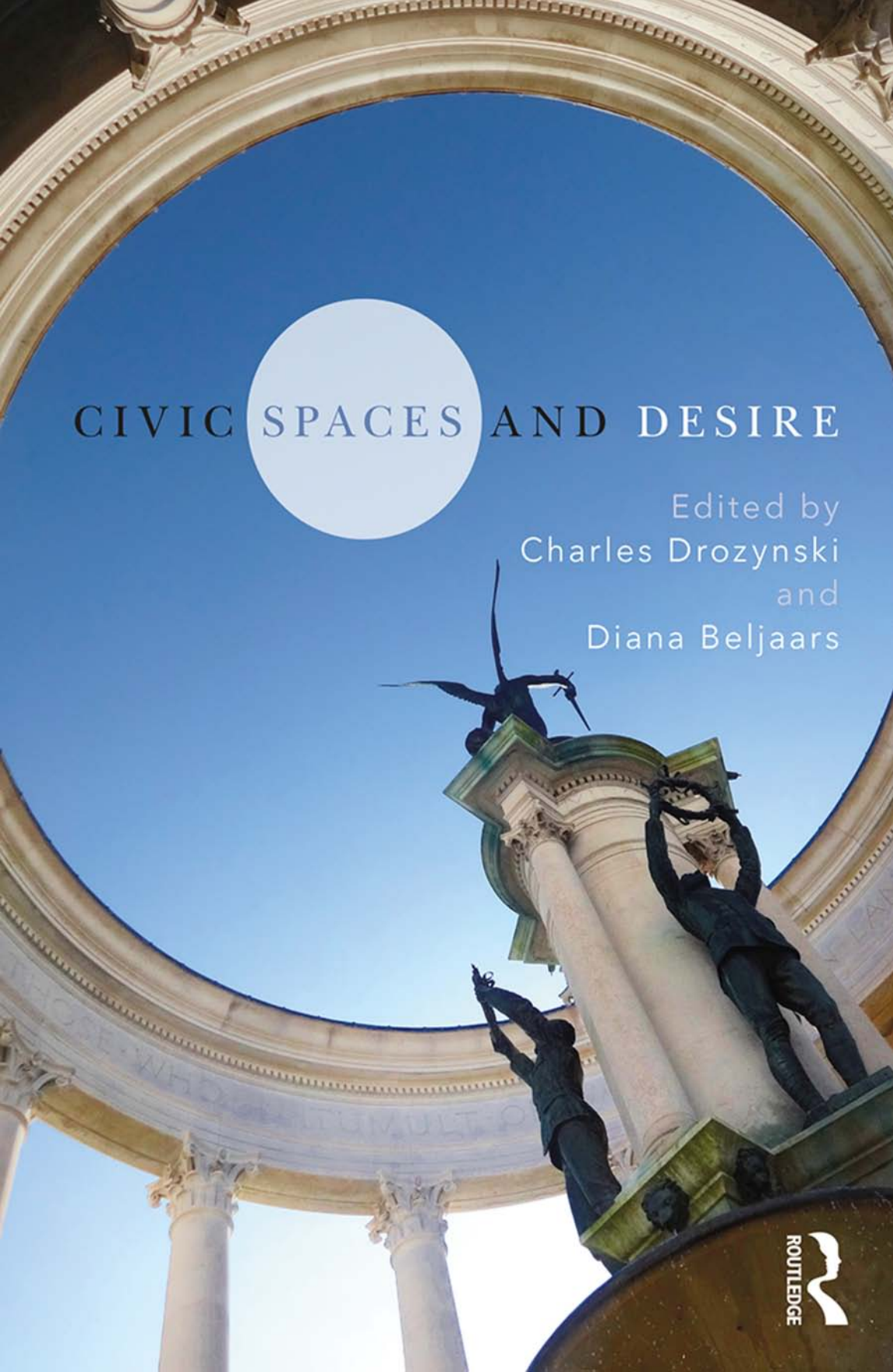
CIVIC SPACES AND DESIRE
Edited by
Charles Drozynski
and
Diana Beljaars
ROUTLEDGE

CIVIC SPACES AND DESIRE

Civic Spaces and Desire presents an original and critical appraisal of civic spaces for a novel theoretical intersection of architecture and human geography. The authors address civic spaces that embody a strong moral code, such as a remembrance park or a casino, in various places in the United Kingdom, Europe, North America, Australia and Asia. The consecutive chapters of the book present these chosen spaces as the interconnection between the everyday and the ideological. By doing so the book reimagines the socio-political effects of the countercultural assemblages and ontologies of difference that these spaces produce, represent and foster, as presented through outcasts and nomads of various kinds and forms.

The book reflects on different interpretations of the key texts from primarily post-linguistic theoreticians, such as Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari and Jacques Derrida. It will benefit students and academics in architecture, geography, philosophy and urban studies and planning, who seek to understand the politics of space, place and civility. By deconstructing normative ideological constructs, the book uses the concept of desire to explore the tensions between expectations of civic spaces and the disappointment and wonder of their immanent existence.

Charles Drozynski is a lecturer working at the University of West England and a Part II architect. In his academic career he has taught and lectured at a number of universities across the UK. His PhD thesis, written at Cardiff University, focused on the intersections of architecture and post-linguistic schools of thought, in particular those put forward by Michel Foucault, as well as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. His research interests include the entanglements of the subvert in society and architecture as well as the development of new technologies that arise from unconventional ideas. He is presently pursuing a number of projects, including a book publication on the concept of "Generosity in Architecture", with his contribution of a Deleuzian reading of the architecture for the parkour subculture

(a project initiated at Cardiff University), and a chapter on the production and reproduction of nostalgia for a publication on the production of attachment and meaning to places (a project initiated at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA).

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Drozynski, Charles, editor. | Beljaars, Diana, editor.
Title: Civic spaces and desire / edited by Charles Drozynski and Diana Beljaars.
Description: New York : Routledge, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019015320 | ISBN 9780815395232 (hb : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780815395263 (pb : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781351184137 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Public spaces—Psychological aspects. | Public spaces—Social aspects.
Classification: LCC NA9053.S6 C58 2019 | DDC 720/.47—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019015320

ISBN: 978-0-8153-9523-2 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-8153-9526-3 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-351-18413-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

This book is inspired by—and dedicated to—our late friend and colleague John Clayton.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As editors of this book we would like to thank all the contributors and other people who have proven to be helpful, supportive and inspirational for this project.

First, we would like to thank our contributors for their time, attention, hard work and intellectual work in developing so many narratives of desire in such various contexts. In particular, we would like to thank Chris Smith and Marcus A. Doel as well as J-D. Dewsbury for their continued support and for leading the keynote talks at the *Spaces of Desire: Remembrance and Civic Power* conference (2016) from which this book originated.

We would also like to thank John Clayton (to whom this book is dedicated), as well as his family and friends, who came to assist us in the process of writing the chapters for this publication, in particular those relating to John's work.

We would also like to thank the people working for Routledge, who made this project possible, and who assisted us in the publishing process.

Thanks are also due to Alicia Nahmad-Vazquez, Julian Brigstocke, David James and Juliet Odgers as well as the academics who reviewed our work.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge Cardiff University, Wales, for its provision of a platform for the discussion which lead to the production of this book.

Charles Drozynski and Diana Beljaars

FOREWORD

Civic space and desire: after Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari

J-D. Dewsbury

Civic space suggests a grounding and an institutionalisation of baser instincts, of unruly vital forces and of freewheeling movements of difference. The civilising processes comprising what we characterise as the civic mediate, tame and bind difference through the spatial architectures of the built environment, the choreographed behaviours of institutional normalisation and the affections of attraction and revulsion taking place across all kinds of organic and non-organic bodies. Desire is then rendered as the instincts, the forces and the difference, all of which are secondary to other factors. Thus, the act of desiring is the produced result of the tension in distance, the taboo in category and the taste in seduction, to align respectively with the spatial architecture, institutional normalisation and bodily affection alluded to above. Following Deleuze and Guattari, however, means that this logic is reversed, a new claim is made, and an aberrant movement is put into play (see Lapoujade, 2017). Desire is first and foremost, and is immediately social; it potentialises the civic space that it produces. As such, desire ungrounds our commonplace assumptions about what can be categorised as a civic space in the first place. This book attests to this new claim.

What does it mean, though, to unground our assumptions here? It is not a simple reversal of binaries, that something representational is replaced by something non-representational. It is more complicated than that and yet simple enough to state that certain characteristics should be foregrounded over others. Perhaps in this way a foreword is like a forewarning. So, whilst desire understood in a Deleuzian manner does not mean a crude celebratory embrace of unlimited vitalism, affirmation and flow, desire, for Deleuze and thus for us here, does address that which is not captured by dominant discourse and the comfort of clichéd thinking. As Bell has argued, desire is productive and as such cannot be reduced to that which preceded it; it is rather an expression of that which prehends below the minimum conditions of identity (Bell, 2011, p. 12). Desire thus emerges between the cliché

and the creative, the negative and the affirmative, the passive and the active, and, thus, the product and the process; not, however, as a balance, a harmony or a third way, but because of what it *does*. So, in many of the chapters of this book, we find such doings or events of desire as the momentary forces of spatial scenes, or the performative forces of norms being challenged and rethought, or new lines of affection causing thresholds to be crossed. In what follows, I want to briefly sketch out these three potential frameworks for thinking through the stories, blueprints, arguments, testimonies and dreams populating the chapters to come.

Architecting desire

Instead of spatial architecture as our starting point, we need to think about the way desire architects our spatiality (of course, this allows us to read the agency of architecture, the built environment, in a different way too). To do this I want to spotlight one of the central claims Deleuze makes about desire, namely that it is an assemblage (*agencement* or arrangement) rather than an assembly of things (see Dewsbury, 2011; Buchanan, 2017). Desire as an assemblage points us to understanding desire as something singular, immanent and productive: we ask of it what it does, not what does it mean nor where does it come from (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, p. 109; Buchanan, 2017). It is worth following Buchanan's rigour with the term assemblage and understanding desire, as Deleuze and Guattari understand it, as not something (rather it is precisely immanent), as structuring (it produces organisation of one form or another), as logical (within any given assemblage of desire some things are and some things are not possible), and as persisting (desires can be undone but they tend to sustain themselves).

Desires do architect us in that they do constitute who and how we become who we become. They do architect us in that they do produce and sustain the built worlds in which our lives take place. Take the assemblage of home: of course, it has to be immanent and singular to the "home" or "homes" you are thinking about as you read this. I am not talking about abstract houses though, so let us take one home, that of the titular farmhouse in John Updike's short story, "A Sandstone Farmhouse" (2013, pp. 420–446), a story and a desire that is in truth all about his mother. The farmhouse of "home and Updike's mother", to which Updike's family moved when he was thirteen, stands in "farm country, miles of it" amongst "depressing, monotonous fields" with "no sign of civilization but telephone poles carrying a single wire" (2013, p. 420). It had a front porch, which created "a secret space underneath . . . where chickens could scratch, and dogs could lie and pant during hot weather, the kind of space that is friendly and inviting to a boy of the age he was just outgrowing" (ibid.). Desire as the resonances and forces of a childhood home is here at once about the isolation, the difference from the previous house and life, a difference that was all his, as the 13-year-old boy then, but also a man now, looking back not long after his mother had died having lived there alone for 17 years after the death of Updike's father. The desire architected in the farmhouse is precisely about it being foreign to what he wanted back then, outgrowing

the kind of space that it was, and the persistence of the life he imagines his mother subsequently led there whilst living alone all those years. It is always a question of perspective but we can discern the immanent structuring of a life, the logic or arrangement of forces it produces or harnesses, and the force of its obdurate character such that the desire that is home returns to you in a dream as you wake up at night, and, or, finds itself having to be written out in a short story or foreword as a testimony to its once affecting force.

Thus, as Elizabeth Grosz has attested elsewhere, desire as architectural is "not a broad trajectory of development, but always concrete and specific" (1995, p. 184). Desire is always then a co-function of a determined assemblage, functioning in part as a sparking, fragmenting aspect of (your) becoming.

Deinstitutionalising the normal

In his essay "Instincts and Institutions" Deleuze presents the world as the relationship between an organism and an external milieu. What drives this world into being are the tendencies that exist between the two. On the one hand, the organism takes from the external milieu that which satisfies its tendencies. The organism thus reacts, in this sense, instinctively to the external milieu, the external milieu seemingly driving the action and behaviour. On the other hand, the organism externalises into the external milieu new artificial means for satisfying these tendencies. The organism in its behaviour thus eventuates, and performatively shapes, the world that is, in turn, going to affect it. This artificial realm institutionalises tendencies of the organism transforming them at the same time; the institution presenting a new external milieu. In both, "every individual experience presupposes, as an a priori, the existence of a milieu in which that experience is conducted" (Deleuze, 2004, p. 19). In both, the relation, the tendency, the desire is primary.

Deleuze is very clear on this oscillating dynamic and on its nature, and it is a dynamic that is worth remembering as you read this book: "There is no doubt that tendencies find satisfaction in the institution . . . But it is clear that such institutions are secondary: they already presuppose institutionalised behaviours, recalling a derived utility that is properly social" (ibid.). Further, in terms of the secondary nature of institutions, Deleuze is clear that "the institution is not explained by tendencies" (2004, p. 20). To paraphrase the example Deleuze gives, the tendency that you want to quench your thirst does not explain the institution of afternoon tea, because there are many other institutions that satisfy this desire. If we turn back to the question of instinct, Deleuze makes the distinction that "whereas tendencies were indirectly satisfied by institution, they are directly satisfied by instinct" (ibid.).

In the final push of his argument on instincts and institutions, Deleuze raises the question of how the synthesis of tendencies and the object that satisfies them comes about? Or, more in terms prevalent to the arguments in this book, how does desire, and the civic space that is produced by it, come about? (This is to caution again, through that reverse logic with which I started this foreword, against the easy way of thinking desire as being produced by civic spaces). It is here that Deleuze shows

how the human animal is not yet settled because the relation between the human's instinctive tendencies and the objects that satisfy it are not yet perfect: this is what Deleuze means when he says "the water that I drink does not resemble at all the hydrates my organism lacks" (Deleuze, 2004, p. 21). There is then a variation for satisfying this tendency to hydrate; there is then more variety of internal individual factors and exterior circumstances, such that Deleuze offers the third term, that of intelligence, to capture how circumstances are integrated into systems of anticipation (built spaces have integrated into them temporal activities of both time and timing) and individual factors are integrated into the appearance of activity (sleeping, eating, walking, all done very differently but defining a species type). The human is indeed "an animal decimating its species" (ibid.) into a machinic organism of much potential.

Affecting the human

Desire will always exceed our thinking. Our representation and our understanding of it will always be partial, and yet, in reversing our usual claims for what we think desire is, and for where we think desire is located, we open up thought as a force of desire itself, at once ideal and material, at once organic and non-organic. Such a move exposes us to the sense that desire is always selective: which wins out, matter over mind, or mind over matter? Which variation of instinct do current institutions amplify or set out to destroy? Further, desire as selective is always interested in and invested by certain persistent assemblages. Thinking about desire in relation to organic instincts, non-organic institutions and dynamic forms of intelligence, as we just have, points to our desires having "been constructed, assembled, and arranged in such a manner that your desire is positively invested in the system that allows you to have this particular interest" (Smith, 2011, p. 136). This takes place over time, through many habits that are as fast as tics and as slow as evolutionary leaps. What is it that Nietzsche says though? Forces acting upon forces where some forces win out over others, this time, maybe again, but that is not inevitable. These forces oscillate, enabling you to persist in a certain manner, not in a linear way, but in one where actions, affections of attraction and repulsion, can come about within an eddy of energy set against the dampening affects where your capacity to act, and to be, had seemingly ground to zero.

Desires do affect the human, they come before the human; they, in their selective process, make the human what it is—both in terms of the human species taking place along that evolutionary timeline, and in the human being that is you, taking place through the selection of forces that make you up. In the latter, these forces are not so much inside or outside ourselves as they are of the performative folds of milieus, encounters and events. This means that where we go, who we hang out with, what we eat, and how somewhere or someone makes us think or feel, matters. Making space for certain types of encounter, and thus certain assemblages of desire, all for producing civic space, is somehow now much more complicated. For Deleuze, desire as a concept comes from Spinoza as much as it

does from Nietzsche. For Spinoza, desire is *conatus*, it is persevering in being: it is going where encounters give us joy and make us more active, it is not going where encounters produce sad feelings that condemn us to impotence and passivity. This is not, however, some simplistic avocation for active joy over sad passions, because whilst we are social beings, and whilst desire is immediately social, that does not mean that everyone's active forces are the same. In being social, in not being either inside or outside, desire is always about dissolution. The personal is removed in favour of an impersonal material field (Hughes, 2008, p. 61), where desire does not lack its object, rather it is the subject that is missing in desire, or, rather, desire lacks a fixed subject (see Dosse, 2010, p. 197). There is no a priori disjunction between subject and object. There is no subject of desire only a subject of repression (Guattari, 2006, p. 148). In understanding desire and space as set out in this book, no one is yet fully determined, there is not one type of person to be catered for, there is no categorisation at all. The point here, then, is in being cognisant of the micro-spatialities at play in built architecture, normalising discourse and sad affections, whatever their guise, all of which generate codes, traditions and norms that block the scope for new desires that differentiate and create. It is in thinking desire as a differential force that we can think civic space in ways that allow more lives to persist in their being and becoming—lives that are not yet lived.

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INTRODUCTION

Diana Beljaars and Charles Drozynski

Fifty-one years have passed since Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari started their collaboration. Their initial aim was to make sense of the civil unrest of May 1968, but their work grew and it would seem that now more than ever their work is relevant in tracing the ideological proliferation and effects in current-day Western societies. As their body of work recognises civic spaces to exemplify how different political ideologies are defined and hold sway over whole populations, it has long drawn attention of the critical streams in both architecture and geography. Part of the beauty in that recognition is Deleuze's and Guattari's capacity to deconstruct the current-day ideologies into a set of small and soft relations. As such, their work has proven to be invaluable in analysing spatial relations of concepts that are established as political and those that are in a certain—passive—way, peculiar but ordinary, unconventional but standard, or fabulous but boring. This is to say that even though redacted from ideological associations and utterly plain at first sight, these soft relations come to compose the oddest of assemblages when examined from up close. This book further enquires into and probes the de- and re-composition of political thought, drawing on and contributing to debates on the spatial expressions of late capitalism and the manifold effects on the concepts of identity, citizenship and State politics. It does so by engaging with architecture and the definition of relations between spaces in a designed environment. In this way the spatial narrative comes to reflect on the dogmatic way of understanding the architectural profession and all the elements and partial objects in architecture that form the designed environment. The book also seeks to develop the geographical conceptualisation of the heterogeneous and dynamic political assemblages of various materialities and bodies of the more-than-human in the formation and development of civic debates.

Civic Spaces . . .

In critically engaging with the spatialities of the civic, this book follows these tracks and traces into new theoretical, conceptual and empirical territories through the Deleuzo-Guattarian rendition of the socius. Deleuze and Guattari understand the socius as being: not only produced through psychological processes; workings of the inner mind, but in co-emergence with the "real"; a broad range of material presences, such as human and non-human bodies and objects. The outspoken ideological character of civic spaces then renders them as particular places in which civility, citizenship and statehood become defined, contested and resisted. Sometimes actively so in protest and demonstration. Indeed, civic spaces bear the signs of the dogmas in civil debates that can be said to produce unresolved assemblages of capitalist ideologies that produce structural economic, social and/or cultural inequalities, and are at odds with more nurturing, democratic and equitable ones.

Civic spaces are a reflection of civility, citizenship and statehood in more passive ways, as Deleuze and Guattari suggest (2017, 2004). They argue that regardless of the capacity of material objects and human and non-human bodies to form what we understand as psychologically productive processes underpinning these concepts, their co-presence incites how civility, citizenship and statehood emerge in a civic space. What these concepts then come to entail through both processes becomes nearly impossible to trace as they have no direct foundation in socio-political agendas (see also Ahmed, 2004; Billig, 1995). Rather they flow from the physical constraints and way bodies and objects are constructed, sometimes even at a molecular level. The chapters in the book analyse the frictions between objects coming together passively and our interpretation or reinterpretation of the socio-political assemblages they form and constructs we may understand them as. The collection then develops the coexistence of conflicting contractual or social constructs, demanding more and more energy to sustain the assemblage of ideologies of a liberal civic affect. To this end, the book demonstrates how the architecture, material presences and bodily conduct render visible the way ideologies originate and even become hegemonic.

