliete il luogo e l’ora a gorizia dove vi sentite liberi.’ (Italian)

[Choose the place and time in Gorizia where you feel free]

b. ‘Tam se boste vkrcali na čoln. Prosimo vas, da se odločite, kaj boste vzeli s seboj.’ (Slovenian)

b. ‘Li vi imbarcherete su un batello. Vi preghiamo di decidere che cosa porterete con se.’ (Italian)

[You will get on a boat there. Please decide what you will bring with you.]¹⁵

The ‘feel-free-places’ proposed by the participants were highlighted on a city map. Ten (eight plus two substitutes) primarily young participants were subsequently selected: five who had chosen their place in the Slovenian part of the town, and five in the Italian part. Each of them was supposed to give an interview at his/her ‘feel-free-place.’ Dates and times for the interviews, which served as the script for the subsequent shooting of the film, were fixed in a schedule. The focus on younger participants arose from the consideration that they might be more open. This resulted in a programmatic network of points/places to which the architects travelled over the next days with their film equipment.¹⁶ The spatial-temporal syntax was generated on the rule of always changing the side between Slovenia (Nova Gorica) and Italy (Gorizia), so that the shooting of the film unfolded into a constant back and forth between the two nations.

The cruises

Between the specified places, the journeys were done by car, with a green inflatable dinghy lashed to the roof. The architects filmed the cruises from a fixed position out of the car window. The resulting ‘silhouette-tapes’ are images of the passing townscape during the drive to the next point.

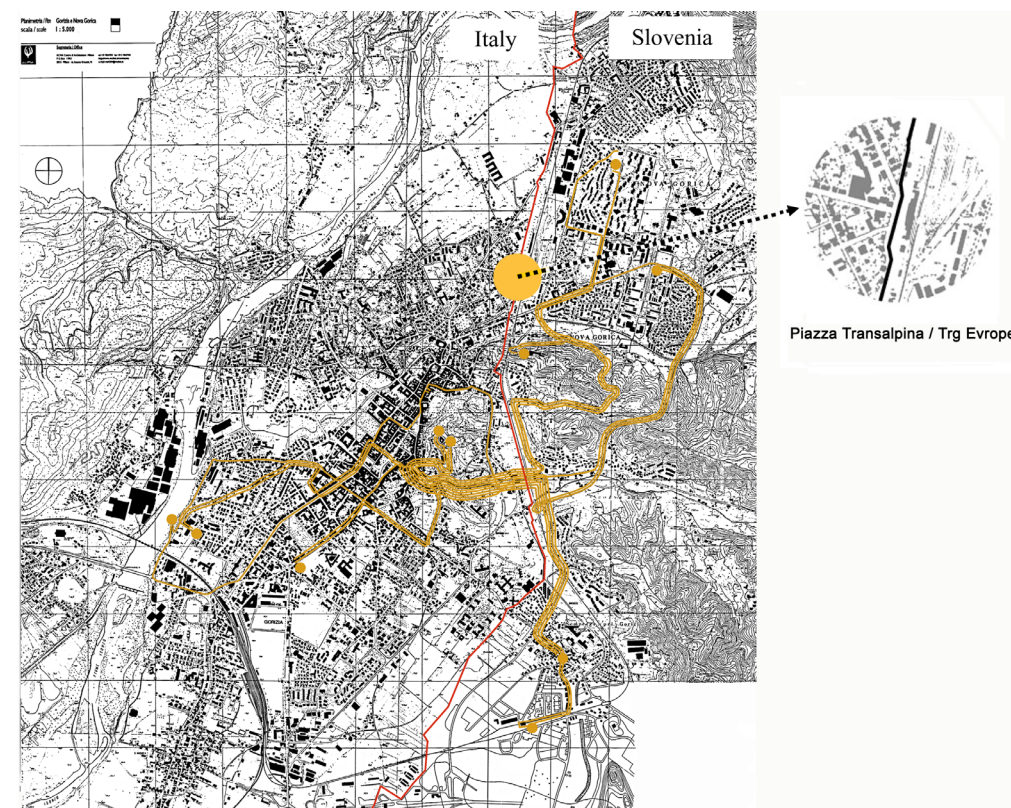


Figure 3 Footprint of the realised Ping-Pong Structure with the ‘feel-free places’, the cruises and the sensitive point of the city drawn on a city map of Gorizia/Nova Gorica. Digital Drawing, Superimposition. 2000. ©Margarethe Mueller. Map used: ACMA Milano.

The turning points

The turning points followed a complex constructed pattern:

For a start, the camera shots were in the form of a double pirouette: First the 'feel-free-place' was filmed 'empty'. After a 360-degree pan shot of the place, the boat with the protagonist in it lay at anchor, and the protagonist followed the interview-instructions. Subsequent to a further 360-degree pan shot of the place, the boat with the person disappeared once more and the 'feel-free-place' appeared as if untouched. [fig. 1]

During the interview the protagonists, sitting in the boat, received three questions. Each question was shown with a board again. [fig. 2]

- c. 'Zakaj se tukaj počutite sproščene?'
- c. 'Perche vi sentite liberi in questo posto?'
- [Why do you feel free at this place?]
- d. 'Zakaj ste s seboj vzeli to stvar (ali osebo)?'
- d. 'Perche avete portato con se questo oggetto (o persona)?'
- [Why did you bring this object (or person) with you?]
- e. 'Zakaj sodelujete v našem projektu?'
- e. 'Perche partecipate nel nostro progetto?'
- [Why are you participating in our project?]
- f. 'Hvala!'
- f. 'Grazie!'
- [Thank you!]¹⁷

In the process, the bilingual boards served as a communication tool for the exact questions. The architects, on the other hand, communicated with the actors in English. This corresponded to an objective distancing, neither of the two local national languages got the

prerogative of interpretation. Moreover, the communication tool was necessary, because the architects did not master the two local languages and ventured into unknown areas in this regard.

Secondly, at the end of the 'constructed turning point' the participants were asked to let the air out of the dinghy, leading to an international blending of air in each case.¹⁸ The first protagonist was sitting on 'sea' air. He then let the air out at his 'feel-free-place' in Slovenia and pumped Slovenian air into the boat. This 'free' air, captured in the boat, traveled with the architects across the border to the next protagonist, who repeated the procedure. [fig. 3]

Intensification of the ping-pong process

Resulting from the psychogeography of the town, this constructed 'ping-pong' structure, became more intensive towards the end of the intervention due to a newly invented border sport. Finally, the border became the centre of activities.

Featuring all ten actors, the event took place at a significant point in the city, the Piazza della Transalpina/ Trg Evrope, where the border has divided the city since 1947. There, in front of the Slovenian train station, the EU external border was manifested as a two-meter-high iron fence, cutting through the city in the most painful, visible, surreal and frightening way. Not only did international visitors feel the place as a surreal house of mirrors, the border police as well stepped up their presence at this location. The final film shooting unfolded at this location, for which the architects had developed a special type of sport on an international court: EU-Outerborderline badminton©. While one half of the court was located on Italian territory, the other was situated on Slovenian territory. The EU outer border fence was appropriated and served as the badminton net. [fig. 4]

For the film shooting, the protagonists from the Slovenian side were

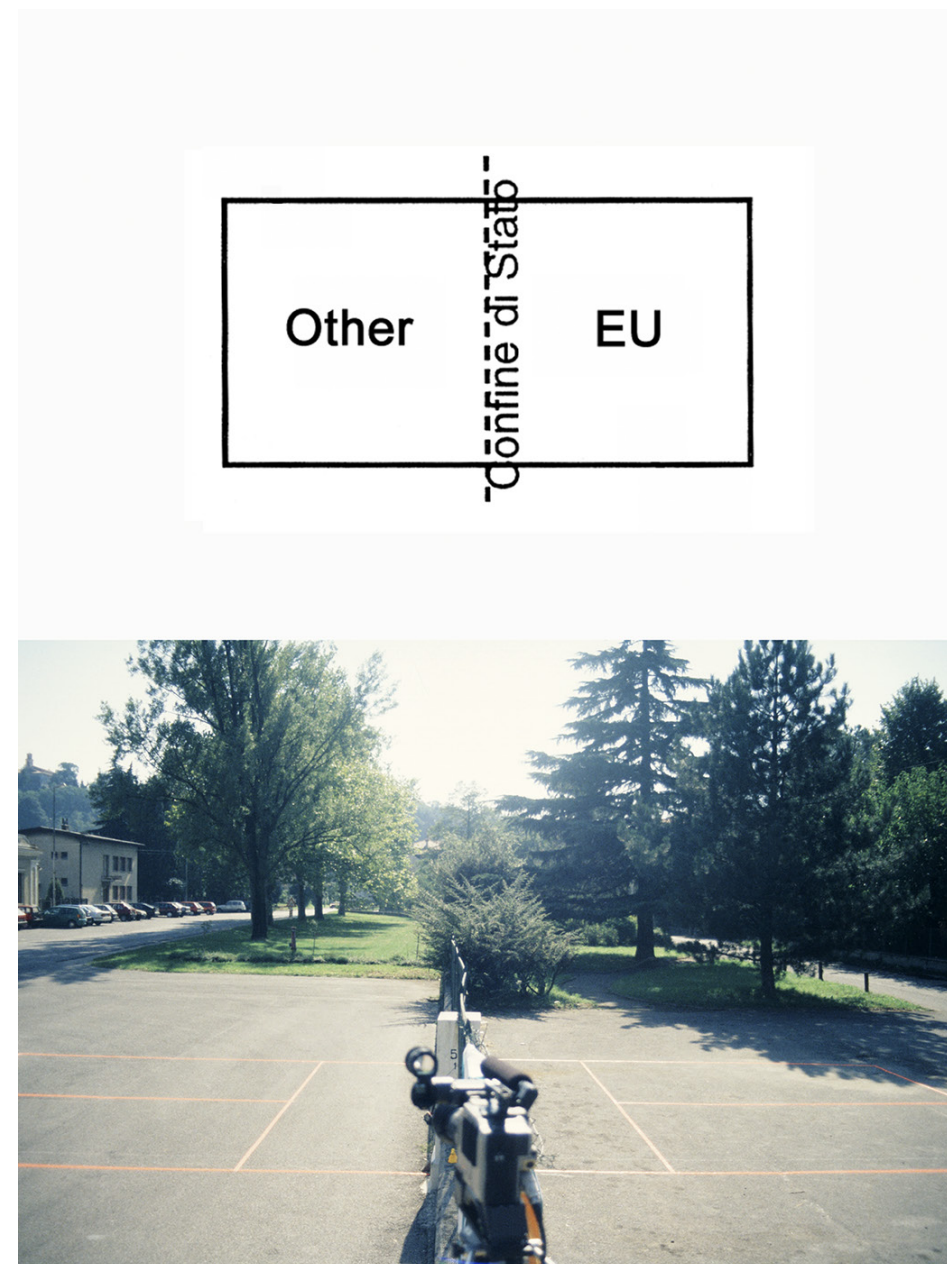


Figure 4 The EU-Outerborderlinebadminton© Field. Diagram. Transbanana. 1998. Source: Architects Archive, Vienna. and The EU-Outerborderlinebadminton© Field at Trg Evrope/Piazza della Transalpina - Nova Gorica/ Gorizia. Left side: Slovenia (Other), right side: Italy (EU). 1998. Super 8 – Spremembazione II Filmstill: Transbanana - Mueller/Rajakovics/Vlay. 1998. Source: Architects Archive (transbanana), Vienna.

positioned as a badminton team on the Italian field, while the Italian protagonists played on the Slovenian side. An elegant exchange, a border crossing within a common ground (the field), was established.

Most sports have a winner and a loser. Here, the aim was *cooperation*, which means to set a common record. This was supposed to be achieved by propelling the shuttlecock across the border as many times as possible without it touching the ground. Playing time: exactly one hour. The game ended with a record of 28 crossings.¹⁹

The (8+2) protagonists acted as living turning points that could play an all-too-present past in the future, which is why the project and its protagonists were given the name 'Super 8.'

Results and benefits of research activities

For the architects, the act of sewing together the open wound with precisely constructed zigzag stitches was a sort of medical intervention against the conflict. Through the intervention, the protagonists could gain 'other experiences.' Memories were 'overwritten' and the spaces re-coded. The creation of a temporary community created a common ground. At the same time, the collectively shared conflicted narrative(s) of the city²⁰ (the trauma or unwanted heritage) were supplanted by the everyday counter-narratives of the ten protagonists.

Due to the physical movement when playing cross-border *borderline* badminton, the cooperation that requires organisms to live together was not only strengthened mentally, but by real movement, too. This corresponds to findings in neuroscience, as Gerald Hüther stated in 2009,

The brain always keeps learning. Even a negative experience or memory can be re-evaluated at a later stage and thus quasi overwritten. For this to happen an emotional experience is necessary, which has to be routed through the body if the memory is frozen there. It is our

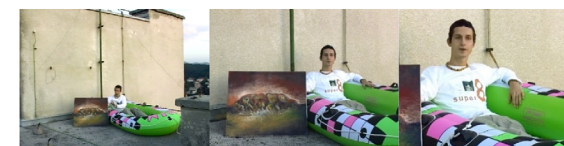
experiences that make us human. They structure the networks in our brains. Experiences are distinguished by what we undergo, by what gets under our skin.²¹

Through the act of pumping up the boat, the protagonists undertook extensive, physically tiring 'work', giving *air* to 'The Other' vis-à-vis. What is more, the participants sat on the foreign air and were invisibly carried by it.

Where did they feel free? Five out of ten felt free at a site where they had memories from childhood. Nine out of ten felt free in an open public space in the city. Only one, a US-American protagonist, who had settled down in Gorizia, felt free in a private institution (Art-Café ARTE). This protagonist was the *only* one who felt free enough to talk openly about the atrocities and fears of this city. At the same time, he was scared of being expelled from the country for having said these things. All the protagonists felt free in the country in which they lived. No one chose the other side, the direct border area or the other language. This resulted in a clear separation in linguistic and ethnic terms and in regard of the feeling of freedom: Slovenian protagonists did not feel freer in the Italian Gorizia (EU/NATO) and vice versa; both sides rather clearly remained in 'their' space. There seemed to be a respect for the direct border area (EU external border); it was not chosen as a 'feel-free-place.' On the other hand, three of the Slovenian participants chose 'very dangerous' feel-free-places (in the middle of a traffic jam, on a railway track, on the top of a skyscraper). Architecture was not an important issue in their choice.

Moreover, a sensitive point in the town (the Piazza della Transalpina/Trg Evrope) became, for a moment, a positive centre of activity. Sport and culture were crossed with each other and mutated into a new programme. An interesting breakthrough could be achieved on a political level, by creating a temporary

Still Frames: Protagonist T. in the boat
Place: On top of the skyscraper – Nova Gorica/Slovenia, 1998



'Fog is falling ... darkness on the skyscraper
'*Drugače niè... tvorba na nebotièniku,*
below the skyscraper and there's no point looking at the sun, I mean to freedom ...
pod nebotiènikom in ne pomaga gledat sonca, mislim svobode...
Why did I choose to bring this picture ...
Zakaj sem vzel to sliko...
because it is one of the few windows in Nova Gorica
zato, ker je ena izmed redkih oken v Novi Gorici,
from which you can see something.'
iz katerega se lahko kaj vidi.'

Protagonist T. [22]

Still Frames: Protagonist P. in the boat
Place: At the River Isonzo – Gorizia/Italy, 1998



'I chose this place because it makes me feel free, really!
'*Ho scelto questo posto perché mi fa sentire libera, veramente!*
I see the river flowing by,
Vedo il fiume che passa,
I see... all these leaves that have fallen into the water
vedo ... tutte queste foglie cadute dentro l'acqua
and like my bad thoughts, the horrible things that torment me,
e come i miei pensieri cattivi, le mie brutte cose che mi affliggono,
the sorrow that envelops me when I am really sad,
la tristezza che mi avvolge quando sono veramente triste,
it makes me..., the river flows by and carries away,
mi fa..., il fiume passa e porta via,
it cleans, and carries things away, all the way to the mouth,
quindi pulisce e porta via fino alla foce,
and when it reaches the sea it unloads everything.'
quando raggiunge il mare scarica tutto.'

Protagonist P. [23]

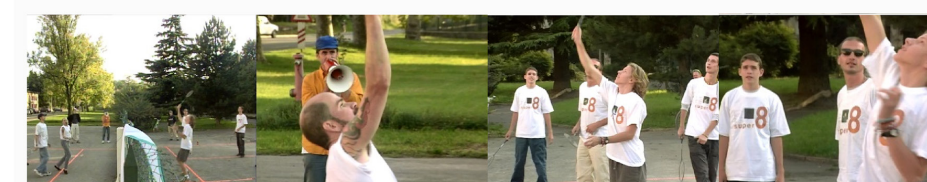


Figure 5 Still Frames: Protagonist T. in the boat and Protagonist P. in the boat.
Film 'Super 8': Margarethe Mueller. 2017- in progress. Source: Architects Archive, Vienna with film footage from 'Super 8 – Spremembazione II', 1998: Camera: Transbanana – Mueller/Rajakovics/Vlay.

Figure 6 Still Frames: EU-Outerborderlinebadminton©
Film 'Super 8': Margarethe Mueller. 2017- in progress. Source: Architects Archive, Vienna with film footage from 'Super 8 – Spremembazione II', 1998: Camera: Transbanana – Mueller/Rajakovics/Vlay.

legal border crossing by positioning the camera directly *on* the borderline and the structural and political precautions relating to it. The EU-Outerborderlinebadminton© court (half on each side of the border) is one figure of the projected *ping-pong* process and the actual common ground.

The film

The intervention also provided the raw material for the movie. At the same time, the film was only the helper, the TOOL for the ‘Super 8 – Spremembazione’ project. The film ‘Super 8’ itself is not a pure documentary, but rather an experimental film that examines the trauma, views, desires, ideas of freedom and common features of the inhabitants, back then, through the repetitive *everyday* narrations of 8 protagonists in the boat. It broaches the issue of the significance of the border between East and West within the divided town and makes visible the places where the inhabitants on both sides of the border (in the boat) felt ‘free’, as well as the process of re-coding those places that the architects constructed. But ... like the city itself, the film has become derailed in time. That is why it is only possible to complete the film now.

Today, the film footage is a historical record of the time, as well as a record of the Transbanana ‘Super 8 – Spremembazione’ urban research project itself. The structure of the film follows the programmatic *ping-pong* structure of the 1998 intervention in real space, which can, however, be made visible even twenty years later and appear through the film. In the real space of that time, the interview points developed into points outside space, outside time.^{22 23} [figs. 5, 6]

The changing practice in urbanism – ‘architecture is no longer in the way’²⁴

To ‘mediate’ means to: ‘intervene in a dispute in order to bring about an agreement or reconciliation’,²⁵ or to ‘act as a go-between for opposing sides.’²⁶ In the case

of the ‘Super 8 - Spremembazione’ project, the architects took over a ‘mediating role.’ They moved into the ‘Out There’, into the space of the affected, and tried to sew together two parts of the city through a *ping-pong* process, with their intervention. This *ping-pong* process, which started in Gorizia/Nova Gorica with a violent past, was transformed into a ‘joyful intervention’ and established a temporary common ground.

What resulted was mediation and research at the border line between two cultures, two languages, two sides of a city, two different concepts of urbanism, two conflicted narratives, two different collective traumas and all the everyday life. In this regard, architecture could be seen as experimental mediation. But also ‘as unmediated communication’, as Joost Meuwissen writes:

Projects from the offices of Transbanana (...) try to carry on tasks in their practical and discursive context beyond a limited “functional” conception of the purpose. It is about arguments/disputes or architecture as UN-MEDIATED communication. UN-MEDIATED – it is precisely for that reason – because architecture as a conventional medium is no longer in the way (...).²⁷

Future trajectories

Traumatized people, war, uprooting, border areas, border fences and overcoming borders are currently highly relevant at many hotspots around the world. How can this research support other hotspots? For one thing, the EU-Outerborderlinebadminton© game can be played, according to its six rules,²⁸ at any point on the EU’s external border. It is not a unique event and programme from the past but reaches into the future. This game has been played twice so far and holds a record of 47 crossings.²⁹ In this way, a ‘different narration’ about Europe and the EU’s external borderline can be generated, which could carry on

the European project in another identity-building and peace-building way.

Secondly, the Transbanana intervention served as a prejudice reduction machine: After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the psychological Iron Curtain needed to be severed first. Gorizia/Nova Gorica

exemplarily served as a border-space, as a *point* on the EU’s outer border, which can be used as an inspiration for other border conflict points. The intervention treats and shows a microcosm: A *point* opens and unfolds a whole *universe* in front of us.

Notes

- 1 For psychical space see: Victor Burgin: ‘Psychoanalysis reveals unconscious wishes - and the fantasies they engender - to be as immutable force in our lives as any material circumstance. They do not, however, belong to material reality, but to what Freud termed “psychical reality”. The space where they “take place”, - between perception and consciousness - is not a material space. Insofar, therefore, as Freud speaks of “psychical reality”, we are perhaps justified in speaking of “psychical space.”’ Cited in: Burgin Victor, *In/Different Spaces, Place and Memory in Visual Culture* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1996) 47.
- 2 ‘Treaty of Peace with Italy’, Library of Congress, Document from 1947–1951. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000004-0311.pdf>. Last accessed: December 12, 2019. Peace agreement document between ‘the Allied and Associated Powers’ on the one part, and ‘Italy’ on the other.
- 3 Jörg Wörsdörfer, *Krisenherd Adria 1915–1955. Konstruktion und Artikulation des Nationalen im italienisch-jugoslawischen Grenzraum* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004) 238; 568–569.
- 4 ‘Bei allen Unterschieden zum italienischen *Esodo* nach dem 2. Weltkrieg kann man auch den Auszug der Slowenen und Kroaten in den 20-er und 30-er Jahren einen “Exodus” nennen’. Cited in Wörsdörfer, *Krisenherd Adria 1915–1955*, 569.
- 5 Katja Škrlić, ‘In the Shadow of the Berlin Wall: (De)constructing the Memory of a Divided City in Gorizia and Nova Gorica’, in *Memoria e Ricerca : rivista di storia contemporanea*, no. 39 (2012): 51–64, online 11. https://www.academia.edu/1252683/In_the_Shadow_of_the_Berlin_Wall_De_constructing_the_Memory_of_a_Divided_City_in_Gorizia_and_Nova_Gorica_All_ombra_del_Muro_di_berlino_De_costruendo_la_memoria_di_una_citt%C3%A0_divisa_a_Gorizia_e_Nova_Gorica.
- 6 Niko Jurca, Vinko Torkar, ‘Nova Gorica ha meno di cinquant’ anni’, in *Citta di Confine. Conversazioni sul future di Gorizia e Nova Gorica*, eds. Alfonso & Antonio Angelillo, (Portogruaro: Ediciclo Editore, 1994) 43–45.07. See Škrlić, ‘In the Shadow’, online 1–16.
- 7 Škrlić, ‘In the Shadow’, online 14.
- 8 Peter Popham, ‘The last wall dividing East and West comes down’, *The Independent*, February 2, 2004. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/the-last-wall-dividing-east-and-west-comes-down-5354855.html>.
- 9 ‘Super 8 – Spremembazione II’ is the second of five Transbanana urban research projects in Gorizia/Nova Gorica. The term Spremembazione has been created during the first Intervention ‘Sprembazione I’, in 1997. This project was carried out by Margarethe Mueller & Paul Rajakovics with students. See Margarethe Mueller and Paul Rajakovics, ‘Sprembazione – Nuovi Spazi del Dialogo’, in *Gorizia-Nova Gorica. Progettare il Confine*, ed. Antonio Angelillo (Milano: Acma – Centro Architettura Milano, 2004), 56–59.
- 10 See Transbanana: Margarethe Mueller & Paul Rajakovics & Bernd Vlay, ‘Sprembazione II – Super 8’. Last accessed: December 12, 2016, https://www.transbanana.com/images/super_8/sprembazione_super-8_text_transbanana.pdf.
- 11 In the process, I would like to refer to Michael Speaks, who suggested in his article, ‘It’s Out There’, an expanded definition of architectural practice, as ‘(...) a pliant system, a blob, a semi-fluid/semi-solid practice, or even a body.’ (Speaks, 1998, 174).
- 12 In ‘Super 8 – SPREMEMBAZIONE’, the practice remained liquid in order to have any effect at

- all. A kind of 'psycho-structure' was developed, which was then briefly implanted on the entire city through action. Moreover, the term 'liquid' also corresponds to Zygmunt Bauman's 'liquid modernity' or 'liquid times', where modern conditions start to evaporate or become fluid. Why not architecture/urbanism, too?
- 13 Michael Speaks, 'It's Out There... The Formal Limits of the American Avant-garde', in *Other Spaces. The Affair of the Heterotopia*, eds. Roland Ritter & Bernd Knaller-Vlay (Graz: Haus der Architektur, HDA Dokumente zur Architektur 10, 1998), 156–177.
- 14 Characteristics of the living: it is creative, innovative, flexible and changes constantly. It requires energy, however, in order to remain in the state of greatest sensitivity/instability. Moreover, it has the ability to reproduce, and contains knowledge that is one million years old in itself.
- 15 a and b: Text on 2 canvas cardboards, Transbanana, 1998 (Architects Archive, Vienna) and English translation.
- 16 See Transbanana - Mueller & Rajakovics & Vlay, "Spremembazione II – Super 8."
- 17 c, d, e and f: Text on 4 canvas cardboards, Transbanana, 1998 (Architects Archive, Vienna) and English translation.
- 18 See Transbanana - Mueller & Rajakovics & Vlay, "Spremembazione II – Super 8."
- 19 The crossing record has to be corrected from 27 to 28. See Video Tape – M2, 1998 (Architects Archive, Vienna).
- 20 Cf. Katja Škrlj. She writes: 'the antagonism between these two national memories is so obvious that we can speak of a real "*memory ethnogenesis*."' Škrlj, 'In the Shadow', online 13.
- 21 Cited (translated) in: Hütter, „Das Gehirn ist eine Baustelle", interview by Spiegel (Gatterburg & Musall), *Mein Ich. Das Geheimnis einer besonderen Beziehung. Spiegel Wissen* 1 I 2009 (2009): 55, <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/spiegelwissen/d-65115067.html>.
- 22 Quote Interview Protagonist T., 1998, Source: Video footage M2 and Tape, Architects Archive, Vienna.
- 23 Quote Interview Protagonist P., 1998, Source: Video footage M2 and Tape, Architects Archive, Vienna.
- 24 Cited in (translated) Joost Meuwissen, 'Handlungsräume', Joost Meuwissen Blog, posted 20 Mar 2001, www.joostmeuwissen.nl (offline). Text appeared later in: *Joost Meuwissen – printed Book of www.joostmeuwissen.nl* (Book exhibited in the exhibition: 'Don't Stop Thinking – Die Denkräume des Joost Meuwissen', House of Architecture Graz, 2018), 424.
- 25 'Mediate', Lexico - Oxford University Press dictionary. Last accessed: September 10, 2019. <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/mediate>.
- 26 "Mediate," Merriam-Webster dictionary. Last accessed: September 10, 2019. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/mediate>.
- 27 Meuwissen, "Handlungsräume".
- 28 Rules see Margarethe Mueller/Transbanana, 'Celebration Rocket', in *ÖRBANISM, Texte aus Österreich / Approaches to Urbanism in Austria*, ed. Elise Feiersinger, Joost Meuwissen, Heidi Pretterhofer (Wien: Edition Selene, 2002), 107.
- 29 See Margarethe Mueller/Transbanana, 'Celebration Rocket', 111.

Credits Transbanana

"Super 8 – SPREMEMBAZIONE II" 1:1 Urban Research Project, 1998 Transbanana, Team: Margarethe Mueller & Paul Rajakovics & Bernd Vlay, with special help from Niko Jurca. Camera: Margarethe Mueller, Paul Rajakovics, Bernd Vlay Supported by: Margarete-Schütte-Lihotzky Scholarship.

"Super 8" Film, 2017 – in progress Director: Margarethe Mueller, editing: Margarethe Mueller with Frank Bogott, supported by: Bildrecht.at

She is Beirut

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Abstract

Jocelyne Saab is the unacknowledged pioneering woman of Lebanese documentary who spearheaded the efforts to create a film archive in Lebanon. She was a war reporter, photographer, scriptwriter, producer, director, and artist. This paper discusses “Once Upon a Time, Beirut”, one of the first fictional feature-length films produced after the civil war. In it, Saab intricately weaved a dizzying array of footage from Lebanon from the 1930s to the 1990s in a collage that is meant to show how different cinematic projects viewed Lebanon throughout history. Her project was that of a reclamation of the history of Beirut and Lebanon by appropriating the films of others and using them to piece together a much-needed, currently unavailable story of Lebanon’s history. I outline the main themes that come up throughout the film, “The Feminine Voice” and “Rebirth at Twenty”, and trace their existence in her previous and future work. The two young, female protagonists Yasmine and Leila are depicted as a metaphor for Beirut. I argue that the choices of the film clips show an understanding and implicit cultural resistance for both the societal norms at the time and the way they were portrayed in foreign films.

Keywords

Cinematic Archive; Women’s Representation; Beirut

Lebanon’s cultural infrastructure suffered as a result of the multi-faceted Civil War (1975-1990), leading to a disjointed and inadequate archive of its cities; cities, which, due to the violence over extended periods of time, barely resemble their former urban selves. In an effort to document Beirut’s architectural and urban transformations, I found myself relying on film as archival material to inform my historical understanding of urban sites and their development. In my search, I discovered numerous filmmakers who filmed Beirut during and after the war, who allowed me to visualize the former Beirut. Their films addressed the harsh topics of destruction, kidnappings, death and exile almost exclusively. One film, “Once Upon a Time, Beirut- History of a Star”, or “توريب ناك م اي ناك” by Jocelyn Saab, struck me with the relative lightness it brought to intense subject matter. It is one of the first fictional feature-length

films produced after the Civil War. In it, Saab intricately weaves a dizzying array of footage of Lebanon from the 1930s to the 1990s in a filmic collage that is meant to show how different cinematic projects viewed Lebanon throughout history. Her project is that of a reclamation of the history of Lebanon and Beirut, by appropriating the films of others and using them to piece together a much-needed, currently fragmented story of Lebanon’s history.