In fact, the more complex the relation(ship)s across and between objects and bodies, the more elaborate and abstract these relations and linked ideologies become. In this way ideologies often also come to influence concepts of civility and further gain representation in the geography and architecture of the designed environment—especially that of civic spaces. Indeed, the greater the constructed depth of moral dignity and more deeply established *transcendental* dialogues (e.g. Christian values in Western European countries) that are convened in and about the civic affect, the more likely it is that new, emerging moral relations that arise without being sanctioned by authoritative debates are rejected (see Deleuze, 1991). Such new moral relations sometimes come to synthesise new ways of convening ideology through a particular conduct of space, and, as such, might therefore not comply with an established socio-political image of a civic space. This does not mean that they may not be incorporated into the infrastructure of creating a civil

construct, but (at least at first) they might not appear "safe" or "sterile" enough for the discourses that are being indulged in. The individual texts that come to compose this book engage in a discussion about the problem of overwhelming civic ideologies and their relations with passive syntheses of humans and non-human partial objects.

In 1988 William Hollingsworth Whyte published *City: Rediscovering the Center* (2009); the book was a continuation of his rhetoric published in *The Organisation of Man* in 1956 (2002) and discussed the lives of individuals using the broader cityscape. His intent was to study the relations between citizens and their city by looking at the overall construct of an urban fabric *in use* and developing its affect through the interaction between a variety of ideologies. Whyte's methodology was based on observations of a large number of individuals traversing streets and inhabiting squares; he focussed mostly on 5th Avenue in New York (Whyte, 2009). The method of inquiry involved placing cameras on skyscrapers from which Whyte and his assistants could film the civic spaces below. From the height of the buildings, distant from the observed subjects, the team made a large number of detailed notes on how squares were used at the time. His team used 35 mm film to capture stills, 8 mm film for time-lapse recordings and 16 mm for documentary work (ibid., p. 4). Whyte did not wish to conduct interviews; he assumed that people might not like knowing that they were being observed. Instead he preferred to remain unnoticed and on occasion approach the subjects of his study by the comparatively close distance of 5–8 feet. These subjects thus fell under an analysis that disregarded their inner mechanics, at the cost of developing an understanding of their negotiation of a route to work or to a place of rest within a crowd of commuters that was channelled within geometries defined by civic monuments and buildings. By that he was observing the formation of what we may understand as a civic affect. Although his observation was mostly designed to study the impact of density on human comfort and behaviour in the districts of New York, we find his thoughts meandering. He writes:

> The city is full of vexations: steps too steep; doors too tough to open; ledges you cannot sit on because they are too high or too low, or have spikes on them so that undesirables will not sit on them. It is difficult to design an urban space so maladroitly that people will not use it, but there are many such spaces.
>
> *(2009, p. 1)*

Despite the uncritical stance and apparent failure to capture human differences, it becomes clear from Whyte's ponderings that cities are hostile environments. For "undesirables" surely, but also for any others, as they are difficult to inhabit. Rather than catering for human needs and wants, he suggests that people are forced to adapt to these spaces and conduct their civility, in often inhospitable conditions, in civic spaces that cannot foster them. Whyte blames the design. In his understanding, their architects and city planners aimed to satisfy a set of values, rather than the

fleshly needs to sit, climb steps or open doors. Such an approach to thinking about civic spaces may dismiss the inhabitants and their messy lives in order to focus on a grander and more unified set of ideals. In this way, coming together and dissolving differences between people might serve to define citizenry. This abstract notion of citizenry, since it is embedded in architectural design and forms our cities, is part of an ideology that lies at the core of the civic affect. This suggests that there is a tendency to think that this fixation on ideology is necessary to bind the citizens of a city into a more coherent crowd fixed in their habits and ethics.

In the streets of our cities and context of our liberal democracies it is becoming increasingly clear that arguments that are free to being voiced are articulating an affiliation with abstract ideologies on the grounds of fulfilling an ethical right to freedom of speech—something that we all would wish to protect. In this process of convening civic debates, civic spaces are becoming stretched to serve more and more abstract notions, which do not just place individuals aside but place them in a precarious position. Pleas to recognise the right to bear arms in spite of their lethal capacity, or the right to claim ownership of a piece of land only due to one's place of birth seem ever so prevalent without a deep reflection of their meaning (Ahmed, 2010). In this form they become embedded in the urban affects of our cities through violent rallies as well as inscribed in architecture, at times in the form of statues of leaders on horses, high-rise towers or as impenetrable walls to keep the "undesirables" out. Ideas for such imagery are being raised by the highest officials to argue for the strength and stability of their leadership. It is in such imagery and ideas that some, as Madeleine Albright argues, find solace and hope (2018). She writes that whole communities, attracted to such propaganda, gather people who find passions to ideas of "kindred souls even to restore greatness to the nation, traditional values to the community, and optimism about the future" (Albright, 2018, p. 63). These fascist ideologues, as Albright refers to them, attempt to instigate expectations of greatness only by instigating isolationism: "the mission of the citizens is to serve, the government's job is to rule" (ibid., p. 11). These attitudes lie at the heart of architectural and urban designs that are meant to raise remembrance or imagery of greatness, and hope to gain control over the affect in a civic space and grab hold of all relations that may or may not take place.

Facing such ideas, embedded in one of the cities in Wales, at the foot of the over-scaled steps of the civic quarter of Cardiff, in a park of remembrance named Alexandra Gardens, the imagery of civic power clashes with certain categories of "undesirables". The park consists of eight segments of vegetation with trees and flowers organised in an axial or French landscaping fashion. The centrepiece of the park is a cenotaph with a fountain crowned by a momentous statue and surrounded by a colonnade, which encloses a circular (in plan) space around it. Curious to see what lies at this precipice of the civic and on the edge of what is unwelcome in such cityscape, John Clayton, a researcher at Cardiff University started his investigation.

At 20 minutes past 12 on Thursday 30 June 2016 Clayton took his place in the semicircular council chamber of the Glamorgan building, in the heart of the Cardiff's civic centre. The setting was utterly inappropriate for the critique of human

civility that composed the argument of John's talk. The room was tall and grand with overly ornamented surfaces and beautifully crafted, but painfully uncomfortable, wooden chairs. He sat down in the leather armchair that decades ago had been reserved for official city dignitaries in the focal point of the semicircle, and leaned on one of the armrests. His eyes seeking those of the members of his audience. Twenty-five minutes later, and after John had spoken his final words, they would revel in the profundity of his monologue in silence before breaking out in a long applause.

It was on this day that John Clayton spoke of an encounter he had had in Alexandra Gardens. Recalling having sat on a park bench and noticing a rat walking onto the asphalted path, he argued how the history of civility emerges from, and is intimately intertwined with, the "uncivil", the abject and the non-human. Much like a contemporary nomad in Cardiff's urban fabric, rats proved to be immune to the attempts of civic services to regulate their presence, while, as John argued, rats have played a crucial role in the human history remembered in the park. Far removed then from Whyte's gaze of civic life, and through developing a broader understanding of how civic spaces constitute urban life, this book carries forth Clayton's rhetoric and seeks to find generosity and serendipity in relations that ostensibly do not comply with a civic affect. Curiously enough, it should also be noted that the proportions of the colonnade in the centre of the park are of such dimensions that the only way one can appreciate its geometry in full, when standing within it, is from the height of a rat.

. . . And desire

> If desire produces, its product is real. If desire is productive, it can be productive only in the real world and can produce only reality. Desire is the set of passive syntheses that engineer partial objects, flows, and bodies, and that function as units of production. The real is the end product, the result of the passive syntheses [. . .]
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 2017, p. 39)*

In an effort to relieve our fixations from the shackles of civic conduct, we followed John in turning to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari and their understanding of desire as a productive force. Desire in their understanding, which is the key concept that lies at the heart of this book, diverts from the classic Freudian one. This conceptualisation was developed by Deleuze and Guattari in both volumes of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, but in particular in *Volume I: Anti-Oedipus*. *Anti-Oedipus* was originally published in French in 1972 and was only first translated into English in 1984. They developed the concept of desire through a critical appraisal of psychoanalysis from a Marxist perspective. They did so to better understand the political tensions in 1960s France, beyond the "daddy-mommy-me" triangulation that had been used to analyse the situation and did not sit well with either of them (Buchanan, 2008). Their shared concerns led them to develop "a discourse that

was both political and psychiatric but didn't reduce one dimension to the other" (Buchanan, 2008, p. 39). As such, the concept pinpoints the production of a state of relations beyond the self and the familial structure, which develops irrespective of societal norms. This desire is Anti-Oedipal and pre-sexual: the conduct of an infant *prior* to understanding itself as *a singular entity* with polarised gender identity traits. Thus, they discuss the state of functioning as an infant that is permitted to abstain from the norm. It is in this state that they see a certain type of freedom of determining different forms of relations, a measure of relaxation of what psychoanalysts might call "cured".

As a pre-sexual force Deleuze and Guattari understand desire as one that is necessarily confined to human needs and wants. "Rather the contrary; needs are derived from desire: they are counter-products within the real that desire produces" (2004, cited from Buchanan, 2008, p. 48). As they discuss desire they note that it is the force that lies as a pre-conscious foundation for all other conscious desires before they are given a name and can be discussed and negotiated to a state ripe for a civic forum. This desire is hence liberated from debates and any form of control or attempt of normalisation as in the desire conceptualised in psychoanalysis. Unlike in psychoanalysis, in which desire has a stable object and (re)produces a stable subject, Deleuzo-Guattarian desire indicates the process of production, and the production of production. This creates a desire that is productive and reproductive of partial objects (after Melanie Klein). By coming together in desirous processes these partial objects produce a new context, as they can be considered as cogs of a machine, as Deleuze and Guattari put it.

> It is at work everywhere, functioning smoothly at times, at other times in fits and starts. It breathes, it heats, it eats. It shits and fucks. What a mistake to have ever said *the* id. Everywhere *it* is machines—real ones, not figurative ones: machines driving other machines, machines being driven by other machines, with all the necessary couplings and connections.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 2017, p. 1)*

Deleuze and Guattari present the example of the infant's mouth and the mother's breast as two objects that when connected become a machinic assemblage. The connective element is crucial here, as the potential of the relation for synthesis creates a productive, desirous relationship and makes the two partial objects machinic (Buchanan, 2008). Organs can thus become machinic as they can assemble and create a synthesis with other organs, regardless of the ego's instructions (Deleuze, 1995). In their capacity to synthesise with other partial-objects and produce new realities, this desire is not emergent from a lack in the subject, as psychoanalysis assumes, but is revolutionary in nature (Deleuze and Guattari, 2017). The synthetic process is based on a Marxist political economy. The human condition is thus disenfranchised as a singular identity only to prove that it is composed of an assemblage of machines, contrary to what the State implies, addressing the concept of a singular citizen-subject at every turn. Deleuze and Guattari do therefore contend

that desire does not belong to, or emerge from, a citizen-subject, "there is no fixed subject unless there is repression" (ibid., p. 28), but to a heterogeneous assemblage that produces citizenship in which humans are implicated, and prior to any societal narratives. In other words:

> Desiring-production is that aspect of desire which if it were to pass into social production and reproduction would sow the seeds of disorder and revolution as it does every time a little piece of it manages to elude the coding society imposes on it so as to contain it.
>
> *(Buchanan, 2008, p. 45)*

In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari write on the development of morality as the assemblage of desirous relations or passive syntheses that allows for the proliferation of one desire to dominate others (2004). With time this morality becomes the overriding code of conduct that, through legible articulation and prevalence in discourse, becomes part of the power structures, as described by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1995), feeds into architectural design and becomes encrypted as part of a civic environment. In doing so, following Stephen Legg's reasoning, it runs the risk of becoming part of what Foucault called *dispositif*, which is a desirous relation between humans and non-humans that was put in place in the hope of preventing the fluctuation of the civic environment (2011). In this way Deleuze and Guattari's desire lies at the heart of the development of the materialist construct of citizenry.

The civic space as an assemblage of spaces shared between multiplicities of people represents numerous concepts of habituality and civic conduct that can at times contradict one another. Some events that the orthodoxy of the city rejects can disturb the cohesion of the urban fabric. Deleuze and Guattari's rhetoric of desire can then be used as an analytical tool to understand the prodigy of political negotiations that manifest repressed ideologies in shared spaces. In this sense desire has the capacity to open up new ways of participating in the civic or propose a new type of idiosyncrasy introducing foreign concepts into the unity of ongoing debates.

Fitting civic spaces and desire: scope and assumptions

At the time of writing in early 2019, following the financial crisis of 2008, late capitalism has given us ineffective leaders and political demagogues in the most influential states of the world and commensurate catastrophic policies, an ever-increasing threat of war in whatever shape or form it might now take, and an inefficacious regulation of large tech companies. Social divisions and the resulting frustrations seem to be particularly noticeable in the public space of Western cities (after Magnusson, 2012). Historic narratives and ideological developments aside, this book explores how these urban spaces are not only decor to current societal struggles, but both take an active role in producing, reproducing and resisting them. As such, this book retrieves and deconstructs the affective

aesthetics of the present to understand how civic mechanisms emerge and are contested in the built environments of contemporary Western city dwellers. The scope here is not only the construction of social frustration but also the passive synthesis of the smallest elements of the urban fabric that often go unseen. Those often take the form of serendipitous relations divided by a glass plane of a window or memories of yellow flowers encountered in a civic space. The book interprets the concept of the Deleuzo-Guattarian desire to understand civic space from two perspectives.

The first, more geographical, perspective aligns the book with Berlant's *Cruel Optimism* (2011), Kathleen Stewart's *Ordinary Affects* (2007) and Ben Anderson's *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions* (2014). *Civic Spaces and Desire* delves into an analysis of the societal tensions as emerging *from* and *with* civic spaces. Through its diverse arguments, the collection explores how the different absent-presences of public policy create particular milieux that foster and further certain neoliberalist expressions in the everyday lives of Western citizens (see Amin and Thift, 2013; Appadurai, 2006; Anderson, 1991; Harvey, 2012). It is the disentanglement of these milieux that sheds light on the manner in which governments, at a range of scales, might benefit from upholding the ideological status quo that marginalises particular groups in society (see Isin, 2012).

The second, more architectural perspective looks at a smaller scale of inhabitation and forming relations. The construction in question here is the imagery of an individual citizen at a human scale, which positions the book in debates raised by prominent Deleuzian academics such as Hélène Frichot and Stephen Look (2013), Andrew Ballantyne (Ballantyne and Smith, 2011) or Graham Livesey (2015). Throughout the text the authors of each chapter provide an expansion and reapplication of the approach put forward by Constantin V. Boundas and Vana Tentokali in *Architectural and Urban Reflections after Deleuze and Guattari* (2017). This approach reaches out focus on a different set of spatial relations that are in a way softer and gentler. *Civic Spaces and Desire* reminds us also of *Bare Architecture* (2017) by Chris L. Smith, who explores examples of architecture, in all its quirky fragments that engages the body in an entanglement, leaving the inhabitant and all their parts almost bare, and exposed with their constructed emotions vulnerable. The passive synthesis of objects on a molecular level that the chapters here recognise come to construct a moment of pause and wonder or curiosity.

Inflected on the human and non-human presences, design and materialities, *Civic Spaces and Desire* delivers a critical exploration of the performance of statehood and citizenry in the urban and civic centres. To this end, the book uncovers some of the processes that drive current inequalities, and it foregrounds how urban landscapes are used, designed, thought of and imagined in civic life (see also Anderson, 1991). This is not to say that this is an endeavour to understand civic spaces as deterministic of social or psychological processes, to somehow materialise ideology (after Anderson and Wylie, 2009). Nor does *Civic Spaces and Desire* intend to explicate how the particular places mentioned in the chapters have inherent tendencies to resist capitalism or social polarisation. Rather, it identifies the productive

processes that are inscribed in these spaces to interrogate how ideologies grab hold of citizens and reinterpret elements of the designed environment in the further production of contemporary socio-politico-economic systems. With the concept of Desire, the edited collection further develops our understanding of how Western governments perform statehood in and as civic spaces.

Structure of the book

The authors of the chapters give their "take" on Deleuzo-Guattarian desire and raise a debate on what composes urban life by challenging the "normal" understanding of civic relations. The chapters here are loosely organised with respect to the themes they encompass and the way civic space and desire are understood and presented. They all present the author's interpretations of different ways desire in a civic context can be understood and all refer back to the Deleuzian definition.

The first chapter of this book, *Civic space—and desire—deranged: from Le Corbusier to Georges Perec*, written by Marcus A. Doel, examines the qualifications of the apparent civility of spaces, as well as the potential civility of desire, and explores the philosophical conditions under which they are becoming. His chapter aligns with that of Green and Green (Chapter 2), with his argument on how civic spaces are continually emergent through machinic desires that are drawn to and explode from them, as well as to Beljaars' (Chapter 13) in his critique of rationality as main or sole spatial organisational force.

To continue the critique of the straight and "sterile" civic "line", the second chapter is the work of Edmund and Brutus Green. Their chapter, *Single story building: the fairy tale failure of housing in the UK*, presents an approach to desire based on a Benjaminian analysis of Modernism and situates it within the Deleuzo-Guattarian context. This approach recognises the concept of the individual and gives desire an ethical dimension. The text outlines the transient aspect of assemblages implying that the machinic way in which they operate may not always be limited to physical space and is much more complex, enriched with the construction of civility and individuality. The discussion of the sterility of the civic is also picked up by Hannes Frykholm's chapter, Chapter 3, *Inside the backside: on labour and infrastructure of the casino lobby*, which investigates how desire is produced inside and behind a casino lobby in Las Vegas. He notices a disparity between what serves as the space that is to foster the imagery of civility and space that is to provide a suitable infrastructure for it. The discussion is largely focused on the abrupt relationality between the two and suggests that desire comes to assemble with the elements of the civic in a forced and non-passive way. Frykholm's discussion of spaces behind and in between the civic is continued by Cagri Sanliturk. His chapter, Chapter 4, *Game of being state: encounter space and fictitious movements in prescriptive surveillance buffer zone village: Pyla*, links Michel Foucault's writing with that of Deleuze and Guattari through identifying the significance of difference in society. Sanliturk suggests a relevance of Deleuzian desire in Foucault's discussions on the circulation of Foucauldian power. To further the debates outlined by Frykholm and Sanliturk, in Chapter 5 Joanna

Zielińska takes the debate further and investigates what happens when the civic aspect of a city is redacted in a globalised context. Zielińska's chapter *Archeology of desire: urban palimpsest—unveiling invisible sites of Sarajevo* discusses the desirous relations that can emerge when authority is not present. She points to the capacity of Sarajevo to conjure up great expectations, which were eventually hijacked by the construct of global capitalism.

The notion of what happens after a war machine reduces a city to ashes is also the theme of Chapter 5 by Kim Roberts, *Hi-ro-shi-ma space: the pathways of post-memory*. She discusses the idea of desire in a state of remembrance. She analyses the remembrance park in Japan that is to commemorate the destruction of the city in an atomic attack. Her interest lies in the architectural embedding, creation and recreation of remembrance. Her study is deeply ethnographic, raising questions on the validity of architectural narratives in the context of discussions of desire as an imminent and passive assemblage.

Aligned with Roberts's chapter, Chapter 6 by John Clayton (introduced by Diana Beljaars), *"Park Rats": exploring a violent continuum of more-than-human indifference and post-humanity*, takes further the effects on our understanding of civility through the employment of the British State's production of war and consummation of human and non-human bodies. He employs desire to trace the affective assemblage of corporeality shared with rats in our entangled histories of war, bringing the question of civility in and of desire, set out by Marcus A. Doel, to its escalation point. Drawing connections to the current refugee crisis, Clayton's chapter critically dissects the state's encapsulation of its citizens in civic space in ways similar to those employed by Cagri Sanliturk, Joanna Zielińska and Diana Beljaars.

Chapter 8 is written by Laurence Kimmell and presents the analysis of a space that is often criticised in a demagogical way to define a political agenda and propagate xenophobia. *Stygian dark: what the presence and architecture of sex clubs reveal about the politics of public and private space in a city* is an analysis of the functioning of a former club in Sydney called Ken's at Kensington. Much like Edmund and Brutus Green, she uses Benjamin and Deleuze in concert to situate her position with respect to the ideas embedded in architecture. Chapter 9, *Folds of desire*, is written by Charles Drozynski. His chapter is similar in object of interest to that of Kimmell. His writing is guided by a Deleuzian understanding of desire inspired by the concepts raised in Deleuze's *The Fold*. He suggests that desirous relations can function within constructed imagery on a number of levels, including biological or political.

Chapter 10, *Architecture, Eros and civilization*, is written by Chris L. Smith who analyses Herbert Marcuse's and Reyner Banham's writing and looks at the development of New Brutalism. In doing so, he seeks to understand the architectural style of what he calls a "pause". In similar ways to Drozynski's and Kimmell's chapters, Smith discusses the restraint and repression of libidinal desire as the foundation of the development of modernist civility and a culture of labo(u)r.