In this paper, I introduce Jocelyne Saab as a pioneer female Lebanese filmmaker who spearheaded the efforts to create a film archive in Lebanon. I start by showing her background, portfolio, and move to fiction. I then introduce the film, its process, and the recurring themes of “The Feminine Voice” and “Rebirth at Twenty” that have come to characterize many of her projects. Finally, I isolate and analyze some film clips, arguing that the choices of film footage and their sequence show a

certain understanding and implicit cultural resistance for both the societal norms at the time and the way in which they were portrayed. [fig. 1]

Jocelyne Saab: career and upbringing

Jocelyne Saab (1948-2019) is the unacknowledged pioneering woman of Arab documentary. Saab hails from a bourgeois Lebanese Maronite family and grew up in the cosmopolitan area of Ras Beirut, a haven for the Arab left intellectuals in the 1960s and 1970s.¹ She wore a lot of hats during her career, namely that of a war reporter, photographer, script-writer, producer, director, and artist. Saab did not receive formal cinematic training, choosing to study economics in Paris instead. A career in cinema, especially for a woman, was unheard of in Lebanon at the time. Her first job upon graduation and in light of the escalating political upheavals and sectarian violence in the Middle East, was as a war reporter for French television. Saab was inspired by the influx of internationally renowned correspondents, photographers and reporters to Beirut, as a result of the war.² Lebanon was witnessing new life conditions that demanded new codes of interpretation and Saab was eager to film with the aesthetic urgency, clarity and relevance essential for a committed documentarian entrenched in the moment.³

Notable for supporting liberal leftist politics in the 1970's, Saab's initial work was in the documentary genre, where she applied her incomparable visual political analysis to several territories: Iran, Palestine, Vietnam, Iraqi Kurdistan, Turkey, Syria, Libya, Lebanon, and Egypt.⁴ Her portfolio [fig. 1] includes fifteen documentaries, between short and feature length. In this era, she left a legacy of unique images, often censored in international and Arab media for their raw and highly political content, solidifying her position as a brave, uncompromising, young, Arab, female war reporter. These war images proved crucial to the work she

later conducted in her home country.

Jocelyne and Beirut

Saab's first feature-length documentary "Lebanon in a Whirlwind" aired worldwide in the 1970s. It was banned in Lebanon for 27 years, due to its raw and daring interviews with the leaders and political figures who later became active agents in the civil war. Her most famous work in Beirut is the "Beirut Trilogy."⁵ Instead of shying away from the personal and brutal aspects of the war, Saab took enormous risks, ignored death threats, befriended local militias and their leaders, resumed her work, and even included footage of her own destroyed house (Israeli Invasion 1982). Subsequently, these three films, "Beirut, Never Again" (1976), "Letters from Beirut" (1978), and "Beirut, My City" (1982) serve as a unique archive of Beirut as it is subsumed by the ravages of war.

The move to fiction

The collapse of the existing Lebanese film infrastructure pushed the 'filmmakers of the Lebanese intelligentsia', heralded by the likes of Maroun Baghdadi, Randa Chahal Sabbag, Borhan Alaouiéh, and Jocelyne Saab, to seek external means of production and funding, mainly from France. As the horrors of the war turned into an appalling every-day reality, documentary experimentation was no longer enough to portray the unspeakable horrors of the war. The end of the Civil War created further unease and transition for the war documentarians of the 1970s and 1980s, who sought refuge in fictional feature filmmaking. Despite all odds, the filmmakers of the war generation reached international audiences with films that tackled the intense issues of war, embedded within the entertainment form of cinema.⁶ Saab produced her first fictional feature-length film, "A Suspended Life" in 1985, coincidentally also the year she fled to France in fear of her life. The film gained her acclaim at the prestigious Cannes Film

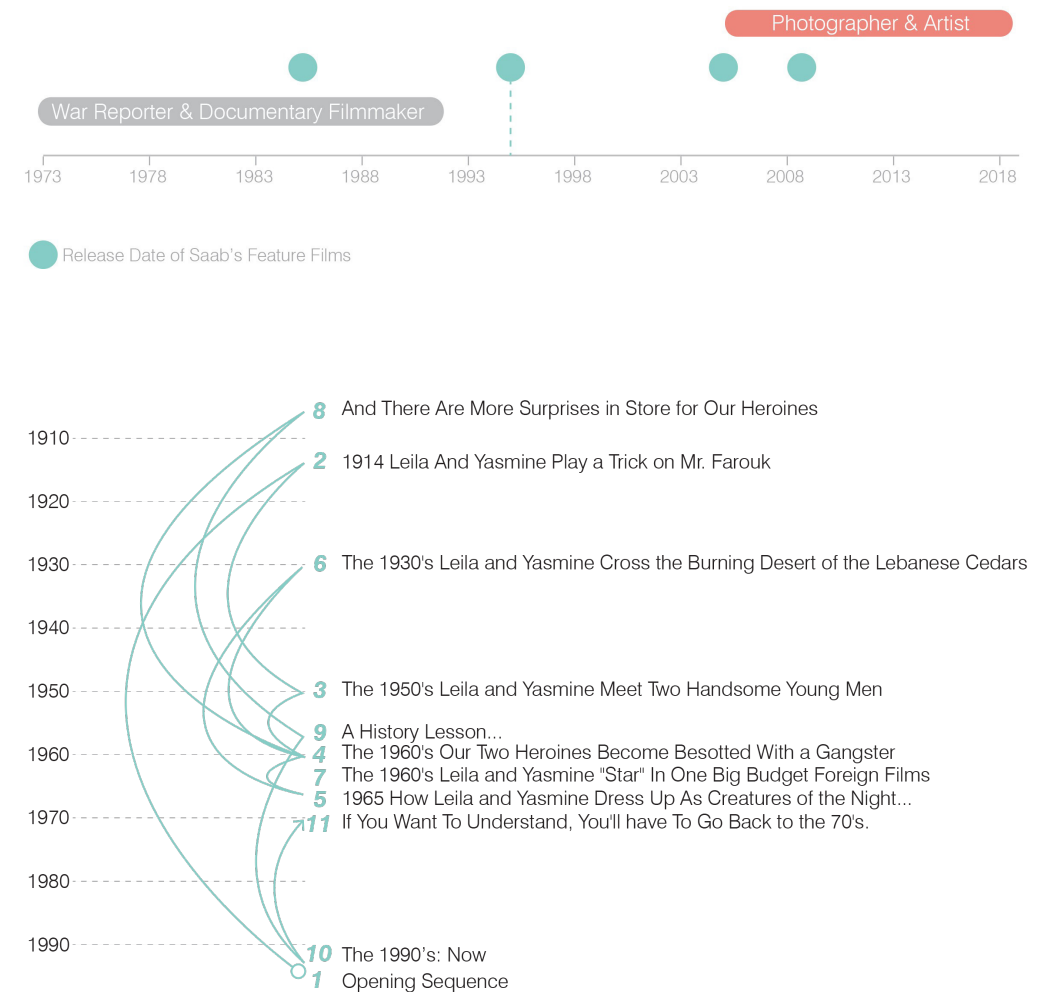


Figure 1 A Timeline Showing Saab's Varied Portfolio. Created by the author.

Figure 2 Diagram Showing the Sequence of Chapters and their Respective Time Periods. Created by the Author.

Festival. Stefanie van de Peer, Arab and African political film scholar, credits Saab's move to fiction to two gaps: the trauma of the war and her geographic distance from Beirut (the farther Saab moved from the Beirut she knew, the more fictional her work became).⁷

Origins of the project

Saab returned to Beirut in the postwar years, which ushered in a great deal of optimism and energy, as individuals sought to revive and reclaim their formerly vibrant city. Saab's second feature-length film, "Once Upon a Time Beirut" formed her contribution and attempt to reclaim Beirut. Saab discovered the value of images during the war and declares that her background in economics and journalism allowed her to see the big picture, the socio-economic and anthropological view on the city without dwelling on aesthetics. She often reflects on the necessity of cinema and the significance of the production and proliferation of images.⁸

Given that her path to film was through journalism, she initially lacked in filmmaking techniques, saying 'I always worked in the urgency of war, with bombs falling about, and didn't have time to pay attention to how things looked'⁹ and entered the world of cinema by gradually pursuing personal film projects and adapting classical ways of working.

Saab was inspired by the UNESCO's nomination for Beirut as the Book Capital of the Year in 1992, and the celebration of the 100 years of cinema. Saab was struck by Lebanon's lack of images and need for them, in a postwar society that was experiencing and practicing a total amnesia. She found in cinema the most easily available connection to the past of Beirut and embarked on an ambitious project to collect all Lebanese and international films ever shot in Lebanon to create the Lebanese national cinematic archive.

Factsheet

Title: Once upon a time, Beirut
Original title: Kan ya ma kan, Beirut
Director: Jocelyn Saab
Screenplay: Jocelyn Saab, Philippe Paringaux and Roland-Pierre Paringaux
Image: Roby Breidi
Sound: Pierre Donnadieu
Editing: Dominique Auvray and Isabelle Dedieu
Sets: Seta Khoubesserian
Production Company: Balcon Production, Arte, Hessischer Rundfunk
Country of Origin: Lebanon, France, Germany
Format: Colors - 1.66: 1
Genre: Drama and history
Duration: 104 minutes
Release date: April 1995

Process

For a long time, Beirut was the West's Oriental "favorite." It had no rival in the Near East. It was a city for people from all cultures, a place of business, pleasure, and drama, but also a place of myths. For a long time, it basked in this image, not overtly bothered by certain realities. But, although the myths associated with Beirut did so much over the years to enhance its wealth and fame, they were also largely responsible for its downfall. The idea here is to review these great myths, which for forty years now have contributed to shaping the image of Beirut, to look into the city's past and find the reasons it became a star. And finally, to show the real-life rifts, the heartbreak, and decline.¹⁰

The gaze of different filmmakers on the city over the past century presented an opportunity to unpack the layered sociopolitical representations, albeit fictional, of the city of Beirut. She hired a team of researchers and archivists, who spent four years gathering more than 400 films shot in Lebanon over the past century. She envisioned this films as a sampling of Lebanon's cinémathèque (cinematic archive). The final product included footage

from approximately 30 films.

This project faced many technical, logistical and financial problems since its initiation in 1992. Acquiring the films and rights for reproduction proved arduous and entailed contacting individuals and film archives around the world. The film was realized in dire economic circumstances. Saab's apartment in Paris served as both the set and accommodation for her passionate crew.¹¹ Additionally, she turned what began as a technical difficulty disallowing the combination of films from different eras, into an opportunity to structure the film. By grouping films of a similar provenance and time period, Saab created chapters with thematic associations, each representing a different cinematic representation of Lebanon, within a specific time frame. She did not place the chapters in chronological order. Rather, Saab utilized the anxious capabilities of unmotivated jumping through time and films in a creative manner. She purposefully obscured the lines between the different timeframes, as a means to evoke the haze and trauma of memory. The lack of chronology to evoke memories then became stronger since it showed a lack of causality between events of defined temporal bounds. The absence of chronology further supplemented Saab's wish to address topics on the civil war and Lebanese identity without resorting to casting blame or imparting wisdoms on her audience; a goal she achieved by depending on the cinematography of others to get her points across.¹²

Saab created a film-within-film [fig. 2] narrative that embeds the various chapters. The two main characters, Yasmine (Michelle Tyan) and Leila (Myrna Maakaron), are two curious and witty young women, eager to discover the past of their city, as presented by the cinema lover Mr. Farouk. They have the uncanny aptitude to transfer from the diegetic world of the main film to the different eras and cinematic worlds Saab created. The film employs sarcasm and humor to shed light on serious

issues of individual and collective views of identity, image and history.

Jocelyne Saab's preferred geography

Although Beirut stood at the heart of Saab's cinematographic map throughout her career, she portrays it from an alternate perspective. This topic resonates with her initial work as a journalist and documentarian who fought for the rights of impoverished populations and for focal points of the resistance. Her work is first and foremost an act of cultural resistance. By drawing a map of the resistance in Lebanon, focusing on Palestinian refugees and Lebanese refugees fleeing Israeli occupation in Southern Lebanon, she sheds light on those who are denied proper representation, especially the more vulnerable factions of society: women, children, and refugees.

Upon choosing the vacant city center as the site for the main narrative of 'Once Upon a Time, Beirut', Saab revisits the destroyed site she previously filmed extensively for the Beirut trilogy. The city center was a no man's land throughout the war, with the demarcation line (green line) passing through its main streets. The unique aspect of this film, in comparison to her previous projects, is her dependence on the filmic geographies of other filmmakers for the content of the film chapters. With the exception of the self-explanatory final chapter "If You Want to Understand, You'll Have to Go Back to the 70s" that displayed footage of resistance movements in Lebanon and the region, Saab relied exclusively on existing footage of commercial films and documentaries to produce her chapters. Her agency came in the choice of the film clips, their juxtaposition, organization and satirical commentary. She used the gaze of others, locals and foreigners alike, to rediscover the loving gaze with which she had always seen Beirut, and reclaim her city by rewriting its audiovisual history.¹³

Methodology of analyzing the film

In the last three years of her life, Saab

launched the Cultural Resistance Film Festival in Lebanon for three years. Among the themes of the festival were “The Feminine Voice” and “Rebirth at Twenty”¹⁴ pivotal to the understanding of “Once Upon a Time Beirut”. Whether it is in her previous documentaries, coverages, fictional films, or other artistic production, her projects echo similar sentiments of documenting the lives of young women in struggle. I extract two case studies, one from the main narrative and another from a film chapter. These case studies are meant to display how Saab voices her sociopolitical concerns through film, through the lens of one chosen topic.¹⁵

Case study 1: Opening sequence

The opening sequence depicts Yasmine and Leila, blond and brunette, Christian and Muslim, as respective metaphors for East and West Beirut. They are part of the generation who grew up during the war, educated in French schools, and have never crosses to the “other” Beirut, even at age 20.

I rely on Mark Westmoreland’s review of the scene [fig. 4] in which the girls are blindfolded, seated in the back of a taxi and carrying a disc that contains a film reel. These conditions show a certain mode of viewing. The blindfold pushes the viewer’s vision to the edges of the frame, forcing them to look at other elements. The taxi takes us on a journey through the destroyed streets from the semi-private space of the car. The film reel is a media object, that when inserted in such a coming-of-age story, takes on a new meaning. It represents the use of amateur filmmaking and the relative lack of agency that the Lebanese had in their own country’s representation, especially when compared to the flood of war images in international news media.¹⁶ The film reel also serves as a clue and reminder of the nature of the film-within-film narrative that Saab creates.

Yasmine and Leila are en route to Mr. Farouk’s film archive, to explore their

country’s own history and make sense of this senseless war, whose causes they do not know. Saab’s escapist tendencies come forth as she aims to rebuild the world she knew as a child and young woman.¹⁷ In that sense, this film features a journey of self-discovery for these young women who come to understand their heritage and carve an independent trajectory for themselves with their society. Their struggles, dreams, and ambitions are interwoven into the urban fabric of the city. To Saab, all women are in one form or another manifestations of their cities’ identities, constantly pulled in opposing directions of traditional systems and modern lifestyles.

Case Study 2: 1965 How Leila and Yasmine dress up as creatures of the night... and the consequences

Lebanon in the 1960s was heavily promoted as a tourist destination for Arabs (interested in Western “freedom”) and Westerners (interested in the “exotic” East) alike. Films were a faithful reflector of the realities of the tourist agenda that Lebanon and external actors pushed for prior to the Civil War. They were shot during the “glory days” of Lebanon and set in architecture of leisure for the promotion of the image of Lebanon as an exuberant, extravagant destination at the intersection between East and West.

With the institutionalization of cinema in Egypt in 1956, the film industry of Lebanon flourished. It enjoyed considerable freedom of expression, a pro-Western outlook, and a compelling tourism infrastructure that attracted filmmakers and producers fleeing strict censorship. Egyptian and Lebanese films were debating the modernism that was sweeping their nations, the mentality of the people, the character of their cities. In doing so, they resorted to representations that were often humorous but naïve, of characters who struggled between the two different representations, realities, and cultures.

In this film clip [fig. 5], we see

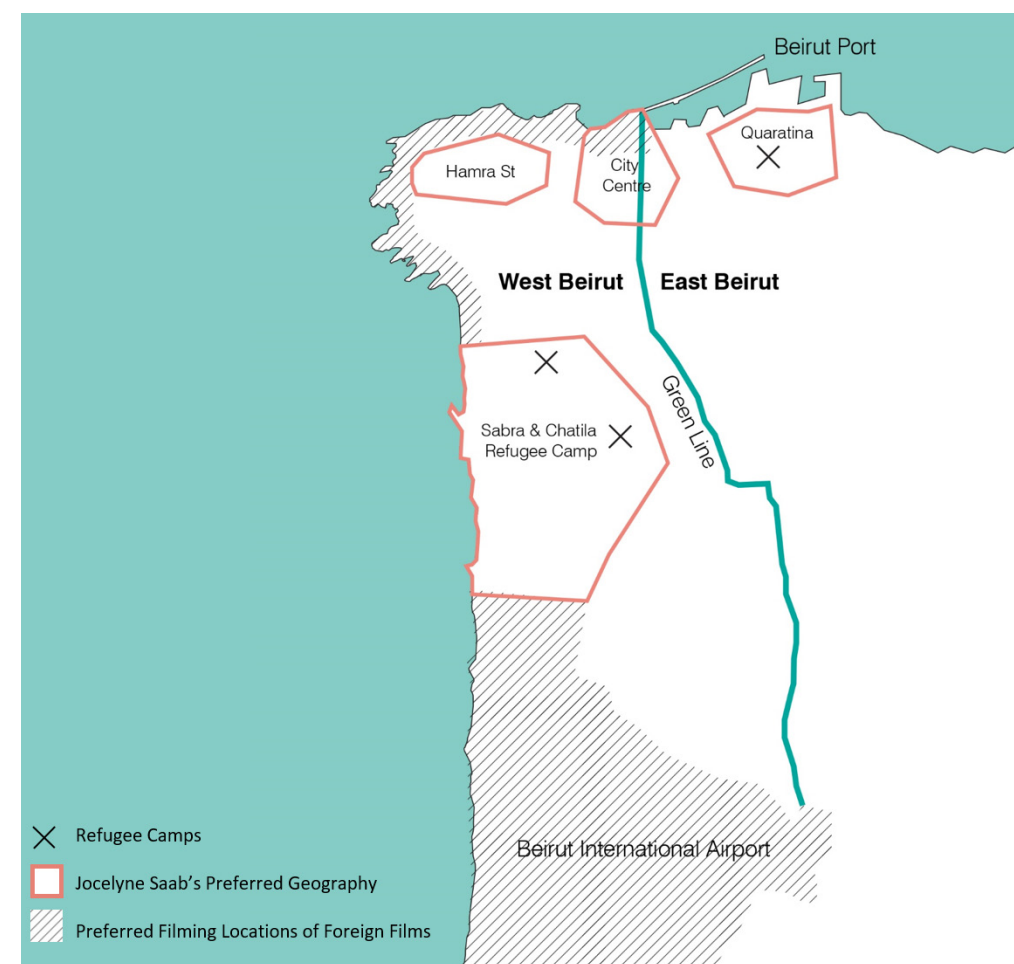


Figure 3 Map showing Saab's Preferred Geography.

Leila, a Bedouin singer from the Arab Gulf, who asks a friend to help her get the attention of a rich Lebanese man, Nabil Radwane. Her mentoring friend gives her a “French” makeover by teaching her a few words of French, giving her a blond wig, and changing her wardrobe. With her “French” attitude, she is indeed able to get the attention of Nabil, who cares for her, and even lets go of his social status by pretending to be a waiter just to get close to her. However, as soon as he sees her as the Bedouin Leila again, Nabil tries to get rid of her and treats her rudely. Leila and Violette are the same woman whose identity is not reconciled, particularly in a place that has an implicit bias towards her Western outlook. She struggles to show her Arab side and culture and wants to be a modern, liberated woman, similar to Beirut at the time.

Conclusion

It is impossible to segregate Saab’s film from her constant activism and provocations of

the status quo. To her, the frontier between documentary and fiction is not well defined. There were often elements of documentary in her fiction films and vice versa.¹⁸ “Once Upon a Time, Beirut” presents a minefield of intriguing audiovisual material. One may approach it as an archival document, a witness to Beirut’s transformations and accompanying myths. Alternately, one may dissect the choices made in the editing process, in regards to specific sociocultural concerns, such as the status of women. The film has an unshakeable air of optimism that disguises Saab’s serious past in journalism and documentary. Throughout the film, we observe the young, curious, and sarcastic leads maturing, as they begin to comprehend the forces at work in the war, and their repercussions in the reconstruction of Beirut and its identity in the postwar years. This film, when played in the post-war context, provides a relief, nostalgia, and a glimmer of hope for the future; hope that allows a community to push forward towards a brighter future.

Notes

- 1 “Jocelyne Saab. La résistance tenace d’une cinéaste libanaise.” January 19, 2019. <https://french.palinfo.com/news/2019/1/19/Jocelyne-Saab-La-r-sistance-tenace-d-une-cin-aste-libanaise>. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
- 2 Mathilde Rouxel, “Jocelyne Saab, Pour Une Cartographie Engagée Du Liban - Hors Champ,” August 2017. <https://www.horschamp.qc.ca/spip.php?article718>. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
- 3 Nicole Brenez. “History’s Witness,” *Sight & Sound* 27 (4) (2017): 60.
- 4 In 1973, she had exclusive interviews with the likes of Libya’s Ghaddafi and covered major events such as the October War and Arab victory.
- 5 As the transportation between East and West Beirut and fights broke out in the streets of Beirut, Saab was increasingly determined to document the city center of her childhood by recording this rupture. She would wait for the daily cease-fire, between six and ten AM, to film her collapsing Beirut (Rouxel 2017). Saab often defied the demarcation line separating East and West Beirut and went as far as riding on a bus that crosses between either side, interviewing Lebanese citizens of various faiths. All showed support for her project, deplored the war and expressed their suffering in a never-ending conflict they cannot grasp fully. (Rouxel, 2017).
- 6 Roy Armes. *Arab Filmmakers of the Middle East : A Dictionary*. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2010).
- 7 Stefanie Van de Peer, *Negotiating Dissidence : The Pioneering Women of Arab Documentary*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017).
- 8 Olivier Hadouchi, “#OlivierHadouchi Conversations Avec La Cinéaste Jocelyne Saab / Several Conversations with Filmmaker Jocelyn Saab”, April 2, 2013. www.criticalsecret.net. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
- 9 Olivia Snaije, “Film-Maker’s Work Took Time to be Accepted,” Arts & Entertainment Culture, The Daily Star, November 25, 2002. <http://>



Figure 4 Yasmine and Leila en Route to Mr. Farouk. Screenshot from the film “Once Upon a Time, Beirut”.

Figure 5 1965: How Leila and Yasmine dress up as creatures of the night... and the consequences. Screenshot from the film “Once Upon a Time, Beirut”.

- www.dailystar.com.lb/Culture/Art/2002/Nov-25/100773-film-makers-work-took-time-to-be-accepted.ashx. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
- 10 Hillauer, Rebecca. 2005. "Encyclopedia of Arab Women Filmmakers. [Electronic Resource]." EBook. Encyclopedia of Arab Women Filmmakers [Electronic Resource] / Rebecca Hillauer ; Translated by Allison Brown, Deborah Cohen, and Nancy Joyce. 2005.
 - 11 Eventually, French and German sources flooded in. This is primarily the reason behind the introduction of the French language into the film.
 - 12 "(28) Jocelyne Saab Zu Gast // Filmgespräch // Es War Einmal Beirut - Werkschau - YouTube," April 15, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8Bw8EKiWyc>. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
 - 13 "Jocelyne Saab: 'The Price of Freedom is High - Each Dawn a Censor Dies'". February 5, 2016. <http://lemagazine.jeudepaume.org/blogs/each-dawn-a-censor-dies-by-nicole-brenez/2016/02/05/jocelyne-saab-the-price-of-freedom-is-high/>. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
 - 14 *La Presse de Tunisie; Tunis*. 2019. "Cinéaste révoltée de la blessure et de la mémoire," January 15, 2019. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/2167019640/citation/396D6389FD5146B1PQ/1>. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
 - 15 Her four fictional feature films, across the board, have strong female protagonists that represent their cities: "A Suspended Life" (1985), her first feature film, is a coming-of-age narrative of a young Lebanese woman who falls in love with a much older man. "I am four thousand or five thousand years old. I am a city. I am Beirut, holding an eraser in one hand and a chalk in the other hand. With the chalk, I write stories of children, and I create streets, and I build palaces; and with my other hand, I erase the children, and I erase the streets, and I erase the palaces." When discussing the film, Saab mentioned that Samar's sickness was meant to represent the sick heart of Beirut. (Olivier Hadouchi, "#OlivierHadouchi Conversations Avec La Cinéaste Jocelyne Saab / Several Conversations with Filmmaker Jocelyn Saab", April 2, 2013. www.criticalsecret.net. Last accessed: February 2, 2020). "Dunia" (2005), an Egyptian film tackling the topic of female circumcision, earned Saab several death threats and paid tribute to the energies of the woman who were on a quest towards sexual liberation. "Lady of Saigon" (2009) is a film on a woman who remained in her country during times of war, took care of her people and played an active role in the reconstruction of her country. Saab was very impressed by such a character, her tenacity and her ability to stay in one location and have maximum impact. (Mostafa, Dalia Said. 2015. "Jocelyne Saab: A Lifetime Journey in Search of Freedom and Beauty (Lebanon)." *Ten Arab Filmmakers: Political Dissent and Social Critique*, May, 34–50.)
 - 16 Mark Westmoreland, "Post-Orientalist Aesthetics: Experimental Film and Video in Lebanon," *InVisible Culture: An Electronic Journal for Visual Culture*, 2009. no. 13 (September). <https://ivc.lib.rochester.edu/post-orientalist-aesthetics%E2%80%A8experimental-film-and-video-in-lebanon/> Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
 - 17 Lewis Gropp and Elena Eilmes, "Interview with the Lebanese Filmmaker Jocelyne Saab: 'My Country Was a Beautiful Garden'," *Qantara.de - Dialogue with the Islamic World*. 2012. <https://en.qantara.de/content/interview-with-the-lebanese-filmmaker-jocelyne-saab-my-country-was-a-beautiful-garden>. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.
 - 18 "COMPLET Il était une fois Beyrouth, histoire d'une star." Institut du Monde Arabe. February 18, 2019. <https://www.imarabe.org/fr/cinema/complet-il-etait-une-fois-beyrouth-histoire-d-une-star>. Last accessed: February 2, 2020.

Revealing the Chthulucene Avant-garde: Lebbeus Woods's 'Salvage' Strategy in the Balkans

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Abstract

A classic 'artist' example in times of conflict is the 1993 performance organised by architect Lebbeus Woods in Sarajevo. On the war-ravaged steps of the Olympic museum and in full view of the Serbian snipers, two actors read and distributed forty copies of Princeton's *Pamphlet Architecture*, a bilingual issue authored by Woods and titled 'War and Architecture'. Drawing from his previous projects for Berlin and Zagreb, the American architect accused the entire political spectrum of being responsible for the murderous status-quo. The solution he envisioned was empowering the inhabitants into forming a new collective actor, through a very particular architectural project: building anti-ideological 'parasites' directly on top of the spatial scars of the city. Woods' eloquent drawings also generated a critical back-lash, which included being accused of having 'certain fascist impulses' (Leach, 1999). This article proposes a novel re-interpretation of the *War and Architecture* project. It links Woods's discourse with China Miéville's notion of *salvage*, as the contraction of 'salvation' and 'garbage'. This kinship is further analysed in relation to the theories of Donna Haraway on the subject of 'Chthulucene'. From this contemporary perspective, Lebbeus Woods is seen as belonging to a Chthulucene avant-garde, while his denounced bricolage aesthetics is re-considered in relation to architectural activism.

Keywords

Radical Reconstruction; Sarajevo; Architecture; Salvage; Chthulucene; Activism

In architecture, one of the best-known conflict-related 'artist' example is the performance organised by architect Lebbeus Woods on October 26, 1993 in Sarajevo. On the war-ravaged steps of the Olympic museum and in full view of the Serbian snipers, two actors read and distributed to the small crowd forty copies of Princeton's 15th number of *Pamphlet Architecture*, a bilingual issue authored by Woods and titled 'War and Architecture'.¹ Ever since he participated in the 'Zagreb-Free-Zone' exhibition², which opened April 19, 1991 — only weeks before the referendum for Croatia's independence — Woods had dared to believe that architecture could play a pacifier role in the political crisis that was raging. The American architect decided to make a series of highly detailed drawings, as well as a model of the old city. Then, this

familiar urban space was suddenly invaded by strange metallic constructions — meant to be brought in by military helicopters — that would be implanted in the streets and grab onto existing buildings. These spatial parasites were meant to stay for only a few hours, days or weeks and act as 'symbolically neutral'³ spaces, 'free-zones' or 'freespaces'⁴ where the citizens of the six rival regions could come and begin the necessary dialogue that would lead to a peaceful way out of the crisis. However, in order for these architectural implants to shake the body and the spirit into thinking alterity, they couldn't reproduce the same spatial sensations as former ideologies.

Think of what happened to the French revolution. I mean, the French revolution was defeated by imperial French

architecture. Because all these people are trying to build an entirely radical society in that old architecture. And the architecture won! It did, it actually won, because within a few years...they had monarchy again, because the revolution fell apart. People got to think they were the next monarch, Robespierre and others...⁵

Therefore, in his Zagreb project there are no conference rooms, no comfortable chambers, no eye-pleasing modernist volumes designed in sync with the proportions of the human body. These science-fiction scrap metal-like entities are intentionally 'hard to digest',⁶ the locus of the strange where the body is constantly ill at ease, and occupation is a challenge, not a right. Woods believed that only in these ambiguous and unsettling spaces, where the body is cut from its habits and routines, far from the past actions resulting in the status quo, that one can, in strangeness, think of previously unfathomable (and hopefully pacifist) solutions.