A repression of the Freudian libido, much like a pause in remembering desire, brings to the fore new, and previously neglected, types of bodily engagements.

This is also the subject of Chapter 11 by Linda Lapiņa, *Re-membering desire; visual tracings of a billboard*. Lapiņa mobilises desire to understand how memory constructs the embodiment of evocative materiality, and, in particular, how the passing of time invokes change in the affective embodied relations between the human and non-human. Examining the responses of her own body to a billboard in a gentrifying area in Copenhagen, her chapter further develops the concept of desire on the spatio-temporal aspect of its embodied qualities, thereby contributing to and supporting Roberts's and Beljaars' chapters.

Marko Jobst is the author of Chapter 12, *Unidentified emotional object: when queer desire journeyed to Belgrade (but stayed in its closet)*. The rhetoric therein is a story that offers a reflection on a definition of desire mobilised by Deleuze and Guattari as well as Claire Parnet. The writing depicts the production of a civic space by men, who define themselves as a gay, and a number of women. In doing so Jobst engages into a debate about the immanence of gender and the "queer" personae, which lead to a physical change in a civic space. He does so by presenting a journey to represent a story with artwork that he offered to a civic space. The situations that the text tackles were set in Athens and Belgrade and showcase the dynamic negotiation of sexuality and role (as defined by gender) in civic spaces.

Chapter 13, the final chapter, is written by Diana Beljaars and presents an understanding of desire as an "extreme" capture of the human by the non-human. Her chapter, *Desiring-spaces: compulsive citizen-state configurations* imagines a compulsive figure in a civic space on the basis of an empirical study she has conducted with people with Tourette syndrome. She argues that the State-induced notions of remembrance and civic power in the design of civic spaces can be withheld throughout compulsive becomings. Developing the compulsive process, she suggests that compulsivity can liberate people from civic oppressions.

Consecutive chapter abstracts

This section shows all the abstracts written by the contributors to this book.

Chapter 1: Civic space—and desire—deranged: from Le Corbusier to Georges Perec

Marcus A. Doel

Chapter 1 takes the title of the book, *Civic Spaces and Desire*, as its point of departure, and proceeds to consider the various ways that one might configure and understand it, particularly in relation to modern cities and urbanism, drawing upon Paris as a key example to illustrate the discussion, and the work of Le Corbusier and Georges Perec to flesh out the argument. The chapter considers not only civic spaces and desire, when taken together and even when held apart, but also the deconstructive and schizoanalytic currents that sweep them away. Hereinafter, every civic space is deranged by a machinic desire.

Chapter 2: Single story building: the fairy tale failure of housing in the UK

Ed Green and Brutus Green

> [Storytelling] does not aim to convey the pure essence of the thing, like information or a report. It sinks the thing into the life of the storyteller, in order to bring it out of him again.
>
> Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller" (1968, p. 91)

Does every house really tell a story? Once upon a time, a home might have been built of the very stuff on which it stood, stones and timbers scarred by the simple tools that shaped them, like the handprints of the potter clinging to a clay vessel—worked and reworked by successive generations of occupants, with the support of the wider community . . . In comparison to its older kin, most housing built since the Second World War appears two-dimensional, stripped of narrative. Why is this?

In 1936, Walter Benjamin famously lamented the death of storytelling. Immediately post-war, attempts to densify housing and embrace modern methods of construction went on to create a language that was foreign to many. In the aftermath of the public and administrative rejection of high rise, deck access and repetitive modular forms, a derivative revisioning of the garden city model prevailed, leading to the suburban sprawl that encircles our towns and cities today. As a consequence, the vocabulary that most of our homes now have for storytelling is extraordinarily limited.

Is it possible to incarnate memory in housing by allowing it to be shaped, to carry stories? Could our homes provide beyond the individual and familial needs of occupants, to carry social memories and nourish our depleted sense of community? And can we create houses that foster cross-generational handprints, to tell and re-tell the stories of their inhabitants? Perhaps an age-old approach to the telling of stories and new models for the building of houses can together provide some answers . . .

Chapter 3: Inside the backside: on labour and infrastructure of the casino lobby

Hannes Frykholm

Using Jean Baudrillard's early writings on atmosphere, the chapter points to how the production of harmony in the casino entrance is the result of a complex system of labour and logistics (Baudrillard, 1996). By hiding the necessary labour and tools in inconspicuous architectural details, in the hours of the early morning, in backstage spaces, and in remote sites of production, the atmosphere takes the appearance of a natural order. The continuous work of maintenance serves to construct an interior where the time of the outside is forgotten, and where money can be spent neglecting the consequences. What is produced in the backside of the casino

lobby, is therefore not only desire, but also the invisibility of the resources needed to support such experience.

Chapter 4: Game of being state: encounter space and fictitious movements in prescriptive surveillance buffer zone village: Pyla

Cagri Sanliturk

Imagine a village; hybrid community (Turkish and Greek Cypriots), different languages, segregated public places, schools, markets, United Nation inspection towers, different power mechanisms, present even in their absence, controlled spaces, conflict in disguise, and normality of living with the others; yet, it is not only these; the desired space, contesting the regulated space of order, is incarnated in many ways—provoking catharsis, a release of emotional tension after experienced repression and anxiety about future.

Yes, all embodied in the Cyprus context.

In this chapter, the main focus will be on one of the examples of the desired space that contests to the order of the controlled space, its effect on spatial judgment and the government manipulations that have shaped fragmented spaces in the village. The chapter uncovers not only the effects of the UN peacekeeping strategy and its jurisdiction, but, at the same time, it reveals the complex relationship between governmental power and the desires of the inhabitants.

Michel Foucault's notion of power and Deleuze and Guattari's notion of desire are critically analysed and these concepts allowed me to reflect on the multiplicity of power and its effect in social life. I will examine the impact of architectural political intervention under the concept of conflict transformation in a disguised conflict whereby the United Nations, Republic of Cyprus and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus governing systems are ambiguous about the ruling of the made-up state. The aim is to analyse and test the power and create alternative ways of re-evaluating the mandate in Pyla. Moreover, the game of being state focuses on defining and revealing the dialectic relations between powers and subjective narratives of the desire. This indirectly affects the political system of the UN's strategies that aim to avoid conflict in Pyla. These narratives engaged with spaces can be understood as acts that challenge the UN's mandate system. Lastly, this chapter aims to critically reflect on such narratives in order to understand and analyse the dialectical power relations and their embodiment in space.

Chapter 5: Archaeology of desire: urban palimpsest – unveiling invisible sites of Sarajevo

Joanna Zielińska

The chapter focuses on the period of the 1992–1995 siege of Sarajevo and its post-war reconstruction. Joanna Zielińska applies Guattari and Deleuze's theory

of assemblage as a functional model of urban space. The author presents how the micro- and macro-politics of desire, standing behind the urban changes of the last 27 years, affects the cultural and political image of the post-war city. To illustrate that, Zielińska juxtaposes two urban projects for a war-torn site in Sarajevo: a design of residential estate High Houses by Lebbeus Woods, driven by nomadic desire; and the other, a shopping mall in Sarajevo City Center, driven by capitalist desire. While the former appears to be an architectural, nomad war machine designed by the will of society, the latter inscribes Sarajevo into the global trends of capitalism indifferent to social and cultural complexity and history of the city. A unique, multicultural tradition of Sarajevo, targeted in 1992 by the snipers surrounding the city, is now endangered by social and cultural alienation produced by post-war investments.

Chapter 6: Hi-ro-shi-ma space: the pathways of post-memory

Kim Roberts

"Hi-ro-shi-ma": the word is broken and transformed on the tongue of a foreign visitor. The space she attempts to navigate, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, is broken too on the banks of her memory. She reconstructs this space, a civic and universally construed place of remembrance, via post-memorial pathways. Territories of site and self shift and she glides on the surface of history, seeing everything and nothing. "She", a character from the Marguerite Duras and Alain Resnais screenplay and cinematic collaboration, *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), is in many ways emblematic of the body of research upon which this chapter draws. This is research that is concerned with the encounter between foreign (read "Western" and, for the purposes of this research, English-speaking) tourists and the architectural landscape of the Peace Park, first proposed by modernist architect Kenzo Tange in 1949. This chapter explores the new ways of envisioning its apparently immobile physical contours by post-memorial reinventions through interviews and cognitive mapping exercises conducted with Australians. Turning aside from hermeneutic interpretations of space via the theoretical ideas of Deleuze and Guattari, de Certeau and memory studies scholar, Marianne Hirsch, I ask less about what the site means and how it—affectively—works. How this space becomes, at once visible and invisible to foreign eyes present the park according through its desires beyond commemoration.

Chapter 7: "Park Rats": exploring a violent continuum of more-than-human indifference and post-humanity

John Clayton (with an introduction by Diana Beljaars)

Chapter 7 consists of the paper presented by John Clayton at the *Spaces of Desire* conference at Cardiff University, Wales. It is left largely unedited, but is introduced

by Diana Beljaars as John tragically passed away four months after the conference. *Spaces of Desire* was John's brainchild, and after the conference he was adamant that its USP was preserved in an edited collection. The original abstract was as follows:

"Notions of 'war' and 'remembrance' have specific human connotations which preclude the possibility of animal engagement with affective regimes of nationality and identity formation. Yet the spaces in which a human passive synthesis of 'remembrance' takes place are pervaded by animal others contesting the boundaries of function and eroding an otherwise human 'respectability' for absent, honourable, dead. This [chapter] takes the existence of ratty residents of the remembrance park, and utilises this animal penetration of a human affective regime to discuss the synthesis of these elements within the context of historical conflict, the nascent Anthropocene, and potential post-human futures. The War-Rat assemblage will be traced from the fields of Flanders to future ruins expressing the manner by which the notion of human conflict may come to profit animal others and render the 'nation' no longer relevant. Heeding Deleuze and Guattari's call to 'know the body by its affects' the rat becomes a transportable device through which human may be rendered rat through their scavenging. The park becomes the muddied ground in which nothing grows and homeless humans claim shelter and compete with rodent neighbours over leftover scraps."

Chapter 8: Stygian dark: what the presence and architecture of sex clubs reveal about the politics of public and private space in a city

Laurence Kimmell

The chapter develops the links between dark rooms in sex clubs and public space and defines theoretical underpinnings for understanding the sociological role of dark rooms in cities. The sex clubs considered are those venues for the public to engage in consensual sex, rather than sex businesses such as brothels and massage parlours.

In Ancient Greece, the social aspects of sexuality took place in public space or were connected in other ways to the public realm. In Ancient Greek mythology, the river Styx is the black underground river that, at some points, connects to the surface. Correspondingly, the Styx was the symbol of the connection between the daily rational part of public life and the intimate aspects of sexuality and of the irrational aspects of life. There was no split between the public and private sexual realm. Following the split between the public and the private realm in Western culture at the commencement of the Modern period, as described by Gilbert Simondon, public collective spaces of sexual practices such as sex clubs have faced difficulties finding a stable, balanced and accepted presence within cities.

The philosophies of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin enable us to unveil the tensions and dialectics that create this variability. One conclusion of this chapter is the recognition of the difference

between the expression of mainstream sexual practices and the expression of the various sexual minorities and their practices.

Architectural implications are presented for each of the items above. The former Sydney gay club Ken's at Kensington is taken as an architectural precedent.

Chapter 9: Folds of desire

Charles Drozynski

The Fold is a piece written by Gilles Deleuze (2006) in which he writes of a plane of consistency that is a metaphysical representation of space. Once folded the plane symbolises the creation of relationships between two points of space be it physical or in many ways virtual. As such the fold functions as any architectural project orchestrating architectural elements in the design of systems through the inclusion and exclusion into that relation. This chapter examines how *The Fold* is played out in and through the gay subculture in leisure venues in London in political contexts. One of the two sites investigated in this chapter is the district of Soho for its manifestation of the habitual liberty with which its liberty manifested by its inhabitants' attitude towards authority.. Soho's architecture and bar patrons foster a political contestation that has created a particular situation, ripe for inclusion, which dissents from the norm of London in its openness to gay bars and explicit sensuality. Arguably, this has introduced a creative way of participation in the civic and pushed the political agenda of equality in the country. Nonetheless, Soho has become increasingly commercialised and normalised because of ongoing gentrification. This rupture with the heritage of political signifiers carries a strong feeling of exclusion, which incited the bar patrons to counter the civic habituality through the architecture of sex clubs and dark rooms. The interface that signified this new frontier, dividing the interior and the civic came to represent this in an emblematic manifestation of implicitness and exclusion of the civic. Alongside *The Fold*, the chapter engages with this interface, inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's concept of desire and Foucault's concept of counter-conduct.

Chapter 10: Architecture, eros and civilization

Chris L. Smith

In Chapter 10, Chris L. Smith turns to the seminal work of the Frankfurt School philosopher, Herbert Marcuse, to explore the complex relation between desire and culture. In his text of 1955, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Enquiry into Freud,* Marcuse unpicked Freud's account of the antagonistic relation between civilisation and desire. He located in the work of Freud an opportunity for a richer relation between libidinal forces and those mechanisms that structure society and civilisation itself. It is this account that makes Marcuse an important figure in the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Alongside the work of Marcuse, Smith explores

a conceptually similar moment in the architectural writing of Reyner Banham. Smith focuses on Banham's essay "The New Brutalism" (1955), where the question of architecture's place with respect to civilisation and desire is raised.

Chapter 11: Re-membering desire: visual tracings of a billboard

Linda Lapiņa

Chapter 11 explores desire through photographs of a billboard on a construction site in a gentrifying neighbourhood in Copenhagen. Dormant, and inscribed in a gentrification temporality, the district's construction sites were concurrently overflowing with ambiguous matter, meaning and affectivity. The photographs were taken over a period of ten months after I danced with the billboard in August 2015. The relationality emerging from the dance carries over into the images and the text, performing desire through embodied re-membering: a re-configuring of space, time and matter. I examine how desire operates as a medium through which time comes to matter in rhizomatic, multi-fold ways. I unpack how desire circulates in the haunted space of absence. It re-members what seems to be absent and lost, while simultaneously yearning for ways of being and becoming otherwise. I use the photographs as affective and knowledge-producing devices. They work as refrains, re-configurations of patterns of difference, highlighting the heterogeneous multiplicity of desire. The chapter draws on and contributes to feminist new materialist conceptualisations of affect, embodiment, time and space.

Chapter 12: Unidentified emotional object: when queer desire journeyed to Belgrade (but stayed in its closet)

Marko Jobst

Chapter 12 details the journey of queer desire across a series of texts and sites in Belgrade, Serbia. It aims to query the various spatial constellations in which queer desire and the critique of urbanity come together by looking at the transformation of fiction into theory, and a city into a fiction. It details a project that developed over several years in a series of textual, visual and spatial interventions and the way it grew out of theoretical engagements with the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari.

"Unidentified emotional object" started its journey as a text derived from a personal experience, queer in content and form. It was subsequently transformed into a piece of speculative fiction and given body through a series of interventions and across a number of media (graffiti, photography, architecture). Eventually, what had started off as an intimate act of committing desire to paper had, by the end of the process, become a matter of inscribing romantic affectivity and sexual desire onto a series of urban sites of Belgrade's Savamala district, itself a site of political

contestation. The end result, sited on the walls of a refugee centre, simultaneously resonated with, subverted and fell short of addressing the collective politics of desire.

Chapter 13: Desiring-spaces: compulsive citizen–state configurations

Diana Beljaars

Chapter 13, the final chapter, develops a "compulsive process" as spatial organisation of desire. It interrogates how the compulsive process helps understand the configurations of the State and its citizens in ways similar ways to those that Deleuze and Guattari used to develop the schizophrenic process for this same purpose. It does so by employing compulsivity as corporeal emergence that challenges ideas of a humanity defined by its pursuit of and reverie in meaning, rationality and reason. Such a kind of humanity seems most articulated in civic spaces dedicated to remembrance of State wars, showcasing a morality of a higher order. Following a Deleuzo-Guattarian ontology of desire, Chapter 13 demonstrates what a humanity affected by and emergent with the non-human might look like. This is based on empirical research on the touching, ordering and gathering of objects and spaces in the absence of a reason, as performed by people diagnosed with Tourette syndrome. The chapter then imagines a compulsive corporeality as intimately intertwined with the non-human in Alexandra Gardens, a park in the civic centre of Cardiff (Wales). Tracing how the affective resonances of human and non-human materialities, emergent with compulsive performance, breaks the State's affective capture of its citizens in these spaces. Upon this crumbling of State power a new citizen–State configuration emerges. The chapter concludes by arguing how the corporeal as an increasingly preferred mode of State capture might then precisely arise as its escape.

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1

CIVIC SPACE—*AND DESIRE*—DERANGED

From Le Corbusier to Georges Perec

Marcus A. Doel

> "Our space has strange effects. For one thing, it unleashes desire." (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 97)
> "There is desire only if it is desire for the machine." (Guattari, 2006, p. 184)
> ". . . what? . . . the buzzing? . . . yes . . . all the time the buzzing . . . so-called . . ." (Beckett, 1984, p. 220)

The titular phrase "civic spaces and desire" reminds me of the opening lines of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's wonderful book, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*: "How can we enter into Kafka's work?" they ask. "This work is a rhizome, a burrow. . . . We will enter, then, by any point whatsoever; none matters more than another, and no entrance is more privileged even if it seems an impasse, a tight passage, a siphon" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, p. 3). How, then, can we enter the burrow or rhizome of civic spaces and desire? Besides the city gates, the main thoroughfares and the subterranean watercourses, the obvious points of entry are "civic spaces" on the one hand and "desire" on the other hand, but I hesitate to choose between them since it is not entirely clear which of them should come first, nor whether they are in fact even separable. My hesitation leads me to reread the opening lines of Le Corbusier's foreword to his seminal text *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning*, penned in 1924, with an eye towards the stirring of civic spaces and desire:

> *A town is a tool. Towns no longer fulfil this function. They are ineffectual; they use up our bodies, they thwart our souls. The lack of order to be found everywhere in them offends us; their degradation wounds our self-esteem and humiliates our sense of dignity. They are not worthy of the age; they are no longer worthy of us.*
>
> *(Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 13, italics in original)*

This foreword—where towns thwart, offend, wound, degrade and humiliate our efficacy, our dignity, our bodies, our worth and even our souls—is prefaced by an aerial photograph of "a typical London suburb" that Le Corbusier admonishes with the words: "*A charming picture which displays every vice of planning!*" (Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 12, italics in original). Having foreshown his readers what is undesirable about extant civic space, Le Corbusier goes on to argue that the "City of Tomorrow" must be built anew according to what has been proper to Man since the advent of *Homo Erectus—the straight line and the right angle*, which are not only "sane and noble" and "the result of self-mastery", he says (Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 30), but that are also truly sublime, especially when arranged to form crosses and iconostases, as in his own 1955 *Poem of the Right Angle* (Le Corbusier, 2012)—and which must erase the degraded, unworthy and ignoble "City of Today" that has emerged over millennia according to what is fundamentally alien to Man and only really fitting for beasts of burden: the crooked and errant "path of least resistance" (Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 23), whose disorderly and irrational topographic meandering he dubs the pack-donkey's way.

> Man walks in a straight line because he has a goal and knows where he is going; he has made up his mind to reach some particular place and he goes straight to it. The pack-donkey meanders along, meditates a little in his scatter-brained and distracted fashion, he zigzags in order to avoid the larger stones, or to ease the climb, or to gain a little shade; he takes the line of least resistance. . . . The Pack-Donkey's way is responsible for the plan of every continental [European] city; including Paris, unfortunately.
>
> *(Le Corbusier, 1947, pp. 23–24)*

Now, I wager that the phrase "civic space" will bring out the more or less latent geometer and geomancer in you, probably under the pretext of enforcing law and order, if only for the reason that "space lays down the law because it implies a certain order—and also a certain disorder" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 143). Even a barely trodden desire line or desire path lays down the law and commands bodies, as Robinson Crusoe discovered to his fright when he stumbled upon a man's solitary footprint on the sandy shore of his supposedly desolated and deserted Island of Despair:

> I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition. . . . [A]fter innumerable fluttering thoughts, like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree, looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man.
>
> *(Defoe, 1791, unpaginated)*

Indeed, "nothing and no one can avoid *trial by space*—an ordeal which is the modern world's answer to the judgement of God or the classical conception of fate" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 416). However, in these more fluid, flexible and flaccid of times, I suspect that the geometer and geomancer in you will be less fixated on the nobility of the straight line and the right angle, or the dignity of the square and the cube, than Le Corbusier was wont to do:

> a modern city lives by the straight line, inevitably; for the construction of buildings, sewers and tunnels, highways, pavements. The circulation of traffic demands the straight line; it is the proper thing for the heart of a city. The curve is ruinous, difficult and dangerous; it is a paralyzing thing. The straight line enters into all human history, into all human aim, into every human act.
> *(Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 28)*

After all, having debased, disgraced and dishonoured the straight line, the square and the cube, the onto-aesthetic taste of today seems to be much more curvaceous, rambling and feral; a derangement well-illustrated by the superimposition of the ludic Parc de la Villette on the post-industrial ruins of Baron Haussmann's original *City of Blood* (Claflin, 2008; Tschumi, 1994), or even by the sweeping loops of the railway system that Le Corbusier somewhat incongruously proposed for his otherwise rectilinear *City of Tomorrow*:

> It is 9 am. From its four vomitories, each 250 yards wide, the station disgorges the travellers from the suburbs. The trains, running in one direction only, follow one another at one-minute intervals. . . . The station square is so enormous that everybody can make straight to his work without crowding or difficulty. Underground, the tube taps the suburban lines at various points and discharges its passengers into the basements of the sky-scrapers, which gradually fill up. Every sky-scraper is a tube station.
> *(Le Corbusier, 1947, pp. 193–194).*

Now, given the arrangement of the phrase civic spaces and desire, one may be forgiven for thinking that civic spaces should come first and desire second, as if the first-mentioned were our primary concern and the latter only insofar as it bears on the former: *Civic Spaces—and Desire*, as it were; where the "*—and Desire*" arrives belatedly as an afterthought or an after-effect, in keeping, perhaps, with the conviction that "man governs his feelings by his reason" (Le Corbusier, 1947, p. 23). We could then begin to enumerate and explore all of the ways in which desire may come to affect civic space. But what is desire? Understood naively, desire is the *desire of a subject* (as cause, origin, agent, truth and measure) *for an alluring object* (real, symbolic or imaginary). Such a desire is always in *excess* (and therefore both luxuriant and gratuitous) of so-called "needs" (i.e. necessities, use-values) on the one hand and so-called "wants" (i.e. decencies, sign-values) on the other hand, even when the desirable Thing is *lacking*, like a sinkhole, and precisely because it

is lacking, like an aporia. A more refined understanding of desire would regard it as an insatiable, interminable and self-referential process of prolongation and procrastination that perpetually differs and defers (i.e. *desire desires desire*—not satisfaction, not fulfilment, not attainment, not completion, each of which would be fatal to desire and anticlimactic; but perpetuation, augmentation and intensification), or even as the desire for conscious or unconscious *recognition*—"the desire for a desirer" (Lacan, 2014, p. 24), the "desire for the desire of an another" (Macey, 2000, p. 95) and "the desire of the Other" (Lacan, 2008, p. 38)—that necessarily entails *anguish* and *misrecognition* (in short, the *desire for desire*). However configured, desire would come—belatedly, like a laggard—to affect civic space: from the inside out and the outside in. From the *inside out* in terms of specifically *civic* desires that find themselves expressed in civic space, such as those grandiose monuments and memorials that sprout up in public space, like Pyramide du Louvre, Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile and La Grande Arche de la Défense in Paris. And from the *outside in* in terms of all of those *other* desires that would find themselves "out of place", so to speak, in civic space, as evidenced, for example, by the proliferation of all manner of more or less petty prohibitions, such as against ball games, skateboarding, loitering and other incivilities (e.g. spitting, smoking, littering, urinating, honking, heavy petting and suchlike). By folding the inside out and the outside in, civic space and desire would be like the unfathomable, invaginated house in Robert Coover's short story, *Playing House*:

> Once there was a house, the storyteller continues, which was struck by a hurricane and turned inside out, the outside closed within it, its own dimensions infinite and unknowable at what was once the core, more like the edge. Those within moved out, which of course was further in, and there they built a new house looking out in all directions upon the inverted old. Over time, they enlarged the house and as they added rooms, the old house gradually backed away and faded out of sight.
>
> *(Coover, 2005, p. 65)*

In short, given any civic space whatsoever, one could enumerate all of the desires that could sweep over it, whether civic or not, and consider how they may affect and be affected by one another. Such an encounter between civic space and desire would play out like the "pure machinic filiation" (Guattari, 2006, p. 180) of the alluring orchid and the perverted wasp, each de-territorialising and re-territorialising the becoming of the other through solicitation, penetration and transformation. (For example, what became of Place de Grève following the arrival of the guillotine in 1792, and of the guillotine during its sojourn to Place de la Révolution for the Reign of Terror or even during its confinement to the penal "Houses of Horror" of Nazi Germany?) Naturally, some of these desires would sweep in from the side (i.e. from the realm of everyday life) or swoop down from above (i.e. from a would-be transcendent realm that would lord over everyday life), but many of these desires would surge up from below (i.e. from the "infra-ordinary", as Georges Perec (1999)

dubbed it). *Beneath the paving stones lies the beach*, as the famous revolutionary slogan from May '68 poetically expressed the liberation of desire from under the yoke of capitalism and its stooges (teachers, parents, preachers, cops, bureaucrats, politicians, etc.); but beneath the beach lies the magma of the collective unconscious that periodically finds its mob expression: *Civic Spaces* (—*and Desire*), so to speak (Badiou, 2012; Bloom, 2012; Ross, 2008). I am reminded of James Cauty's *A Riot in a Jam Jar* (2011), a series of 1:87 scale dioramas of riotous moments and public order overkill displayed within upturned jam jars.

Now, while one may be forgiven for thinking that civic space should come first and desire second, one may also be forgiven for thinking the converse, since desire was obviously in play long before the emergence of civic space, and indeed long before the emergence of any civility whatsoever. Civic space would be the expression, the repression or the perversion of certain more or less primordial desires, such as *topophilia* (a love of place) or *topophobia* (a hatred of place), for example, which have echoed down the ages. Desire would then be under the cosh of civility and under the cloche of civic space, and civic space would be a space of domesticated desires: tamed and docile; enslaved and servile; law-abiding and customary; cold and drab. Whence the continual need to revivify civic space with statues and fountains, banners and bunting, and pomp and ceremony. But all of this will have been in vain.

Order and civility, then, would not so much flow from the outside in, dissipating in the fragmentary space of the utterly chaotic, but would rather surge from the inside out: atomistic, cellular and modular. Here as elsewhere, the Devil is in the detail: doors, windows, handrails, handles, baths, lighting, worktops, etc. Indeed, Flora Samuels (2007, p. 1) argues that nowhere is Le Corbusier's "desperate attempt to create order in what he perceived to be a fragmented and chaotic world . . . better expressed than in the realm of detail". Le Corbusier's buildings were *equipped* rather than *furnished*. For example, equipment for dwelling—such as sinks, showers, staircases and storage—enable a house to function as a "machine for living". While many have since recoiled from such a seemingly cold machine, Le Corbusier warmed to its touch. And yet, such a space of quelled desire would no doubt remain haunted by the return of the repressed—wild, unbroken and unbridled desire. For when we speak of civic spaces and desire I wager that the first thing that is called to mind is a more or less violent outburst that shatters the ostensibly serene order of things, from the delirium of spirited haranguers on so many makeshift plinths to the uproar of riotous mobs surging through the streets—although I would stress that these spasmodic outbursts are often conjured up and orchestrated by the state and its stooges. After all, those cobbled streets that yearned to be torn up and hurled at the police during May '68 did not pave themselves. Nor did those lamp posts that ached to be transmogrified into impromptu gallows ("*à la lanterne!*") for the execution of popular (or street) justice during the French Revolution of 1789 illuminate themselves.

Whether one enters the burrow of civic spaces and desire from the side of civic space or from the side of desire, one will sooner or later stumble

over the seemingly innocuous "*and*" that comes between them, a conjunction that gathers them up, spins them around and carries them away: *and . . . and . . . and . . .* We are not, after all, considering "civic spaces *of* desire", but "civic spaces *and* desire". Now, this seemingly innocuous *and* can be put to work and made to resonate in a great many disparate registers, including: progression (*better and better*), causation (*and then*), great duration (*on and on*), great number (*more and more*), addition (*this and that*), differentiation (*there are spaces and there are spaces*), variety (*X and Y*) and succession (*move two and two*). Whence the need for "a hinge-logic, a hinge-style" (Lyotard, 1990, p. 123) to articulate and express such a heterogeneous and disjointed multiplicity: for example, by way of the folds of dialectics ("V"), the chiasma of deconstruction ("X") or the schizzes of schizoanalysis ("Z"). Hereinafter, civic spaces *and* desire slide and glide, like pivoting windows and revolving doors, on these and other hinges—*and* that leaves geography unhinged and deranged (Doel, 1996, 1999).

> This conjunction ["and"] carries enough force to shake and uproot the verb "to be" ["is" and "is not"] . . . The middle is by no means an average; on the contrary, it is where things pick up speed. *Between* things does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to the other and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one *and* the other away.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, p. 25, italics in original)*

Suffice to say that an *and* is my preferred mode of entry into the burrows of the real, the symbolic and the imaginary. Such an *and* does not so much conjoin two discrete positions, least of all as an integral, but halves them together and hollows them out, as parasitical differentials that "repeat to differ" in an eternal return (Deleuze, 1994). Begin to tilt or twist or revolve the bar between civic spaces *and* desire and you may begin to get a sense of what I mean: civic spaces/desire. What returns by way of the slash is neither the same terms nor the same difference between terms, but difference as such, or *différance*: differing and deferring without origin or end, like the facing off of mirrored skyscrapers in Paris La Défense. Richard McGuire's graphic novel *Here* (2014), which presents a labyrinth of time cut up in situ, is a perfect rendition of this hinge-logic and hinge-style. The plurality of civic spaces would seem to lean in this direction of dissemination and differentiation. Likewise with the insatiability of desire. Desire stutters and stammers, driven by an insatiable demand: *and . . . and . . . and . . .* "*Desiring connection* works from term to term, and 'forgets' each as it goes" (Guattari, 2006, p. 30, italics in original). "Where are you going? Where are you coming from? What are you heading for? These are totally useless questions" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, p. 25). Since no one truly belongs—belongs *as such*—to civic space, rather than getting *lost* in the fabric of the city we are cast *adrift* in the city. "Voyage in place", quip Deleuze and Guattari (1988, p. 482).

As for space, which is spaced out and splays out, it also consists of nothing but *ands*, just as space–time consists of nothing but *ands* and *buts*. Accordingly, when I first encountered the phrase "civic spaces and desire" I was immediately struck by its innumerable perforations, its endless openings and its interminable sliding: civic spaces and desire = *and . . . and . . . and . . . and . . . and . . . and . . . and*. "We will enter, then, by any point whatsoever. . . . Only the principle of multiple entrances prevents the introduction of the enemy, the Signifier and those attempts to interpret a work that is actually only open to experimentation" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, p. 3). For "if it's true that all desiring connection is revolutionary and subversive . . . then analysis opens up onto another world" (Guattari, 2006, p. 151). Such is the force of schizoanalysis, which "follows the machinic indices of deterritorialization" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984, p. 3). Everything is uprooted and swept away in the revolutionary slipstream of *and . . . and . . . and . . .*

One key advantage of cleaving to the hinge-logic and hinge-style of the *and* is that it frustrates the tendency to delimit in advance what will and will not count as civic space, and what will and will not be given over to desire. It also nimbly sidesteps the vexed question of the difference between space and place, their relationship to time (pace, *pas*) and their qualification as civic. I wager that any attempt to taxonomise civic space will prove inexhaustible and engender a "perfectly astonishing miscellaneity" (Perec, 1999, p. 196), much like the "mind-boggling enumeration" of animals that Perec gleaned from a small selection of French government documents and associated legal texts:

> (a) Animals on which bets are laid, (b) animals the hunting of which is banned between 1 April and 15 September, (c) stranded whales, (d) animals whose entry within the national frontiers is subject to quarantine, (e) animals held in joint ownership, (f) stuffed animals, (g) etcetera (this etc. is not at all surprising in itself; it's only where it comes in the list that makes it seem odd), (h) animals liable to transmit leprosy, (i) guide-dogs for the blind, (j) animals in receipt of significant legacies, (k) animals able to be transported in the cabin, (l) stray dogs without collars, (m) donkeys, (n) mares assumed to be with foal.
>
> *(Perec, 1999, p. 197, parenthetical remark in original)*

I will leave you to list, more or less exhaustively, all of the species of civic space that will ever have existed—intensively and extensively, virtually and actually, in the real, symbolic and imaginary registers, etc.—, starting with an oaken crown (*corona civica*), perhaps, and ending with a non-human or post-human democratisation of the *polis* to encompass those "poor in world" (e.g. animals and plants) as well as those "without world" (e.g. stones and rocks), and to ponder where the foregoing civic arrangement of animals should appear in the list, along with this civic arrangement of plants by the Nazis in the Auschwitz (Birkenau) death camp,

which I am tempted to call a *necropolis* rather than a *metropolis* since it was a city of extermination and a regime of horror and terror (Gutman and Berenbaum, 1994; Sofsky, 1997; Wachsmann, 2015).

6 November 1943

Objective: to assemble the plants for the purpose of providing a border of greenery for the camp's Nos 1 and 2 crematorium ovens.

Ref: Conversation between SS-Obersturmbannführer Höss, Camp Commandant, and Sturmbannführer Bishoff.

To SS-Sturmbannführer Ceasar, Head of Agricultural Services in the Concentration Camp of Auschwitz (Upper Silesia).

In conformity with an order from SS-Obersturmbannführer Höss, Camp Commandant, Nos 1 and 2 crematorium ovens in the camp will be provided with a green border serving as a natural boundary to the camp.

The following is a list of the plants needing to be drawn from our stocks of trees:

200 trees in leaf from three to five metres high; 100 tree shoots in leaf from a metre and a half to four metres high; lastly, 1,000 bushes for use as lining from one to two and a half metres high, all to come from the stocks in our nurseries.

You are requested to place these supplies of plants at our disposal.

Head of the Central Building Directorate of
the Waffen SS and the Police at Auschwitz.
Signed: SS-Obersturmführer
(Quoted in Perec, 1999, pp. 90–91)

I mention these seemingly incongruous civic spaces of animals and plants to forestall any overly hasty delimitation of civic space, particularly with respect to orderliness, reasonableness, progressiveness, urbanity and civility, and any overly hasty equation of civic space with so-called open space, public space and the public sphere, such as those buildings, streets, squares, marketplaces, parks, gardens, roundabouts, sports arenas, convention centres, monuments, cemeteries, zoos, newspaper letters pages, online chat rooms, television studios, community halls, swimming pools, polling booths, art galleries, public libraries, civic centres, etc. where "good" people—civic-minded people, the people of civil society—tend to gather together to voice their opinions, flex their muscles, vent their fury and generally make a spectacle of themselves: from the dutiful citizenry who profess their devotion to the state when periodically summoned to vote to the riotous mob hell-bent on destroying the existing order of things (Badiou, 2008, 2012).

Recall that this word, civic, from classical Latin, *civicus*, originally denoted a military honour: a Roman citizen who had saved the life of a fellow Roman

citizen during warfare would be decorated with a crown, garland or wreath of oak leaves and acorns (*corona civica*). Only during the French Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century, did this narrow usage significantly broaden, and it did so in two not entirely complementary directions: on the one hand, civic came to honour the citizen (*civis*) as such, a citizen no longer cast as a citizen soldier, but recast as an ordinary citizen, a civilian, although the distinction between the civilian sphere and the military sphere is obviously liable to collapse (everything from paramilitary organisations, such as police forces, other so-called emergency services and scouting for boys and girls, to the mobilisation of entire populations to wage total war and the targeting of entire populations in the waging of wars of annihilation and extermination); while, on the other hand, civic also came to honour the town and the city as such (*civicus*), specifically in the form of the urban, as a locality befitting and characteristic of a community of citizens, and as a locality administered by a community of citizens—so-called civil authority, civilian authority or civilian government.

Just as we tend to forget that the legal form of a commercial company only ceased to be a company of living persons through a series of legal machinations in the second half of the nineteenth century that transformed the company itself into an artificial person (Neocleous, 2003)—a legal personification and subjectivation of capital with plenty of rights, especially property rights (to own, borrow, lend, sue, employ, suffer damages and even will), and hardly any serious responsibilities (alas)—, so we tend to forget that the original form of a town or a city was a fellowship of citizens, which never accounted for all. *We, the people*, has always been a minority and sectarian affair. And while Roman citizenship remained territorial, Athenian citizenship was "de-spatialised" and "de-territorialised"—leading "to a new kind of identity [for] the citizen, one based on political affiliation alone, on the citizen's belonging to the polis that for the first time gave the citizen a civic presence in the city-state" (Gasché, 2014, p. 25). Uprooted and separated from every kind of identity and bond that had previously tethered them to one another, these newly forged citizens cast adrift in civic space had nothing in common except for their citizenship, a form of citizenship that has subsequently been re-territorialised onto everything from city states and nation states to the world at large and the planet as such.

> The [Athenian] reform . . . consisted in a territorial reorganization of Attica on the basis of demes (*demoi*), that is, the smallest local unities of settlements such as townships that were given a political organization and that cut, as it were, through the old order of the *phylai* (tribes), *gene* (clans), *phratriai* (brotherhoods), and *thiasoi* (cult communities). These demes in turn were used to completely reconstitute and regroup the *phylai* such that they no longer represented particular, local interests. As a result of this reorganization, the civic body of Attica completely changed, now detached from the local solidarities that until then had cemented the regional factions. . . . [As] a consequence of the reorganization of the tribes and the admission of

> new citizens, such as nonnatives, freed slaves, and foreigners, the reform also brought about a mixing of citizens, one of its most striking aspects.
>
> *(Gasché, 2014, pp. 24–25)*

With the reassertion and broadening of the notion of the civic in the wake of the French Revolution, which bound together an honouring of the citizen, a veneration of the community of citizens and a glorification of government by the citizenry, all of which was elevated from the confines of the urban to the nation writ large and the universal figure of Man, every space and place, and every nook and cranny, became a civic concern. If the forums, agorae, colonnades, bathhouses, gymnasiums, theatres, amphitheatres, circuses and suchlike were the quintessential civic spaces of Antiquity, where citizens gathered together to do whatever citizens do (Sennett, 1996), then Modernity has levelled such spaces within what I am tempted to call a "civic sprawl". For example, while television injects civic space into the fabric of the home, thereby de-differentiating public and private space, this can nevertheless be resisted. A wonderful instance of such resistance occurred in Poland in 1982, when residents of Swidnik made a public spectacle of their boycotting of the state's news bulletins by either facing their switched-off television sets onto the street or else by taking their unplugged television sets out for an early evening stroll in pushchairs and wheelbarrows, thereby returning the audio-visual drone of the state whence it came (Crawshaw and Jackson, 2010). In this case, civic space belongs as much to the pushchairs and the wheelbarrows, the switched-off and unplugged television sets, and the living rooms and the window frames, as it does to the city's streets, the public's discourses and the broadcasting of the state. Indeed, if I were pressed to single out a few exemplary civic spaces of Modernity, then I would probably foreground barbed-wire enclosures, gas chambers, electric chairs and guillotine scaffolds (Doel, 2017). (For just as the death penalty is arguably what is most properly "human", not only because it is primarily reserved for humans, but also because it places a value on the human that is worth more than life itself (Derrida, 2014), Dr Guillotin's eponymous beheading machine is arguably the perfect citizen: egalitarian, enlightened and humane; and diametrically opposed to the inegalitarian, unenlightened and inhumane forms of spectacular execution in the Ancien Régime. The guillotine was conceived to be a civic-minded citizen fully at home and tirelessly at work in the civic centre of Paris.) But I will resist any such pressure, and simply say that the domain of civic space is illimitable and without taxonomic closure. Hereinafter, any space whatsoever may be qualified as civic—or not—, which brings me back to the matter of re-entering the burrow of civic spaces and desire by way of so many difference-producing *ands* and *buts*.