If in Zagreb these structures were meant to be temporary, two years later in Sarajevo, Woods imagines them becoming more stable and being implanted for good in the voids of bombarded buildings. For a minority of those, the architect thus makes 'a case against erasure',⁷ against the desire to forget the memories of tragedy and loss by enacting a *tabula rasa* on the damaged tissue of the city. He equally makes 'a case against restoration',⁸ because 'when you build something back the way it was, in a way you say nothing has changed, we are still the same people, we still have the same values, we still see the world the same way'.⁹ Woods feared that such paths could lead to the reaffirmation of past social orders that cyclically bring conflict. Instead, by 'building on the existential remnants of war'¹⁰ — a stance he would later call 'radical reconstruction'¹¹ — the freespaces of Sarajevo were supposed to act as a network of anti-ideological pockets in

the fabric of the city, connected together by what we would nowadays call the internet. Cobbled together from the leftovers of conflict, this architecture would at first be empty, useless, and even hostile to human occupation, acquiring meaning only as it is inhabited.¹² However, its aim was to teach — even force — its users to snap out of the passive existence expected of them in societies built on the principle of hierarchy, and assume a state of perpetual agency, fully embracing the 'benefits and burdens of self-organization'.¹³ This 'mutant tissue' would thus be the catalyst for the birth of a new *heterarchical* and peaceful society, built not on the principle of sameness that led to countless acts of organised violence and war, but of difference between people and things.

Today, almost three decades after Woods began his reflection on the architects' responsibilities as well as his room for manoeuvre in times of crisis, this article attempts to revisit the lessons of *War and Architecture* in relation to current climate change debates. We will begin by acknowledging both the opportunities, as well as the dangers that stem from trying to mediate conflict through a mixture of architecture and storytelling. We will therefore re-examine a frequent criticism levelled at Woods, that of celebrating an 'aesthetics of destruction', of putting forth 'junk sculptures'¹⁴ and seeking career-enhancing opportunities on the back of human suffering. However, by linking Woods' discourse with that of author and theorist China Miéville and his notion of *salvage* (a contraction of 'salvation' and 'garbage'), as well the recent theories of Donna Haraway on the subject of the *Chthulucene* (a vision of home for the countless human and non-human refugees of current and future environmental disasters), we aim to paint the portrait of Woods as a member of an emerging interdisciplinary avant-garde that focuses on wastelands and embraces speculative thought in order to uncover and discover

ways to navigate the dangerous waters of future catastrophes.

Cult-idols and ambulance chasers

The work of Lebbeus Woods (1940-2012) rarely left its audience indifferent. For some, such as the critic Marc Lamster, he was 'the last of the great paper architects' that for several decades acted as the 'conscience of the architectural profession'.¹⁵ Steven Holl¹⁶ and Kelly Chan considered him a contemporary Piranesi, a true 'cult idol', a 'sanctified figure, [that remained] a non-corrupted presence in the discipline'.¹⁷ In 2008, architecture critic Nicolai Ouroussoff described him as the last man standing from the generation of experimental architects of the 1980s that included Bernard Tschumi, Daniel Liebeskind, Rem Koolhaas or Zaha Hadid. While the others had long ago '[abandoned] fantasy for the more pragmatic aspects of the building',¹⁸ Woods had adamantly stayed at his drawing board, constantly reminding his peers that the act of building is profoundly political.

However, his projects have not garnered only praise. Trying to mediate conflict and devastation through art and architecture leaves one open to a vast array of criticism. Take for instance Graham Owen: 'ambulance chasing amongst architects has never been a pretty sight', he writes in the *Journal for Architectural Education*¹⁹ referring to the flurry of projects that sprouted in the aftermath of 9/11 — Woods has himself contributed on the subject²⁰ — or in the wake of hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. Graham continues by saying that 'what we witnessed was the 'architecture op', a designers' version of the photo op for politicians kissing earthquake orphaned infants'. A more appropriate answer could have been perhaps 'not leaping forward to piggy-back one's career on the guaranteed visibility of a world-shattering event, not surfing the media on the death of thousands of people'.²¹ Graham's view is not singular, as Lebbeus Woods has often had to fight off accusations of creating a

'coldblooded imagery',²² of being a war tourist, of 'aestheticizing violence'²³, 'of preying on human misery'²⁴, or of being a techno-fetishist that produces nothing but seductive images worthy of science-fiction blockbusters, but empty of any real connection to the social context they were meant for.²⁵ In a particularly direct attack, Neil Leach goes as far as comparing *War and Architecture* to the work of dictators such as Nicolae Ceaușescu or Adolf Hitler, all sharing a penchant for 'a curious power game though the vicarious use of architectural models'.²⁶

In response, Woods scolds architects for lovingly taking on 'easy problems — the ones already solved' such as the high-rise office tower, whose programmatic conundrum has had an answer ever since Sullivan and Adler's 1894 Guaranty Building in Buffalo. From this posture of minimum of risk taking, such architects afford to stigmatise those who attempt to tackle difficult problems, 'the ones not yet solved',²⁷ like the radical reconstructions of buildings and cities damaged by war, natural disasters or economic difficulties. Woods insists 'no architect would wish for the violent destruction of human communities just to enhance his or her career, just as no doctor would wish for the creation of cancer just to win a Nobel Prize'.²⁸

But there are other types of criticism one can make. From an aesthetic point of view, Joshua Comaroff and Ong Ker-shing list Woods's work in their book *Horror and Architecture* as an example of physical deviance. In their eyes, his projects are akin to incontinent objects with unpredictable orifices, or holes, that invoke images of excretions and illicit discomfort: 'The hole suggests an inability to enforce the order or territoriality of the body.... The breach is a threshold of momentous, and possibly dangerous, agency'.²⁹ Modern architecture, they argue, was built on a two centuries-long effort to sustain a 'disappearing act',³⁰ to internalise

plumbing, to hide away, to conceal human waste. But Woods projects — alongside the early works of Daniel Libeskind and Bernard Tschumi — are seen as presenting the viewer with ‘a vivisection, a flaying. The building is alive and it is inappropriately opened.’³¹

This personification of architecture is not without echo to the words of Mark Wigley who in the aftermath of 9/11 stated that we are collectively traumatised by sights of architectural decay and destruction because buildings are perceived ‘themselves [as] a kind of body: a surrogate body, a superbody with a face, a façade, that watches us. We use buildings to construct an image of what we would like the body to be’.³² And ‘damaged buildings represent damaged bodies’.³³ Woods is no stranger to this building-body analogy, but wants to wield it like a doctor wishing to treat the tissue of Sarajevo with ‘injections’ of freespaces, that would lead to ‘scabs’³⁴ and later proud ‘scars’³⁵ that represent ‘what has been lost and what has been gained’.³⁶ But in a visual inspection of Woods’ projects, disconnected from his writing and his anti-ideological stance, these same scenarios of resistance can easily be read as alarming figures alluding to sickness or ‘miasmic architecture’,³⁷ to a body which is ‘not dead yet’.³⁸ It becomes perhaps unsurprising why often audience members in various conferences ask ‘didn’t these people suffer enough?’. Aren’t Woods’ citizens of Sarajevo becoming double victims; first victims of war, secondly victims of the deviant architecture imposed on them? Why shouldn’t they get to start anew? In the context of the Balkan wars, these are legitimate questions.

A case for a scavenging survivor

But what happens if we try to read the lessons of Lebbeus Woods in the context of another man-made disaster, that of looming climate change catastrophe? One in which humanity as a whole is threatened, where there are no danger zones and safe

havens? Writer and theorist China Miéville considers that we are already collectively considering such scenarios:

We’re surrounded by a culture of ruination, dreams of falling cities, a peopleless world where animals explore. We know the clichés. Vines reclaim Wall Street as if it belongs to them, rather than the other way round; trash vastness, dunes of garbage; the remains of some great just-recognizable bridge now broken to jut, a portentous diving board, into the void. Etcetera. It’s as if we still hanker to see something better and beyond the rubble, but lack the strength.³⁹

Woods’s Sarajevo aesthetics are not far off from this catastrophe imagery. As Michael Mester points out, his radical reconstructions ‘possess the aura of a scrap heap rather than a production line’.⁴⁰ In some drawings they seem to proliferate ‘like a weed’,⁴¹ giving birth to chaotic structures with an agency of their own, blanketing or perhaps asphyxiating entire buildings and entire neighbourhoods with their dense crust. In these landscapes, does one live or simply survive? It is worth noting that the contemporary surge of *apocalypses* or *utopalypses* — as Miéville calls them, is also accompanied by a strong public appetite for narratives of survival. In the inaugural issue of *Salvage* magazine, where Miéville is a founding editor, while commenting on the *Walking Dead* series, Nicholas Beuret and Gareth Brown reflect on the possibility of life in a specific kind of post-catastrophe landscape, where ‘the ground has not been cleared, [and] the undead foreclose the possibility of clearing away the ruins’.⁴² These zombies, as they are more commonly referred to, are a useful trope because they act as excellent narrative stand-ins for real-world disruptive agents such as Serbian snipers or future environmental disasters. But unlike some fortunate inhabitants who thankfully

managed to flee Sarajevo, or those who got to see the end of the war, in the climate-change catastrophe scenario one must dwell in a collapsing world without frontiers or front-lines to escape from, without outside territories that offer shelter, nor the prospect of resolution. The survivor is trapped ‘in the destroyed present’; ‘the survivor is not going anywhere’.⁴³ Under the auspices of a perpetual imminent danger, what Beuret and Brown notice is that from a neo-liberal perspective this survivor no longer produces anything. The rhythm of his life is only governed by a constant *care*- or *repair-time*, an endless maintenance of one’s body, social relations and lived environments. But for the authors, this survivor can nevertheless *salvage*.⁴⁴

‘Salvage’ is a potent concept for those in the vicinity of Miéville, as it holds specific political connotations.⁴⁵ In an interview for the Boston Review, he calls the term ‘word-magic. A retconned syncretic backformation from “salvation: and “garbage”’.⁴⁶ Used as a verb instead of a noun, it is deployed as the mark of what he calls ‘undefeated despair’. For when it is too late to *save*, but still possible to repurpose. ‘Suturing, jerry-rigging, cobbling together. Finding unexpected resources in the muck, using them in new ways. A strategy for ruination’.⁴⁷ A strategy which for one commentator, Zak Bronson, said that it can be seen as a form of ‘salvage-Marxism’, one ‘that rustles through the legacies of the past to contemplate their contemporary value, while simultaneously integrating vital lessons from feminist, queer, and postcolonial studies’.⁴⁸ The central figure of the revolution can no longer be the worker, and is replaced in the disaster-stricken near-future with that of the survivor. Economics therefore shift as well, no longer relying on extraction and invention, but on a constant exercise in what Steven Jackson calls ‘broken world thinking’, where the focus is no longer on novelty, growth or progress, but maintenance, repair and hopefully sustainability.⁴⁹

Sarajevo has become a city of amateur architects, of people who repair their own windows, walls, roofs, storefronts with a patchwork of found and scavenged materials....The canons of architectural history provide no help for this work, because they have always been reserved for the monumentalization and codification of authority. In Sarajevo, where both history and authority have betrayed people, there is not the luxury of time to wait for either to catch up with reality. The reconstruction of Sarajevo has already begun. Tomorrow must be today. The future is now.⁵⁰

In Woods’ writings, the citizens of Sarajevo are not presented as passive victims. The American architect also considers them as survivors — people ‘of crisis ... from every social class’⁵¹ — fluent in the use of salvage strategies. However, the architect argues that the makeshift structures inhabitants put together, practical as they were — shielding them against snipers for instance — created a ‘degraded environment, which was exactly the goal of the terrorists’.⁵² Under the circumstances, were they good enough? To answer this question, Woods looks elsewhere, to clothing: ‘in spite of the lack of water, heat, or lighting, [Sarajevans were] somehow always in clean, pressed clothing, the women elegantly coiffed and made up, incongruously strolling in the parts of the city center that were screened from snipers if not from mortars and cannons in the hills above, like players from an Alain Resnais film’.⁵³ This observation is in Woods’s eyes some sort of permission to intervene and propose ways in which highly modest and scavenged leftovers, ‘the material and intellectual detritus of destruction’, can be recycled or re-formed into the genuinely new.⁵⁴ But one ‘cannot simply assemble the wasted and the ruined into an urban collage of things and events’.⁵⁵ For Woods, it is not about ad-hoc constructions, but about precise ‘labor intensive rather than capital

intensive⁵⁶ designs, that join seamlessly with existing materials in a ‘considered and disciplined way’.⁵⁷ The scavenged metal, wood, and even cardboard that make up these modest yet striking designs, could thus be seen as a concrete example of what Miéville’s ‘resources in the muck’.⁵⁸ We could thus argue that the scrap-heap aesthetics chosen by Woods is not about aestheticising violence. Instead, when ‘ruins are our gardens’ — to quote Anna Tsing — and catastrophe has sent the (whole) world to pieces, we are in fact talking about embracing an alternative architectural practice rooted in ethics of repair, maintenance and infinite care.

On life in blasted landscapes⁵⁹

The figures associated with *Salvage* magazine are not the only ones building today a theoretical framework of what it means to survive and maintain a permanently broken world. In more recent years, Donna Haraway has moved beyond her *Cyborg Manifesto* ideas⁶⁰ and started engaging in the debates around Paul Cruz’s *Anthropocene* term (the age of Man as a geological force), the growing interest for Jason Moore / Andreas Malm’s⁶¹ *Capitalocene* (the age of capital), or the perhaps more accurate discussion around *extractivism* spearheaded in recent years by Naomi Klein or its *Extractocene* variant used by artist Praba Pilar (both referring to the planetary-scale resource extraction mentality). Regardless of the words used to describe these past few centuries, Haraway sees our recent history mainly as a time of immense and irreversible damage: ‘Right now, the Earth is full of refugees, human and not, without refuge. ... There are so many losses already, and there will be many more’.⁶² Her response to catastrophe is to advocate for an alternative path forward, one in which the world is remodelled to accommodate ‘rich multispecies assemblages’ (plants, animals, microbes, machines, people), a near-future where the many refugees of today can come together

and make ‘possible partial and robust biological- cultural- political- technological recuperation and recomposition’.⁶³

‘So, I think a big new name ... is warranted: ... I am calling all this the Chthulucene.’⁶⁴

And in the same vein as Woods in Sarajevo, Haraway believes it is no longer possible to repair everything that has been destroyed — one will have to mourn ‘irreversible losses’.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, ‘some kinds of restitution, partial healing, repair, preserving existing and humbly inventing new robotic and organic creatures are possible’.⁶⁶ For this to work, at the heart of her argument Haraway places an extended view of the concept of kinship that goes far beyond its traditional ‘blood relationship’ definition:

Kinship is about a kind of non optional reciprocity. You don’t really have a choice about taking care of your elder mother even if you really can’t get along with her. You might have a choice, but it’s understood to be a failure of your being if you can’t take care of each other. So kin are those sorts of beings that have claims in each other. I have a cousin, a cousin has me; I have a dog, a dog has me; I have a habitat zone for song — the migration routes of the songbirds —, the songbirds have me. It’s not just *Homo sapiens* type of creatures, nor those animals you live at home with: the kinship is about that diffuse enduring solidarity where living and dying beings have stakes in each other.⁶⁷

Other researchers at the University of California and beyond share this perspective⁶⁸ — such as Anna Tsing and her work on the present day matsutake ecologies that defy the devastation caused by industrial logging.⁶⁹ In the ‘blasted landscapes’ of the state of Oregon, the American anthropologist reflects on the

surprising multi-species collaboration between ‘humans, pines and fungi’. Here grows the matsutake mushroom, a species unsuitable for artificial cultivation that is considered a valuable gourmet treat in Japan and at times fetches astronomical sums per kilo. Despite this exceptional exchange-value, it seems that the matsutake mostly thrives in the sunshine and the poor mineral soil left behind by human deforestation, at the foot of the young red pine trees. Its pickers: the refugees of the Indochina Wars. One point Tsing makes is that ‘global landscapes are now strewn with this kind of ruin. Still, these places can be lively despite announcements of their death. In a global state of precarity, we don’t have choices other than looking for life in this ruin.’⁷⁰

Artists have also long reflected on such ideas. Take for instance Mierle Laderman Ukeles⁷¹ who works at the juncture between feminisms, environmentalism and participatory art. In a recent interview, she states that maintenance and care — two subjects at the core of her practice — have had since the late 1960s little to no value in Western culture: ‘The trajectory was: make something new, always move forward. Capitalism is like that.’ No room for the invisible ‘circular and repetitive’ tasks that keep children, institutions or cities ‘healthy and robust. ... if you want them to thrive, you have to do a lot of maintenance — a whole lot.’⁷² In her 1968 manifesto *For Maintenance Art!* she dedicates an entire section to ‘Earth Maintenance’: ‘Everyday, containers of the following kinds of refuse will be delivered to the Museum: 1) the contents of one sanitation truck; 2) a container of polluted air; 3) a container of polluted Hudson River; 4) a container of ravaged land’.⁷³ We are not talking here about merely exhibiting the nefarious effect humans have on their environment. Instead,

each container would have been ‘purified, de-polluted, rehabilitated, recycled and conserved by various technical (and / or pseudo-technical) procedures either by [the artist] or scientists.’⁷⁴ At the time this art performance didn’t get to see the light of day, but following decades of advocacy by Ukeles and others, such ‘earth maintenance’ is coming to life: it will take roughly thirty years, but the giant Freshkills landfill in the borough of Staten island — and sorting ground for roughly one-third of the rubble from Ground Zero — is slowing being transformed into a park three times the size of Central Park.

The aesthetics in the drawings of Lebbeus Woods might at times not seem to have much in common with the images favoured or created by the researchers and artists invoked in this section. Most have ties to feminist circles and have shunned away from the aggressive masculine imagery the oozes out of some of Woods’s projects. Donna Haraway, for instance, prefers radically different visual references, such as the oeuvres of Lynn Randolph or Shoshanah Dubiner. It is also true that the work of Miéville and others cited here came after the death of the American architect and nearly three decades since the publication of his *War and Architecture*. Nonetheless, this article argues that the forays Woods makes into ‘broken world thinking’ and ‘salvage’ strategies in a besieged Sarajevo are a rare occurrence in the architecture of the twentieth century. His work might divide the audience on grounds of visual affinities, but his determination to find shelter and meaning within the wreck of civilisation itself gained him a rightful place in the young but expanding interdisciplinary field we could broadly call the ‘Chthulucene studies’.

Notes

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- 3 Lebbeus Woods, “Taking on risk: nine experimental scenarios,” *Lebbeus Woods Blog*. <http://www.lebbeuswoods.net/CARNEGIE.pdf>. Last accessed: July 1, 2017).
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- 6 Lebbeus Woods cited in Yael Reisner-Cook, *The Troubled Relationship between Architecture and Aesthetic: Exploring The Self and Emotional Beauty in Design*, (PhD diss., RMIT University, 2011), 148.
- 7 Woods, “War and Architecture”, 10.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Woods, *Experimental Space and Architecture*.
- 10 Woods, “War and Architecture”, 14.
- 11 Lebbeus Woods, *Radical Reconstruction*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997).
- 12 Ibid., 16.
- 13 Woods, “War and Architecture”, 21.
- 14 Lebbeus Woods, “The Sarajevo Window”, *Lebbeus Woods Blog*. <https://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2011/12/02/war-and-architecture-the-sarajevo-window/>. Last accessed: July 23, 2009.
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- 21 Owen, “In Dark Waters”: 7.
- 22 Ouroussoff, “Lebbeus Woods”.
- 23 Lebbeus Woods, “Aestheticizing Violence” and “Beyond Memory” in Lebbeus Woods, Claire Jacobson (ed.), *Slow Manifesto*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2015): 123, 225.
- 24 Woods, “Aestheticizing Violence”, 123.
- 25 Neil Leach, *The Anaesthetics of Architecture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999), 32.
- 26 Ibid., 27.
- 27 Woods, “Aestheticizing Violence”.
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- 29 Joshua Comaroff, Ong Ker-Shing, *Horror in Architecture* (San Francisco: ORO editions, 2013), 122.
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- 31 Ibid., 133.
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- 34 Woods, “War and Architecture”, 21.
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- 36 Ibid., 31.
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- 39 China Miéville, “The Limits of Utopia”, *Salvage*. salvage.zone/in-print/the-limits-of-utopia. Last accessed: December 2, 2016. This text was also presented by Miéville at the *Earth Day Conference*, organised by the *Nelson Institute* in Madison, Wisconsin, on April 22, 2014.
- 40 Michael Menser, “We Still Do Not Know What a Building Can Do”, in Lebbeus Woods, *Radical Reconstruction*, 163.
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- 42 Nicholas Beuret, Gareth Brown, “Dancing on the Grave: Salvage, The Walking Dead, and the End of Days”, *Salvage*. <http://salvage.zone/in-print/dancing-on-the-grave-salvage-the-walking-dead-and-the-end-of-days/>. Last accessed: October 9, 2019). Also printed in *Salvage*, no. 1, 2016.
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- 45 Zak Bronson, “Living in the Wreckage”, *Los Angeles Review of Books*. <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/living-in-the-wreckage/>. Last accessed: October 9, 2019). It is worth mentioning that Miéville is known to the general public mostly as an acclaimed fantasy writer, being often called the leader of “new weird”, a sub-genre at the threshold of speculative fiction and horror. Architects have particularly resonated with his novel *The City & The City* (2009). In addition, Miéville has a PhD on Marxism and international law and is active in left-wing politics in the UK, which includes running for office on behalf of the Socialist Alliance in 2001.
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- 52 Woods, “The Sarajevo Window”.
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- 54 Woods, *Radical Reconstruction*, 29-30.
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- 58 Ibid.
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- 65 Ibid.
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- 69 Tsing, *The Mushroom*.
- 70 Ibid, 6.
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Media Ecologies of the “Extractive View”: Image Operations of Material Exchange

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Abstract

Extraction displaces materials and reorganizes habitats by accumulating resources—a process which renders lands and populations as extractable information to be mobilized in systems of metabolic exchange. In contemporary practice, collecting, moving and sorting this data require a complex interoperability between sensor platforms, computing devices and databases before they are processed into workable representations of the Earth. This paper examines how processes of digital image making partake in mechanisms of spatial reconfiguration that are intrinsic to extraction industries. The centrality of vision in colonial practices — in relation to systems of surveillance, mapping and resource exploitation — has received extensive scholarly interest, while focus on the technical fabrication of the extractive view and its agency in spatial operations remains scarce. To further explore the performative capacity of remote images in the material configurations of space, the three steps of digital imaging will be brought into discussion: data recording, encoding-interpretation and application. As this process follows, the knowledge of the physical world contained in planetary views are collected by sensors that reach beyond the visible spectrum in their measurement of the Earth, tapping into its mechanical, thermal, biological, chemical, optical, acoustic, and magnetic layers to extract raw data, which are respectively worked through algorithms and translated into interface applications to be accessed as cartographic representations. By analyzing the digital image as a dynamic, volumetric process rather than a photographic surface phenomenon, this paper demonstrates how media ecologies inform theories of urbanization by focusing on the case of extractive views, while offering a framework for studying spatial representations beyond visual modalities.

Keywords

remote imaging, extraction, media ecologies, sensors, urbanization

‘Worlds are made. Moreover they are made through seemingly banal everyday practices.’¹

Central to worldmaking are practices of image making — namely the sum of materials, tools and techniques used to produce, sustain and replicate visual representations — and with every other imaging technology emerge new forms and new principles of setting realities.² This paper examines aerial surveillance as a worldmaking practice at the crossroads of spatial research and media ecologies. Of the wide-ranging applications of aerial views

in the analysis and production of space, the inquiry focuses on the use of remote sensing technologies in mining industries and offers a media-theory lens for addressing the growing imprint of extractive operations on the multiple fronts of contemporary urbanization. Respectively, the following discussion sets out on the interrelation of aerial surveillance and the ‘extractive zone’,³ and contributes to the understanding of the global computational strategies⁴ by which remote sensing partakes in material configuration and transformation of space in processes of extraction.

Geographies of extraction

In 2016, the Canadian Exhibition at the Venice Biennale lined up with a 'counter-monument' titled "Extraction" — a round little survey stake cast in gold with a peephole at the centre, affixed on the ground at the crossroads of the British and French Pavilions, 'under the Pines and Planes of the Giardini.'⁵ A screen was placed underground below the golden stake, accessible to one visitor at a time who would kneel to see the short film screened through the peephole. The 800-seconds-long film from beneath the ground showcased 800-year-long chronicles of resource mining and distribution practices of empire building in the region, 'unpack[ing] the questions of extraction as a framework to think the nation state of Canada via the relationships between architecture and its material tendrils and flows from a global perspective.'⁶

As the exhibition manifesto makes clear, at the turn of the twenty-first century, extraction industries occupy the forefront of urbanization—'from gold to gravel, copper to coltan, iron to uranium, fur to forest', the maintenance of human life depends on the continuous supply of resources.⁷ Having prospered as part and parcel of colonial histories, the resource industry today has become a pattern of urbanization, as territories of extraction cover more than 70% of the Earth's surface.⁸ Respectively, the scholarly take on the subject has been offering new research frameworks for re-conceptualising cities as 'materializations of far more vast and oftentimes distant global territories' rather than as confined things in themselves.⁹ This paper focuses on technologies of remote sensing as actors of this material exchange.

The extractive view

The ecologies of extraction, according to Gómez-Barris, materialise in the 'colonial paradigm, worldview and technologies that mark out regions of "high biodiversity" in order to reduce life to capitalist resource

conversion.'¹⁰ Historically, territorial demarcation had remained at the forefront of imperial growth. As postcolonial studies have extensively argued, surveying practices had been operational in extending the colonial gaze while legitimising its claim over conquered land—marking out 'new worlds' by applications of modern mapmaking.¹¹ 'Seeing the globe and sensing the earth', Cosgrove states, 'have both shaped and been shaped by the Western imperial and colonial project of making the modern world.'¹² Equating the colonial gaze with the extractive view, Gómez-Barris illustrates how this 'cartographic impulse'¹³ is still operative in mobilising resource industries today:

Before the colonial project could prosper, it had to render territories and peoples extractible, and it did so through a matrix of symbolic, physical, and representational violence... The extractive view, similar to the colonial gaze, [...] facilitates the reorganization of territories, populations, and plant and animal life into extractible data and natural resources for material and immaterial accumulation.¹⁴

Knowledge and visualisation of the territory were fundamental to controlling it,¹⁵ and conventionally, aerial view has been an ever-present measure for producing territorial knowledge through geographical representations.¹⁶ Any historical account of aerial survey will reveal an upward narration of technical advent that is often told in association with the 'utilitarian state, military, or municipal projects (reconnaissance, surveying, cartography, urban planning)' — taking off with the story of the 'originary watchtower' followed by 'the tethered war balloon, the reconnaissance plane, and geostationary satellites.'¹⁷ Vertical mobilities, imaginaries and materialities come entwined around the epitome of human ascent and read as a progressive chronicle of the Western

Enlightenment. Within this account, the coupling of the airplane and the camera at the turn of the twentieth century emerged as a new information technology that, besides the apparent warfare applications, was integrated into early earth sciences as geology and geography.¹⁸ 'Erosion studies, agricultural assessments, land use practices and the counting of both domesticated and wild animals all were new uses for aerial images',¹⁹ and soon, the potential of air photography in resource mapping was discovered:

The emergence of techniques and technologies of seeing from the air moved hand in hand with [...] imperial exploration, colonial administration and development... Encouraging the cooperation of ecologists, soil scientists, foresters and airmen, aerial surveys could correlate the patternings and dynamics of the relation between these different forms of disciplinary expertise and the material phenomena they wanted to understand.²⁰

Twentieth century advancements in surveillance technologies rendered aerial vision increasingly operational in managing earthly resources. Following the mid-century shift in measurement devices from airborne cameras to space-borne sensors, the physical world was made into packages of 'electronically processible digital information'²¹ and a new normal in surveillance took off. Today, remote sensing partakes in all stages of mining from exploration to after closure — proving particularly strategic in documenting the surface mineralogy and geology, as well as in detecting potential mineral deposits for further examination.²² The imaging process here is carried out by sensors mounted on flying machines — as satellites, airplanes and drones — gathering bulks of data from the electromagnetic spectrum of the Earth on a day-to-day basis, to be digitally transformed into the 'algorithmic objects'

one conceives as images.²³

Often taken at the [sur]face value in considering its relation to space making, the digital image embodies a complex ecology mobilised by operations of sensing, data processing and algorithmic translations, rather than a two-dimensional phenomenon 'reduced to the visual display of images and artifacts.'²⁴ Understanding the implications of this condition on ways of seeing, representing and making the world thus requires to take a closer look at the multiple constituents of the 'computer-screen illusions'²⁵ at work — its histories, makings, and applications — in relation to the developing cultures of architecture and urbanization in the twenty-first century. Respectively, this paper adopts a media-archaeological perspective to begin unfolding image operations intrinsic to contemporary practices of space production.

Media archaeological approach

The study of media archaeology holds multiple brands.²⁶ As far as this author is aware, there have been two initiatives that bring media archaeological method into architecture and urban research — the first being the research program *Archaeology of the Digital* founded in 2012 in CCA, which focuses on a number of projects produced throughout the 1980s and 1990s to define an origin for the digital in architecture.²⁷ On a different scale and take, Shannon Mattern's work on urban media archaeology investigates, through a multisensory and historical lens, the 'material spaces in which our networks entangle themselves'.²⁸ Following a distinct trajectory here which retains the digital image as its object of study, Wolfgang Ernst's operative media archaeology will be employed in entering the 'parallel, hidden reality at work' behind the human-machine interface²⁹ of remote images, maintaining a focus on the worldmaking ecologies of the 'extractive view'.