Let me start over again, then, with any heterogeneous assemblage whatsoever, such as windows and wheelbarrows, roundabouts and television sets, barbed wire and bunting, street furniture and wilted lettuce, cobblestones and submarine cables, sewerage and zoos, signage and anthems, lampposts and time zones, refuse and emissions, postage stamps and number plates, or even condiments and the police

(e.g. Arasse, 1991; Darnton, 2010; Moxham, 2001; Netz, 2009; Schivelbusch, 1992; Sennett, 1996). Civic space would then no longer be grounded in a *structure*, least of all an infra-structure or a super-structure, but would instead be taken up as a *machine*. We would no longer ask "*what is* civic space?" but rather "*what becomes* of civic space?" And we would seek "not an essence or a position, but a tendency, an orientation-to-change" (Holland, 2013, p. 34), and these can only ever be discerned in context, in situ and *au milieu*, according to their lines of rigid (molar) and supple (molecular) segmentation, their lines of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation, and their lines of flight and escape (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, 1988), and the drive of an "abstract machine, which does not exist but only *becomes*, which is never fully emerged, but only ever in emergence, [and] is always subject to . . . counter actualisation" (Dowd, 2007, p. 14, italics in original). Indeed, I recall Derrida's (1989, p. 73) characterisation of deconstruction as "a suspicion directed against just that kind of thinking—'what is . . .?' ", a suspicion that Deleuze shared:

> The Idea responds only to the call of certain questions. Platonism has determined the Idea's form of question as *What is X?* This noble question is supposed to concern the essence and is opposed to vulgar questions which point merely to the example or the accident. So, we do not ask *who or what* is beautiful, but *what* is the Beautiful. It is not *where* and *when* does justice exist, but what is the Just. . . . And yet the privilege accorded the question *What is this?* reveals itself to be confused and doubtful, even in Platonism and the Platonic tradition. . . . And when we examine the history of philosophy as a whole, we will have a tough time discovering any philosopher whose research was guided by the question *What is this?* . . . The question *What is this?* . . . includes the inessential, and includes it *in essence*, and thus contradicts itself. Another way of going about it . . . [approaches] the Idea as a multiplicity. . . . "[M]ultiplicity" when used as a substantive, designates a domain where the Idea, of itself, is much closer to the accident than to the abstract essence, and can be determined only with the questions *who? how? how much? where and when? in which case?*—forms that sketch the genuine spatio-temporal coordinates of the Idea.
>
> *(Deleuze, 2004, pp. 95–96, italics in original)*

Civic spaces and desire should be regarded not as the conjoining of two distinct essences or discrete positions, or the synthesis of two independent structures or separate systems, which may or may not occupy the same level of the socio-spatial formation, depending on whether or not desire is regarded as *infra*-structural (energetic, vitalistic, libidinal, etc.) and civic spaces as *super*-structural (expressive, symbolic, ideological, etc.) or vice versa, but as *a* burrow, *a* rhizome, *an* assemblage, *a* multiplicity and *a* machine. Asking "which one?" rather than "what is?" basically "means this: what are the forces which take hold of a given thing, what

is the will that possesses it? Which one is expressed, manifested and even hidden in it?" (Deleuze, 1986, p. 71). Asking "what is?" expresses a mode of questioning that draws upon the long-standing complicity between testing, torture and truth (Ronnell, 2005); an inquisitorial mode of questioning that seeks to draw out essence from appearance, an essence that is always already given: pre-formed and pre-fabricated.

> When I ask *what is this?*, I assume there is an essence behind appearances, or at least something ultimate behind the masks. The other kind of question, however, always discovers other masks behind the mask, displacements behind every place, other "cases" stacked up in a case.
>
> *(Deleuze, 2004, p. 114, italics in original)*

By contrast, asking "which one?" expresses a mode of questioning that opens onto the outside, the forces that traverse it and the problematics that transform it; "never 'What is it?' (the question of being), but 'In which direction is it going?' 'How fast?' 'Along with what else?' " (Holland, 2013, p. 35). So, we will ask of civic space and desire neither what each *is* nor what each *means*, but rather what *becomes* of them. For example, what becomes of a police officer, a demonstrator and a Molotov cocktail that come to engage one another on a dimly lit street corner? Echoing Marx's oft-quoted eleventh thesis on Ludwig Feuerbach—"The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it" (Marx, 1946, p. 65, italics in original)—, it is a question of opening them up to the outside, to the conjunctures and encounters that make them act, function and work otherwise: *and . . . and . . . and . . . but . . . but . . . but*. "There is nothing to explain, nothing to understand, nothing to interpret" (Deleuze, 1977, p. 114). We will enter the fray, then, from the side of the machine, from the side of production, fabrication and manufacture. This is how one becomes engaged.

> The question should certainly not be: What is a machine? Or even: Who is a machine? It is not a question of the essence, but of the event, not about *is*, but about *and*, about concatenations and connections, compositions and movements that constitute a machine.
>
> *(Raunig, 2010, p. 19, italics in original)*

Now that we have decided to enter civic space and desire from the side of the machine and engagement, where better so to do than via the opening lines of Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*, penned under the surtitle "the desiring-machines", and the subtitle "desiring-production".

> It is at work everywhere, functioning smoothly at times, at other times in fits and starts. It breathes, it heats, it eats. It shits and fucks. What a mistake to have ever said *the* Id. Everywhere *it* is machines—real ones, not figurative ones: machines driving other machines, machines being driven by

> other machines, with all the necessary couplings and connections. An organ-machine is plugged into an energy-source-machine: the one produces a flow that the other interrupts.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 1984, p. 1, italics in original)*

For example, *suckling* and *defecating* are machinic: a breast is plugged into a mouth and an anal canal is plugged into a rectum, with nourishment and anxiety traversing the former, and faeces and gifts traversing the latter. "'Being-for-the-machine', that is desire. Not being-for-the-other in general. What an idea!" (Guattari, 2006, p. 184). Likewise for *labouring* and *revolting*: a working body is plugged into a body of capital and a nobody is plugged into an uprising, with use-values and exchange-values traversing the former, and justice and fidelity traversing the latter. And when they are all plugged back into civic space they come to concern so-called public health, public decency, public order, public opinion, public policy, public interest, etc. More and more flows, more and more interruptions, intersecting and bisecting, smoothing and striating, splicing and splaying, producing and seducing. Here as elsewhere, "there is no desire other than assembled [*agencé*] desire" (Smith, 2012, p. 322).

> Desiring-machines are binary machines, obeying a binary law or set of rules governing associations: one machine is always coupled with another. The productive synthesis, the production of production, is inherently connective in nature: "and . . ." "and then . . ." This is because there is always a flow-producing machine, and another machine connected to it that interrupts or draws off part of this flow (the breast—the mouth). And because the first machine is in turn connected to another whose flow it interrupts or partially drains off, the binary series is linear in every direction. Desire constantly couples continuous flows and partial objects that are by nature fragmentary and fragmented. Desire causes the current to flow, itself flows in turn, and breaks the flows.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 1984, p. 5)*

Given that "there are Flows; the world presents itself in the form of fluctuation" (Guattari, 2013, p. 75), and so we will enter any civic space whatsoever by way of the energy-source-machines and the organ-machines that connect, disconnect and reconnect with one another to produce the flows and interruptions that will have lent *it* consistency. Recall, for example, that Le Corbusier's *City of Tomorrow* has civic-centre railway stations that interrupt the flow of passengers from the suburbs, and that in turn produce a flow of workers through its vomitories that the sky-scrapers interrupt. Here as elsewhere, "the system is demented, yet works very well" (Deleuze, in Guattari, 2009, p. 36). Whether *it* is civic space or desire, *it* is an assembly of machines. Such is the world, or, better yet, the "chaosmos", of flow and interruption: *and . . . and . . . and . . . but . . . but . . . but . . .* "an infernal machine is being assembled" (Guattari, 1984, p. 115), a machinic assemblage that emphasises the consistency of becoming rather than the existence of being: "to

ex-ist is to stand out" whereas "to con-sist entails being-with rather than standing-out: togetherness, the multiple logics of 'and' and 'with' rather than the singular logic of being" (Holland, 2013, p. 11).

We will have entered civic space, then, from the side of the machine and production rather than from the side of the spectacle and reproduction, and specifically from the side of the *machinic-cum-schizoanalytic unconscious* (Guattari, 2011, 2013), as distinct from both the *psychoanalytic unconscious*, where everything is "played out in advance, every possible path marked out: the psychoanalytic unconscious was programmed like destiny" (Guattari, 1986, p. 196), and the *structural unconscious*, where the "sign under erasure" (Nancy and Lacoue-Labarthe, 1992, p. 39) and "the plague of the signifier" (Guattari, 2013, p. 256) run amok. "I call it 'machinic' because it is not necessarily centered around human subjectivity, but involves the most diverse material fluxes and social systems" (Guattari, 1986, p. 194). The unconscious is not a personal, individual or even family drama, but a collective "production of the real, not merely of representation" (Land, 2011, p. 321), and it is not simply a human production, but one that takes in anything and everything: animal, vegetable, mineral, etc. For instance, the entire fabric of the city is bound up with dream-work: not just bedrooms and bathrooms, cinemas and stores, but also bicycles and bar stools, chimneys and subways, razor wire and telegraph poles. "Dissociate subjectivity from the subject, from the individual, and even from the human, and cease considering the power of enunciation exclusive to man and subjectivity" (Lazzarato, 2014, p. 62). Take the gay chatter of commodities in the arcades of Paris, for example, which is oblivious to the presence of consumers, or even the traffic-calming power of a solitary sleeping policeman. A subject is not there from the start, as a foundation or an origin or a cause of desire, but is produced by the machinic unconscious through modes of subjectivation and individuation as an after-effect. "Actually, there is no 'subject of desire', only a *production* of desire according to a *sign machine*" (Guattari, 2006, p. 100, italics in original).

> We believe the unconscious is not a theatre, but a factory. . . . Saying the unconscious "produces" means that it's a kind of mechanism that produces other mechanisms. In other words, we believe the unconscious has nothing in common with theatrical representation, but with something called a "desiring-machine". . . . Desiring consists in interruptions, letting certain flows through, making withdrawals from those flows, cutting the chains that become attached to the flows. . . . and contrary to what traditional psychoanalysis tells us, it is perfectly meaningless. Without any sense, there is nothing to interpret. . . . The problem is knowing how the unconscious works. It is knowing how "desiring-machines" work, and knowing how to use those machines.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 2004a, p. 232)*

We will not, then, enter civic space by way of the customary routes, such as city gates and railway stations, boulevards and promenades, toponyms and statues,

or URLs and hashtags, nor by way of the customary keywords, such as citizenship, nationalism, democracy or community, all of which presuppose and reinforce the existence of some "one" that is bound together by force and machination, nor by way of the customary activities, such as professing, communing, commuting, demonstrating or protesting, none of which are especially or peculiarly civic, but by way of desiring-machines, desiring-production, and their flows and interruptions: *and . . . and . . . and . . . but . . . but . . . but*. This heterogeneous assemblage works, and *it* works by perpetually breaking down and leaking in all directions. Hereinafter, we will never have pinned or penned down civic space (—*and desire*), least of all by severing the machinic connections, by guillotining the subject and the object cause of desire, by jamming the concrete and abstract machines, and by proclaiming: "You will be a body—*corpse*—*body*—a cadaver, not a machine" (Guattari, 2006, p. 291, italics in original). The city drones on and on.

> One will never be done with machinic deterritorialization! It escapes from ordinary laws, hierarchies and metrics. There is no initial state or terminal state with it. . . . It is becoming processualizing itself, the heterogeneous in the process of differentiating itself.
>
> *(Guattari, 2013, p. 94)*

Having entered civic space by way of the gutter, and having lost my way in the labyrinthine garden of forking paths in the civic centre, I will take my leave of this ignoble *necropolis* in the customary way, by exiting through the gift shop, with a pretty tea towel, a kitsch snow globe and a second-hand jigsaw puzzle expertly crafted by Gaspard Winckler for a certain Mr Bartlebooth of 11 Rue Simon-Crubellier, Plaine Monceau, Paris XVII, which came with an enigmatic handwritten note:

> It is the twenty-third of June nineteen seventy-five, and it is eight o'clock in the evening. Seated at his jigsaw puzzle, Bartlebooth has just died. On the tablecloth, somewhere in the crepuscular sky of the four hundred and thirty-ninth puzzle, the black hole of the sole piece not yet filled in has the almost perfect shape of an X. But the ironical thing, which could have been foreseen long ago, is that the piece the dead man holds between his fingers is shaped like a W.
>
> *(Perec, 1996, p. 497)*

And so, when all is said and done, if an X were to mark the spot where civic space always already founders on the machinic assembly of desire, then a certain W may at least come to serve as the vector by way of which other machinations of desiring-production take flight (Guattari, 2015, 2016). This W is perhaps best illustrated not by the likes of Le Corbusier's (1947) *City of Tomorrow*, and its proclivity for straight lines, right angles and crosses, but by Chris Ware's (2012) *Building Stories*—for which "some assembly" is obviously required (Doel, 2014; Doel

and Clarke, 2009)—or, better still, by Perec's own *W, or the Memory of Childhood* (1988), a story of parallel (and parallax) lives in which "almost every assertion in the memory chapters . . . asks to be questioned, and the answer in most cases is that the memory . . . has been altered, reworked, decorated or, more plainly, falsified" (Bellos, 1999, p. 548). The letter W began life as a ligatured doubling of the letters U and V, a "double U" that graphically recalls the deconstructive play of difference and repetition, reversal and reinscription, and displacement and duplicity—the *différance* of the eternal return that splays out and hollows out: *and . . . and . . . and . . . but . . . but . . . but*. In other words, W marks the spot where X deconstructs and V takes flight (Pynchon, 1963). Hereinafter, civic space and desire scatter. . . .

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2

SINGLE STORY BUILDING

The fairy tale failure of housing in the UK

Ed Green and Brutus Green

Introduction

> *Every spirit builds itself a house; and beyond its house, a world; and beyond its world a heaven. Know then, that the world exists for you: build, therefore, your own world.*
>
> (Emerson, 1836)

Every spirit may build itself a house, but does this necessarily mean that every house has a spirit? When we build in the "real world", are the homes we build conducive to the idea of "spirit" . . . or, by accepting the uncontextual, value-engineered, generic product of contemporary housebuilding practice, are we in fact building, and inhabiting, spiritless houses? And does this loss of spirit affect the relationship between occupant and home, and the nature of dwelling itself?

This chapter explores the roles of *remembrance, desire* and *storytelling* in the making of *home*. It begins with an examination of the connection between *desire* and *storytelling*, and the reasons why the ability of a home to tell the story of its occupants is under threat. The subsequent section explains why the development of housebuilding in the UK has led to homes and communities that are less capable of storytelling by recording, or *remembering*, the passing of time. This establishes a disjunct between the homes people *desire* and the homes that are built. The chapter concludes with a discussion of ways in which housing could be enriched by reclaiming this ability to tell stories, to connect people more profoundly with their past and their future, their community and the environment. In doing so, it asks why we are not making houses as living objects, capable of expressing our memories and our desires.

The chapter also argues that there is more to desire than a simple, mechanical relationship. In their seminal fairy tale, the wandering eyes and empty bellies of Hansel and Gretel lead to imprisonment in a cottage made only of candy, a trap

that nourishes only the malignant witch inside. If housing was to satisfy our deeper desires for distinctiveness of place, shared social history and rootedness in community, it might also engender a clearer sense of identity and an increased capacity for remembrance.

Recording desire

Pathways that record the movement of people and the passage of time in the natural landscape are referred to as "desire lines" or "desire paths" (Kohlstedt, 2016). These self-determined paths mark the manipulation of the social and physical environment through the freedom of desire. They do not necessarily follow the quickest route between two points; a more efficient pathway may be extended to encompass a point of interest or a more attractive detour, a more accessible route, perhaps *a diversion into the woods* or *the path less trodden*. Desire is neither simple nor uniform. The malleability of the natural world and the influence of independent human interest are such that people often take delight in seeking out their own path and further shaping the world. In the contemporary urban environment this proves more difficult. The physicality of the urban built environment tends to deny, or at least constrict, free movement. The use of navigation apps such as *City Planner* and *Google Maps* further diminishes free movement through desire. But this connection between movement, freedom and desire remains a subject of local pride in both urban and rural environments. It connects inhabitants to a place they consider their own, through stories interwoven with friends, relatives and personal anecdote. It contributes to localised identity.

Walter Benjamin's essay "The Storyteller" (1968, pp. 83–109) evinces a similar phenomenon in the practice of storytelling. Benjamin argues that the stories shared by families and communities have a natural flexibility, such that they adapt and respond in their telling to the specific environment, the audience and the uneven memories of the storyteller. Above all, stories attempt to make sense of community, by building cohesion and passing on shared wisdom. They are driven by desire—the enjoyment of hearing or telling the story, the social experience and the anticipated hope for the future—and are deeply concerned with locality, identity and the enrichment of human life.[1] In *After Virtue*, the ethicist Alasdair MacIntyre describes humans as "a storytelling animal" (1996, p. 216); Jennifer Geddes in her assessment of the Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Storyteller* (1996) writes how storytelling is integral to the communication of identity and creation of community; Kirin Narayan, writing on folk narrative in Hindu religious teaching, describes storytelling as "a 'cognitive instrument'—a way of making sense of the world" (1992, p. 100), and quoting Chinmaya Baba writes: "The ancient seers and sages told these stories to set an ideal standard. These are to show people a way to move ahead, the correct paths to tread" (1992, p. 96).

Just as desire lines depend on a connection to place, freedom of movement and desire, the same identity is found in storytelling—rooted in community and environment, with the same fluidity of movement and notions of giving, receiving

and recording. Consequently, just as the built environment and technology have the potential to impede the creation of desire lines, Walter Benjamin observed that storytelling as a human practice is threatened by aspects of contemporary life, by oppressive structures and cultural norms. Desire is manipulable, and one of the fundamental roles of storytelling is to educate the desires of the listener regarding temptations they may face. In this sense the desire with which we are concerned, in common with Deleuze and Guattari's rejection of desire as *lack* (2003, pp. 25 ff.), can be seen as a form of *poesis,* not dissimilar to the mythopoesis advocated by Paul Ricoeur in his discussion of myth: "Poetry and myth are not just nostalgia for some forgotten world. They constitute a disclosure of new and unprecedented worlds, an opening onto other possible worlds" (1982, pp. 265–266).[2] Thus, both desire and storytelling become agents of liberation and utopian possibility.

This chapter begins by exploring Benjamin's assessment of storytelling in more detail, before exploring the capacity of contemporary housing for desire and storytelling, by considering the degree to which new homes are integrated into their locality, facilitate freedom in the way they are used, and either express or inculcate their occupants' desires. In turn, this leads to a discussion of ways in which contemporary housing in the UK could move beyond utilitarian economics towards what one spiritual leader has called a "values-led . . . revolution in housing" (Welby, 2018, p. 128).[3] This chapter then suggests that homes should be capable of telling stories. In doing so, they might provide living environments capable of manifesting the desires that exist within and throughout a community; in short, a house that becomes a home, and goes beyond being a single story building.[4]

Benjamin and storytelling

In his 1936 essay "The Storyteller", Walter Benjamin describes how modernity imposes conditions on society that are ending the historic practice of storytelling.[5] He draws attention to three central conditions: loss of community, undermining the individual and the overabundance of information and distortion of ideology, which today largely goes by the name of "fake news". It is worth examining these claims to understand how they have affected the ability of our houses to tell stories, what is lost with that change and how a further change in our approach to housing could restore lost aspects of community—reintroducing storytelling and *desire* to the vocabulary of our homes.

Community is an essential feature of storytelling, since the storyteller only has a role within a community of listeners. Storytelling is biographical. It is steeped in the narrative of the individual teller, the shared experience of the listeners and the context, place or community of the telling. Benjamin argued that industrialisation had separated people from their neighbourhood, making communities harder to sustain. Today, the shifting, pluralistic nature of modern society has further diminished the possibility of shared narratives, so that politicians and community leaders are often left clutching at poorly defined concepts such as "the big society" or "one nation". It has become more and more usual for people to relocate from place to

place without return, to commute long distances to work, to live in isolation from their family and to be disengaged from the social and cultural life of their neighbourhood. Many British communities no longer have recognisable centres, in the form of shared spaces, pubs or societies. Urban expansion, multiculturalism and technological innovation have contributed to further fragmentation of communities and what has been critiqued as a "Liquid Modern World" (Bauman, 2010).[6] This is not to ignore the huge benefits gained from pluralism, multiculturalism and innovation, still less to retreat into romanticised conservatism or the thinly veiled violence that may belie certain appeals to "the family" and "traditional communities", but if storytelling depends upon an unbroken continuity of community, Benjamin's thesis asks whether communities in Britain can sustain and inhabit a coherent set of narratives, or whether storytelling has in fact been lost to us.

The second feature of modernity identified by Benjamin as a threat to storytelling is the undermining of the individual. In an essay dating back to 1906, Georg Simmel wrote of the emergence of metropolitan life; that it causes "the atrophy of individual culture through the hypertrophy of objective culture" (1971, p. 338). While contemporary Western culture values the individual in terms of rights and choices, their impact on the local environment is often barely felt. The structure of society is increasingly impersonal; small businesses like the local shop, bank and pub are increasingly part of multinational corporations; technology replaces the human interface with automated systems; even the proliferation of reality television imposes stereotypes and clichés on personal stories, in the knowledge that certain generalised narratives play well with audiences. This structure contributes to a diminishing of the individual's story. Likewise, many neighbourhoods have lost their sense of place by becoming impersonal and generic, with the result that people are forced to live in spiritless communities. Housing conceived in this way is not capable of communicating identity or locality. Its story is singular and *one-size-fits-all*.