Operative media archaeology

The foundation of Ernst’s approach is often attributed to Friedrich A. Kittler’s take on Foucauldian archaeology. Kittler’s work was distinguished by his emphasis on the hardware materiality of media and the autonomy he ascribed to technical apparatuses.³⁰ ‘For Kittler, media studies was never to be reduced to the play of interpretations, semiotic connotations, or modes of representation... Media work on the level of circuits, hardware, and voltage differences’ — an account that often went unnoticed in humanities.³¹ Drawing on Foucault’s archaeological method of unsettling discursive formations, Kittler urged for ‘media-specific ways’ of formulating such excavations to investigate material foundations of technical media.³² Thus in Kittler’s thesis, as Sissel Hoel suggests, Foucault’s ‘historical a priori’ turned into ‘technical a priori’.³³ Huhtamo and Parikka further demonstrate how Kittler demanded that ‘[t]o be able to understand media technologies from the typewriter to the cinema and on to digital networks and coding paradigms, one must take their particular material nature into consideration’³⁴ — a position later embraced by Ernst.³⁵

Similarly, Ernst’s media archaeology prioritises the agency of the machine over ‘any idea of hermeneutic meaning’,³⁶ and is foremost occupied with the physicality of technical media, including computation.³⁷ Ernst’s avert of the human sensory attributes from his analysis characterises the recurring concept of the ‘cold gaze’ in his work: a gaze that is intrinsic to the apparatus and precedes any historical or media-archaeological inquiry — also associated with Vertov’s kino eye.³⁸ It identifies itself with the processes and matters of ‘autochthonic’³⁹ rather than ‘historical (i.e., narratable)’, following the break that humans induced with their own cultural regime, having built intelligent machines.⁴⁰ Ernst’s ‘anti-humanist’ approach has inevitably received

scholarly criticism for remaining too ‘close to the machine’, often ‘out-Kittlering’ Kittler himself in its material tendencies⁴¹, while tending to overlook socio-political implications.⁴² To clarify as to why Ernst’s theory is employed here as a means of examining the ecologies of remote sensing — despite its supposed techno-determinism, Vilém Flusser’s ideas on the agency of images will be resorted to.

Image as code

As opposed to Ernst, Flusser’s take on the media apparatus retains an anthropological, that is, ‘intersubjective dimension’.⁴³ The Czech-born media philosopher’s discussion of ‘techno-imagination’ stems from a critique of mass media and focuses on the ways images recast one’s being-in-the-world, unlike the Kittlerian account of the widgets and the hardware as the subject matter of media.⁴⁴ Respectively, images, in Flusser’s terms, are abstractions of the space-time experience into ‘significant’ two-dimensional visions, operating as mediators between individuals and the world. Images thus render the world intelligible to humans, conforming to Heidegger’s elaboration of the ‘world picture’ whereby methods of observation turn into doctrines of humankind.⁴⁵ To Flusser, every medium — including those of images, both traditional and technical — entails an organisation of symbols he refers to as a *code*, which ‘brings order to the world of things’ that is otherwise incomprehensible, creating a universe of its own.⁴⁶

Images build realities — and produce information — by ordering the world of things, as the author further claims, and in doing so, “instead of representing the world, they obscure it until human beings’ lives finally become a function of the images they create... magically restructuring our ‘reality.’⁴⁷ Eventually, ‘the world becomes image-like’.⁴⁸ This agency that Flusser attributes to images is indeed one shared by architectural and urban studies

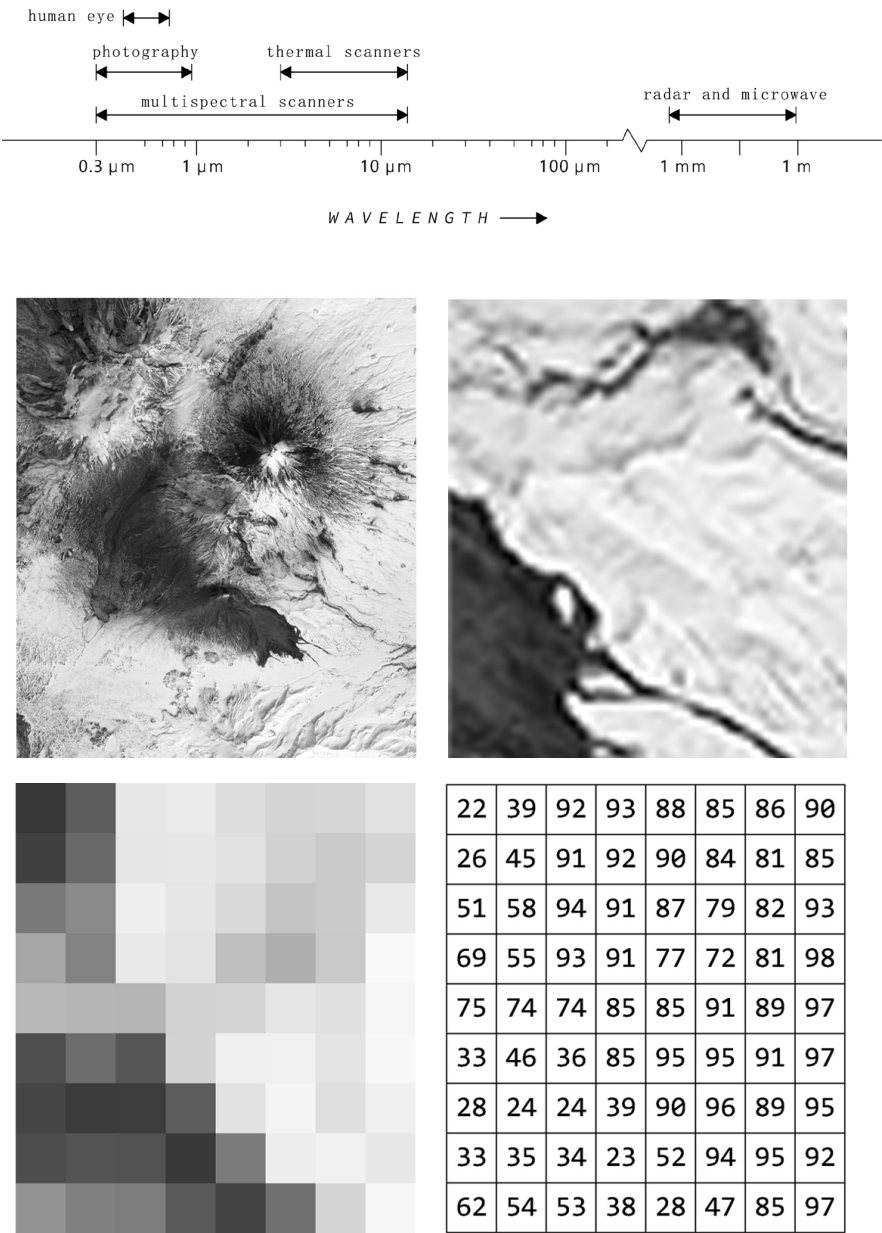


Figure 1 Special characteristics of common remote sensing systems. Image drawn by the author based on Thomas M. Lillesand, Ralph W. Kiefer and Jonathan W. Chipman, *Remote Sensing and Image Interpretation* (New Jersey: Wiley, 2015), 11, Figure 1.5..

Figure 2 Basic character of digital image data. Top-left image Bezymianny Volcano Natural Color, April 25, 2011, Wikimedia Commons accessed September 27, 2019 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bezymianny_Volcano_Natural_Color.jpg. Rest is drawn by the author based on Thomas M. Lillesand, Ralph W. Kiefer and Jonathan W. Chipman, *Remote Sensing and Image Interpretation* (New Jersey: Wiley, 2015), 25, Figure 1.12.

— with a growing popularity following digitization, and takes us back to Gürsel's argument that it is by the worldmaking capacity of images that realities are built.⁴⁹ In practices of architecture, landscape and urbanism, where the image retains a critical operability⁵⁰ visual materials mediate the world and partake in the construction of new ones: 'the media — multiple, interposed, technical — are the means of access — partial, provisional, conditioned — to these external worlds to which there is no access by any other means. A theory of the urban landscape today has to be a theory of the media.'⁵¹ The urban condition has only intensified by technologies of surveillance, computation and visualisation since Ignasi de Sola-Morales had made the above remark as early as 2001. Resonating with Bruno Latour's argument that a new visual culture recasts both the conditions of seeing and the object in sight, Ola Söderström contends that 'new generations of images are part and parcel of a new visual logic and the new spatialities of contemporary urban planning'⁵² — which can be reiterated in Flusser's concept of codes ordering the world of things. Given the growing flood of digital media, however, investigating contemporary spatialities by the technological, compositional and social modalities of their visual representations today becomes a challenging task.⁵³ Particularly in architecture, design and visual art, 'discussions of images [remain] remarkably absent in the disciplines' reflection on their own theories and practices.'⁵⁴

Setting out on the absence of an image theory as such, the following section conducts an 'object-oriented'⁵⁵ reading of the sites through which remote sensing images are produced: namely the sites of recording, interpretation and application. Often overlooked in spatial studies, the sites of production here refer to the ways machines *see*, entailing questions as: how do sensors interpret signals and collect data? How are the collected data transcribed?

How are the processed data applied to media interfaces? Entering the sub-surfaces of images for their agency in worldmaking, a media-archaeological reading allows us to rework spatial representations as complex ecologies rather than mere surface phenomena.

Image operations

Remote sensors tap into the mechanical, thermal, biological, chemical, optical, acoustic, and magnetic substances of the physical world to retrieve data — measuring the electromagnetic energy emitted or reflected from the surface of the earth from flying machines — either space-borne, as satellites, or airborne, as aircrafts and drones, without coming into contact with the object surveyed.⁵⁶ This section examines these processes of image production in two parts, focusing respectively on the gathering and processing of data.

Rendering extractible: selectivity

The electromagnetic spectrum is defined by wavelength or frequency values, ranging from X-rays to radio-waves [fig. 1].⁵⁷ In the first stage of remote imaging, sensors collect radiation values — by passive or active systems — that are either absorbed, transmitted or reflected by the object or area in question, which is always obtained in the form of a numerical reflection value and a geographic coordinate. Respectively, all remote sensing data hold the same DNA, a spectral signature, which is obtained from a wide range of electromagnetic signals [fig. 2].⁵⁸

In the exploration phase of mining, optical remote sensors operate within the radiation values ranging from ca 0.4 μm to 10 μm ⁵⁹ — covering VNIR, SWIR, TIR bands — in detecting surface vegetation, mineralogy and geology, as well as groundwater upwelling or leakage⁶⁰ indicating a radical expansion of the photographic region. The surface values are recorded with either digital cameras monitoring the visible spectrum,

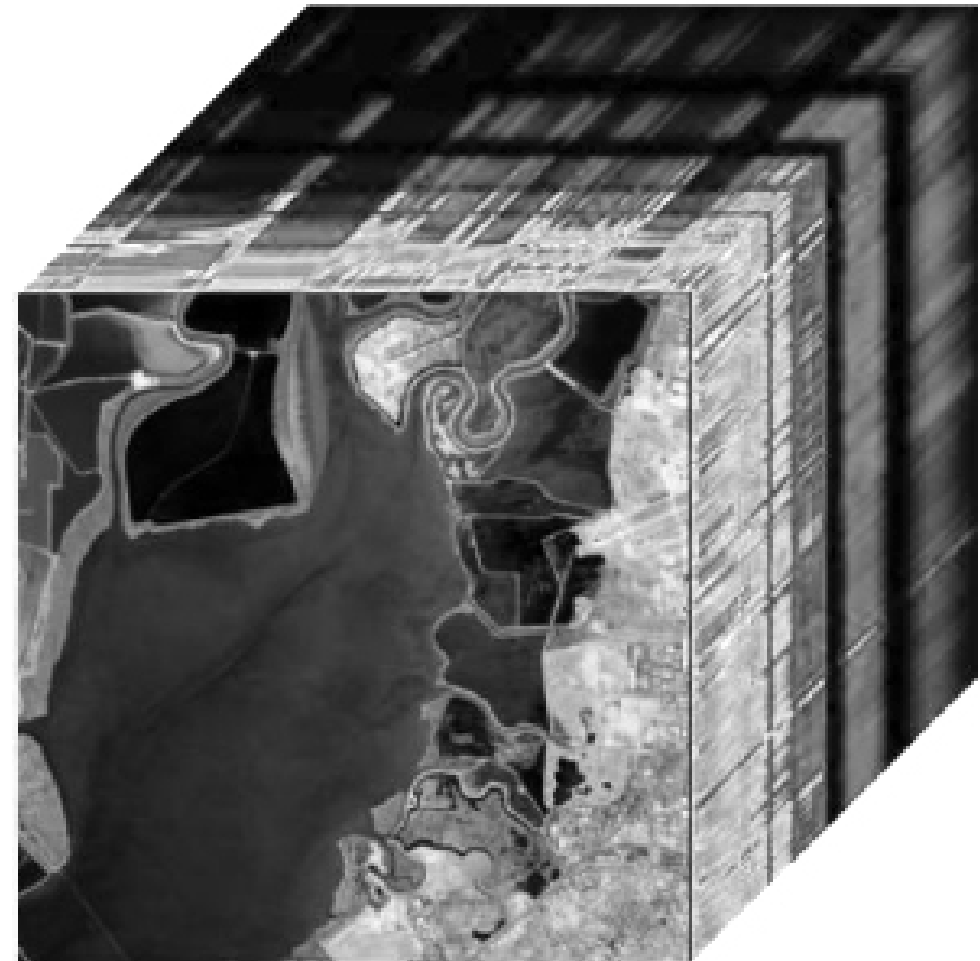


Figure 3 Isometric view of a hyperspectral image cube and corresponding Spectral Signatures, March 4, 2013, Wikimedia Commons accessed September 26 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mono,_Multi_and_Hyperspectral_Cube_and_corresponding_Spectral_Signatures.svg.

or multispectral and hyperspectral sensors collecting more accurate and constant data from a greater spectral range. Active systems, in turn, are themselves energy sources that operate by transmitting waves and measuring backscatter values, which are particularly effective in constructing topographic models and filtering out vegetation when scanning the ground—a volumetric separation is hence made between flora and the terrain in the way active sensors gather data.

In Flusser's terms, this would correspond to an intense process of abstraction from space-time experience to 2D. The code of the medium is a highly specific one, that of 'mathematical thinking', and thus claims a degree of objectivity as is often the case with technical images.⁶¹ Remote sensing orders an otherwise inaccessible world into 'significant' surfaces — in operations of absorbing, measuring, filtering and selecting, gradually absorbing and replacing what is out there.⁶² In their precision, sensors come into physical contact with the surface of the Earth by tapping into the numerous narrow bands of its spectral region before on-site mining begins. In their operational capacity, images not only detect — or 'see' — mineral deposits, but also mobilize these resources in isolation: as by separating vegetation values from soil/rock compounds, or by singling-out spectral patterns into 'thematic maps' [fig. 3]. Machine vision here endures a highly specific and selective process of ordering and commodifying Earthly resources, complying to Gómez-Barris's argument that the extractive gaze 'mark[s] out regions of "high biodiversity" in order to reduce life'⁶³ into materials of exchange.

Extending the faculties of the image: processing

By converting spectral energy into vast quantities of numerical data, sensors take the first initiative to transform earthly resources into Latour's 'immutable mobiles'⁶⁴ to be

transmitted to computers stationed on the ground, often in vast quantities but by 'one pixel at a time.'⁶⁵ Before their application in the Graphical User Interfaces, data are subjected to a series of manipulation and interpretation algorithms known as digital imaging processes, which seek to optimise certain parameters of the image for specific end-uses. These include, among others, classifying spectral and spatial patterns into thematic maps for automating feature recognition; as well as enhancing 'visual distinctions between features' to increase the amount of data contained in the image. Likewise, ordering of geo-location values include merging data sets obtained from a given geographic area at different dates in order to enable their application in GIS.⁶⁶ The imaging processes briefly outlined here, as illustrated, not only comply to visual but also to spectral, tactile and temporal data.

Imaging processes operate by four different resolution units, which further illustrate the span of data registered in the production of images that extend beyond the visible spectrum: spatial (pixel-area), spectral (wavelength interval measurement), radiometric (smallest difference in exposure) and temporal (time interval measurement).⁶⁷ Besides the more familiar concept of spatial resolution, images are enhanced by sensory and vectoral capabilities that are, in the case of extraction industries, operationalised in detecting, digging-out, processing and mobilising resources in the form of data sets, before the exchange itself is materialised on the ground.

As 'media "theory" recognizes', Ernst suggests, 'the numerical sublime, that is, mathematical calculation' continues to disturb the primacy of the visual in Western epistemological thought.⁶⁸ For the 'algorithmic object' it is, the digital image has long overreached the limitations of the visual and comprises an operational ecology that should be reworked with new vocabulary. The subsurface of the image,

respectively, provides an initial picture from which further discussions on the agency of media ecologies can be sketched

out — in demarcating both the capacity and the limitations of the technology in practices of space making.

Notes

- 1 The excerpt refers to Nelson Goodman's take on *worldmaking* whereby symbols and symbol systems not only represent but also build realities. Zeynep Devrim Gürsel "Worldmaking frame by frame," in *Image Operations: Visual Media and Political Conflict*, eds. Jens Eder and Charlotte Klonk (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 37.
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- 16 For a cultural history of aerial vision see Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*, Baltimore 2003; Denis Cosgrove, William L. Fox, *Photography and Flight*, London 2010; Beaumont Newhall, *The Airborne Camera: the World from the Air and Outer Space*, New York 1969; Mark Dorrian, Frederic Pousin, eds., *Seeing from Above: The Aerial View in Visual Culture*, New York 2013; Davide Deriu, Tanis Hindchcliffe, eds., "Special issue: aerial views of metropolitan London," *The London Journal: A review of Metropolitan London Past and Present*, London 2010; Mark Dorrian, "The aerial view: Notes on a cultural history," *Strates*, 2008.
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Defining Unexpected Strategies to Inhabit Transitional Conflict Spaces

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Abstract

If war has always challenged architecture, threatening its permanence and layering its memory, it composes, at the same time, an important part of the design tradition (B. Cache, 2007). The paper investigates how architecture has tried to overcome this implied ambiguity through a reinterpretation of its own language, in the attempt to inhabit the transitory spaces and extreme conditions produced by the conflict.

By comparing two extremely different case studies, the *Nevada National Security Site* and the villages established by the Serbian filmmaker Emir Kusturica, the paper underlines how war destructive and fascinating power has been reinterpreted, in the first case in order to attract tourists (A.Santarossa, 2012) or exploited, in the second example, as the pretext to invent an ideal future (N.Srnicsek, A.Williams, 2018), within a progressive process of mixing entertainment space and conflict dystopian settings.

Keywords

Warfare; Entertainment; Spectacularization; Dystopian Landscapes; Creative Reconstruction

The attempt of capitalizing on the complex taxonomy of transitional conflict spaces

The relation between war and architecture has always been characterized by a strong ambiguous oscillation. While the Vitruvian *firmitas* — the permanence of architecture — is strongly threatened by war, which erodes and demolishes its physical apparatus, surprisingly the conflict itself has represented a powerful resource for the design and the production of theory, pushing architecture to seek innovative spatial and technological solutions and leading to the definition of a series of principles that compose the architectural tradition.¹ War, therefore, must not be exclusively traced back to the phenomenology of destruction and ruin, but should also be recognized as an inexhaustible stimulus for architecture, that translated the threatening battlefield into a field of great experimentation, thus defining ‘amazing technical achievement, bordering on the miraculous’.²

Moreover, architecture, when operating on post-war spaces, has to deal with very peculiar space-time transitional conditions. In fact, of whatever scale or nature, war gives rise to a real short-circuit, producing lacerated territories whose normal functions and destinations are temporarily or, in some cases, permanently suspended. This phenomenon does not only affect places where the actual conflict develops, the so-called battlefields, which inherit deep scars and traumatized landscapes but also extend to all those areas that are occupied by the military infrastructure of the territory, including for instance: military bases, training camps, testing, and war production sites. It is an articulated and diffused system whose spaces are subjected to an operation of exclusion and disappearance, an archipelago of inaccessible, segregated and heavily guarded islands removed, more or less permanently, from community access and use. ‘The enterprise of destruction

is first and foremost the production of disappearance'³ writes Virilio, who states also that 'in reality, the art of war participates in that aesthetic of disappearance which is probably the essence of all history'.⁴

Furthermore, post-war landscapes, whether urban or natural, are characterized by a 'militarisation not only of space but also of time'⁵ which seems to be crystallized, fragmented, suspended between the expectation of an intervention that could bring them to a new condition of normality and the traumatic memory of the conflict passage, living a transitional phase from destruction to reconstruction, from contamination to purification, from segregation to release. Moreover, these post-war territories cannot be completely understood through a chronological reconstruction, but should rather be interpreted as a complex system characterized by the coexistence of different time-space fragments closely intertwined with one another.

Inscribed within a context where the normal condition is the transition, the paper investigates the paradoxical ways in which these space-time short-circuits have been capitalized and introduced within the cartography of everyday life through the use of the entertainment narratives. Taking advantage from war imaginary fascination, widely diffused by media throughout history, and from the potentials to operate in many cases on a real *tabula rasa*, a new rhetoric of the project has been developed, capable of interweaving narrative design with to reactivate the transitional time-spaces generated by conflict, translating them, in some cases, into shows capable of attracting a growing number of visitors, who become increasingly shameless and impudent, attempting to cross inviolable places and penetrate the most remote military secrets.

Through the analysis of two case studies, the Nevada National Security Site and the villages established by the Serbian filmmaker Emir Kusturica, is intended

to highlight how war's destructive and fascinating power has been reinterpreted within a progressive process of mixing entertainment space and conflict dystopian settings. The Nevada National Security Site, related to the war phase of training, shows how the atomic detonations have been reinterpreted and spectacularized to attract tourists while Kusturica villages, focusing on the time phase of reconstruction, demonstrate how conflict can be exploited as a pretext to invent an ideal future.

Nevada National Security Site: amazing atomic shows

The Desert is considered a place suitable for extravagances. I am not referring only to those of Bessie Johnson or Curtis Howe Springer, but also to the dune-buggy fanatics, solitary self-hitch hikers, seekers of legendary gold mines; and to those who detonated the first atomic bombs, proposed advanced missile systems and modelled gigantic earth sculptures. We must not forget that the first UFO sightings, or considered as such, and the pioneering conversation with the green men of the planet Venus took place in the Mojave. In a landscape where officially, nothing exists (otherwise it would not be a "desert"), everything is possible and therefore everything can happen.⁶

With these words, Banham describes the Mojave Desert, an environment where isolation, exceptionality, aridity, and distance give life to an extreme landscape that has represented, paradoxically, an incredibly fertile field of architectural experimentation, recording the proliferation of projects characterized by a constant oscillation between utopia-dystopia, reality-fiction, nature-artifice.

It is within this context that on January 11, 1951 the United States Department of Energy established the



Figure 1 Landing in the Mojave Desert, July 2019. Source: Mariacristina D'Oria.

Figure 2 The crater-scarred landscape of the Nevada Test Site. Source: Photo courtesy of Nevada National Security Site.

Nevada Proving Grounds (currently called the Nevada National Security Site), subtracting 3500 km² of desert landscape and converting it into a huge laboratory for testing nuclear weapons.

Thus, a natural landscape that is already inaccessible and inviolable in itself is transformed into a threatening artificial landscape, contaminated and radioactive. 'Ironically the land that was denounced as a wilderness in which white people's culture could prosper, became cultivated by the invaders' bloody battles and desires'⁷ [figs. 1, 2]. The subtraction activated by the US government involves not only the physical dimension, corrupting irretrievably the desert natural landscape, but provokes heavy cultural disappearance, demonstrating a blind indifference to the Native American communities who had rooted here secular cultures. The issue of colonialism and the violent erasure of native community requires an extremely broad treatment, not possible here.⁸

Chosen precisely because of its characteristics of isolation and emptiness, this environment has large, constant altimetric surfaces particularly suitable for atomic testing and is marked by an even more relevant aspect: photogenic. This last quality determined the inauguration of a new, dystopian, photographic current whose main focus was the contaminated landscape, described by Peter Goin, one of its major exponents, 'une expérience du sublime infiltrée par les radiations'.⁹

The NNSS is located within the Nye County, in Nevada, just over 100 km from Las Vegas, a proximity that has been crucial for the creation of a symbiotic relationship from which the city cynically draw further material to establish itself more and more as 'the sensational spectacle of all time'.¹⁰ The history of the NNSS can be divided into two distinct phases, each characterized by a different strategy of entertainment and fascination of the masses. The first, called the 'Nevada nuclear testing era'¹¹ was inaugurated on

January 27, 1951 with the atmospheric blast of the bomb *Able* and ended on September 23, 1992, with the detonation of an underground nuclear test, *Divider*. In this period 1021 nuclear devices were tested, 100 of which atmospheric and 921 underground, labelling the site as 'the most bombed place on earth'.¹² In particular the atmospheric tests — concentrated mainly in four areas: Frenchman Flat, Yucca Flat, Rainier Mesa and Pahute Mesa — attracted the attention of the city of Las Vegas. Many tourists began to besiege the terraces of the city's casinos to witness the spectacular formation of atomic mushrooms. Thus, the process of territorial devastation caused by atomic tests decrees the inauguration of a real tourist boom in the city: the destruction is capitalized and converted into a show with which to entertain an increasing number of visitors. Casinos started to throw dawn parties where gamblers caroused until a flash signalled the explosion of the atomic bomb in the Test Site. Tourism boosters promoted *atomic cocktail* (a mix of vodka, brandy, champagne and a dash of sherry) and pinups such as *Miss Atomic Blast* (1952), who radiated 'loveliness instead of atomic particles'.¹³ *Miss-A-Bomb* (1953) and *Miss Atomic Bomb* (1957), whose images have been absorbed into the American Pop Culture lexicon.

In a process of progressive alienation, where the radioactive danger of the site is increasingly underestimated, the city promoted the blasts as a unique Las Vegas attraction by giving out calendar advertising detonations and the indication of the best spots to watch the explosions, hotels began hawking their roofs as the perfect places to see the mushroom clouds and the city soon received the nickname of *Atomic City* [fig. 3].

The mediatic infrastructure has been a relevant presence even within the NNSS itself: the government employed a crew of 250 cameramen, producers and directors to chronicle the tests, assigning them special spaces from which to film the



Figure 3 View of downtown Las Vegas showing a mushroom cloud in the background. Scenes such as this were typical during the 1950. Source: Photo courtesy of Nevada National Security Site.

Figure 4 Comparing Explosions, on the left: the final explosion scene, frame of the movie *Zabriskie Point*. Source: M. Antonioni, *Zabriskie Point*, MCA Records, 1970. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBm_Fifo9L0&list=PLiWgZ5r2DrXl9B_N_X0XrWCY8uDFMRW> Last accessed: February 10, 2020. On the right: Priscilla test detonation, conducted June 24, 1957. Source: Photo courtesy of Nevada National Security Site.

explosions. One of these media spots was the News Nobb, 'established as a good point for photographers and cameraman to watch and film the airdrop and detonation of Charlie, a 31-kiloton atmospheric test at Yucca Flat'¹⁴ in 1952 and subsequently used to testify other succeeding tests. Within a short time, the site became 'one of the most photographed and heavily-reported areas in the world.'¹⁵ The collective imagination was heavily marked by the high media coverage of these explosive shows, as proved by the National Atomic Testing Museum, hosted in Las Vegas, that exposes a considerable amount of objects marketed by exploiting the masses' fascination for the nuclear tests. A further episode, denoting the extremely cynical thrust sustained by the atomic event capitalization, dates back to March 17, 1953, the *Annie* test was conducted. A nuclear device was detonated on a small settlement built *ad hoc* for the occasion, composed of two colonial houses and equipped with all the elements effectively findable within the typical American suburb: passenger cars, gas and oil station, distribution roads and mannequins with clothing that were kindly given J.C.Penney Co. Only two weeks after the test, the same mannequins subjected to atomic radiation were displayed in the storefronts of J.C.Penney Co. on Freemont Street in Las Vegas, attracting a large audience. An episode that was critically evoked in some scenes of Michelangelo Antonioni movie *Zabriskie Point* (1970), in which the *Sunnydays Company* promotes the construction of a new village in the desert with a commercial spot where the inhabitants are nothing but mannequins. The final scene of the same movie, an explosion in the desert, represents another strong criticism that the director makes of American post-capitalism [fig. 4].

The second phase of the NNSS began in 1992 when all the nuclear tests (both atmospheric and underground) stopped thanks to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty. This event gave a new input to a different type of nuclear

tourism no longer developed outside the area, but that started venturing within its borders. Visitors, forced to book their guided and strictly controlled tours a year in advance, are brought with buses inside the site, to discover bombed villages, cars, and military vehicles cemeteries, large craters generated by explosions and dilapidated infrastructure. The tour provides some key stops including the Japanese Village ruins (1955), a visit to Survival Town (1955) with a short stop to visit the two houses survivors of the nuclear tests, the Apple-2 Houses — a wooden two-story house and a brick two-story house, the photo-op with the Sedan Crater, formed in 1962 using a 104-kiloton device, and finally passing through the nuclear waste dump.

While waiting for the resolution of the debate on the fate of the Yucca Mountain, selected as the nation's High-Level Nuclear Waste Repository, this enormous transitional space remains a considerable tourist destination for all the curious, researchers and scholars interested in visiting and experiencing the dystopian landscape, made up of craters and ruins, originated from nuclear experimentation during the Cold War.

Emir Kusturica villages: reconstructing an imaginary past

If in the NNSS the rhetoric aimed at promoting the spectacularization of conflict spaces is applied explicitly in a context lacerated by the destructive power of nuclear devices, in the second case study, focused on the post-war stage, this operation is much more camouflaged under the additive physical layer of reconstruction.