Benjamin's third feature of modernity is the anaesthesia of the media, through overabundance and distortion of information. At the time of writing, he observed how the dominance of national and international news made it impossible for the individual to assimilate into practical understanding and local action. International conflicts and catastrophes eclipse the local level at which the individual operates, learns to understand his or her place in the world and acts. It is disturbing to note that the ideologies Benjamin was commenting on in 1936, which proved capable of moral perversion and destruction, are now mirrored in the more recent growth of fake news and an emerging ideology distorted by political and commercial interests. The result, as is profoundly clear today, is confusion, disengagement and helplessness, and the rise of populist movements. This threat to storytelling has evolved and increased over time, more urgently repeating the question that concerned Benjamin, of whether this cultural practice of storytelling was fading from history. We turn now, therefore, to look at how the challenge to storytelling has impacted housebuilding, and whether a recovery of the capacity of buildings to tell stories might have a positive impact on communities and society.

The house as storyteller

Traditionally, British houses (by which we mean homes that predate the First World War) were built with the facility to record the lives of their inhabitants. This capacity for *remembrance* meant that they became an integral part of the occupants' life stories. In comparison to these older models, much of the housing built in the United Kingdom since the Second World War—since the age of so-called "homes for heroes"—appears somewhat two-dimensional and characterless, with the result that less than one in four consumers would choose a home built in the last decade (Banham et al., 2012, p. 7). Bricks are (sometimes) still bricks. Windows and doors are recognisable, if derivative, descendants. What, then, is at the heart of the difference between contemporary British housing and its older brethren, that conditions many of us to yearn for picturesque historical pastiche? There are a number of pragmatic reasons for this. A simple home built of the very stuff on which it stands is surrounded by resources for future adaptation. When construction is not complex, for homeowners the act of making changes is correspondingly straightforward. When a terraced street is fashioned by constructors within the community, that community retains the skills and capacity to effect change. When homes are built of materials that their inhabitant is familiar with, the fabric of the building can be worked and reworked by successive generations of occupants, adapted and imprinted by communities in flux.

Contemporary construction is undoubtedly more complex than it was a hundred years ago. Most modern building fabric is a layered affair of interdependent products, many of which we have no reason to encounter in our day-to-day lives. This technical complexity places multiple barriers between occupants and the act of adapting the physical fabric of their dwelling. For many, it has become difficult, if not impossible, to make the sort of marks that some would describe as making the difference between "house" and "home".

A more extreme contrast appears to have developed between the popular obsession with opulent, indulgent mega-houses that stimulate envy amongst the general public, versus the diminished quality and banality of the houses currently being built for present and future generations. Public dissatisfaction in the "product" of contemporary housebuilders is evidenced in numerous surveys and polls, which typically reference "lack of character" as a primary failing (Finlay et al., 2012, p. 11). A journey across the country by train reveals estate after estate of joyless, mass-produced homes bereft of local distinctiveness and stripped of any richness of character that might stem from materiality, form or any other aspect of design. They surround every town and every city. By constructing homes whose character is so diminished, it seems almost inevitable that their storytelling capacity is equally reduced.

In the search for a solution to the housing crisis, the construction industry has tended to focus on physical metrics. How much will a home cost to build? How much energy will it consume? How much carbon can be locked away in its fabric? If we are to build *good* housing, we also need to concern ourselves with some less quantifiable metrics. Perhaps one such measure is the ability of a home to record

the passing of time, to tell the story of the people who have dwelt within its walls; its capacity for remembrance.

Housing in the UK: a story of lost remembrance

In Welsh folklore, the narrative of *tŷ unnos*, or "one night house", describes how a newly married couple who built a house on common land between one sundown and the subsequent sunrise would inherit the land within an axe-throw of their new home. This story speaks of learned skills and local materials, and the facility to draw on the strength and support of a community network. However, it also speaks of a resistance to the housing "offer" provided by those who control land and housing provision.

Prior to the nineteenth century, the skills and materials involved in the construction of homes were relatively commonplace. Construction was "loose fit", meaning that precision was not a prerequisite of performance. Materials were sourced locally where possible, and regional variations were commonplace. Community spaces such as churches and schools were often funded and built by the people who would benefit from their use, embedding skills and experience in the community. As a result, for the most part, households were capable of adapting, extending and, where necessary, creating new dwellings to suit their changing needs or expectations. At a time when most people wrote and therefore recorded relatively little, the home can be considered as a chronicle of the occupants' lives. Through an ongoing process of change, extension and adaptation, the house told the story of the household and their predecessors.

Inevitably, industrialisation changed the landscape of domestic construction. As people relocated from the countryside to new homes in towns and cities, small-scale construction businesses became more commonplace. One such constructor might build a street, or occasionally a neighbourhood. For the most part, these homes were still built using locally available materials, albeit with a greater degree of standardisation. Regional variations remained widespread, and local character evolved as a product of practices that related to local conditions, contexts and traditions.

> Vernacular houses continued to be built into the nineteenth century . . . Then, as living standards rose, as pattern books and architectural journals encouraged particular fashions and styles, and as canals and railways made mass-produced building materials more widely available, even the homes of the poor approximated to a national standard and shed most of their regional characteristics.
>
> *(Historic England, 2017 p. 15)*

Throughout the nineteenth century, standardisation of materials and design became increasingly widespread. Rapid increases in the scale of and pace of industrialisation transformed existing towns and cities into bigger, more crowded, more dangerous, more polluted places. In response, the Garden City movement

galvanised the exodus of the middle classes (newly created and increasingly affluent) back out towards the countryside. The architects of the Garden City movement understood that contemporary urban centres were unfit for inhabitation, but that rural living was untenable, so they created a place in between. The *Tudor Walters Report* and subsequent *Housing, Town Planning & co. Act 1919* established suburban layouts with community centres and integrated workplaces, and pattern-book house types with an "appropriate" character, in keeping with the identity of the place they were making. In place of unique settlements that had developed iteratively using a distinctive local language, these new self-contained communities were designed out of context with "ready-made" stories, but with no guarantee that these stories would suit the prospective inhabitants.

The interwar housing boom began a long tradition of low-density neighbourhood building at an accelerated pace.[7] By selectively adopting some principles of the Garden City movement but ignoring others, the semi-detached home proliferated as an icon of leafy suburbia, "where the smooth wide road passes between miles of semi-detached bungalows, all with their little garages, wireless sets, their periodicals about film stars, their swimming costumes and tennis rackets and dancing shoes" (Priestley, 1934, p. 401).

It was around the same time that the Modern architecture movement attempted to shake off traditional vernacular ornament, through the propagation of the *International Style*. The vocabulary of modernity was to be reduced, the language globally relevant—capable of crossing climatic, cultural and social divides, and celebrating the spirit of mass production:

> We must create the mass-production spirit.
> The spirit of constructing mass-production houses.
> The spirit of living in mass-production houses.
> The spirit of conceiving mass-production houses.
> If we eliminate from our hearts and minds all dead concepts in regard to the houses and look at the question from a critical and objective point of view, we shall arrive at the "House-Machine", the mass-production house, healthy (and morally so, too) and beautiful in the same way that the working tools and instruments which accompany our existence are beautiful.
>
> *(Le Corbusier, 1927, p. 228)*

Corbusier's view that the social quality of architecture derived from its production persisted throughout the modernist era. However, such a view is reliant on the designer's ability to fully conceive of the social life of the building, and to translate it into spatial or material constructs—a particularly difficult challenge when designing buildings whose patterns of use are as open ended and unpredictable as housing.

Post-war attempts to densify housing and embrace modern methods of construction established a vocabulary that included a broader palette of materials, repetitive modular forms and new forms of housing, including deck access and high-rise

schemes. However, to paraphrase T. S. Eliot, a universal style is no style at all,[8] and this new language was considered indecipherable by many. Compounded by technological failures, many of the less traditional housing estates that were erected during this period have since been reduced to rubble.[9] In their wake stand the same bland, repetitive, suburban reflections of the Garden City movement that now encircle most of our towns and cities.

Martin Parr's *Boring Postcards* (Parr, 1999) derives great joy from a collection of images that intersperse mundane place-making with idiosyncratic design in post-war Britain. Despite the fact that most of the places captured are entirely ordinary—high streets, office blocks, factory halls, bridges, service stations and suburban homes—they are distinctly of their time and place, and offer "a commentary on British architecture, social life and identity" (Martin Parr Foundation). It is notable that in comparison to the postcards captured in Parr's small book, the typical offering of today's housebuilders appears, for the most part, characterless and stripped of any local reference or potential for *desire*. In the context of a perceived failure of both new-style and no-style, the vocabulary that most of our homes now have for storytelling is extraordinarily limited.

Today, three quarters of the UK population accept life in suburbia.[10] Typically, suburban housing estates are close-boarded monocultures of low-density housing, inhospitable to community spirit and derivative in character. Located on the outskirts of towns and cities, or increasingly in semi-rural locations, they rarely include community space or amenities, which enforces dependence on cars for any exchange with the world outside. Through the pursuit of efficiencies of construction and relentless value engineering, reductions in size, quality and richness have pervaded every aspect of most "modern" housing. Charmless interiors, two-car garages, stick-on porches and PVC glazing bars leave residents spatially, aesthetically and experientially unsatisfied, clamouring for grander designs or for the qualities exhibited by the Victorian housing stock (Finlay et al., 2012).

Why must people be forced to make homes from houses they do not desire? The reasons are many, but potentially a critical factor is the disconnect between the *making* of these houses and the act of *living* in them. Communities are now rarely involved in the construction of housing, most of which is built by a small number of nationally operating housebuilders. During the latter decades of the twentieth century, many locally operating builders failed to adapt to changes in planning law or were subsumed by the rapid growth of the small number of nationally operating housebuilders, and a significant proportion of the remaining smaller housebuilders disappeared as a result of the more recent recession (House Building Federation, 2017).[11] Today in 2018, economies of scale, market forces and slim profit margins constrict opportunities for such businesses to exist, and coerce our continued acceptance of the derivative product offered by the few operators building houses at a national scale.

If we turn to Wales for a more regional perspective, "the majority of residential developments in Wales provide little to celebrate. Placeless developments with mono uses, focused on car movements and lacking any connection to the

qualities of the site or indeed to the existing settlement, are all too common" (Heal, 2016, p. 8). These national *volume* housebuilders are large, commercial organisations, driven by an economic agenda: profit margins are greatest on large, flat plots of land where significant quantities of housing can be delivered to a standardised specification with a minimum of *abnormals* (a term used to describe the costs associated with anything out of the ordinary). Such parcels of land are not abundant, reducing the rate at which new housing is constructed, and limiting the locations in which it is delivered. By working almost exclusively on larger housing estates, the imperative to work contextually is diminished. The relationship between new and existing is weakened, if it exists at all. Local character and distinctiveness are diminished or, in many cases, abandoned in favour of economies of scale.

When delivering housing at scale, commercial decision-making promotes repetition, which implies mass production and standardisation. Anything that might add character or uniqueness, anything that might talk about the specifics of a particular place or people, adds cost and is therefore to be avoided. Because almost all housing is designed and built for an unknown and unpredictable end user, the priority to maximise market value further enforces the proliferation of uniformity, in place of the variety that would arise while delivering homes for known clients—real people, each with their own particular needs, wants and dreams. In the design of many such estates, land is chopped up into house-sized parcels by tall, silent boundaries of timber fencing. Meandering access roads are lined with sterile margins of grass and concrete. Dedicated car-parking spaces lead directly to close-boarded rear gates. This compartmentalisation of neighbourhood diminishes community by eliminating the potential for verbal or even visual conversations from household to household, or architecturally from one home to another. The design of this housing could be considered antagonistic to the idea of community. Or perhaps it is the diminishment of community that has created anti-social housing that sustains itself in a vicious cycle.

And what about the facility of these homes to be imprinted upon, to record and re-tell the lives of their occupiers? For reasons that are not entirely clear, many volume housebuilders resolutely employ construction methods, techniques and materials that date back hundreds of years. At a time when the rate of innovation has never been higher, and information on contemporary and emerging techniques has never been more available (via the internet), it is unfortunate that most of our homes are built using skill sets that are outdated, often in short supply and difficult or expensive to acquire.

To meet contemporary performance standards with traditional construction methods requires complex combinations of materials, which perform properly only when assembled in a precise and particular way. This degree of technical specificity makes construction a specialist activity and creates a very real barrier that prevents most occupants from effecting changes to the physical fabric of their homes. Increasingly pervasive building regulations, insurance requirements and warranties further compound this disconnect, with the result that homeowners find it easier

to relocate than adapt their home to suit their changing needs. In addition to curtailing the potential of desire in a Deleuzian sense to develop between dwelling and dweller, this self-fulfilling cycle of relocation curtails the potential for any bonds that might otherwise develop between occupiers and their neighbours, and reinforces the need for generic, unspecific, characterless homes.

This disconnect between ourselves and the making of our houses, which makes it difficult for us to adapt our homes to suit our needs, leads to an architecture that cannot mark the passing of time, carry memories or contribute meaningfully to our lives beyond any compatibility offered by the original conception of the designer. In short, housing that has capitulated to the threats to storytelling identified in modernity by Benjamin above. In desperation to leave marks on the spaces they occupy, many people resort to decoration and ornament that is only capable of responding to the most superficial levels of desire. This drives the current obsession with disposable interiors and "stick-on" character, which, by its very nature, adds to the ubiquity of contemporary dwellings. When our belongings are packed up for relocation to the next off-the-shelf house, we leave no trace of our story behind.

A fairy tale ending

> The first true storyteller is, and will continue to be, the teller of fairy tales.
> (Benjamin, 1968, p. 102)

As has been argued, housing in the UK has lost its capacity for both *remembrance* and *desire* through a diminished facility to tell stories. Without this facility, strong bonds will not develop between dwelling and dweller, and we will continue to make homes that do not satisfy, nurture quality of life or help to build community. Worse still is the possibility that this loss of storytelling equates to a lost facility to dream of better places and envisage better futures, equating to a decline in the *poesis* of desire. The House of Lords' report (2016), *Building Better Places*, echoes this concern. While it identifies the importance of a focus on the delivery of housing at scale, it cautions "that the overall emphasis on speed and quantity of housing supply appears to threaten place-making itself, along with sustainable planning for the long-term and the delivery of high quality" (2016, p. 3). What could be more vital in the long-term making of neighbourhoods than the facility to embed stories, to turn houses into homes that will be loved and cherished?

Wales has a unique piece of legislation—the *Wellbeing of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015*. It demands that a holistic, sustainable, long-term perspective be taken on any future actions by public bodies. If satisfaction with our homes is to be part of a sustainable future, how might we make housing that is desired, that possesses this capacity for remembrance? And if we do build housing that responds to the needs of occupants and their communities, uncompromised by commercial interests, might such neighbourhoods not foster a stronger society and clearer sense

of citizenship? What if our houses, in their design and their construction, attended to the things people instinctively find lacking and hunger for . . .

> . . . all of a sudden they found themselves in front of a little house. The bird perched on the roof, and there was something strange about the look of that roof. In fact—
>
> "It's made of cake!" said Hansel.
>
> And as for the walls—
>
> "They're made of bread!" said Gretel.
>
> And as for the windows, they were made of sugar.
>
> The poor children were so hungry that they didn't even think of knocking at the door and asking permission. Hansel broke off a piece of roof, and Gretel knocked through a window, and they sat down right where they were and started to eat at once.[12]

The story of Hansel and Gretel functions as an allegorical tale of contemporary housing. Hansel and Gretel, abandoned and homeless, are shown a house they desire but will never own. Its sweetness plays on their immediate desire, without being able to satisfy the real hunger brought on by their poverty. However, the house is no more than a lure to satisfy the real desire of the witch, to enslave and consume the children (she herself takes no interest in the house and its gingerbread). After the witch has been overthrown, the children do not remain in the superficial candy cottage, but return instead to their family home with the witch's ill-gotten wealth.

The notion of a home nourishing its occupants is not a new one. More than a century ago, William Morris described a *living connection* between homes and their occupants. Forty years ago, Christian Norberg-Schulz articulated the sense of belonging that comes from relating to a recognised environment, to feeling "at home" (Norberg-Schulz, 1999, p. 22). Perhaps the key to reinstating this connection is not the design itself, so much as the way the home is delivered. Perhaps it is not the constituent materials themselves, so much as the manner in which they are assembled. Perhaps the loss of desire and capacity for remembrance stem not so much from what is built as from *how* it is built and *who* builds it.

Storytelling, as described by Benjamin, operates at the local level. Its aim is to make sense of life and community in context, and to pass on learned wisdom. It "does not aim to convey the pure essence of the thing, like information or a report. It sinks the thing into the life of the storyteller, in order to bring it out of him again. Thus traces of the storyteller cling to the story the way the handprints of the potter cling to the clay vessel" (1968, pp. 91–92). Storytelling, above all, is about *communication* and is always personal. It is changed by (and changes) those who are listening. Storytelling aims to build social cohesion and help people reflect upon their own lives. Moreover, storytelling is intended to harness the desire of the individual and community in imagining a better future. While Benjamin warned in 1968 that storytelling was threatened by the loss of community, the individual and

communication, that threat has only intensified today. This challenges the ways in which society is able to express desire and imagine a future.

The same threats appear to have afforded most recently built neighbourhoods a generic, placeless language. Stripped of any contextuality, much of the housing built in the UK since the 1960s has a vocabulary of pastiche, of determined historic reference without underlying constructional rigour; a partial language without a story. What is needed is the reverse; homes that are rich in story and memory, rooted in place, with the potential to be imprinted with the lives of their occupants. The diminished capacity for remembrance and desire would, reinstated, itself make housing that is not simply accommodation, but itself part of the story of a life, a family, a community.

Elsewhere in Europe, alternative approaches to housing are commonplace, many of which encourage people, and prospective communities, to invest personally in the construction of their own neighbourhoods, increasing capacity for the building of new homes. Closer to home, oftentimes at a small scale or a local level, alternative pathways for housing—historically marginalised in the UK—are also emerging (see Green and Forster, 2016, for a review). These alternative approaches, and others as yet undeveloped, promise to deliver the housing that communities and individuals desire, through more personal, intimate, place-specific perspectives. Moreover, the connections that are forged between maker, inhabitant and dwelling should ensure that these houses are not static, but responsive, adaptable environments that can both absorb and narrate the stories of the souls who seek shelter within their walls, expressing and moulding their desires, their hopes and dreams. After all, there is no single way to tell a fairy tale; *Rhodopis* becomes *The Little Glass Slipper* becomes *Cinderella* becomes *Pretty Woman*. Such stories adapt in the telling, to maintain the power of their meaning, and retain relevance to the place and the people involved:

> The fairy tale is in a perpetual state of becoming and alteration. To keep to one version or one translation alone is to put robin redbreast in a cage.
>
> *(Pullman, 2013, p. xix)*

Conclusion

Memory is understood by Ron Eyerman as a psychological map providing orientation, sense of belonging and identity, enabling us to decipher the surrounding world (Eyerman, 2004, p. 161). Biographies and narratives within the collective memory bring communities together in both history and place. It follows, then, that loss of the capacity for memory should lead to loss of identity and social meaning. In an increasingly interconnected and homogeneous world, it is all too easy to lose sense of the importance of individuality, subjectivity and sense of self. Occasionally, one may be reminded that while many people enjoy having a part to play in a wider community, difference, uniqueness and stimulation are also of value. Many people are teeming with creativity, with the desire to express and imprint

their own identity in ways that may be small or big. With that comes a desire for opportunities for self-expression that take them beyond style and ornament. Equally, many people look to mark the passing of time, to make their future in a place that belongs to them and acknowledges their past, and to be open to futures as yet unimagined; a trail of breadcrumbs leading into the forest. If the built fabric that surrounds them is incapable of change (or of being changed), it is constraining (rather than nurturing) the natural desire to create, adapt and remember. But by bringing personal and shared stories into housebuilding we unlock the inherent capacity for desire and memory in our homes, bringing to life the stories they will tell future generations, and acknowledging the universal desire to live happily ever after . . .