Located within the complex geographical, political and social system of the Yugosphere¹⁶ an interesting process of reconstruction is directed, surprisingly, not by a planner or an architect, but by a filmmaker, Emir Kusturica. Combining in a typical process of film editing, the urgency of reconstructing an ideal future with an intermittent poetic license, he created

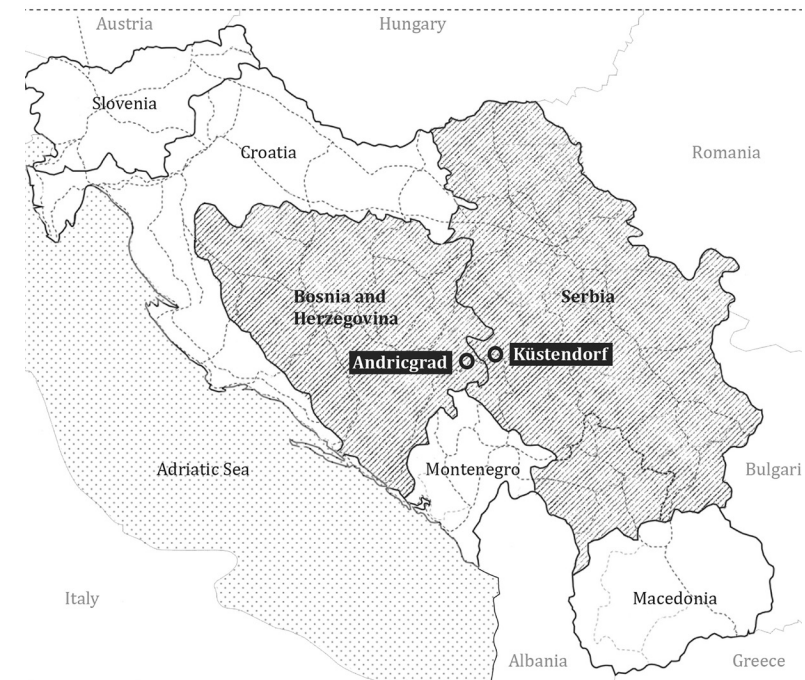


Figure 5 Küstendorf and Andricgrad: two villages within the Yugosphere, 2019. Source: Mariacristina D'Oria.

Figure 6 White Writer, Drvengrad, CC licensing, 2010. Photo: Google open source images.

two villages: Küstendorf (Serbia) and Andricgrad (Bosnia and Herzegovina) [fig. 5]. These cases are particularly interesting both for how they are built, operating a selective reconstruction of memory, and for their final results.

Kusturica's design experience started in 2004 when, to shoot the film *Life is a Miracle* (2004), he established Küstendorf — also known as Drvengrad — a wooden village built according to traditional construction techniques [fig. 6]. Located in Serbia, adjacent to the village of Mokra Gora, Küstendorf is equipped with all the typical elements of a small urban settlement: the central square, which overlooks the Church of St. Sava, the library Meša Selimović, Stanley Kubrick cinema, and Diego Maradona square with the sports center. Named based on the filmmaker's imagination, who also dedicated its streets to artists and historical figures dear to him, these urban elements give life to a center that, instead of reconstructing and strengthening the identity of the past, invents a whole new memory.

After the war as a means of making cinema with the American landing in Mogadishu, after the cinema as a means of making war with the film *Apocalypse Now*, after architecture as a means of making war with the work of the architect Zaha Hadid, here is finally cinema as a means of making architecture for Emir Kusturica with the village of Küstendorf. [...] The filmmaker builder forces poetry into people's everyday lives.¹⁷

The mix of reality and fiction, a fundamental feature of this settlement, is also emphasized by the organization, since 2008, of the Küstendorf Film and Music Festival that transforms each year the village into an open-air stage. Masked by this manifestly poetic reconstruction, the process triggered by Kusturica is based on a profound paradox, that emerges from the

same words of the artist: 'I dream of an open place with cultural diversity which sets up against globalization'¹⁸ admitting later that his new village will not be completely open but that 'some people will be able to come from time to time'¹⁹ and that everybody is welcome but under the payment of a ticket. Kusturica repeated this operation in 2011 with the construction of Andricgrad, a stone village in Bosnia and Herzegovina that registered a further degree of distortion: he elected the mayor, getting the power to decide who can enter and how. The meaning of this process is very different from what was done in Serbia. Andricgrad, a triangular urban minerality, is not built in a natural landscape without previous settlements but stands right in front of Visegrad, the city that hosts the Ottoman bridge dear to the writer Andric, to which the village is dedicated.

Andricgrad is designed to celebrate Serbian national identity and this operation is carried out through a real assembly of different architectural styles: from Middle Eastern to Byzantine, from Renaissance to Neoclassical, in a process of condensation of symbols and references, which is not completely new but can be traced in numerous projects representing a nostalgic revival of Serbian Golden Age. Kusturica justifies his operation of reinventing memory by stating that 'the Ottomans and Austro-Hungarians left no sign of their times',²⁰ continuing to explain how his effort was to 'complete what those two empires should have done. [...] The architectural form of the place I built restores a sense of universal history, it is my relationship with traditions and culture, the only means of survival'.²¹

Furthermore, if, as we have seen before, both Kusturica villages subtend operations of distortion and reinvention of reality, in the case of Andricgrad this phenomenon is accentuated by the same building materials that partially compose it. It would seem that the stone used for the construction of his personal homage

to Ivo Andric has been removed from the ruins of an Austrian building in Trebinje, in south-east Bosnia, in a rather unusual operation in which real historical memory is deconstructed and reassembled to give life to an imaginary memory, a rewriting of the recent history of this complex Balkan region.

Conclusion

If the relation between war and architecture has always been characterised by a strong ambiguous oscillation, the analysed case studies allow us to detect some paradoxes that architecture has used to inhabit the spaces produced by conflict, in a progressive process of mixing entertainment space and war dystopian scenario. In the case of the NNSS, the mushroom clouds produced by testing bombs were exploited and converted into shows, taking advantage of war imaginary fascination and becoming quickly the main Las Vegas tourist attraction of the 1950s. Here the stars of the show are the atomic mushrooms converted, paradoxically, from a symbol of slaughter to a fireworks

display, translating the phases of territory destruction and erosion into extremely profitable moments of entertainment. Instead, the villages of Kusturica operate in a diametrically opposite way, exploiting the potentialities of the post-war *tabula rasa* to start a phase of reconstruction in which to interweave memory and fiction, show and daily life. The logic of the spectacle, besides constantly crossing these centres thanks to the multiple cinematographic events that Kusturica organizes, is intertwined with the same constructive logics, to build an invented memory capable of replacing a past that is too painful and recent.

If in Antiquity the figure of the architect machinator²² was characterised by 'astonishing capacity to give weak an advantage over the strong'²³, even to make the gods appear on the theatre stage — *deus ex machina*, these case studies show how it is possible to construct paradoxical narratives and rhetoric by capitalising the same war events and the territories lacerated by conflict, converting these spatial wounds into successful shows to fascinate the masses.

Notes

- 1 It is not a coincidence that Vitruvius in his *De Architectura* acknowledges the importance of military design, by dedicating the entire *Book X* to war machines, highlighting the theoretical and technological interconnection between architectural theory and military design. It is Vitruvius himself who explains how, thanks to the design of the missile launchers he managed to define an extremely operating theory of proportions which he then transposed into the architectural discipline.
- 2 Bernard Cache, "Vitruvius Machinator Terminator", in *Projectiles: Architecture Words 6* (Architectural Association London, 2011), 120.
- 3 Paul Virilio, *L'Horizon négatif: essai de dromoscopie* (Paris: Galilée, 1984), 60.
- 4 Ibid., 60.
- 5 Underlining the deep connection between quantum-physics and militarisation, Karen

- Barad analyses the complex meaning of time and temporality within war spaces, focusing in particular on those lacerated from atomic bombs, and involving relevant topics as colonialism, memory and spacetime entanglements. See: Karen Barad, "Troubling time/s and ecologies of nothingness: re-turning, re-membering, and facing the incalculable", in *New Formations: a Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics*, Volume 92, *Posthuman Temporalities*, (2017): 56-86; 59.
- 6 Reyner Banham, *Scenes in America Deserta* (Thames and Hudson, 1982), 39.
- 7 Kyoko Hayashi, *From Trinity to Trinity*, (Barrytown / Station Hill Pr, 2010), 24.
- 8 Daniel R. Wildcat focuses on these erasure operations of the indigenous culture. He underlines, in particular, the critical difference between Western and indigenous notions of time: while the first one is shaped by progress and capitalisation,

- the second is modelled by place. 'It has become obvious that indigenous cultures operate on assumptions, paradigms, and a unique sense of history and time that contradicts the Western notions.' See: Daniel Wildcat, 'Indigenising the future: why we must think spatially in the Twenty-first Century', published as a special joint issue with *American Studies*, Volume 46, No. 3/4, Fall 2005, 433.
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- 10 Michon, Mackedon, *Literature of Nuclear Nevada*, (2011), www.onlinenevada.org, Last accessed: September 26, 2019.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Matt Blitz, *Miss Atomic Bomb and the Nuclear Glitz of 1950s Las Vegas*, (2016), www.popularmechanics.com, Last accessed: September 12, 2019.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Nevada Test Guide, *National Nuclear Security Administration*, Nevada Site Office, March 2005, 35.
- 15 Ibid., 36.
- 16 Tim Judah focuses on the concept of 'Yugosphere' describing the area of the former Yugoslavia as a whole sphere of common culture and influence. See: Tim Judah, 'Good News from the Western Balkans: Yugoslavia is dead – Long live the Yugosphere', published in *The Economist* in 2009.
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- 18 Lejla Dizdarevic, *Drvengrad - Küstendorf - traditionally surreal and surreally traditional*, (2017). www.itinari.com, Last accessed: May 9, 2019.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Federico Geremei, 'Andricgrad, la città di Kusturica dedicata alla nostalgia della Serbia', (2016), www.espresso.repubblica.it, Last accessed: May 9, 2019.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Bernard Cache, 'Vitruvius Machinator Terminator', in *Projectiles: Architecture Words 6* (Architectural Association London, 2011).
- 23 Ibid., 123.

Digital Archaeology, Virtual Narratives: The Case of Lifta

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Abstract

The Palestinian village of Lifta, located beneath Jerusalem's northern entrance, hides a deep history. Evacuated by the Israeli forces during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, or the Nakba ('The Catastrophe'), its remains are a unique locus of conflicted histories and a contested landscape of collective memory. Within Israeli consciousness, the biblical history points to the roots of Jewish habitation; a vernacular fiction abused by statesmen in the creation of national claims. For Palestinians, Lifta is a symbol of the struggle in establishing national consciousness, a living ruin waiting for the return of its original occupants, and a battleground for activists from both sides of the political map. In between, the archeological history of the village dates back to the thirteenth century BC, and is speckled with unique stories and events.

Digital Archeology and Virtual Narratives is a workshop conducted within the MIT School of Architecture and Planning, resulting in the design of immersive and virtual experiences of the village and its multiple narratives. Spanning from biblical times and the Iron Age, through centuries of Palestinian habitation under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, to Jewish settlements of the late 1950s and its current constantly contested state, the work studies Lifta using advanced simulation techniques, 3D scanning, and real-time rendering. Through intimate investigation of the site the project adopts an archaeological, historical and design-oriented approach in order to engage Lifta's material remains while questioning notions of objectivity and the linearity of historical writing. Through several visual installations, it makes available experiences that present a bricolage of Lifta's material remains and demands a discussion of the potential of digital representation and immersive technologies as a pedagogical and design tool, and to create a platform for critical historiography of Lifta, and other contested sites.

Keywords

Architecture; Archeology; Virtual Reality; History; Lifta; Israel; Palestine

As you approach the entrance to west Jerusalem, beneath and in-between the highways, cemetery, and cliffs, hide the material remains of Lifta. Standing as living ruins, the village's buildings, caves, agricultural terraces and spring, hold a long and conflicted history of inhabitation and evacuation, ritual and culture, personal, communal and national narratives. A wounded landscape, it is punctured throughout with the marks left by soldiers

and state violence, as well as the wear of time, the force of nature and the stains of neglect. Surveyed and excavated repeatedly from the beginnings of the archaeological study of Palestine and the Land of Israel at the end of the nineteenth century, and up to the most recent survey conducted by the Israeli Antiquities Authority in 2017, the stories and histories of Lifta are complex and varying, revealing the contested and contradictory nature of this site.¹

Today, Lifta is one of the only remaining Palestinian villages that were neither completely demolished or resettled by a Jewish-Israeli population following the Israel-Arab war of 1948.² Given its recent history, its remarkable condition is a unique testimony of the 'architectural and agricultural culture that has been prevalent in the Middle East for thousands of years but was completely destroyed in 1948 or has undergone modernization and development, thus losing any ancient cultural-historical characteristic.'³ Evacuated by the newly established Israeli military forces during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war—Israel's war of independence on one hand; the Nakba or 'The Catastrophe' on the other—the village and its remains are a unique and paradigmatic locus of conflicted histories, archeology and landscape; of collective memories, contested presents, and potential futures.

Within Israeli consciousness, the biblical history of the village points to the roots of Jewish habitation of the Land of Israel, marking the borderline between the lands of Judea and Benjamin as described in the Book of Joshua; a vernacular fiction, used and abused by statesmen in the creation of national claims. For Palestinians, and as one of the largest and most flourishing towns within British Mandatory Palestine, Lifta is a symbol of the struggle for the establishment of national consciousness, a living ruin waiting for the return of its original occupants, and a battleground for activists from both sides of the political and national map. In between and beyond these narratives, the history of the village, dating back to the thirteenth century BC, is speckled with unique stories, spaces and events.⁴

The work presented here was the result of a collaboration between the MIT Department of Architecture and the Department of Bible Archeology and Ancient Near East Studies at Ben-Gurion University (BGU). Students from the MIT School of Architecture and Planning, in

collaboration with archeologists from Ben-Gurion participated in an interdisciplinary study of the evacuated village, and investigated through various methods the archaeological and architectural remains, as well as the various archives, narratives and stories told about the site.

Using advanced simulation techniques, 3D scanning, and real-time rendering, as well as an array of archival, historical and scholarly resources, students of architecture, art, and urban planning, produced experiential representations of Lifta's contested terrain, in which they challenge both the linear and singular narratives of the site's past, as well as the traditional approaches to the study of conflicted histories. Working in groups, the students digitally captured the site using photogrammetry and laser-scanning, and produced several visual installations, making available experiences that present a bricolage of Lifta's material remains, and which are conceived as a pedagogical tool. The projects present the culmination of these efforts through immersive experiences. In each of these, the audience is exposed to narratives constructed by the students, through which Lifta's complex histories can be seen anew. The efforts provide epistemological and experiential cross-sections through the problematics of the site. In the process of designing a possible platform and interface for a critical historiography of Lifta, the projects—as test cases—aim to further the potential of immersive technologies as a pedagogical tool, and to open the critical questions that arose from the research and the work: can historical evidence be spatialized within detailed context of the materiality of site? What does an immersive form of representation entail for the pedagogy of architectural history? And what possibility does this framework offer for conveying the complexity of Lifta, in relation to other, similarly complex sites?

The workshop has utilized this enormous archive of documents,

representations, surveys, testimonies and stories, in order to produce not only a time-specific documentation of the site, but more importantly, a platform through which the stories of Lifta can be presented in relation to one another; exposing, so to speak, the tension existing between narrative, representation, evidence and myth. These archives included a history of habitation, occupation, ownership, and surveying; an ever growing body of visual representations, images, drawings and artworks; a history of materials and waste, their decomposition, their layering, accumulation and continuous effects on the reality of the site; an archive of narration, stories, news items, ways in which Lifta was and still is debated and established in public consciousness; a history of planning and design, and finally, a history of activism and resistance, by organizations such as the Save Lifta coalition, or our main guide throughout our fieldwork, the Palestinian refugee and former resident of Lifta, Ya'akub Uda.

The workshop culminated in the production of VR installations, presented in the form of partial storyboards, which, in their design and conception, attempt to challenge and bring into the tension the various ways in which the story of Lifta is told. On the one hand, we produced a model of the entire site, as it was recorded in June 2019, which still presents a somewhat direct approach to the way in which the history of Lifta is institutionally told. On the other, this model already employs the immersive nature of virtual reality, the shifting between scales, and the animation of the materials by the voices of former residents, to convey a different experience and narratives which exist within the site. [figs. 1, 2, 3 4]

The student projects take a step further, and propose to narrate a multiplicity of histories and through specific lenses. The first project is titled 'Stories of the Spring', and focuses on the history and present of public rituals, myths, and conflicts of the

Lifta spring – which is the source and origin of the settlement. [figs. 5, 6, 7] The second, titled 'Openings', proposes to examine Lifta's history through its apertures, whether those are natural, designed, or created by violence and war. Through each of these openings, one can look into Lifta's history but also, a view of related sites, whether in the West Bank or elsewhere in the world. [figs. 8, 9, 10] The third project, presented in the following text and images, aims to narrate the story and history of Lifta by focusing on the material from which the site, its architecture, and many of its traditions are composed, namely, stone. [figs. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15]

Composed from three juxtaposed narratives, the project titled 'Stones Sighing', pulls strings and archives from various sources in order to expose the composition and decomposition of the site. The first of these, which gives the installation its rhythmic structure, is the autobiographic poem, 'Standing before the Ruins of El-Birweh', written by the national Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish. The poem begins with the words that lend themselves to the project's title:

Like birds, I tread lightly on the earth's
skin so as not to wake the dead.
I shut the door to my emotions to
become my other.
I do not feel that I am a stone sighing as
it longs for a cloud.⁵

Narrated throughout the work in three languages – the original Arabic, as well as Hebrew and English translations – the poem accompanies the various scenes, inflicting them with the voice of Palestinian memory.

The second narrative is that of the life-cycle of the stones themselves. Here, every scene takes place in a place that represents a different moment in the life of Lifta's stones. The supposedly silent material is animated through its historical procession, beginning with an excavated

cave, continuing to one of Lifta's early houses, moving onto a more modern and recent residence, then a renovated house still occupied by an Israeli resident, and ending in a collapsed and punctured ruin, only to finally dissolve back into dust.

The last of the project's narratives is that of the stone's representational, ideological, daily and symbolic role. Focusing on the tradition of Palestinian masonry, the narrative exposes—through archival materials, historical texts and scholarship embedded and activated within the experience—the manner in which traditional methods, Palestinian labor, the very texture and chiseling of the stones themselves, became an instrument in the service of Israeli ideology and architectural

design. Adopting the only vernacular tradition that could be found, modern Israeli architects employed the stones of Lifta (and of other villages), in the cultivation of a biblical image of Jerusalem, and in the design of contemporary, quasi-vernacular architectural works.⁶ Thus, we begin and end this journey not in Lifta but in Mamilla, an open shopping center designed by the architect Moshe Safdie in Jerusalem; one of many projects, using and abusing, through history and ideology, the work and labor of Palestinian masons. The project ends with a heavily manipulated representation of the space in which the virtual experience had begun; an emptied out and hollowed ghost frame of what was once Lifta's stones.

Notes

- 1 Several surveys of Lifta have been conducted by The Israeli Antiquities Authority in the past decade, the most comprehensive of which was done in relation to the submission of Plan 6036; a plan which aimed to develop the site into a residential neighborhood. For the survey see: <http://atikot.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=7fae9adafdde47b8b000d85e340dd0b7>
- 2 For a comprehensive study of the depopulated villages see Khalidi, Walid, ed. *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*. (Washington: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2006).
- 3 "Save Lifta." Last accessed: December 16, 2019. <http://savelifta.org/about-lifta/>.
- 4 Lifta is assumed by some scholars to be a site named Mei Nephtoah, which received its name after the victory of the Pharaoh Merenptah over the Israelites circa 13th, 12th or 11th century BC. The name Mei Nephtoah is mentioned in Joshua 18:19 as a point on the border between the land of the tribe of Judea and the land of the tribe of Benjamin. Yurco, Frank J. 'Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign', in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986), 213.
- 5 Mahmoud Darwish, 'Standing Before the Ruins of El-Birweh', in *I Don't Want This Poem to End*, Translated by Sinan Antoon. (Beirut: Riyad al-Rayyis, 2009).
- 6 Architectural historian Alona Nitzan-Shiftan situates the use of motifs and techniques of Palestinian masonry within the larger project of establishing a new image of a 'biblical' Jerusalem after the 1967 Six-Day War. See: Nitzan-Shiftan, Alona. *Seizing Jerusalem: The Architectures of Unilateral Unification*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

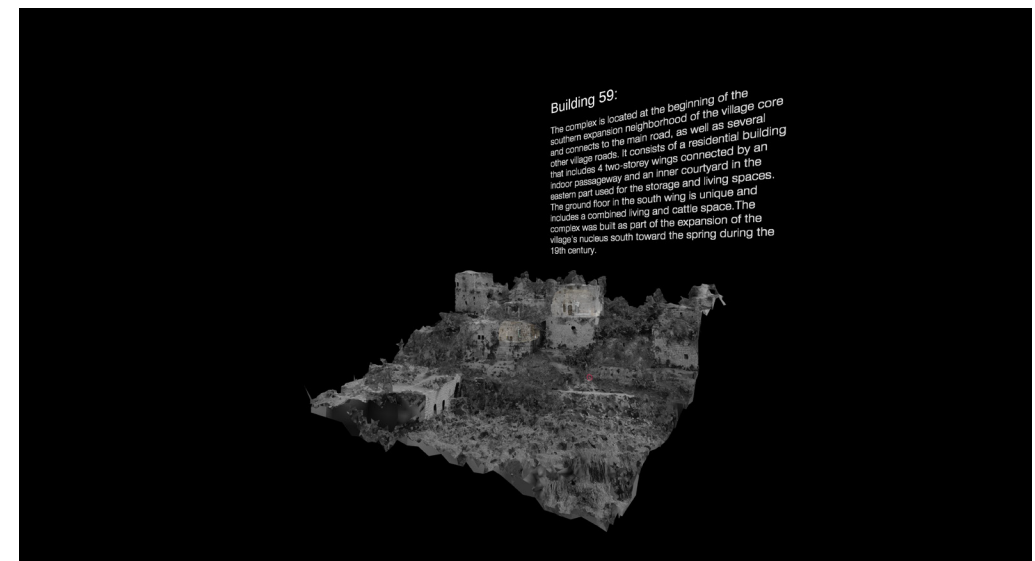
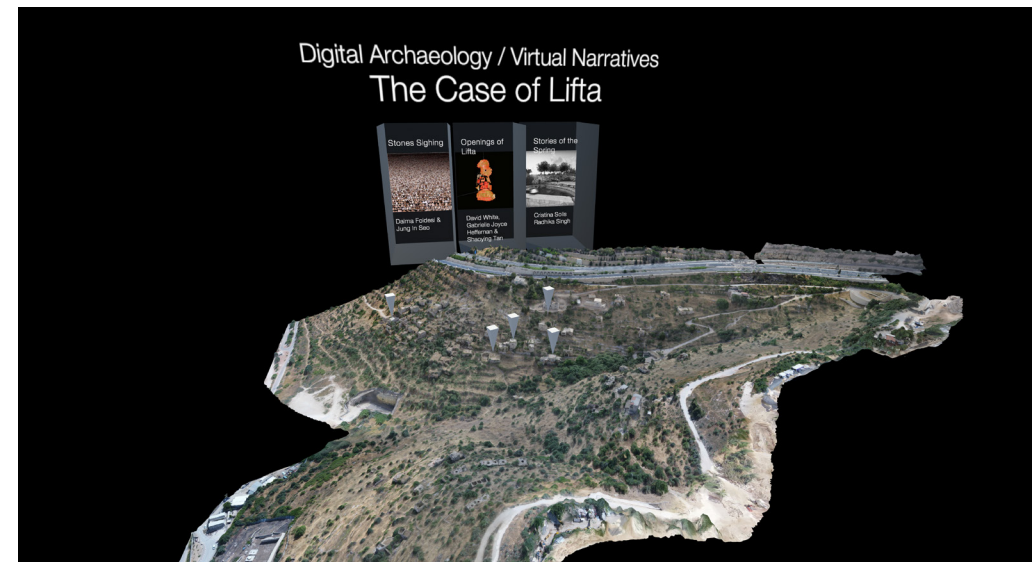


Figure 1,2 General VR view of the village and houses in Lifta

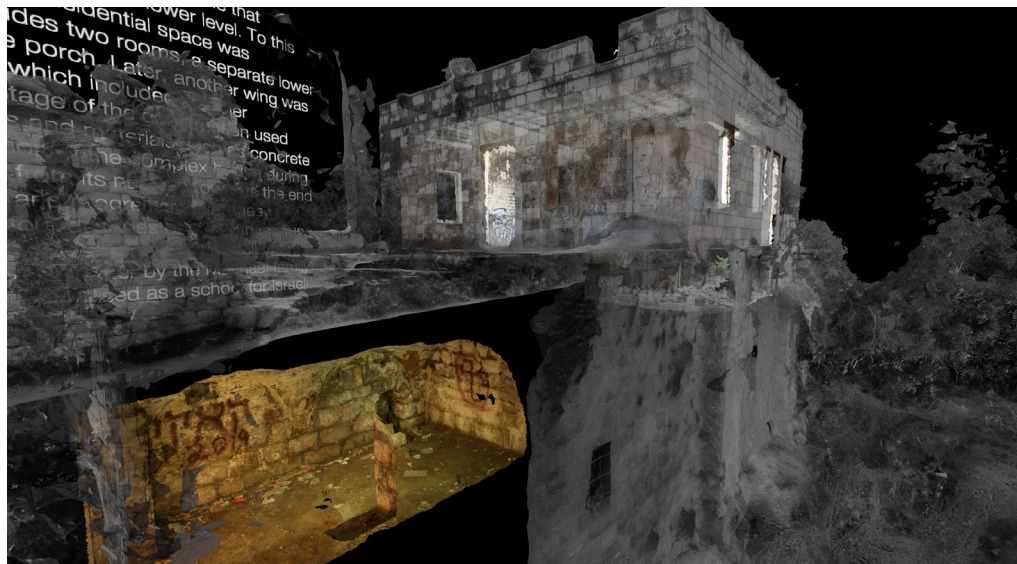


Figure 3,4 General VR view of the village and houses in Lifta

Figure 5,6 'Stories of the Spring'; students: Radhika Singh, Cristina Solis

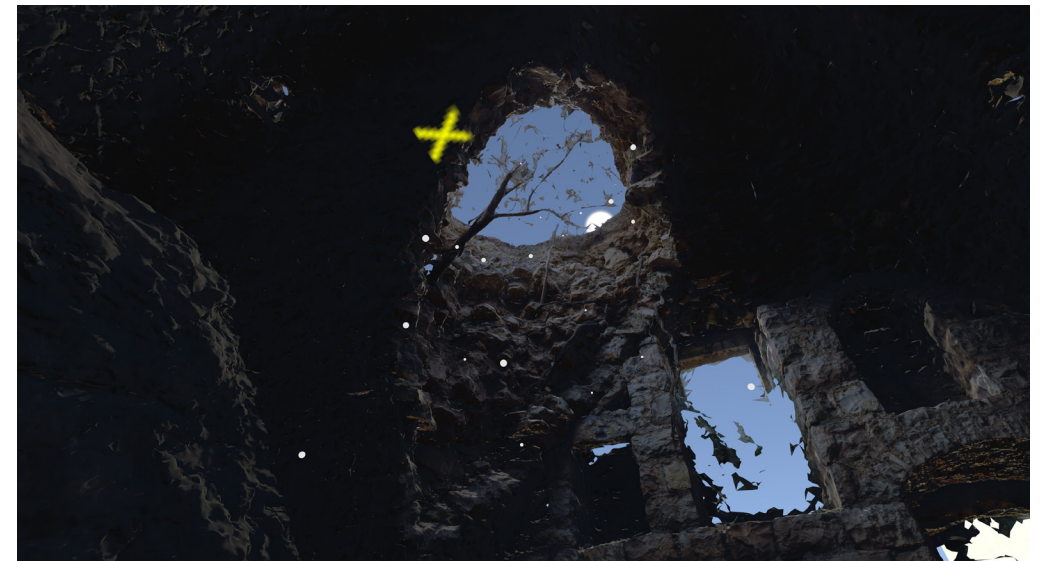
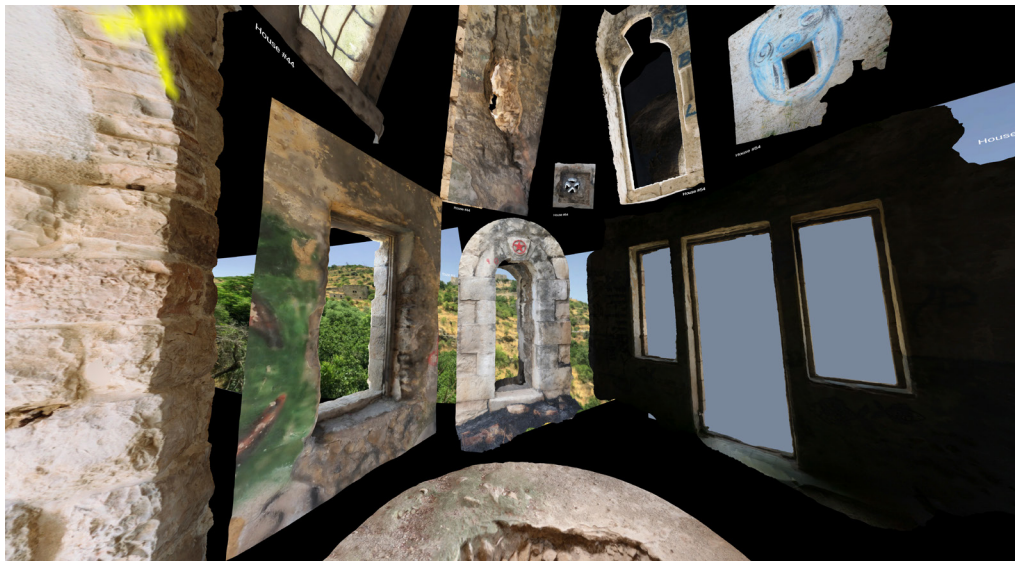
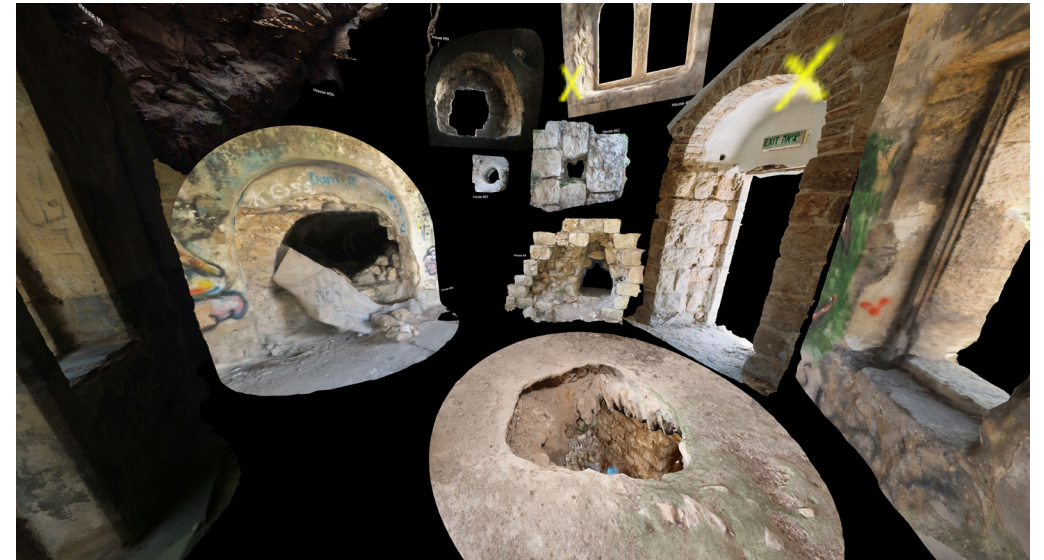
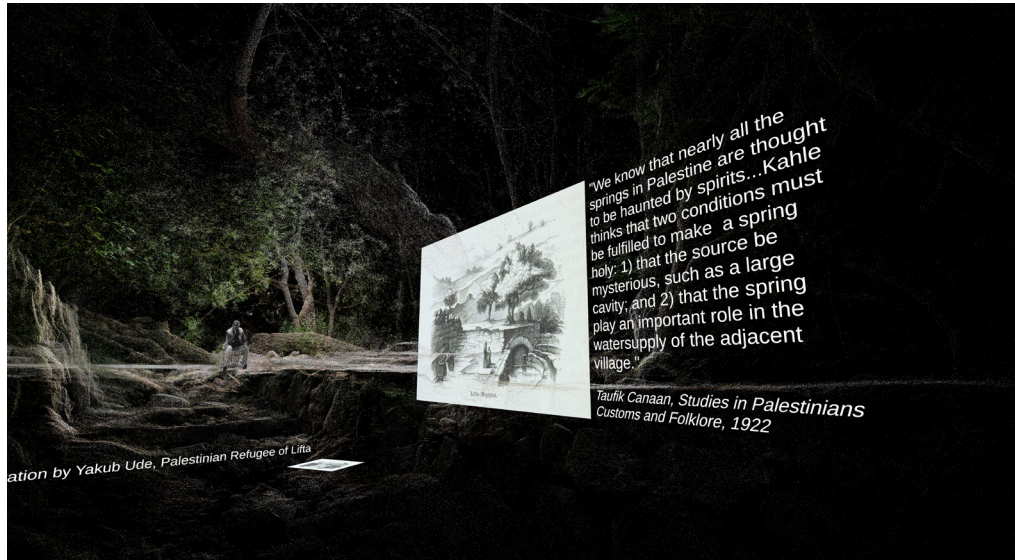


Figure 7 'Stories of the Spring'; students: Radhika Singh, Cristina Solis

Figure 8 'Openings'; students: David White, Gabrielle Heffernan, Shaoying Tan

Figure 9,10 'Openings'; students: David White, Gabrielle Heffernan, Shaoying Tan



Figure 11,12 'Stones Sighing'; students: Dalma Foldesi, Jung In Seo

Figure 13,14 'Stones Sighing'; students: Dalma Foldesi, Jung In Seo

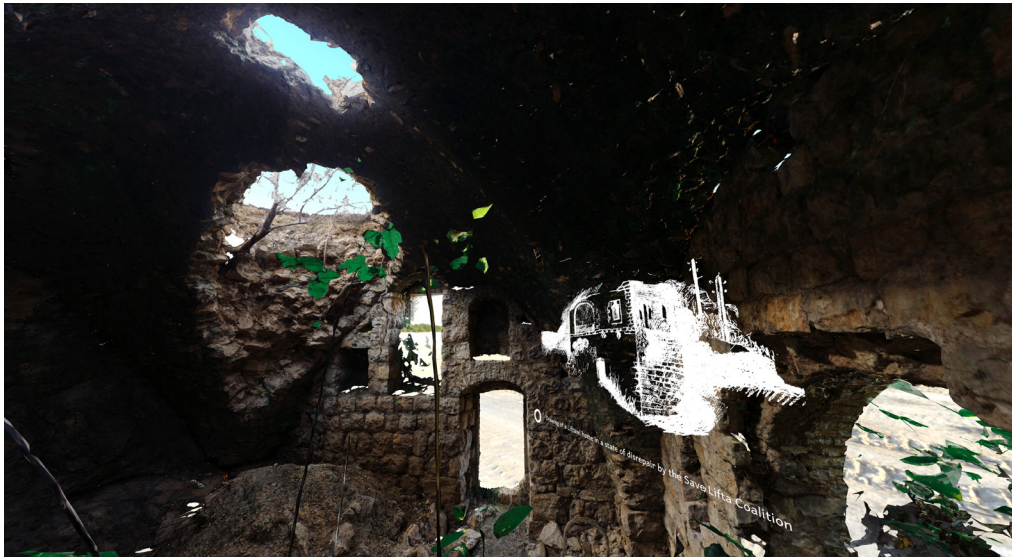


Figure 15 'Stones Sighing'; students: Dalma Foldesi, Jung In Seo

Border Drift: The Multiplication of Liminal Spaces in the Time of Migrant Crisis

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Abstract

The paper offers an introduction to the Ph.D. project, which investigates the interaction between nation-state borders and human migratory flows as a process of space production. In particular, the project looks into the implementation of strategies of border reinforcement, at various spatial and social scales, and their interference with practices of crossing, legal and illegal. The study of border reinforcement in relation with human mobility offers the possibility to highlight not only the multiplication of border functions, but especially their operative variations across space, according to the encounter with migrants' agency. Spatial dynamics are sought in-between borders' roles and physical features; they are analyzed as intersecting and colliding fields of interactions, where existing and missing links can be mapped to connect the existing and the potential. Spatial analysis is proposed as the means to search for multiplicity and openness in the stiffness of fortified border structures, as well as for the permanence of material traces of violence and the emergence of zones of conflict far from national limits. The doctoral project is aimed at building an alternative research model, which makes use of space to bridge the logics and materiality of mobility with those of border reinforcement.

The present paper offers an overview of the preliminary definition of problems and questions of my doctoral project, which is aimed at mapping and analyzing how politically decided boundaries, both visible and invisible, produce new spatial structures in the name of security. In particular, the project focuses on the physical reinforcement of borders between neighboring nations at the territorial scale. The topic has received special attention across Europe in the last few years, especially in relation to the 'refugee crisis' that began in 2015. As a consequence many disciplines from political science and geography to anthropology and migration studies put political boundaries at the center of their inquiries. However, the material spatial consequences of border reinforcement, in connection with emerging migrant flows, are still scarcely considered in contemporary border studies.

Therefore, the doctoral project aims to go beyond the mere institutional and political definitions to investigate borders in their role as performative zones in spatial terms. Taking the complex social and spatial dynamics produced along political frontiers as its objects of inquiry, and analyzing in depth the case of the Hungarian-Serbian border, the project aims to understand how the knowledge on border zones, when seen from an architectural and urban perspective, may inform and assist in the interaction between policies and practices, the production of space, and the material implications of surveillance, in the context of exceptional events and intensified human migrations.

After having presented a preliminary inventory of the many different shapes that European borders have assumed in the last decade as products of the interaction between security measures

and increased mobility, this paper proposes a reading of the border's spatial features in the form of research questions. As the title of the paper suggests, these questions address the engagement of the ongoing research in redirecting border discourse and guiding it through space, moving across a wide interdisciplinary system of knowledge production.

Background

In the summer of 2015, when more than a million people moved towards Europe by sea or land routes, to escape war, persecution, environmental catastrophes, and poverty, the term 'refugee crisis' started to dominate the media and political discourse. In this scenario of securitarian and humanitarian emergency, the European Union has proven the contradiction of its border policy, between openness and free movement of people and goods across internal borders, and restrictive measures along the external frontiers. A look outwards also reveals a lack of uniformity among member states, displayed through a continuous transfer of responsibility and the fragmentation of interventions. Properly the lack of a decisive and coherent approach has contributed to turning crisis discourses into an instrument of rule, legitimizing austerity and exceptional measures.¹

In this political scenario, Hungary represents an emblematic example of the way tensions came to the extreme: political narratives of protection and control merged with social prejudices, historical memories, and the discontent of the population, ending in the building of a razor-wire fence along the Southern border with Serbia. The initiative of the Hungarian government marked one of the major steps in the formal closure of the so-called Western Balkan Route², a very busy corridor that during the last decades has constituted the path of a diverse group of migrants, including people fleeing the violence of the Arab Spring, and Syrian nationals, as well as residents of the western Balkan states (mainly from

Kosovo), Asians, and Eastern Africans heading to Europe from the Bulgarian-Turkish and Greek-Turkish borders. Nevertheless, the closure of the border did not stop people from attempting crossing; it made the venture more dangerous, slow, and expensive. Cities and crossing points initially intended for transit turned into places of timeless waiting, where makeshift camps started to proliferate. On the other side of the fence, the entire Serbian territory has progressively turned into a buffer zone and the need to reorganize existing structures of reception became urgent. While 'jungles' were spreading at the edges of the country and new routes started to divert to Bosnia, in the core of the nation, Serbian authorities passed from an attitude of non-interference to a securitarian approach, which testifies not only a shift in border policies, but also a change in residents' perception and, accordingly, in the management of the spheres of legality and illegality.³

The emergence of the Western Balkan Route temporarily shifted the focus of refugees' migrations to Europe, from the sea routes to the Balkan territory, showing the impossibility of referring to a single central axis of access to the continent. In addition to this, the formation of new routes contributed to transforming the original external border limit into a more extended and internal area of transit. In this zone, the border reveals its appearance in many different forms: as a transit camp, a 'jungle', a document check, a military outpost. It proves the ability to take the shape of a diffuse and dynamic spatiality, assume multiple functions, and reorganize existing temporal and spatial structures.

Zooming out from the Hungarian-Serbian frontier, the foundations of current European border strategies and their emphasis on security and control can be traced back to the origin of the Schengen Agreement, in 1985. Since then, the development of smart borders, intended for speeding up processes for EU citizens and

'wanted travelers', has been accompanied by a progressive militarization of external borders to stop 'unwanted arrivals'. In the early 1990s, the expansion of border control reached the African territory for the first time, with the construction of the double-walled fences in Ceuta and Melilla. This intervention contributed to the introduction of metaphors such as 'Fortress Europe' or 'Gated Continent', to conceptualize European policy along external borders and its attitude towards African migration.⁴ The goal of expanding border control to non-European countries consists of preemptive actions, meant to stop migrant flows before they reach the European territory, using third countries as outpost guards. Similar strategies are also linked to the multiplication of hotspots-like spaces, such as Lesbos Island in Greece, or Lampedusa in Italy. In these sites norms of detention and identification are reconfigured, and the disruption and channelization of humans are enabled.⁵ In the continuous redirection of migratory routes and with the emergence of new flexible checkpoints, the 'fortress' appears to be more porous and mobile than what the term suggests, showing a certain degree of ambivalence in the exercise of functions of connection and separation, control and expansion on overlapping geographies.⁶

Expanding the discourse on mobility and control to the global scale and taking into account not only people's movements but also goods, information, money, and data flows, the geography of borders and national states intersects with the digital space and witnesses a spatial stretching through technologies of surveillance and dataveillance.⁷ By means of risk profiling and governing mobility, which have been specially implemented after the terrorist attack of 9/11 and in conjunction with the War on Terror, borders have morphed into a more extensive zone of control, diffuse and digitally sophisticated.⁸ Through extensive bordering, the boundary turns into a quantifiable event, a calculable

data derived from the number of crossings, the measurement of body features of the suspect, and relations of distance between points. Control is modulated through the implementation of techniques of identification and localization, able not only to pinpoint but also to trace and track, keeping personal information in a constant flow from the body to the database and back again.⁹ In the digital system, the border's scale is reduced and individualized per object or person, facilitating, in this way, the multiplication of border events and encounters at the smallest scale and in various instances of everyday life. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the digital border systems still present some gaps, which can be found in the ambiguity or double use of technology. It does not matter how perfected surveillance systems are, they still leave space for differential experiences.¹⁰ An example of such situations can be found in the way migrants themselves rely on GPS technologies and digital platforms to subvert authorities in a continuous redefinition of their trajectories. In other cases, artists, activists, and 'hacktivists' turn technologies into 'tactical media' to facilitate migrant journeys across the extensive border zone, while producing a counter-knowledge of the digital border. As power and control techniques are rendered increasingly networked and mobile, so sites and tactics of resistance expand and move from streets and public squares to the web, generating a swarming mode of conflict, heterogeneous but strategically coordinated.¹¹ Digital resistance and tactical media are conceived as forms of activism and insurgency aimed at suggesting new modes of seeing, understanding and interacting with the given authoritarian system, setting the path for new socio-political imaginations. In the field of border reinforcement and extensive control, digital activism intervenes as a form of exploration, seeking for a different understanding of the border through a series of material and symbolic tactics,

challenging the most rigorous networks of security, and interacting with uncontrollable risks, with the unforeseeable and the incalculable. Such modes of resistance are subtle, pliable, performative, never finished but in becoming.¹²

Questions of space

Fence building and externalization strategies materialize border spatiality through the clear delineation, the militarization or even the fortification of space. These spatial transformations create zones of increasing tension and high concentration, where surveillance and control are exercised through the physical limitation of movement and differentiation processes operated directly on the bodies of individuals under observation. These forms of bordering generate specific zones of emergency, or exception, marked by the reaching of a critical point of tension, both in time and space, in which an abrupt transition from the previous condition is made visible. On the other hand, we have seen how the implementation and technological development of digital bordering widens the range of modalities of exclusion and control. While searching for a scientific and quantitative knowledge of border events, the digital space introduces more fluid processes of bordering and crossing, opening the discussion toward the unpredictable and the possible.

In the manifold of bordering forms and strategies, a growing number of concepts have emerged in different academic fields, showing an increasing interdisciplinary character of border studies and social sciences.¹³ In the mapping of theorizations and developments related to particular border conditions, what can be noticed is the tension between logics and practices of reinforcement and those of migration. The first testify the permanence of a topographical conception and design of border structures of separation, whether they are border fences or database for national security, which rely on distances, exact

locations, and numerical data. The second, on the other hand, challenges the opposition between inside and outside, center and periphery, and shifts the perspective on the dynamics of lived experiences. Logics and practices of migration call into question the flattened view of reinforcement, in favor of a relational, topological spatiality, which refers to the border as an open-ended process of social interactions.

The recent political events related to the 'refugee crisis' are exemplary of the way borders can operate in an intricate web of relations, which includes discourses, political strategies, social practices, and shifting spaces of operation. These relations can be mapped at the intersection of different spatial and functional scales, moving from a global scale of discourse and political narrative of protection and threat, cutting across the national and transnational scale of strategy, until reaching the local level of struggle and material violence. The intersection of scales and the mutual influence of relations highlight the impossibility to address the study of the border either from the perspective of reinforcement or from the side of migration dynamics. Therefore, architectural discipline and spatial analysis are chosen to deal with both reinforcement structures and migration dynamics, not only to address new ways of thinking socio-spatial demarcation but also to acknowledge and analyze the multiplicity of spatial outcomes. But, what are the challenges and opportunities for the discipline of architecture to rethink the way borders are studied, and to reorient the understanding of borders from the political to the spatial discourse?

To guide the research in the answering of this question, six spatial characters of the border have been introduced: namely, multi-dimensionality, measurability, plasticity, excess, scalarity, and visibility. They serve as a starting point to investigate patterns of correlation, which can emerge in between apparently distinct border forms. In particular, multi-

dimensionality calls attention to the possibility of moving forward the linear understanding of borders and dealing with a space in dynamic formation over time. Measurability, or better un-measurability, points out the need to search for additional tools of analysis and representation which can address a space-time and mobile understanding of the border. The character of plasticity refers to the ability to morph through the articulation and modulation of flows, while excess emphasizes the production and reproduction of spatial forms per effect of the execution of multiple functions of demarcation and differentiation. Scalarity addresses the emergence of borders far from national limits, through conducting everyday formal and informal practices of reinforcement and resistance. Finally, the character of visibility questions the spatial dimension of surveillance and its influence on life along borders.

The characters listed above do not refer to a number of features that the border can assume. Rather, they question the possible opening of new fields of interaction, which link existing material, visible, and functional border structures with a number of potential, multiple, indeterminate, spatial systems to investigate. In this intertwined net of fields and spaces, the reorientation for a new understanding of the border is proposed through the building of a critical research model, which sets three main objectives for the doctoral project.

First of all, the project wants to move the discourse on borders across space, intended as in dynamic construction. Through spatial theory, in fact, border formation can be conceived as the struggle between quantitative logics of reinforcement and qualitative logics of migratory flows. However, one must not forget the material dimension of the struggle and the physical strain embedded in migratory practices. Spatial traces of material processes are left on the site and can be examined with the

tools for spatial analysis. In these terms, the study of border spatiality is proposed to search for multiplicity and openness in the stiffness of fortified border structures, as well as for the permanence of traces of violence and the emergence of conflicts far from borderlines themselves. Secondly, the research has to engage with a wide range of modes of inquiry and disciplines. In fact, the dynamicity and complexity of borders cannot be inscribed into the exclusionary frame of a single disciplinary view. The project needs to function as a bridge, building a methodology that provides for the inclusion of multiple perspectives and cases. Lastly, a critical engagement to the study of borders also needs to reconsider traditional approaches to their representation. As previously mentioned with respect to the notion of 'measurability' and 'multi-dimensionality', the consolidated understanding of cartography and scale has to be confronted with alternative, non-linear, mapping processes. Suggesting mapping as an epistemological device would help to no longer locate the border, rather question the way it is produced and how it operates. The development of the present doctoral project as a critical research model allows reframing the shift from the ontological to the epistemological approach to border studies in spatial terms, which means through an in-depth analysis of the productive character of borders. Moreover, the research serves to test a critical methodology on a specific border condition, namely the Hungarian-Serbian frontier, as the prototype for further case research. In this process, space is offered as a medium for connecting various forms of knowledge through a wider range of architectural analyses and experimentations, both theoretical and practical.

Methodological explorations

The renewed interest in the study of borders and the growing number of concepts and definitions pose several challenges

to the positioning of the research and to its methodological development. One of the main methodological disputes might concern the deepening of a functional analysis of border roles, above referred to as notions of 'excess' and 'scalarity'. This question implies taking into account the existence of a variety of boundaries at different spatial and societal levels, including the impact of problems of a more general nature and the specificity of local border conflicts. In this regard, an interesting answer has been proposed by Vladimir Kolossov, under the name of 'policy-practice-perception' (PPP).¹⁴ This approach tries to bridge the latest theoretical achievements of border studies with more traditional approaches, which still prove their validity in functional terms. It guides the analysis of boundaries from the global scale of legal and institutional roles to the local level of social interactions, in an integrated system. A relevant aspect of this approach can be found in its non-hierarchical ordering of functions and scales, which favors the establishment and transformation of relations between multiple functions, practices, and symbols of borders. An interesting application of the policy-practice-perception method could be seen in the challenge of dealing with topological thinking and topographic interventions at the border, as previously exposed in more conceptual terms. This would mean searching for a multi-scalar understanding of the spatiality in which policy, practice, and perception become operative, preventing the method from turning into a categorization of separate spatial scales and domains. As to avoid a separation of surfaces and scales that strive to discover a 'deeper', determining level of knowledge, a topological reading of the three analyses seems promising in order to account for variation and connectivity of spaces, bodies, and objects. However, questions remain open for what concerns the way policy, practice, and perception perform in relation to one another, how their

operations produce new spatial formations and, finally, how they can relate to the temporality and the experiential dimension of ongoing bordering processes. Moreover, even though the PPP approach guides through a variation of border performances across different spatial scales, it still needs to be integrated with other tools of spatial analysis to properly unfold the border as a spatial system. As to connect the analysis of interrelated functions and meanings with their spatial outcomes, a critical methodology has to include both literary documentation and more subjective forms of narration, such as visual communication materials, able to go beyond the two-dimensional cartographic representation of borderlines. The complexity and dynamicity of bordering processes require the capacity of tools of analysis to actively monitor transformations and interactions, which means facilitating a more flexible investigative procedure and accounting for the uncertainty of results. In the discipline of architecture and urban studies, mapping is recognized as the tool that better reflects this potential. Whilst cartography favours order, structure, and geometric restitution, mapping techniques have been tested not only to collect and catalog information on space, but rather to build a relational narration of spatial transformation, hybridizing quantitative data with perceptive information.¹⁵

Overtures

This paper presents an insight into the process of developing a doctoral project, starting from the observation of borders at different spatial and social scales: from the global discourse on security and national protection to the urban dimension of conflicts along militarized frontier zones. These socio-spatial levels do not represent separate categories of boundaries; rather they interact, collide, and overlap to form specific border conditions. The identification of spatial characters and scales of functional analysis serves to visualize the

possibility of building a transversal system of knowledge, which cuts across fields of interaction and proposes new connections.

In the evolution of border discourse from the 1980s to current days, borders have been recognized as complex phenomena related not only to the sphere of geography and politics but also to the organization of society and more intimate aspects of human psychology. However, scholars struggle to reach an agreement on common definitions, concepts, or principles. Many aspects fundamental to the understanding of the formation and implementation of boundaries are analyzed and compartmentalized, but their interaction is still in need of further explorations. In the aim of the doctoral project, the spatial dimension of borders invites to review current approaches to the study, the understanding, and the representation of border zones, suggesting an open research ground, in which to observe the interaction of various agents

involved in the production of space. Moreover, through the study of borders as lived spaces and the in-depth examination of the Hungarian-Serbian frontier, the project aims to shed light on the importance of considering everyday life along borders. Acknowledging borders as lived and inhabited spaces means to recognize the dignity and the collective agency of migrant communities in a process of spatial redefinition and adaptation. Spatial analysis, differently from the common approaches to migration, does not look into quantitative aspects of movements, such as the number of individuals involved, their countries of origin, and their destinations. On the contrary, performance and production of space resulting from social interactions are at the center of the inquiry and aim to respond to questions on what migration can do, which mechanisms it might trigger in terms of adaptation and evolution, and what forms of living spaces are brought about by migration.

Notes

- 1 Cf. Bauman, Z., and Bordoní, C. *State of Crisis*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2016).
- 2 The European Border and Coast Guard Agency FRONTEX lists and names five major migration routes toward Europe: the Western Balkan Route and the Eastern Borders Route, representing the two main land routes, and three maritime routes constituted by the Western, the Central and the Eastern Mediterranean Route. The Western Balkan Route has been one of the main migratory paths into Europe, reflecting the influx on the Eastern Mediterranean route. However, after the peak of arrivals in the European Union reached in 2015, the number of illegal border crossings on this route has reduced steadily.
- 3 Cf. Stojic Mitrovic, M. & Meh, E. (2015). "The reproduction of borders and the contagiousness of illegalisation: A case of a Belgrade youth hostel". *Glaznik Etnografskog Instituta*. 63. 623-639.
- 4 See: Castan Pinos, J. (2014). "La Fortaleza Europa: Schengen, Ceuta y Melilla". Instituto de Estudio Ceuties.
- 5 See: Tazzioli, M. (2018). "Containment beyond detention: The hotspot system and disrupted migration movements across Europe", in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*.
- 6 Cf. Mezzadra, S. and Neilson, B. (2012). "Between Inclusion and Exclusion: On the Topology of Global Space and Borders". *Theory Culture and Society*, 29: 58-75.
- 7 See Amoores, L. (2005) 'On the Line: Writing the Geography of the Virtual Border', in Johnson, C. and Jones, R. "Interventions on rethinking 'the border' in border studies", in *Political Geography* 30, 61-69.
- 8 Cf. DeLanda, M. Space: 'Extensive and Intensive, Actual and Virtual', in Buchanan, I., and Lambert, G. (eds). *Deleuze and Space*. (Edinburgh University Press, 2005).
- 9 Cf. Deleuze, G. (1992). "Postscript on the societies of control", in *October*, 59, 3-7.
- 10 Topak, O. E., Bracken-Roche, C., Saulnier, A. and Lyon, D. (2015). "From Smart Borders to Perimeter Security: The Expansion of Digital Surveillance at

the Canadian Borders". *Geopolitics*, 20:4, 880-899.

11 Cf. Raley, R. *Tactical Media*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

12 Cf. Garcia, D. and Lovink, G. (1997) *The ABC of Tactical Media*. <https://www.nettime.org/Lists-Archives/nettime-1-9705/msg00096.html>

13 See Kolosov, V. (2005). "Theorizing Borders. Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and

Theoretical Approaches". *Geopolitics*, 10: 606-632.

14 Ibid., p. 625. See also Kolossov, V. (2006). "Theoretical Limology: Postmodern Analytical Approaches". *Diogenes*, 210: 11-22.

15 Cf. Bunschoten, R., Takuro, H., Binet, H., and CHORA. *Urban Flotsam: Stirring the City*. (Rotterdam: 010, 2001).

On Targets: Dropping in on American Bombing Ranges

The Center for Land Use Interpretation (CLUI)

www.clui.org

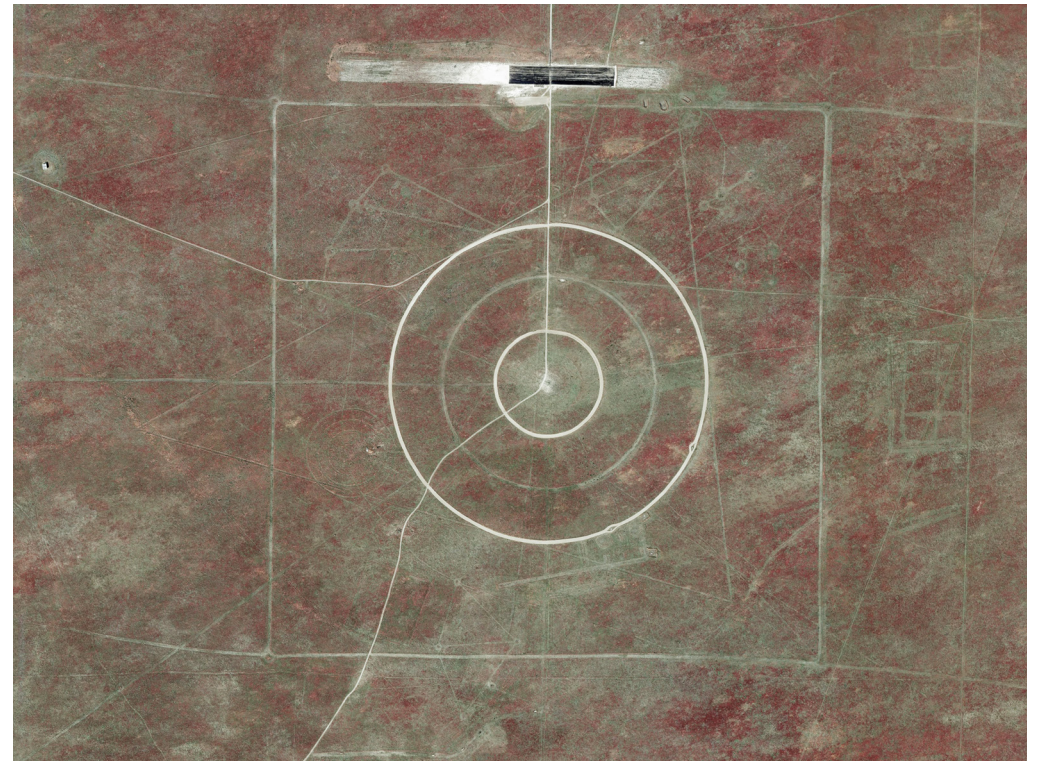
Impact range targets in military training areas can be square, triangular, rectangular, circular, and linear. Some are designed to look like other things, like airbases, villages, convoys, industrial areas, surface-to-air missile sites, and are built out of old airplanes, trucks, tanks, cars, buses, boats, tires, mounds of earth, and empty shipping containers. Some are meant to be bombed or strafed physically, others electronically.

The most focused type of target at these ranges, the classic target you might say, is circular, like a bullseye. Its simple geometric embrace of space defines a periphery, and center. Though largely two-dimensional when seen from above, shown as a gallery they have a cosmological air, whether a planetary hard mass pulled in by gravity, or a solar gas in a sustained continuous explosion. The tension between being drawn inwards, toward the ground, and exploding outwards, is in equilibrium.

Some people say that these days everything is a target. These, however, undoubtedly are, and they are out there for the world to see, through internet-based satellite imagery providers like Google Earth. Like framed photographs on the wall, they narrow our attention, and ask us to overlook everything else.