Notes

1 Kevin Vanhoozer gives a condensed account of the importance of story and the turn to narrative in philosophy and theology in "Once more into the borderlands: the way of wisdom in philosophy and theology after the 'Turn to Drama'" (2007: 31–54).
2 This bringing together of creativity, story and the social environment is often a function of studies of mythology. Bronislaw Malinowski, for example, writes: "An intimate connection exists between the word, the mythos, the sacred tales of a tribe, on the one hand, and their ritual acts, their moral deeds, their social organization, and even their practical activities, on the other" (1974, p. 96).
3 Welby comments that "the purpose of housing [should be] understood as creating communities and not merely building accommodation", and that "if you are to build more with less, you naturally cut everything that doesn't increase the output of houses, especially the prioritisation of community" (2018, pp. 128, 137).
4 It should perhaps be noted that while there are many classic fairy tales that deal with the threat of overwhelming and uncontrolled desire, there are also those that deal with the dangers of repressed desire, not least the subject of Benjamin's discussion of storytelling, Nikolai Leskov, in his fairytale-esque "The Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk" (Leskov, 2013, pp. 1––4).
5 Benjamin's chief example is the writer Leskov and so written narratives are not precluded. Terry Eagleton notes Benjamin's refusal to distinguish between writing and voice in both conversation and writing (2009, pp. 7–8).
6 Social critiques abound through the twentieth-century, especially from the political left, for example, Adorno and Horkheimer's *Dialectic of enlightenment* (1999), Roland Barthes' *Mythologies* (1993) and Guy Debord's *The society of the spectacle* (2002).
7 See Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government data: https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/english-housing-survey
8 'A world culture which was simply a *uniform* culture would be no culture at all. We should have a humanity de-humanised. It would be a nightmare' (Eliot, 1962, p. 62).
9 In the 1950s, to combat some of the worst housing conditions in the UK, Glasgow Corporation created the Hutchesontown/Gorbals Comprehensive Development Area. New low and high-density housing replaced 62 acres of slums, schools and shops, and included 400 new dwellings delivered in the form of tower blocks. Hutchesontown C was described as The Hanging Gardens of the Gorbals, a reference to the gallery gardens running throughout the buildings. The first residents arrived in June 1965, but the accommodation proved difficult for the Corporation to maintain and their condition deteriorated steadily. They were demolished in 1993.
10 In 2010, suburban and rural (which tends to follow suburban patterns) residential amounted for 72 per cent of the English housing stock, not including villages or hamlets. (Source: English Housing Survey, Communities and Local Government CLG 2010)

11 According to NHBC data, between 1977 and 2015 the number of active small builders diminished by 80 per cent, while the number of large housebuilders increased by 8 per cent (House Building Federation, 2017, p. 16)
12 Philip Pullman, "Hansel and Gretel" (2013)

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3

INSIDE THE BACKSIDE

On labour and infrastructure of the casino lobby

Hannes Frykholm

Introduction

This chapter considers the production of desire inside and behind the lobby of Wynn casino in Las Vegas. I use Jean Baudrillard's writing on atmosphere to discuss how the experience of the casino entrance is based on an atmosphere of harmony that is not immediately associated with gambling (Baudrillard, 1996). With this approach, I want to point to how the production of desire in the casino must be read against the labour and infrastructure required to maintain its appearance. What may at first appear as a natural atmosphere—the harmonious garden of the casino lobby—is at a closer look an environment produced by repeated maintenance work and chains of logistics. This is labour designed to be invisible, located in the enclosed backside of the casino, or in the main entrance during the early hours of dawn, when most (although not all) visitors are sleeping. As I discuss in the end of this chapter, the traces of such labour can cause instability to the production of desire in the casino when exposed.

In order to analyse the relationship between the lobby and the production sites of the backside, I describe four observations from Wynn casino, made on site during three days in March 2015. Each observation represents a particular time and space where the production of the lobby atmosphere can be observed. At 5 pm the harmonious atmosphere in the casino lobby appears as an experience to consume in its full extent. At 5 am the maintenance labour of the lobby is visible for the few who are still awake. At 2 pm the following day I consider the work of the backside, the hidden sections of labour inside the casino. Finally, at 4 pm, I observe Sands Avenue, where the raw materials and residues of the interiors are part of a logistic chain, and where the urban impact of the same production is visible.

Baudrillard and atmosphere

Published first time in 1968, as an investigation that prefigures his later writing on simulacra, Jean Baudrillard's *The System of Objects* considers atmosphere in a way that differs from how the term is often used within contemporary architectural writing influenced by phenomenology (Zumthor, 2006). Baudrillard moves away from an essentialist definition of atmosphere, towards an understanding of the term as a socially and economically driven system of signs. The stable relationships between human affections and well-known, intimate objects of a past domestic world—what Baudrillard refers to as *Stimmung*—have perished under capitalism. Today, atmospheres are no longer the stable domestic order of *Stimmung*, but a way to organise every single commodity into a "cultural system of signs" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 41). Atmosphere allows for objects to be given a connotation detached from their original function, and operate as signs of ideas that can be consumed. A wristwatch for example, Baudrillard argues, not only displays time, it also allows for time to be partitioned, appropriated and consumed as something belonging to the owner of the watch (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 94).

For Baudrillard, emotions are not radiating out of encounters with the universal qualities of certain objects, but are responses integrated into a system of connotations. This system integrates the individual's libidinal investment—channelled through choices between seemingly personalised commodities—into an economy of production and consumption. Baudrillard's argument is not the denial that humans experience objects by senses, rather that such experience never happens without an economic pretext. What his reading allows then, is to elevate the experience of atmosphere above the subject-grounded narrowness of phenomenology, and relate it to mechanisms for production of desire within contemporary capitalism.

In Baudrillard's reading, atmosphere is the organisation of *objects*—this term is understood as everything from cars to furnishing to colours to building materials—into a system of cultural connotations. The consumption economy has removed previous origin and identity of objects and replaced them with nostalgia for the past and for everything "natural". Innate affinities have evaporated. There are no longer ethics or traditions that accompany specific objects. Everything is levelled out. Polyurethane plastic, rococo furniture, fluorescent lamps and Persian rugs, are all located within the same "unrestricted combinatorial system" of contemporary capitalism (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 25). Stripped of their uniqueness and history, objects are abstract signifiers, or *components*, possible to combine in endless ways. Stone is no more or less "authentic" than concrete, Baudrillard argues, but, as part of a "cultural ideology" of nobility and purity, it is given a patina of history, which conceals its origin in the same industrial production system (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 39). Teak is another example of the transition from solid material to abstract signs. Through its usage, teak is no longer present in space as a warm and natural matter, but as the *sign* of such qualities. Its value is in the atmospheric display of a quality, rather than in the presence of this quality in itself (Baudrillard, 1996, 39,

footnote 19). What is consumed then, is the *idea of a relationship* between this object and particular qualities (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 201).

Baudrillard argues that the consumption of such ideas has obfuscated the way objects construct and produce the world, so that everything appears as the result of an "automated nature" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 116). Automatism produces an autonomy of the object itself, where the human subject is turned into a spectator, distanced from internal workings of an object, but captured by the esoteric logic of something that appears to work for itself. The automatism of objects, Baudrillard notes, is experienced as "a basic desire, as the *imaginary truth of the object*, in comparison with which the object's structure and concrete function leave us cold" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 111).

If desire for Gilles Deleuze is a vital force of differentiation, connection and production, Baudrillard takes a more circumscribed approach to its possibilities and effects (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983). Desire, understood by Baudrillard as a utopian and imaginative energy, has been relegated to an unconscious level of the mind, where it exists "forever chewing over an arrested discourse" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 60). There is no longer an autonomous force of desire outside the consumption of signs. For Baudrillard, desire under capitalism has been neutralised by atmospheres in which the relationships between humans, objects and other humans are interchangeable, functional and predictable (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 43). In that sense, desire and its absence, is a central theme in *The System of Objects*. It is in the loss of this energy that Baudrillard identifies the repressive structure of contemporary consumer society.

Approaching the casino, I want to keep Baudrillard's critique in mind, as a way to think about what is required for the production of a controlled form of desire, or atmosphere. To answer this question, it is necessary to investigate *who* and *what* produces atmosphere in the casino lobby, and how this production is intertwined with spatial organisation. I study these relationships in the four observations below, without claiming to map them fully. First, however, I want to introduce the protagonist and creator behind Wynn casino.

Introducing Steve Wynn in 30 seconds

It takes four quick shots from the air to establish the scene. First the camera moves past one of the gables, as the hot afternoon sun is mirrored in the bronze-dyed glass panels of a curtain wall. Second, a close-up of a concave facade in the same material, in which the distorted but recognisable reflections of Las Vegas's skyline is outlined against desert and mountain. Third, a perspective from a distance shows the building in full view; a tall, slender, curved cuboid, elevated at the northern tip. Fourth, a close-up of an autograph-like sign placed on the top end of the facade, spelling "Wynn".

After this the camera comes to a halt. The next frame looks at a man from slightly below. He stands against a clear blue sky with no horizon or ground visible behind him. He is wearing a dark brown polo, black chinos and a dark blazer.

His left hand is placed on the hip. A slight breeze is moving one sleeve of the blazer. He is well groomed and tanned, not uptight or austere. He appears calm yet focused. He smiles reassuringly as he talks into the camera and gestures downwards with the right-hand index finger. Then suddenly (as he stops talking and tilts his head on the side), the camera is pulled back and flown out along a deep curve. Within seconds the trajectory reveals the man standing on the top of the building from the opening shots. The sudden shift of focus as the camera moves away gives a mild sensation of vertigo. Before the screen goes black the contour of the man is nothing more than a black dot against the brightly shining bronze facade.

Aired during the 2005 North American Super Bowl, to promote the opening of "Wynn Casino and Hotel" in Las Vegas, the 30-second-long advertisement places the owner and CEO of the casino, Steve Wynn, in the centre of action. He stands on top of his own building without visible safety gears or protective railing. Balancing on the ledge, he is only one step away from certain death. He appears undisturbed by this fact, radiating confidence in the stability of his posture, and in his building. This casual and at the same time death-defiant manner displays an attitude congenial with the logic of capitalism. He is an entrepreneur, and risk-taking is part of the game. If played well this game produces immense wealth. Standing here, 190 metres above the Nevada desert, Steve Wynn is the embodiment of such success. What Wynn is trying to convey from his position at the top of the tower, is a sense of stability. His calm bodily appearance is part of a chain of carefully constructed signs—objects, materials and spaces—that together produce the sensation of natural harmony inside the casino. The lobby is the main space for this constructed atmosphere, a space where the visitor forgets about the limited resources of the outside. The arrangement and maintenance of such a system of signs does not happen by itself. The easiness in which Wynn gestures downward with one hand stands in direct contrast to the myriad of activities underneath him. The casino is a place of labour. Staff provide the visitors with directions, serve food and drinks, hand out casino tokens and cards, clean the floors, hotel rooms and furniture, maintain the plants and decoration and repair what is broken. They are the producers of the experience as a commodity, and their continuous labour is what sustains the interior environment. They uphold the structure necessary for a protagonist like Wynn, but they are invisible from his point of view, looking out over Las Vegas.

Wynn casino is not the first, nor the last, of Steve Wynn's many real estate gambles. Over the last four decades he has been credited with establishing "a new resort image" (Klein, 2004, p. 337) for Las Vegas, offering family-friendly entertainment flavoured by luxury consumption, art exhibitions and high-end restaurants. The role of gambling is downplayed in the advertisement and spatial organisation of this type of space. Wynn casino is primarily marketed as a luxurious hotel. If the slot machines and card tables held a central position in older casinos, to the extent that Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown in *Learning from Las Vegas* noted that "the lobby is the gambling room", the entrance of Wynn casino is an attraction in itself (Venturi et al., 1977, p. 49). In this updated version of the casino, the construction

of a distinct entrance, a lobby turned landscape, is more important than luring the gamer into a maze of slot machines. Although the contrast between the dark gambling area and the bright lobby is still obvious, the absolute distinction between casino interior and Strip exterior, as identified in Venturi's and Scott Brown's famous book, is no longer there. The lobby of Wynn casino is no longer part of the gambling hall, but a bright and green space with exotic plants and sculptures encircling the walkways. Amplified and externalised into urban form, the lobby today is an interstitial space that prepares the visitor for entering.

Observation 1: 5 pm in the lobby

A visitor approaching the Wynn casino and hotel at 5 pm, on a regular weekday in March, will notice a crowd of people moving in and around the complex. A park-like landscape of varying depth runs along the southwest edge of the site. Walkways meander from the pavement into the property. The casino building itself is not immediately accessible. Facing the junction of Las Vegas Boulevard and Sands Avenue is a small pond and an artificial mountain covered by trees. Further in, a waterfall drops from the mountain into another pond, connected to the first via a small canal. Standing on a bridge over the canal visitors stop and take pictures of the architectural scenography. The main building, accessible via this bridge, is a hybrid of a nineteenth-century exhibition greenhouse, a medieval city wall, a Parisian arcade and a contemporary North American mall: large white cornices, miniature campaniles in red stone, decorated friezes, cast iron detailing and beige windowless walls with luxurious designer brands. The two main entrances are on each side of the southwest corner of the site. Approaching Wynn casino by car, driving east on Sands Avenue, the south entrance is an ornamented gate leading into the same park system. Driveways bifurcate to different parts of the complex and, as they do, they pass turf islands covered with shrubs, flower arrangements and pine trees. Taxis and private cars circulate this intentional labyrinth, where clearly displayed signs prevent any real disorientation. Traffic is intense but not congested. White lampposts designed to look like upscaled interior floor lamps circumscribe the edges of the driveway. A contemporary version of the 1960s pop hit "I'm Into Something Good" fills the park and the pavements. At first it appears to stream out of thin air. On a closer inspection, the sound is coming from underneath the shrubs. The speakers, mushroom-shaped objects of dark green plastic, blend perfectly into the foliage.

After making a left turn, the visitor arrives at the entrance to the building. It is defined by a large *porte-cochère* with a span broad enough for four cars side-by-side. Walking through the glass doors of the south entrance, the visitor enters the central lobby of the casino, a rectangular space oriented along a north–south axis, approximately 120 metres long and 24 metres wide (see Figure 3.1). This is a space with few walls. White columns and large plants spread out over a vast marble floor. Everything is immaculately clean. Every visible handle and railing is polished, every floral ceiling frieze is without traces of dust, every floor and carpet

FIGURE 3.1 Plan central lobby, Wynn casino, Las Vegas.

Legend: 1 North entrance. 2 South entrance. 3 Entrance carpet. 4 Garden plant beds. 5 Floral sculptures. 6 Lobby bar. 7 Gaming zone. 8 Shopping. 9 Restaurant.

Source: Hannes Frykholm.

is free from stains. Immediately inside the doors is an oval carpet approximately 6 metres in width and 10 metres in length, shifting in crimson red and purple. Recessed to align with the marble floor it is comfortable and smooth to walk on, not too soft, not too coarse and no edges to stumble on. In the moment of entering, this carpet—highlighted by bright ceiling spotlights—produces an entrance resembling a stage, where the visitor appears in front of an audience of tourists, casino staff and habitual gamblers. There is a lingering scent of flowers and perfume—the latter possibly from the Dior boutique to the left of the entrance. In the background, there are the bright colours and cacophony of the slot machines, but they appear distanced.

Straight ahead a walkway under a glass roof connects the north and south entrances to the lobby. Defining the edges of the walkway are four large plant beds, each 30 metres long and 10 metres wide (see Figure 3.2). The beds are covered with greenery: 13 full-grown ficus trees, two garden sculptures and a variety of flowers and plants. The two floral sculptures—a hot air balloon placed on the north side and a mechanically rotating carousel visible when entering from the south—are 6-metre-high structures of steel and plaster, covered in petals of shifting colours. Speakers similar to those in the driveway sit every 2 metres along the edge of the garden beds, well hidden under the shrubs. Placed with an interval of 3 metres along the edges facing the central walkway, 30 centimetres-high brass lamps

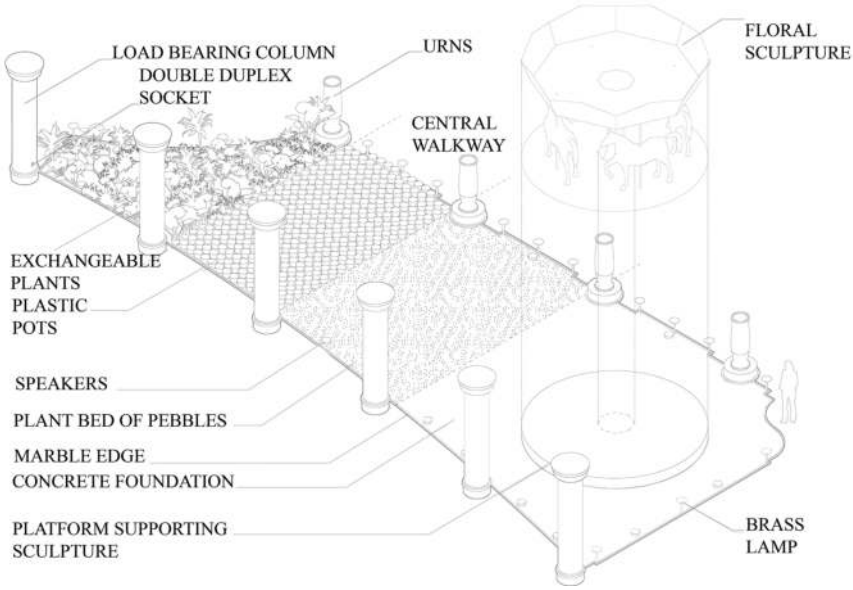

FIGURE 3.2 Isometric drawing, garden plant bed, Wynn casino lobby, Las Vegas.

Source: Hannes Frykholm.

cast a soft light on the lower part of the greenery. Floodlights placed on the ground illuminate the trees and flower sculptures from below. Urns that are 2 metres high are placed every 5 metres on the inside of the plant beds, towards the central walkway. On the outside of the plant beds there are 12 columns on each side. The columns are clad in a diagonal mosaic pattern of travertine limestone and have a rounded base and capital. Together with the thick leaves of the plants they form a semi-transparent boundary between the central walkway, the shopping promenade to the west and the main gambling area to the east with slot machines in groups of four or five placed back-to-back. Tourists move slowly through the central lobby. Occasionally a staff member sweeps the floor with a broom or picks up litter, but for most of the time, work is non-existent here.

There are however traces of work, even in the daytime. A grounded electric duplex socket in white plastic sits on a column next to one of the plant beds on the north side of the central lobby. Hidden among plants, it is a small and inconspicuous object, out of character in the composition of the lavish scenography. Located three centimetres from the top of the column's marble base, the socket faces the shrub and is invisible from the walkway between the green beds and the gambling area. The socket appears like an object outside of the design scheme of the casino, like an architectural afterthought. Its location seems haphazard and bears little consideration to the grout lines in the tile pattern. It is a strange thing to discover in a lobby where every single surface seems to be carefully designed,

sparkling, glossy and polished. Judging by the worn look of its plastic case it has been used frequently.

The socket is one of the few visible parts of the labour in the lobby during daytime. It reveals that the seemingly solid column is, at least in part, a hollowed-out shaft for electric wiring, perhaps also allowing for other vertical connections of infrastructure. On the south side of the lobby another column has a similar output, this one also with a small white plastic box that looks like a thermostatic sensor. The 24 columns in the central lobby are decorated, load-bearing objects, but they are also connected to an infrastructural system. The socket, and others placed in similar locations, are traces of the unspoken and invisible organisation of maintenance labour in the casino lobby.

Reading this observation with the help of Baudrillard highlights the casino entrance as the organisation of a series of spaces, things and materials—what he refers to as objects—into the atmosphere of a forest grove or a garden. For Baudrillard there is nothing universally cognitive or pre-verbal about the objects that construct atmosphere. The world of interior design is one "produced—mastered, manipulated, inventoried, controlled; a world, in short, that has to be constructed" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 29). The thick leaves of plants, the marble floors, the limestone columns, the lights and the sounds are all part of a system of signs where the visitor is encouraged to consume ideas about this environment as natural.

Observation 2: 5 am in the lobby

A visitor approaching the Wynn casino and hotel at 5 am will notice the absence of the crowd that filled this place 12 hours ago. Passing through the ornamented gates from Sands Avenue and moving along the curved driveways, there is no visible traffic. The oversized garden lamps still cast warm yellow light over the shrubs, but the expanding greyness of dawn is reducing the effect. Outdoor garden workers wearing reflective vests are trimming the bushes and cleaning the lawns of the labyrinth garden. An electric buggy, loaded with tools and branches, is parked on the kerb of one of the turf islands.

Save a lonely taxi idling in the lane closest to the doors, the *porte-cochère* is empty. A couple exit the casino, dragging their suitcases, to catch an early flight (or drive) out of Las Vegas. Walking through the glass doors once again, the lobby appears the same as yesterday. The crimson-coloured carpet and the bright ceiling spotlight are still there. The Dior store window on the left still displays its fashion. The flower carousel is intact. Yet, there is something different, at first noticeable only in subtle signs: There are chemical detergents in the air, carrying a strange undertone of toffee that mixes with the scent of flowers; a four-wheeled metal trolley on the right-hand side of the entrance holds stacks of yellow plastic cones with the text "Wet Floor/Piso Mojado"; the whirring sound of vacuum cleaners drowns out a contemporary jazz cover of "Somewhere over the Rainbow".