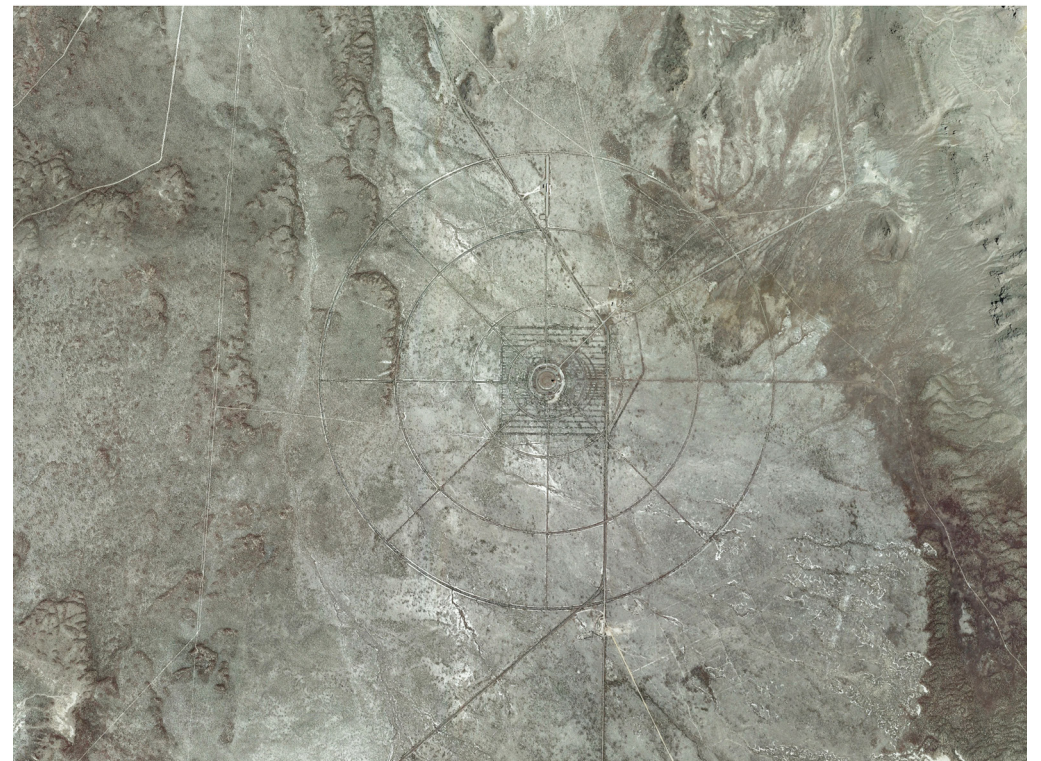
Avon Park Air Force Range, Florida



Boardman Bombing Range, Oregon



Dare County Range, North Carolina



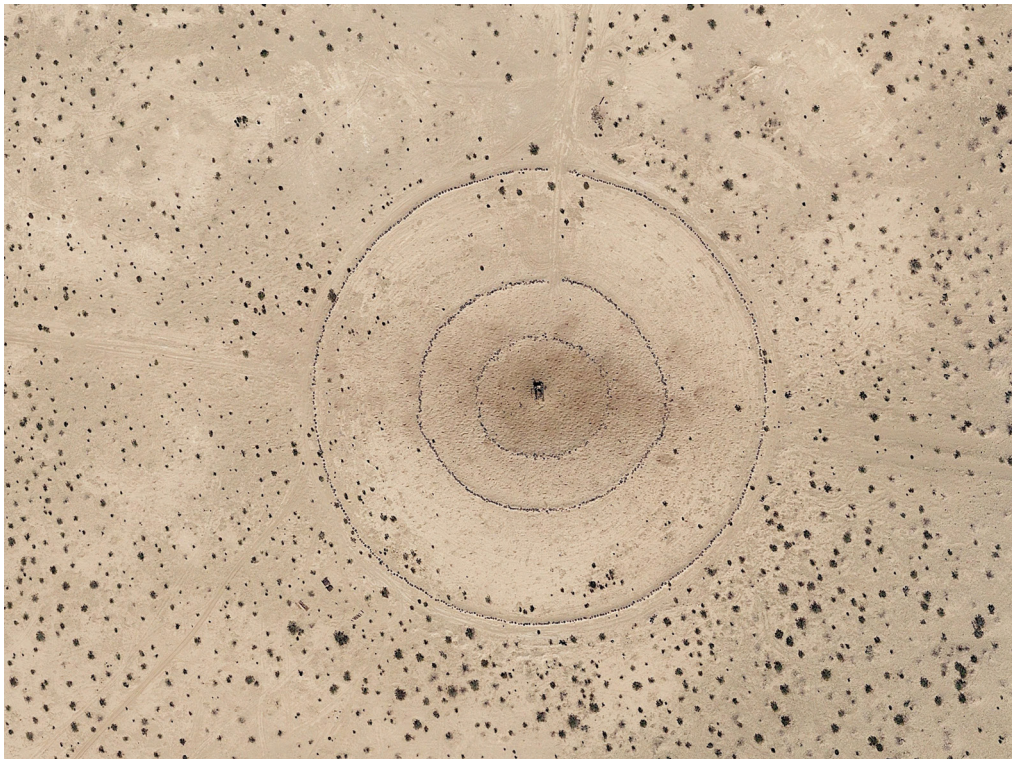
Dugway Proving Ground, Utah



Eglin Air Force Range, Florida



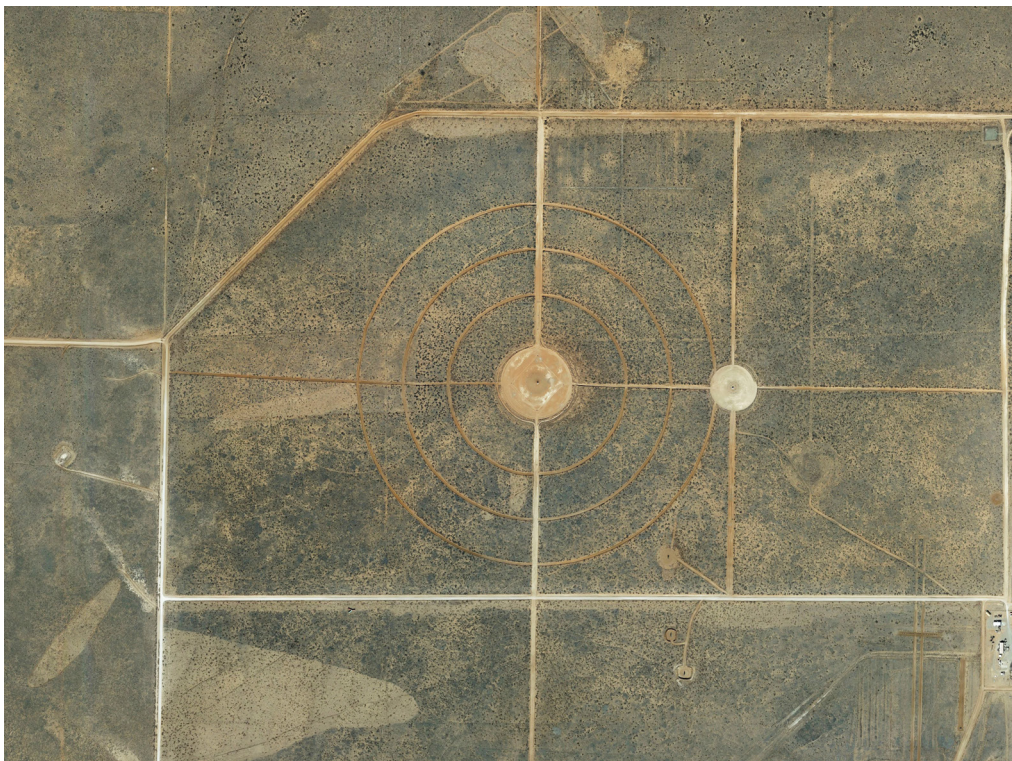
Razorback Range, Fort Chafee, Arkansas



Navy Target 68, Imperial Valley, California



Barry M. Goldwater Range, Arizona



Melrose Air Force Range, New Mexico



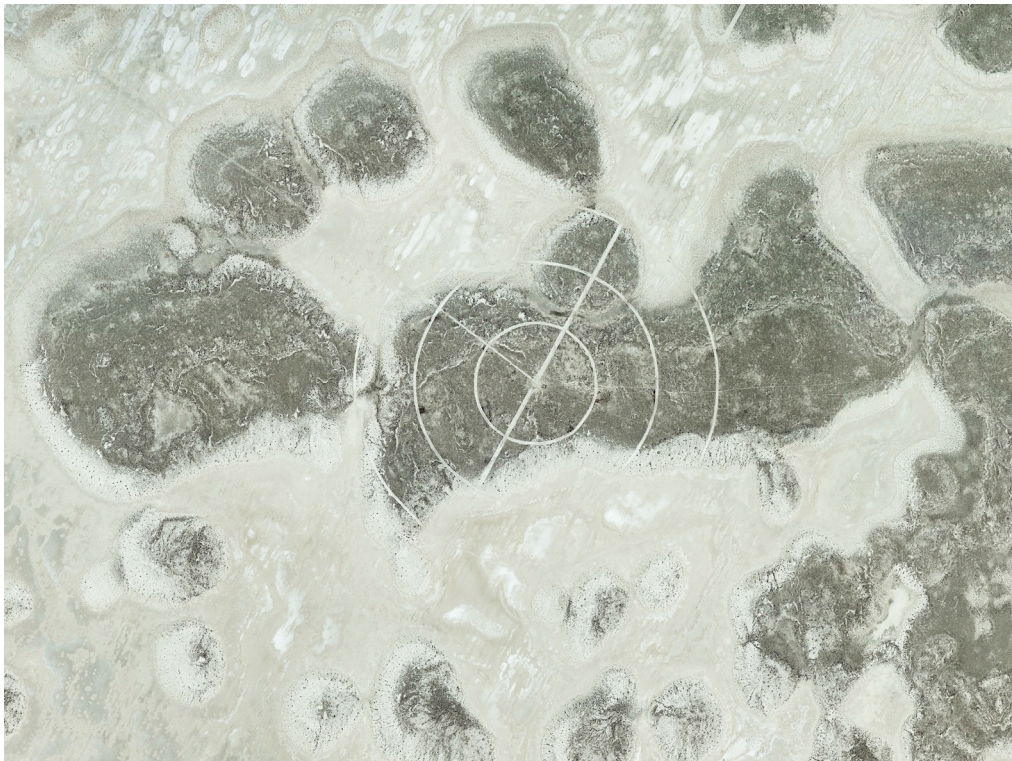
Oscura Range, White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico



Smoky Hill Air National Guard Range, Kansas



Superior Valley Range, China Lake Naval Weapons Center, California



Townsend Bombing Range, Georgia



Utah Test and Training Range, Utah

Broadcasting Matter Out of Place: Experiments with the Speaker Tower

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Photo-Essay

In 2017 I created the Speaker Tower out of a need to reimagine new technologies to claim ‘sonic space’. Historically, sound technologies have become sophisticated in pursuing ideological, economic, military or political power. However ‘public’ or cultural approaches have not evolved in a similar way. The Speaker Tower is an instrument of protest. It attends to the challenge of creating innovative sonic devices to claim ‘sonic space’ from a ‘public’ perspective. It is a piece of cultural infrastructure, a tool to access the city in expanded dimensions. The Speaker Tower is both an instrument to protest and an instrument to investigate the phenomenon of protest. Over the past years, I have conducted a series of experiments with the Speaker Tower that have convinced me that the spirit of protest is reinforced by broadcasting ‘matter out of place’.

In *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*¹, Mary Douglas focused her analysis around the concept of ‘dirt’ as ‘matter out of place’. I would argue that Douglas’ concept of ‘dirt’ is analogous to ‘noise’. According to Douglas, ‘dirt is essentially disorder’. Noise is, essentially, *disorder*. The word ‘noise’ usually describes unwanted sounds of aural pollution and often carries an automatic rejection of its sources. A protest is generally a loud concentration of people. To an outsider (particularly to someone with opposing views), the sound of protesters chanting, pot-banging and other sonic devices is perceived as noise, and the protesters too, considered ‘matter out of place’. The parallel with Douglas’s writing is convenient: “There is no such

thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder ... [Dirt] offends against order.” As Douglas explains, this approach carries implications:

It implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Dirt then, is never a unique, isolated event. Where there is dirt there is a system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, insofar as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements.²

Where there is noise there is a contravention to an established system. Where there is silence, there is acceptance of the current order. Hugh Pickering and Tom Rice have researched the connection between Douglas’ ideas on dirt and research in sound studies.³ They argue that the disruptive nature of noise contains a radical aesthetic potential:

If we see noise as dirt/pollution in the Douglassian sense, then we can appreciate with more immediacy the revulsion, fear, and danger which noise can evoke as well as the potential it holds as a creative force for use in acts of deliberate aesthetic and social transgression.⁴

The Speaker Tower embraces the power of noise as the creative force that Pickering and Rice refer to. The power of noise is augmented by the capacity of sound to disobey borders. As an artist, I am drawn to the potential of broadcasting noise as a channel for change. To broadcast is to scatter: to squander, to dissipate, to

disperse in many directions. The word broadcast evolved from its original use as an agricultural technique of dispersing seeds by hand to the soil. It is ultimately an exercise of biological distribution and an aid to the survival of a specific species. Like with the wind, broadcasting brings life from an origin to a new origin. In communications, starting in the early 20th century it referred to a one-to-many model of distribution of information, as opposed to a one-to-one system. Broadcasting creates a special connection between the thing, group or individual in charge of

the emission of the signal and a 'general public', on the side of the reception. To broadcast noise is to broadcast matter out of place. But out of place for whom? To broadcast noise is to question, to deliver new possibilities, to irritate those who need to be interrupted and to ask for openness to potential allies.

Figures 2 to 8 depict the deployment of the Speaker Tower in three different performative experiments that explored the potential of broadcasting voices that were 'out of place'.

Notes

- 1 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, [1966] 2002).
- 2 Ibid, 44.
- 3 Hugh Pickering and Tom Rice, 'Noise as "Sound

- out of Place": Investigating the Links Between Mary Douglas' Work on Dirt and Sound Studies Research', *Journal of Sonic Studies*, no. 14 (2017).
- 4 Pickering and Rice, sec. 'Conclusion: a Dirty Theory of Noise'.

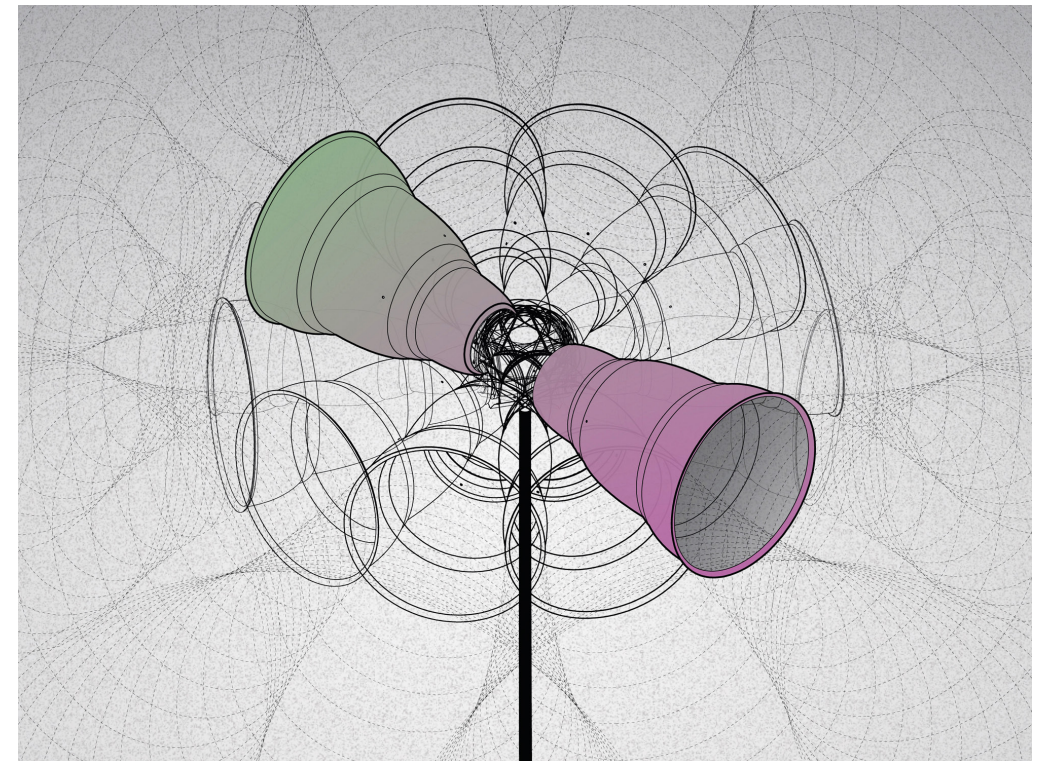


Figure 1 The Speaker Tower consists of a rotating double-sided horn speaker system that rests on an 8-foot tripod stand. The Speaker Tower is designed for flexibility and adaptation as height, speed of rotation and volume can be continuously adjusted to fluctuating conditions. (Illustration by Nicolás Kísic Aguirre)



Figure 2 The voice of nature transmitted with the Speaker Tower at the Swamp Pavilion, Venice Biennial, May 2018. The Speaker Tower stood at the center of the room as the public configured a circle of listeners around it. The Speaker Tower was giving voice to the swamp, amplifying recent recordings of local birds chirping, insects buzzing and crabs breathing. (Photograph by Norbert Tukaj)



Figure 3 The voice of dissent powered by the Speaker Tower in Cambridge, MA, February 2019. Community members gathered against the upsetting presence of Henry Kissinger, invited as an "honored guest" to the inauguration of the Stephen A. Schwarzman College of Computing at MIT. (Photograph by Nicolás Kísic Aguirre)



Figure 4 The indigenous voice of Rawa channeled through the Speaker Tower in Valparaíso, Chile, January 2020. Neighbors congregated around the Speaker Tower to listen to “Ícaro Aéreo”, a collaboration with Shipibo-Konibo artist Rawa. At that time, Valparaíso and the entire country of Chile lived through tense moments of rebellion and conflict. The Speaker Tower and Rawa offered a moment of peace to stop and recharge before another night of conflict and fear. (Photograph by Pablo Saavedra)



Figure 5 The indigenous voice of Rawa channeled through the Speaker Tower in Valparaíso, Chile, January 2020. Neighbors congregated around the Speaker Tower to listen to “Ícaro Aéreo”, a collaboration with Shipibo-Konibo artist Rawa. The particular topography of Valparaíso rendered the location, ‘Parque Cintura’, a natural stage from where Rawa’s Ícaro was broadcast. (Photograph by Fernando Godoy)



Figure 6 The indigenous voice of Rawa channeled through the Speaker Tower in Valparaiso, Chile, January 2020. Neighbors congregated around the Speaker Tower to listen to “Ícaro Aéreo”, a collaboration with Shipibo-Konibo artist Rawa. (Photograph by Fernando Godoy)



Figure 7 The indigenous voice of Rawa channeled through the Speaker Tower at the Exhibition space for the ‘Mediating the Spatiality of Conflict’ conference, TU Delft, November 2019. As an ‘instrument of protest’ the Speaker Tower highlighted, during the conference, the importance of understanding conflict in the aural space. (Photograph by Nicolás Kísic Aguirre)



Figure 8 The indigenous voice of Rawa channeled through the Speaker Tower at the Exhibition space for the 'Mediating the Spatiality of Conflict' conference, TU Delft, November 2019. The performance transformed the atmosphere of the exhibition space into the sacred space created by Rawa's chanting of his Icaro. (Photograph by Daniella Maamari)

3D Semantic Data Modelling

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The workshop on 3D Semantic Data Modelling was aimed at investigating the potentiality of semantic data modelling in addressing issues related to the virtual reconstruction of damaged architectural heritage. In particular, the workshop focused on understanding semantic data modelling and on sharing good practice in developing new knowledge, and on the importance of ontologies for the work of Cultural Heritage experts. Indeed, as Letellier and Woo state, ‘the documentation of cultural heritage and the related activities must be accessible to potential users now and in the future’.¹

The workshop started addressing the issue of data heterogeneity, described by the different metadata schemas adopted in the cultural heritage domain and focused on the way data is brought together, and made interoperable, with the aim of creating new knowledge. Data heterogeneity concerns the cultural heritage field, which is a multidisciplinary field where different datasets are generated using different approaches, technologies and metadata standards. Beside particular cases of research infrastructures or projects born with the aim to find a strong methodology to integrate and make data available, in the cultural heritage field most organizations have their digital content stored in one or more databases and siloed file-systems. But as the amount of digital content grows over time, there is a difficulty in finding the right information in a collection of mostly unrelated information. In most cases information retrieval is constrained by difficulties in accessing the data and by

the lack of integration and interoperability. Making databases interoperable is quite a demanding task to be achieved in the current architectural research database.

The workshop proceeded with an introduction to the CIDOC CRM ontology², a domain ontology that provides definitions and a formal structure for describing the implicit and explicit concepts and relationships used in cultural heritage documentation. This ontology is largely adopted by cultural heritage institutions and it used as backbone schema for the organization of diverse databases coming from different research institutions involved in EU projects, e.g. ARIADNEplus³ and PARTHENOS⁴, to cite a few projects relevant respectively for the archaeological domain and for the digital humanities. During the workshop, an introduction of the basic principles for modelling ontologies was provided considering both scenarios of modelling unstructured data or structured data (databases, data management systems and so forth). Furthermore, the various extensions developed by the domain experts to satisfy the needs of the specific research areas of cultural heritage were introduced. Given the theme of the workshop, we focused more on two of the extensions of the CIDOC CRM, particularly on CRMba⁵ and CRMdig⁶.

The first (CRMba) is an ontology developed to encode metadata about the documentation of built works in order to identify the evolution of the building throughout the centuries and to record the relationships between each of the building

components among them and with the building as a whole. The CRMdig extension was developed to encode metadata about the steps and methods of production (“provenance”) of digital products and synthetic digital representations such as 2D, 3D created with different technologies. This allowed participants to acquire a basic understanding of the capabilities of the ontology and from that point to start with the identification of their research questions and needs. Participants were invited to reflect on their experiences and to discuss how ontology could help exploring new research opportunities.

The multidisciplinary group of researchers attending the workshop included a digital archaeologist and an art historian from the University of Exeter, and an architect from the TU Delft. The aim of the group from the University of Exeter was to integrate datasets of art, architecture and social history, together with 3D reconstructions, trying to create more knowledge and to define new interpretations and analysis of the Renaissance urban setting. The project presented by the architect from the TU

Delft was very specific and challenging, aiming at reconstructing the chain of events and actors involved in the destruction and transformation of some buildings of Belgrade in the aftermath of the 1999 war. Although the projects had different aims, emphasis was given on maximizing the sharing of experiences between participants and on practically experimenting with a methodology to find a new way of representing information, and stimulating discussions. What emerged from this workshop is that although the contexts and research questions addressed by the two groups were completely different, the principle behind ontology remains valid and helps to organize heterogeneous data in a way that allows generating more knowledge. The groups of researchers had the opportunity to practice creating a preliminary draft of their ontological model, bringing with them a valid tool to implement an ad-hoc model for their research goals. The workshop helped them to reason on the content of their dataset and to explore new methods to organize data more efficiently as a preliminary stage for data modelling.

Notes

- 1 Letellier, Robin and Rand Eppich, *Recording, Documentation and Information Management for the Conservation of Heritage Places* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- 2 International standard since 2006 - ISO 21127:2006, website <http://www.CIDOC-CRM.org>. Also see: Amico, Nicola, Paola Ronzino, Achille Felicetti, and Franco Niccolucci, “Quality Management of 3D Cultural Heritage Replicas with CIDOC-CRM”, in *CEUR Workshop Proceedings*, 1117 (CEUR-WS, 2013), 61–69.
- 3 ARIADNEplus: <https://ariadne-infrastructure.eu/>. Also see: Meghini, Carlo, Franco Niccolucci, Achille Felicetti, Paola Ronzino, Federico Nurra, Christos Papatheodorou, Dimitris Gavrilis, et al., “ARIADNE: A Research Infrastructure for Archaeology”, in *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage (JOCCH)*, (2017) 10 (3): 1–27.
- 4 PARTHENOS: <http://www.parthenos-project.eu/>
- 5 Ronzino, Paola, Franco Niccolucci, Achille Felicetti, and Martin Doerr. ‘CRMba a CRM Extension for the Documentation of Standing Buildings’, in *International Journal on Digital Libraries* 17 (1), (Springer Verlag: 2016): 71–78.
- 6 Doerr, Martin, Stephen Stead, Maria Theodoridou, et al., *CRMdig: Model for provenance data*, version 3.2.1 (2016). Available at http://www.cidoc-crm.org/sites/default/files/CRMdig_v3.2.1.pdf; Doerr, Martin, and Maria Theodoridou, “CRMdig: A Generic Digital Provenance Model for Scientific Observation.” In *Proceedings of TaPP’11: 3rd, USENIX Workshop on the Theory and Practice of Provenance* (2011). http://static.usenix.org/events/tapp11/tech/final_files/Doerr.pdf.

Spatial Photography Workshop

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Over the course of the last two decades, a section of the photographic medium gradually shifted to form a new spatial condition, one which I term ‘Spatial Photography’.¹ The practice of 3D scanning by state and corporations as well as by civic society and artists has been on an exponential increase in recent years. Every week I encounter new projects utilizing this form of optical computational imaging, embedding it deeper as an ubiquitous form of record and expression. Photogrammetry as a method of what is now increasingly termed ‘Reality Capture’ has truly ‘exploded’ as a field of engagement for architects, game developers, and film as much as it is for industry, survey, and archaeology. Depth sensing and computation of optical data input are increasingly augmenting the one to one relations between reality and simulation in VR AR and mixed reality content platforms across industries and use, shifting the situatedness of the end user from cartographic space to a situated volume.

These are technologies that have been diffused, in the same way as media, communication and cameras were diffused in the 1980’s and 1990’s, we can see now a kind of proliferation, a citizens’ practice because they have also simultaneously become a new kind of language through which governmentality operates. As we witness a dissemination and popularization of mapping and spatial imaging there is a new type of grammar that we need to develop in order to meet the emergent political reality in their wake. The formation of a different kind of pedagogy and practice of spatial photography is needed that

adheres to the particular political demands and maintains the possibility for wilful grades of opacity. Thinking through this shift on a conceptual register, it is clear that under this condition the photographic apparatus constitutes itself and functions as an environment. It does not flatten reality onto a chemical grain emulsion surface or a plane of discrete pixels, nor does it renege on its visual coherence in favour of its own constitution as data, cloud set or networked image; rather, in this highly computational environment, physical surface is transcoded onto a mirrored digital terrain of spatially distributed, discrete coordinate points.² A photographic point-cloud creates a photographic topography: photography as architectural space.

The Western imaginary has continued to produce and be shaped by the co-constitutive relations between place and image. Photography has played a consistent role in the production of the political and ideological cognition of space.³ With the advent of the spatial photographic technologies — such as photogrammetry or aerial and terrestrial lidar scanners but also depth scanners on iPhone even Lidar on IpadPro — that have become integral to engineering, architecture and military planning, the interconnection between terraforming and imaging has grown ever closer. We need to review our understanding of the photographic if we wish to understand these political/ ideological processes of terraforming and control.

Shifting from image surface to volume I find it useful to return to the early Paul Virilio and Claude Parent’s concept of

the 'oblique'.⁴ Breaking from the dichotomy of motion and stasis, the horizontal and the vertical, the oblique line cuts through both. Moving between increments of the oblique one simultaneously 'dials' between different politics. Each viewing height offers a different set of relations. From the endoscopic tunnel vision of the underground view through embedded and embodied ground level position, to the removed hovering bird's eye view of the kite and remote detachment of the satellite gaze. The higher the lens, the flatter the resulting image. Survey and military aimed photography has strived for a flattening of territory to reduce it to surface features. The vertical, aerial view has predominantly been associated with the 'eye' of the ruler, the vertical not as a spatial dimension but rather a dimension of power.⁵

The transition from flatness to volume has highlighted the need for a changed understanding, not only of the image space itself, but also of our methods of reading and interacting with it, shifting the focus from scanning to navigation. The surface of a flat image needs to be scanned, whereas a three-dimensional image has to be navigated. For an image to be legible its topography and territory must be reducible to flatness. In the parallel acts of reading a photograph and reading a terrain from the air, the conceptual and physical distance between viewer and viewed is now problematised through a disengagement from perspectival imaging mechanisms and the emergence of a partial conceptual and physical marriage of surveying with immersion. The spatial photograph now physically demands the application of actions that were once attributed conceptually, to planar photography⁶: the dissolution of the frame that enables us to delve in the image. To read an image, we scan it with our eyes, whereas we physically walk through a landscape in order to get to know it. However, we are now at the point (in time and technology) where we need to 'walk the image'. Images are no longer a

navigational aid; instead, navigation has become an imperative prerequisite of the image. [fig. 1]

Pausing

Pausing, so to speak, at this atomized stage, before each point is wired, meshed up and moulded into the representation of surface, allocated the hierarchic role of structure in the three dimensional model. At this suspended stage, the difference between point-structure -image and environment is a matter of viewing distance and perception. The user is driven to manoeuvre across, to and through the surface, driven into motion. A dynamic relation constantly in flux.

In the point cloud a flat pixel is transcoded into a digital point. Autonomous yet connected, timestamped and geotagged. There is a combined sense of dry data, and other worldliness: a translucency and hyper-reality in this granular realism.

Constructed in an intertwined manner, the workshop tried to fuse some of these practices of 3D scanning, photography and computation and theoretical discussion. Using simple point and shoot as well as smartphone cameras and drones we worked across multiple scales from a small object to an entire environment composed of multiple scans. Throughout the three day workshop as part of mediating conflicts at TU Delft, parallel to the growing familiarity with the practice, constant emphasis was given to existing examples of application of these technologies and emerging methodologies, rethinking ways in which this specific mode of record could be mobilized within wider constellations of aesthetic and in a counter-dominant mode of political production by civic society, activists and artists. [fig. 2] [fig. 3]

Today, photographic reality is both spatial and navigational. Navigating through optically generated computational constellations, in many ways we who live under the influence of western capitalist society, are immersed in an image space.

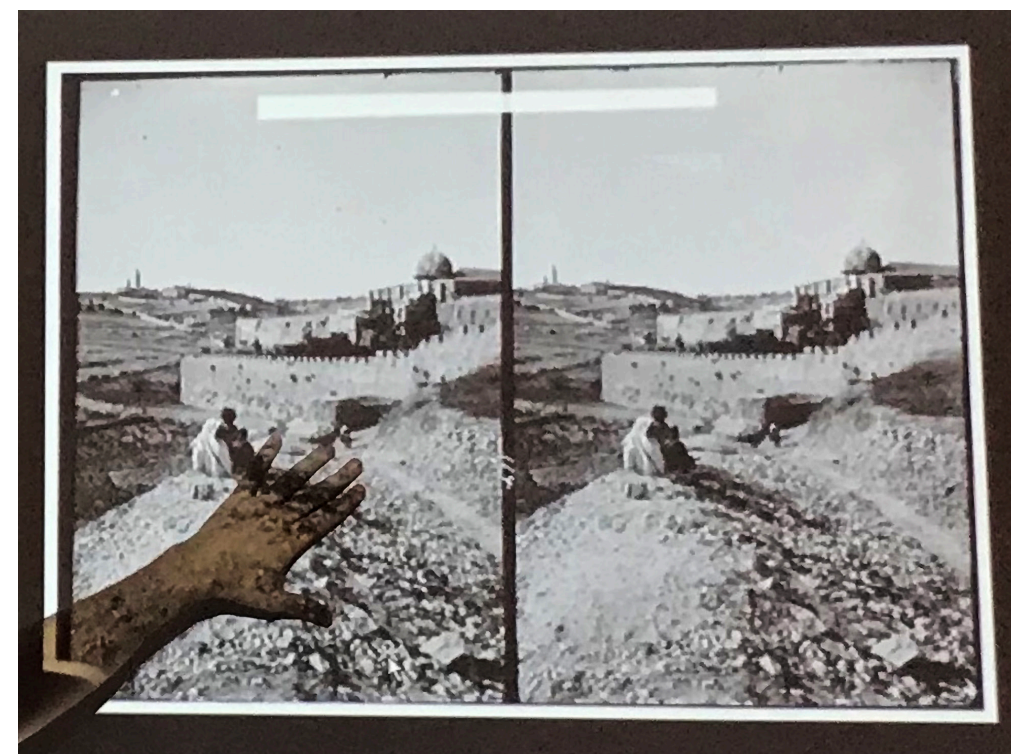


Figure 1 Stereoscopic photograph shown as part of the workshop. Image: Ilona Jurkonyte, 2019.

Yet, as the fundamental constitution and reach of this image space changes we still need to understand the social and political implications. What this text claims for, and what the workshop contended with, is that spatial photography and its practices — Lidar, photogrammetry and several other reality capturing processes — need to be reframed within social political and

epistemological sets of relations. It is not simply a changed mode of mechanical production but must be a vehicle for the continued creation of relation between different people and machinic systems, taking, analysing and producing spaces, that together contend with the medium as part of a community of practice.

Notes

- 1 A term I developed in my Doctoral thesis for this distinct spatial condition in photography. See: Caine, Ariel. 'GRANULAR REALISM / Ontology And Counter-Dominant Practices of Spatial Photography'. PhD Diss., Goldsmiths University of London, 2019.
- 2 A point cloud is a set of data points distributed in virtual 3D space. Point clouds are generally produced by 3D scanners or photogrammetric processes which measure a large number of points on the external surfaces of objects or environments around them. As the output of 3D scanning processes increasingly termed 'Reality Capturing', point clouds are used for many purposes, including to create 3D CAD models for manufactured, construction, survey and for a multitude of visualization, animation, rendering and mass customization applications.
- 3 W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and Power*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- 4 Parent, Claude, Paul Virilio, and Mohsan Mostafavi. *The Function of the Oblique: The Architecture of Claude Parent and Paul Virilio 1963-1969*. (London: Architectural Association Publications, 1996).
- 5 Michel Foucault's quote here is taken from 'Force of Flight'. Originally published in 1973 to accompany a series of paintings by Paul Rebeyrolle (1926–2005). From: Elden, Stuart. *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. Edited by Jeremy W. Crampton. (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.7.
- 6 The terms 'trans-planar' and 'planar photography' have a central place in Jens Schröter's book, *3D*, which discusses the genealogy of three-dimensional forms of analogue photography, mainly the stereoscope and holography. See: Jens Schröter, *3D History, Theory, and Aesthetics of the Transplane Image*. (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

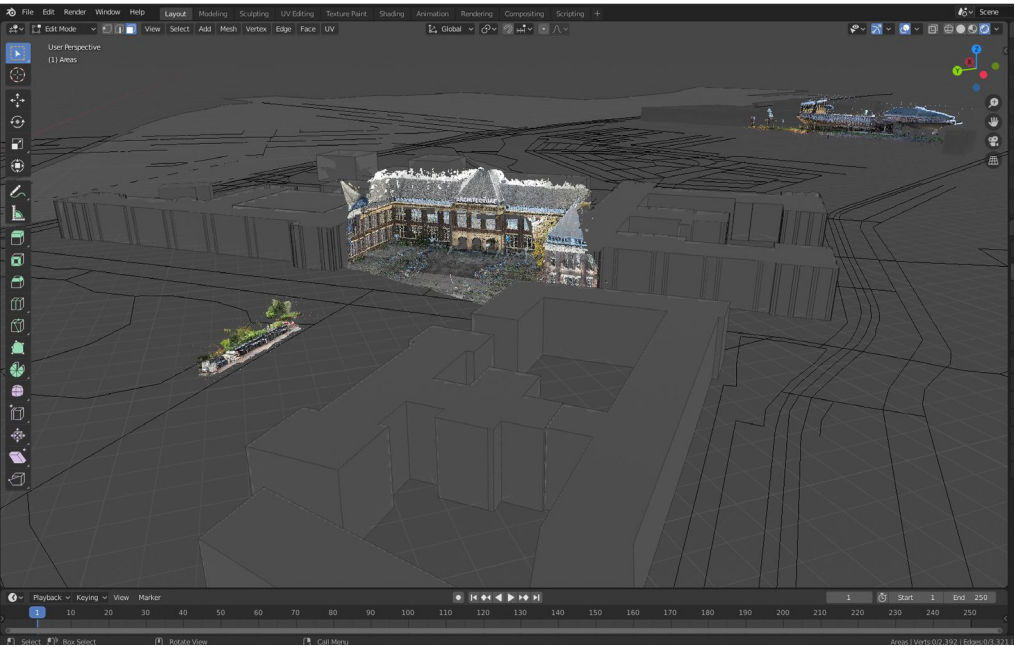
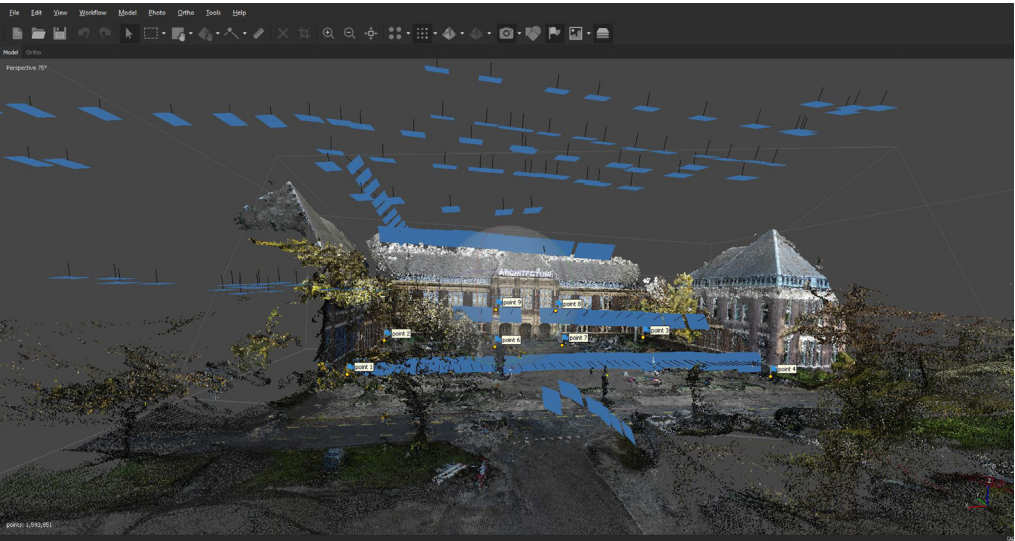


Figure 2 Screenshot from within the photogrammetry software. The scene combined multiple scanning sessions from the air and the ground, taken by different members of the group.

Figure 3 A final part of the workshop looked at the integration of point clouds with opensource 3D software and open-street map data. Here the area around TU Delft within the 3D software Blender.

The Temperature of the War

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The film program ‘Temperature of the War’ is an audiovisual inquiry into the ramifications of military infrastructures in ocean space in three short-films. The three thought provoking works are part of my ongoing research focusing on questions related to film and media participation in tendencies that stem from ocean space. In my research I focus on the Cold War, its legacies and its oceanic genealogies as they manifest along the lines of maritime law, which to certain extent bridges international and colonial jurisdictions. I focus on works that propose a critical audiovisual elaboration on the interlinkages between media and military practices in ocean space. The program invites us to think together with works that either include the ocean as medium, or which allow us to recognise oceanic tendencies through other practices even while taking our gaze outside of the ocean itself.

The film program is an attempt by audiovisual means to move against the grain of both mainstream Cold War discourse in the broadest sense, and its binary logic. By focusing on the ‘cracks’ of Cold War binary logic, I aim to point at the never innocent and counterproductive semantics of the combination of the words ‘cold’ and ‘war’. The film program also suggests an audiovisual inquiry into intertwining of media histories, military histories and hydrogeopolitics. It is motivated by the question of how to regain vision from the militaries, while discerning possibilities of vision from the military vision. In this sense, the films included in this program visit physically remote military sites and exercise a counter-military vision.

In 2016 artist Julian Charière and his collaborator the curator Nadim Samman

visited Bikini Atoll for an art project, which was exhibited in Berlin with the title ‘As We Used to Float’.¹ The collaborators visited a site where the maritime nuclear weapon testing history began in 1946. Nuclear weapon tests in the Bikini Atoll of the Marshall Islands were photographed by the U.S. Air Force in collaboration with the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the U.S. Navy. During the span of twelve years 23 nuclear devices were detonated at seven test sites on the reef, in the sea, in the air and underwater. Chemist Glenn Seaborg, the longest-serving chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, in hindsight referred to the second test as ‘the world’s first nuclear disaster.’² Simultaneously, another important world record was being set. More than half of the world’s supplies of film stock and around eighteen tons of cinematography equipment were present on Bikini. ‘Operation Crossroads’ rendered one of the world’s most remote places as the first most photographed one. U.S. film and media scholar Susan Courtney writes: ‘The history of nuclear weapons is also, in several crucial respects, a history of moving images.’³

In their travelogue diary Charière and Samman write that,

After the corruption of its soil, it is believed that Bikini Atoll can no longer bear cultural fruit. But we have come to the Marshall Islands convinced that it is fertile. We are here to attend the birth of an image: a new species, endemic to this postatomic landscape. An array of wrecks is its motif.⁴

The artist and curator duo offers a reverse shot⁵ of the nuclear weapon observation

infrastructure; an infrastructure that has been manufactured to produce images that capture imaginaries of the twentieth century and render the world irreversibly different, penetrating everything, just like the bomb-carbon did, and which is now part of all of us. 'Operation Crossroads' produced not only a new measure — bomb-carbon — it also generated a new linguistic and visual presence. An entirely new language had to be invented to describe mostly visual effects. The official 'Operation Crossroads' historian William Shurcliff in his produced official report 'Bombs at Bikini' states that after an explosion,

Things happened so fast in the next five seconds that few eyewitnesses could afterwards recall the full scope and sequence of the phenomena. By studying slow-motion films and analysing the records caught by the thousands of instruments, the scientists eventually pieced together the full story.⁶

In a footnote he specifies that,

Without question, one reason why observers had so much trouble in retaining a clear impression of the explosion phenomena was the lack of appropriate words and concepts. The explosion phenomena abounded in absolutely unprecedented inventions in solid geometry. No adequate vocabulary existed for these novelties. The vocabulary bottleneck continued for months even among the scientific groups: finally, after two months of verbal groping, a conference was held and over thirty special terms, with carefully drawn definitions, were agreed on. Among these terms were the following: dome, fillet, side jets, bright tracks, cauliflower cloud, fallout, air shock disk, water shock disk, base surge, water mound, uprush, after cloud.⁷

If 'Operation Crossroads' brought about a new language around the bomb explosion, then both Charière's and Emilija Škarnulytė's expeditions deserve a closer focus on the language of the aftermaths.

Škarnulytė for 'Sirenomilia' also dives into the ocean — the cold ocean of the Arctic Circle — to find a series of concrete structures built during the Cold War in 1967 to shelter NATO submarines. Škarnulytė articulates her motivation as follows,

When I first saw the endless canals where the submarines used to be located, I was immediately tempted to dive there and see what Cold War ruins were hidden in the salty water. The counter-mythology of the Cold War was interesting to me.⁸

She collects not only images, but also sounds of quasars recorded by satellites at the Geodetic Earth Observatory in Ny-Ålesund, Spitsbergen of the Norwegian Mapping Authority, the northernmost facility of its kind. The whispers from outer space suggest different temporalities, different scales challenging the simplified mapping of Cold War binary.

Both artists Charière and Škarnulytė explore the Cold War productive infrastructures, plunging into what artists Anca Benera and Arnold Estefán succinctly refer to as a 'debrisphere'.⁹ Maja and Reuben Fowkes offer a definition for this neologism:

The assemblage of natural and human histories that constitute the Debrisphere did not emerge as a symbiotic growing together of living and non-living matter, but rather through the force of a violent collision. 'Debrisphere' stands for a type of artificial terrain that, even when cosmetically disguised, still strains to hide its origins in acts of military aggression that pulverised living

environments into heaps of detritus.¹⁰

The Bikini Atoll — or rather its debris — was included in the UNESCO Heritage List in 2010, lending it the status of a peculiar monument. The inclusion signals the insistence on incorporating it into a sphere of cultural signifiers, and this in turn evidences that something is utterly wrong with the way life is treated. The inclusion of the Bikini Atoll in the UNESCO Heritage List was argued on two criteria, namely as 'an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history' (criterion iv), and because it is 'directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance' (criterion vi, which should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria).¹¹

In particular, the inclusion argues the listing of the Bikini Atoll under criteria iv and vi based on the following characteristics:

Criterion (iv): Bikini Atoll is an outstanding example of a nuclear test site. It has many military remains and characteristic terrestrial and underwater landscape elements. It is tangible testimony of the birth of the Cold War and it bears testimony to the race to develop increasingly powerful nuclear weapons. In the wake of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, the Bikini Atoll site confirmed that mankind was entering a nuclear era. It also bears witness to the consequences of the nuclear tests on the civil populations of Bikini and the Marshall Islands, in terms of population displacement and public-health issues.

Criterion (vi): The ideas and beliefs associated with the Bikini nuclear test site, and more generally with the

escalation of military power which characterised the Cold War, are of international significance. These events gave rise to a large number of international movements advocating nuclear disarmament; they gave rise to powerful symbols and to many images associated with the "nuclear era", which characterised the second part of the 20th century.¹²

The registration of cancer incidence and birth defects is ongoing, while the irredeemable debt the U.S. government has with the Marshallese people remains unpaid. The costs of Cold War business are directly and continuously played out on bodies that have little to do with the invention of the Cold War itself.

The medium of film often registers the ruins of military infrastructure used for creating a spectacle that is often referred to as the 'nuclear sublime'. Charière's and Samman's journey possibly seeks for the justice of image, and in this sense 'Iroojrilik' is their effort. Their film opens with a shot of a horizon where the explosions occurred more than 70 years ago. The edit weaves narratives of signs of destruction above and underwater. Concrete was used for booths built to shelter the cameras that first filmed one of the most photo-documented events in history. Did anyone think about a reverse image perspective in 1946 when 'Operation Crossroads' at Bikini Atoll blasted with a combined fission yield of 42.2 Megaton explosive power? Military scientists, journalists and artists were kept busy staring at the mushroom clouds, and organizing conferences to invent a new language in order to be able to speak about these events. Yet, all this took place right after the explosion. Today, we are still inhabiting the post-explosion time, a time when the focus of imaging technology and conceptual apparatus has to be continuously reclaimed and reset.

Filipa César and Louis Henderson with 'Sunstone' take another look at media

and geography. They look at optics itself and bridge the materiality of navigation with its colonial histories and neo-colonial presents. The protagonist of the film,

lighthouse keeper Roque Pina suggests that we need lighthouse philosophers. This might as well mean that we need to claim media from militaries.

Notes

- 1 'As We Used to Float' was presented at the Berlinischer Galerie, Berlin, Germany from September 27, 2018 to April 8, 2019.
- 2 Jonathan M. Weisgall, *Operation Crossroads: The Atomic Tests at Bikini Atoll* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1994), ix.
- 3 Susan Courtney, 'Framing the bomb in the West. The view from lookout mountain', in *Cinema Military Industrial Complex* ed. Haidee Wasson and Lee Grieveson (University of California Press, 2018), 210.
- 4 Julian Charrière and Nadim Samman. *As We Used to Float. Within Bikini Atoll*. (Berlin: K. Verlag, 2018), 31.
- 5 This might be a good moment to pay some awareness to omnipresently militarised media vocabulary.
- 6 William A. Shurcliff. *Bombs at Bikini. The Official*

- Report of Operation Crossroads. United States. Joint Task Force One* (New York: Wm. H. Wise & Co., Inc., 1947), 151-2.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Emilija Škarnulytė interviewed by Nadim Samman. <https://www.vdrome.org/emilija-skarnulyte>. Last accessed: February 4, 2020.
- 9 Anca Benera and Estefán Arnold, *Debrisphere. Landscape as an Extension of the Military Imagination* (Bucharest: Punch, 2018).
- 10 Maja Fowkes and Reuben Fowkes, 'Unsalvageable Futures of the Debrisphere', in *Debrisphere. Landscape as an Extension of the Military Imagination* (Bucharest: Punch, 2018), 19.
- 11 UNESCO - Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/>. Last accessed: February 4, 2020.
- 12 <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1339/>

Films

Julian Charrière, 'Iroojrilik' (2016), 21 min.

Charrière's video work captures the structures of the atomic-industrial architecture decay on Bikini Atoll. Its manner of editing further suggests morphological overlaps with the monstrous wrecks lying on the bottom of the Bikini Atoll lagoon, assailed by tide and time. Making no use of archival material — its original underwater images captured at depths far below standard dive profiles — 'Iroojrilik' is unquestionably a unique, and comprehensive, perspective on the maritime ruins of Bikini. Yet, rather than explicating individual vessels or buildings, the cumulative impression is that of an Atlantis or lost civilization — architectural features of one ship cut together with those of others, such that it appears as though a submerged mega-structure has been discovered. On a more general note, the film employs another series of elisions and substitutions. Through a series of montages, mixing sunsets and sunrises, it proposes an uncertain distinction between daybreak and nightfall — first light of a new day in Pacific history, and the waning of another: visions of multiple suns and endless dawns stretch across the horizon. Pictorial energies shift and sway, like palm trees and coral ferns growing on cannon mounts, between construction and destruction; transporting the viewer to a 'non-place', or the beginning of a brave new world.

Julian Charrière (b. 1987, Morges, Switzerland) is a French-Swiss artist based in Berlin whose work bridges the realms of environmental science and cultural history. Marrying performance, sculpture and photography, his projects often stem from fieldwork in remote locations with acute geophysical identities — such as volcanoes, ice-fields and radioactive sites. To date, his work has explored post-romantic constructions of 'nature', and staged tensions between deep or geological timescales and those relating to mankind. Charrière's approach further reflects upon the mythos of the quest and its objects in a globalised age. Deploying seemingly perennial imagery to contemporary ends, his interventions at the borderline of mysticism and the material encapsulate our fraught relations with place today.

Emilija Škarnulytė 'Sirenomelia', Lithuania (2017), 12 min.

A woman born with sirenomelia, a mythological posthuman being, takes us on the journey to the Cold War submarine base above the arctic circle. She exposes a future liberated from the military and economic structures that oppress the present; a future in which relations between humans and nonhumans have been transfigured; a future in which the cosmic dimension of an earthly coexistence is interlaced within the texture of the social. 'Sirenomelia' explores questions of the beginning of the universe in relation to the geological ungrounding processes, invisible structures, geo-traumas and deep time. It is a fictional visual meditation about contemporary science and a cross sections of the larger systems of power and the politics of desire. By performing in 'Sirenomelia' herself, Škarnulytė becomes a measure for biosphere, magnetic fields, photons, minerals and gravity waves.

Emilija Škarnulytė is a nomadic visual artist and filmmaker. Between the fictive and documentary, she works primarily with deep time, from the cosmic and geologic to the ecological and political. Recent group exhibitions include Hyperobjects at Ballroom Marfa, Texas; Moving Stones at the Kadist Art Foundation, Paris; and the first Riga International Biennial of Contemporary Art; as well as a new commission for Bold Tendencies in London and a solo show at Künstlerhaus Bethanien in Berlin. Škarnulytė is the winner of the Future Generation Art Prize 2019 and represented Lithuania at the XXII Triennale di Milano. Her upcoming shows include the Toronto Biennial of Art, Canada and 95% of the Universe is Missing, Science Gallery, London, UK. She currently co-directs Polar Film Lab, a collective for 16mm analogue film practice located in Tromsø, Norway.

Filipa César and Louis Henderson, 'Sunstone', Portugal, Brazil, France (2018), 35 min.

'Sunstone' has the structure of a collage made up of instances in history and geography that create a loose narrative, relying on the viewer's capacity of extracting meaning from her own link-making. Sunstone intersects the history of lighthouse building with seemingly timeless laws of physics, being inserted into history through the ownership of the military. It proposes optics as a moving image and pushes it further, suggesting the moving image as an accessible archive owning the potential of narrating a different — yet still militarized — version of its application.

Louis Henderson is a filmmaker who experiments with different ways of working with people to address and question our current global condition defined by racial capitalism and ever-present histories of the European colonial project. Developing an archaeological method in cinema, his films explore the sonic space of images, listening to the echoes and spirals of the stratigraphic. Since 2017, Henderson has been working within the artist group The Living and the Dead Ensemble. Based between Haiti and France, they focus on theatre, song, slam, poetry and cinema. His work is distributed by LUX and Video Data Bank.

Filipa César is an artist and filmmaker interested in the fictional aspects of the documentary, the porous borders between cinema and its reception, and the politics and poetics inherent to the moving image and imaging technologies. Since 2011, she has been researching the origins of the cinema of the African Liberation Movement in Guinea Bissau as a laboratory of resistance to ruling epistemologies. The resulting body of work comprises, 16 mm films, digital archives, videos, seminars, screenings, publications, ongoing collaborations with artists, theorists and activists and is the basis for her Phd thesis at FCSH-New University of Lisbon. César's genre bending work bridges contemporary and historical discourses in her film and video work, as well as in her publications, for example, her essay Meteorizations to be published in the forthcoming Third Text special issue The Wretched Earth: Botanical Conflicts and Artistic Interventions edited by Shela Sheik and Ros Gray.

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Nicola Amico is an archaeologist, and researcher at VAST-LAB – PIN. He is involved in the research of integrated technological solutions (laser scanning, photogrammetry and topography) for surveying artefacts and monuments and realizing digital 3D models for conservation, development and communication of Cultural Heritage. He has contributed to the three-dimensional digital management of archaeological sites and the creation of virtual museums.

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Siobhan Barry is a Senior Lecturer at Manchester School of Architecture, a joint school between Manchester University and Manchester Metropolitan University. She is an internationally respected academic and researcher in the fields of bioclimatic architecture, aviation and exhibition design. She has worked regularly with the National Trust in designing pavilion exhibitions for public interaction and engagement across a number of historic sites. Siobhan presents internationally and has consulted on sustainable development strategies for both architectural practice and government.

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Ahmad Beydoun is an architect interested in the field of forensics in the context of South Lebanon. He has completed his Bachelor of Architecture from the Lebanese American University and the École Spéciale d'Architecture. Ahmad previously worked at DW5 Bernard Khoury Architects, where he was involved in a multidisciplinary range of work from curatorial to architecture practices. He also worked in a start-up studio called Coup Architects where he was involved in completing the design proposal for an upcoming school in Baghdad. Ahmad is interested in the intersection of politics and space, and the environmental disaster currently unfolding in Lebanon.

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Ariel Caine is a Jerusalem-born and London-based artist and researcher. He obtained his PhD at the Centre for Research Architecture, Goldsmiths University of London and he is a researcher and project coordinator at the Forensic Architecture Research Agency. Ariel's practice focuses on the intersection between spatial (three-dimensional) photography, modelling and survey technologies and their operation within the production of cultural memory and national narratives. A central component of his work in recent years is the construction of a collaborative work practice of photography as an act of aesthetic-political resistance on behalf of civil society.

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Architect and PhD fellow at the Department of Engineering and Architecture (Trieste), Mariacristina concentrates her research on exploring the relationship between permanent and temporary architecture. Since her Master's Degree Thesis *Expost: the recycle of the event // the event of recycle* (2015), focused on inhabiting the transitional time comprised between the closing of Expo 2015 and its complete dismantling, she developed a trajectory in the professional field working on public spaces (Stradivarie Architetti Associati, 2015-2018) and entered in November 2018 the PhD program, investigating how contemporary design can appropriate the ephemeral syntax to recycle the city's spatial component.

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Emine Görgül is an associate professor and former vice-chair in Istanbul Technical University-ITU Department of Interior Architecture. She has received her B.Sc. (1999), M.Sc. (2002) and Ph.D. (2013) degrees from ITU on Architecture and Architectural Theory and Criticism. Her master thesis has focused on Deconstructivism and Avant-Garde Theory, while dismantling the AG behavior in Deconstructivism. Yet her Ph.D. thesis entitled 'Space as a Becoming: a Discussion on Transfiguring Ontology of Space and Emergence of Spatial Mediators' has also focused on the space as an open-ended dynamic embodiment, and examined the architectural space through a Deleuzian context. She was a visiting scholar in DSD-TU Delft, a visiting teacher at AA-Architectural Association-London and invited studio critic in Hong Kong University-School of Architecture, and visiting professor in CADCA-Auburn University-Alabama. She has been the chair of 'Deleuze Studies Conference Istanbul 2014', and also keynote presenters and camp tutors of many Deleuze Studies Conferences. She experiments alternative ways of teaching design and creativity through her architectural and interior architectural studios at both under-graduate and graduate levels, and authors numerous articles and book chapters both in Turkish and in English, on architecture theory and criticism, design culture, gender and space, urban interiors as well as design education and innovative interventions. She has been nominated and included in Who's Who in the World Index for 2016 volume.

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Lucija Grofelnik is a graduation student at the Faculty of Architecture, TU Delft. She has a bachelor degree in Architecture and Urbanism from University of Zagreb, Croatia, and has worked on several architecture and landscape projects in Croatia. Her interests revolve around past and present development of Balkan cities initiated by political systems or economic parties, and spatial conflicts these impositions cause.

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Ilona Jurkonyté is a Lithuanian film and moving image researcher and curator currently based in Montreal, Canada. She is Vanier Scholar at Concordia University, where she is pursuing a PhD degree in the Film and Moving Image Program. Her background is in philosophy, communication studies, and art theory. Ilona's academic research and film curatorial practice inform each other. Her work critically examines tensions between notions of the national, global, and transnational in moving image production and circulation, as well as their geo- and hydro-political implications. Her research interests include analysis of military imaging and mapping, film and media participation in ocean politics, audiovisual forensics of neocolonial tendencies and research into potentials of how film and media can render counter-politics to both immediate and slow violence. She is co-founder (2007), managing director (2007-2012), and artistic director (2007-2020) of Kaunas International Film Festival (Lithuania), which was instrumental in rescuing Romuva, the oldest cinema theater in Lithuania. Before starting her PhD studies, she worked as film program curator at the Contemporary Art Centre Cinema (Vilnius, Lithuania).

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Caren Kaplan is Professor Emerita of American Studies at the University of California at Davis. Her research draws on cultural geography, landscape art, and military history to explore the ways in which undeclared as well as declared wars produce visual cultures of atmospheric politics. Selected publications include *Aerial Aftermaths: Wartime from Above* (Duke 2018), *Life in the Age of Drone Warfare* (Duke 2017), *Between Woman and Nation: Transnational Feminisms and the State* (Duke 1999), *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Duke 1996) and *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Minnesota 1994).

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Nicolás Kísic Aguirre is a Peruvian transdisciplinary sound artist who creates machines that explore and illuminate the social and political nature of sound in public space. In 2018, he graduated from the MIT program in Art, Culture and Technology. Informed by his background in architecture and a lifelong fascination with machines, Kísic Aguirre designs and builds sound instruments to explore the connection between public space, power, technology, and sound. His machines have been deployed in marches, protests and everyday public spaces. They interrupt social reality, inspire research and trigger the artistic imagination. His critical and aesthetic practice is open-source, collaborative, and deeply engaged with the public. Currently, he is conducting a series of events, workshops and expeditions titled 'Instruments of Protest'. The series investigates DIY strategies to experiment with composition and sound machines in public space, with the focus of strengthening the political voice of the least heard.

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Margarethe Mueller is an Architect/Researcher/Urbanist. She studied Architecture at the TU Graz and ETH Zurich. She developed national and international projects at the boundaries between architecture, research, urbanism and art. After study, she worked for Koolhaas/OMA, which inspired her creativity. She co-founded "transbanana" in 1997, a studio focusing on experimental methods in architecture & urban development. Her research goes beyond academic research and includes political issues as well as the everyday life. She has worked as assistant professor at the TU Vienna at the Institute of Will Alsop and has taught design studios at different Universities in Vienna and London and in Berlin at Norwich University, which is the oldest Military Academy of USA. Her research interest is on conflict areas and boundaries of all kinds, including the Korean Border and the EU-Outerborder.

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