Although the crowd of yesterday afternoon has dispersed, the lobby is not empty. It holds another crowd. In the late night and early morning, this is a

workplace. The party is over and now the scraps of last night's dreams are swept into piles, carried away in plastic bags or wiped off. Maintenance workers populate the floors, crouch among the plants of the lobby garden and reach along walls and ceilings using ladders and elevators. They are all dressed in black or khaki-coloured shirts and black trousers, some wear white silk gloves, others tool belts, always with a name tag on the left chest. They form a murmuring crowd, detectable only in the slow observation of the lobby where they appear, one after another, against the sumptuous background.

On the left-hand side of the entrance a woman is leaning on an upright black vacuum cleaner with a long yellow cord wired around it and a plastic garbage bag hanging from the handle. She appears to be done with her work, or taking a short break while chatting with a porter standing guard by the carousel flower sculpture. The vacuum cleaner must be brought from where it is stored somewhere behind or beneath the lobby, it must be plugged into an electric socket, and, after the cleaning is done, it must be emptied of the collected dust and placed back into its storage space. The woman and her vacuum cleaner are part of a chain of acts to maintain the mirror-like shine of the floor.

Not far away another woman is polishing the brass railings of the elevated lobby bar using a cloth. She carefully works her way around the bar. Behind her in the shrubs of one of the garden beds a gardener is crouching down, almost disappearing in the leaves and flower arrangements. He is rearranging the garden in the fastest possible way. Old plants are lifted out and replaced with this week's selection waiting at a black transportation buggy placed next to the garden bed. Except for the ficus trees, all of the plants and flowers in the lobby are exchangeable (Blossom, 2014, p. 110). There is no common soil underneath the plants on the green beds. In their construction, the beds are concrete frames defined by a five centimetres-high marble edge and a bottom covered with a layer of pebbles, thick enough to balance any kind of pot or turf. Recessed a couple of centimetres below the main floor, this placeholder system is invisible once the plants are in place. All the greenery in the lobby, except the trees, grow in individual 15 centimetre-wide containers standing on the pebble-based bed. As plants are replaced with other plants, the green nuances of the garden gradually shift. On the opposite side of the lobby, close to the north entrance another man is cleaning and watering the plants with a red spiral hose connected to a mobile watering buggy, a black cylindrical tank placed vertically on two wheels. A third man is wiping the leaves of a big Monstera plant. A few minutes later he sweeps the floor around the plant with a broom.

At 7 am, as the plane carrying the couple with the suitcases has already taxied out on the runway and is floating on invisible jet streams 10,000 metres above the Nevada desert, the maintenance workforce of the Wynn casino seemingly evaporates into thin air. The noise of vacuum cleaners dies out, the water buggies and plants are pushed into underground storage areas, and the scissor elevator driven out to the backside. The transformation is instantaneous. Background music once again fills the lobby, the polished marble floor and brass railings multiply the light from above, and the garden forms a serene enclosure of fresh plants and flowers.

Only a few small traces, like the duplex socket on the lower part of a column, remind anyone who happens to look in that direction of what this space was ten minutes ago.

What is visible in the juxtaposition of column and electric socket is a separation in time between those who consume the harmony of the lobby and those who reset its order. These two groups have their distinct time-spaces on each side of 3 am. Before, the fluorescent promises of economic independency and sudden wealth, as the evening passes into night. Afterwards, the mundane chore of maintenance, as a new dawn breaks. Even as the maintenance labour evaporates from the lobby, it continues to exist in other parts of the casino, hidden from the sight of visitors.

What disappears when the night-time cleaning shift ends is not only an entire workforce, but a menagerie of what Baudrillard calls "vulgar objects" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 61): whirring machines with shining nozzles, yellow cords and cylindrical tubes; metal buggies carrying tools, plants and barrier posts; ladders on wheels expanding upwards by hydraulic force. These objects, and their users, are hidden from the consumers of atmosphere. Their role is to reconstruct the atmosphere, every night. They have no "functionality", only function, that is to say, they are unable to take on a secondary function as an abstracted item located within the "universal system of signs" (Baudrillard, 1996, p. 63). There is no commercially viable mood of harmony related to the sight of a scissor elevator or a portable garden water tank. These objects cannot be consumed as signs of atmosphere.

Observation 3: 2 pm in the Latour ballroom

A visitor to the Wynn casino and hotel, who happens to go astray into the depths of the casino, could accidentally enter the 65 by 85 metres large "Latour ballroom". Frequently used for corporate events and conventions, the hall is located at the south end of the casino complex, accessible from the lobby by a broad and lavishly decorated corridor. At 2 pm the ballroom is being prepared for the evening. There is a stage at one end of the hall. Groups of chairs and round tables have been arranged to cater for a large dinner. A few stacks of chairs, two green containers and a speaker are placed against one of the walls. There is no one around. At the opposite end of the ballroom, facing the main entrance, a double door is left wide open.

It is a door designed to be an invisible part of the wall. Each door swing measures 4.5 metres in height and almost 2 metres in width. The opening is wide enough for a truck to pass. The side of the door facing the interior is clad in dark red wallpaper, plaster ornaments and a white baseboard that match perfectly with the rest of the wall. There are no handles on this side. Once closed the door is hard to spot from the inside, and even harder to open. Save for the rectangular contour of the opening, the doors form a smooth continuation of the wallpaper and the ornaments. The other side of the doors is an undecorated white panel with a single handle on each blade. A vertically adjustable gate wheel sits on the bottom of each

door, allowing for the opening and closing to be a discreet and soundless act. The required time for this transformation from wall to door is minimal, and the wheels make it possible to repeat the act an infinite amount of times without damaging the carpet.

What is visible through the open doorway is a brightly lit and undecorated space, part of a corridor that continues to both left and right. Two loading docks face the doors. On the right-hand side, a set of elevators leads to the casino's underground floor. A black rubber carpet defines the boundary between the decorated floor carpet on the inside and the corridor floor covered by a beige plastic carpet. The walls are constructed of lightweight concrete blocks painted in white and the suspended ceiling consists of a metal grid with white tiles. Recessed lamps in the ceiling cast this space in a bright, white light. Two black horizontal bars run along the walls, one just above the baseboard and the other at waist height, protecting buggies and other movable objects from damaging the walls. Stacks of plastic trays, chairs and containers are gathered in a corner, waiting for transportation somewhere else. Unlike the publicly accessible interiors of the casino, the surfaces of this space are sterile and not curated, they could belong to any institutional landscape: a hospital, a laboratory, an office or a school. The only difference between these spaces and the corridor is the lack of windows that might provide daylight.

The interior part of the backside allows for the circulation of objects in the casino without displaying these more than necessary. Unlike the celebratory spaces of the lobby, where maintenance work is described as an enthusiastic act of restoration, the backside is characterised by expediency. Any opening to another space is for circulation of people or objects. The bright lights, the undecorated surfaces and the long, windowless corridor signify that this is a space designed to facilitate a set of tasks: moving, pushing, storing and preparing objects. On the other side of the double doors there are no mosaic floors to repair, no brass details to polish or plants to carefully tend to, only spaces for circulating between more important parts of the casino.

The backside holds several loading docks. They are central to the maintenance, repair and replenishment of the casino. Flown in from large-scale horticulture industries in Florida and California, the tulips, chrysanthemums, begonias and orchids that fill the lobby, first arrive at these docks (Haugen, 2013, p. 92). They are transported via the driveways and corridors of the backside into the basement. Employing more than 100 people, the casino's "horticulturist department" is located underneath the main floor in a 460 square metre basement room equipped with a 140 square metre refrigerator room, connected to a loading dock for delivery trucks (Prince, 2017). In this part of the backside, flower arrangements are prepared and plants placed in pots to be transported up to the entrance via the black buggies described earlier. With every seasonal rearrangement of the interiors new truckloads of fresh greenery are prepared, allowing for gardeners to transform the seasonal theme of the lobby from summer to fall over a single night.

Baudrillard identifies in atmosphere the confirmation of an order of objects, in which the consumer can appreciate this environment as natural and authentic. Just

like the vulgar objects in Baudrillard's reading are not part of such system of signs, the backside spaces of the casino have no intentional allure to nature, and must therefore be concealed. These spaces are excluded from the atmospheric system since they do not have the sign value of for example "warmth" or "intimacy" and only point to what they do.

Observation 4: 4 pm at Sands Avenue

At 4 pm the pavements of Sands Avenue form an empty straight line into the horizon, with the curved hotel tower as a silhouette of dark bronze against the still bright afternoon sun. Heat radiates from the pavement and through the soles of the shoes. In the distance there are the sounds of traffic from Las Vegas Boulevard, intercontinental aeroplanes flying in and the rhythmic humming from an air conditioning unit somewhere spewing out the humid effluvia from gamblers feverish with excitement. Every now and then a truck on its way to or from the casinos speeds past with a loud rumble, pushing a wave of hot air and diesel fumes in its wake. Occasionally a monorail train passes 10 metres above.

The north side of the kilometre long stretch of Sands Avenue, between Paradise Road and Las Vegas Boulevard, is dominated by the Wynn casino property. This is the logistic umbilical cord of the casino and its lobby. To the west the street links to the I-15 freeway to Los Angeles, and to the east the Las Vegas International airport can be reached within 10 minutes. In this sense, Sands Avenue is only the end point of an infrastructural system of roads and airways that connect global resources and labour power to the interior of the casino. All the commodities that will compose the elements of choreography of the place (from plants and flowers to consumer goods, foods and building materials) and the labour power (from cleaners and gardeners to blackjack dealers and mid-level managers) enter the casino from the backside, and all the garbage and fumes exit the same way.

Lacking almost any connections other than the casino entrance, Sands Avenue can be compared to a corridor (see Figure 3.3). The concrete pillars of the Las Vegas monorail land in the centre of the street. A black steel fence marks the edge of the Wynn casino property against the pavement. Behind the fence a small driveway and a grass-clad rampart separate the Wynn casino's 18-hole golf course from the pavement. Pine trees and low shrubs grow on the dry and sandy slopes of the rampart, giving the strange impression of a pine forest in the desert. The casino here has turned its back to the pavement. There are no attempts here to allude to the grace and generosity of nature or splendour of architectural tradition that might attract a passer-by. No naturalisation or decor, only the mute function of machines, infrastructure and logistics partly visible on the other sides of fences and behind walls.

Just west of the junction of Sands Avenue and Paradise Road is the Wynn Encore Employment Center, an inconspicuous two-storey office building, where applicants are registered, interviewed and assessed for positions at the casino. A couple of hundred metres further to the west, at the junction of Sands Avenue and Koval Lane, delivery trucks enter and exit Wynn casino through a three-lane

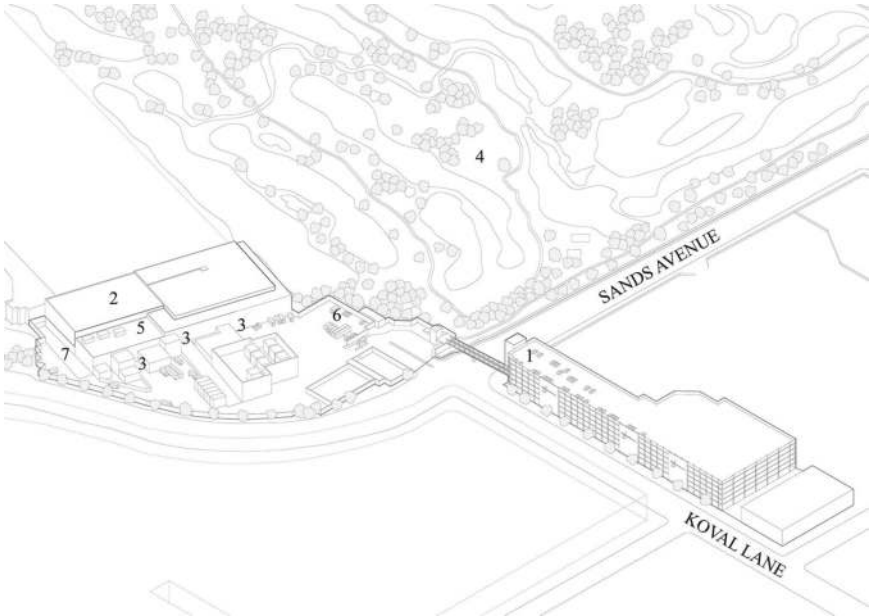

FIGURE 3.3 Isometric drawing, Wynn casino backstage (marked by a thicker line), Las Vegas plan.

Legend: 1 Staff parking garage. 2 Latour ballroom. 3 Loading docks. 4 Golf court. 5 Logistic corridor. 6 Exterior repository/parking. 7 Underground access ramp.

Source: Hannes Frykholm.

entrance point. Passing the control gates, the trucks continue to the loading docks on the south side of the complex, such as those located behind the double doors of the ballroom. The same junction is also the entry point for the casino staff. Just like the delivery trucks, they enter the casino from the backside, which here extends across the street. The Wynn casino staff parking garage is located on the south side of Sands Avenue and stretches for half a block along Koval Lane. It is 230 metres long and 6 storeys high, a concrete structure in white and beige with 4 by 8 metre signs on the facade spelling out the name "Wynn". From the garage an elevated walkway over Sands Avenue lands at a checkpoint inside the perimeter of the casino and eventually connects to the interiors.

In 2004, two parcels of the property south of Sands Avenue, a residential block with two-storey apartment buildings, called "Sunrise Village", was acquired by a subsidiary company to Wynn casino and demolished to make way for the garage structure. Today the rest of the site is partly a fenced-off, unused parking space and partly a repository for building materials and truck containers. The redevelopment of this block also meant the removal of the thoroughfare connecting Sands Avenue with Winchester drive—the parallel street to the south—further adding to the function of Sands Avenue as an enclosed corridor.

In Baudrillard's reading the experience and consumption of atmosphere never happens outside an economic pretext. Emotional responses or "moods" serve to render the atmosphere as the result of primordial forces, thereby concealing the dependency on labour for this production. Atmospheres for Baudrillard are not natural occurrences radiating out of harmonic compositions of objects, but rather the result of man-made efforts at different levels. The fourth and last observation points to how such efforts result in infrastructural and logistic chains both on a local and global level.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed some of the labour and infrastructural systems necessary to produce a capitalist desire in the casino. It has done so by considering how the interior atmosphere is maintained around the clock. The atmosphere of the reinvented and family-friendly casino requires considerable space, both in the public entrance and in the enclosed backsides. Unlike the old casino entrance, described by Venturi and Scott Brown in the 1960s as asphalted driveways and parking lots (Venturi et al., 1977), the transformation of the contemporary lobby into a landscape park is symptomatic for the changing role of the casino at an urban level. The outward expansion of the lobby is an extension of the casino's seductive machinery into the urban landscape, which stands in contrast to the urban extension of the backside.

From the edge of the pavements to the interior of the casino lobby, there is a continuous movement through a luminous, lush and crowded park environment: the artificial mountain, the pond and waterfall, the hedges, the oversized street lamps, the meandering walkways, the sculptures placed outside and inside the building, and the arrangement of plants and flowers in the lobby. The park between the casino building and Las Vegas Boulevard frames certain views along a sequence. Dirt, dust, weeds and other unwanted matter present a challenge to this sequence. Both the interior and exterior parts of the lobby are therefore devoid of any unexpected encounters. Security guards politely evacuate visitors who appear as though they might not fit in. There are no benches to sit on. No dirty or desolated corners of the park. No rats, pigeons or insects. No fumes from vehicles or industries. No maintenance labour. The entrance is a buffer against the unruly forces of the outside city, but it also draws attention away from the working conditions on the inside.

On the edges of the casino not facing Las Vegas Boulevard, there are other kinds of buffers. Here the enclosed backside organises the spatial relationship between the casino interior and its surroundings. The windowless corridors, preparation spaces and loading docks are where most of the work necessary for maintaining the interior atmosphere happens. The maintenance staff, the gardeners and the truck drivers are in that sense all involved in the production of desire. The work of these people has in common that it is not perceived as part of the atmosphere. Returning to the reading of Baudrillard, this work supports the impression of automation. Floors are always shining, plants forever green and furniture never dusty, all this

seemingly without human involvement. The work of cleaners, gardeners and truck drivers and the time-spaces they claim, are incompatible with the atmosphere of the casino experienced by visitors.

Passing through the entrance sequence of the park, the visitor to the casino is encouraged to lay all exterior concerns aside, and enter a realm of carefree play. This is after all a casino. Behind the landscape park of the lobby, there is the relentless activity of gambling. The gambling area of Wynn casino belongs to a casino design strategy referred to as the "playground model" (Finlay et al., 2006). Using high ceilings, warm light and plenty of plants, the playground model attempts to lull the gambler into a sense of relaxation and security, rather than constructing a maze. Habitual gamblers as well as tourists spend hours in the space, absorbed by the games: roulette wheels are spinning, cards are dealt, dices roll and numbers and symbols flash by on blinking screens. Mixed with the cacophony of the slot-machine jingles there is the bodily presence of thousands of other gamblers, occasionally glimpsed on the polished side panels of the machines, as brass-tinted ghouls sweeping past without a sound.

In the intimacy between the flashing screens of the casino's slot machines and the comfortable leather chairs there is an immemorial point of centrality, Baudrillard argues much later in *America*, where money loses its value, where shadows disappear and where the sudden making of wealth seems possible (Baudrillard, 1988). It is this bright and reassuring point of centrality that is constituted already in the lobby of Wynn casino. External time and resources are forgotten. The visitor is immersed in a space where money can be spent neglecting the consequences. Gambling can only exist where the outside does not. Just like any economy it requires the invisibility of the external realities that support it.

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4

GAME OF BEING STATE

Encounter space and fictitious movements in prescriptive surveillance buffer zone village: Pyla

Cagri Sanliturk

"Which part of Cyprus do you come from?" I used to struggle to answer this question as it made me feel insecure whenever I was asked to show my passport at a border. The reason for this is that I am a native of a legally invalid state or, let's say, a citizen of an unrecognised state, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). You may have heard about this state because it is widely accepted as the de facto administration of Northern Cyprus, however, state rules, regulations and policies are accepted only by Turkey. Nevertheless, I am also a citizen of the Republic of Cyprus (RC), sanctioning my nationality as globally recognised. I am somewhere in-between. In this chapter, rather than talking about the status of my in-betweenness, I will introduce a unique village that remains in between two different territories (buffer zone) in Cyprus: Pyla.

Pyla is an exceptional village whereby its hybrid status (derived from its mixed community) has been kept despite the events of the 1960s and 1974.[1] Due to its geographical positioning, Pyla was confined to what became known as the 'security zone' following a Declaration on 30 July 1974 (UN Rep. S/11398). This territory had been placed under the sole mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), which gained control over the area. In the hybrid Turkish and Greek Cypriot village of Pyla, different languages, segregated public places such as schools and markets, as well as United Nations (UN) inspection towers determine everyday life. This chapter deals with the implications of the UN's vision for Pyla as a prototype of integrity and bi-communality. The chapter analyses the UN mandate system in order to discuss its "peacekeeping" and "peacemaking" strategies. I argue here that spaces and objects in Pyla are shaped through practices of surveillance, strict control and idealisation processes that aim to establish an ideal bi-communal village through security requirements. However, as based on the above UN report, there are moments of disagreements between the different powers, and this has caused the transgression of rules, which further aided the creation of more relaxed systems of organisation. The

discussion herein presents one such case, which operates peacefully with both nationalities of Cyprus.

By combining Michel Foucault's notion of power and Deleuze and Guattari's notion of desire, this chapter explores the indirect ways in which power is exercised in social life. The analysis here is based on an investigation into the mundane practices and ideas that structure the inhabitants' daily life. The word "game" in the title of the chapter refers to the prescriptive regulations and rules that aim to establish a unified Pyla, as well as to the ways in which these overlap and are resisted by Turkish and Greek Cypriots. "Being state" calls attention to how this codification is a performance that attempts to create a normalised or ideal state.

The notions of *power* and *desire* form this chapter's conceptual framework to analyse one of the "counter-spaces" in the buffer zone village Pyla: the bakery. While power and desire can be understood as different concepts, I argue that they can be seen as complementary to each other. A critical reflection on the performance of everyday life practices (such as those involving the bakery) provides possibilities for mobilising power and desire to transform the conflict within the village. Finally, this chapter is intertwined with cultural poetry called *mani*, which is an expression of anger towards the limits and boundaries placed on the inhabitants of Pyla and Cyprus in general. This poetry discourse is part of Cypriot culture and consists of couplets composed and created on the spur of the moment by two or more inhabitants (Doukanari, 2008). In this chapter, the short couplets that (aligned on the right-hand side) represent *mani* can be perceived as an antagonistic performance, an expression of the desire towards the prescriptive village and its quality.

Power

This section presents an understanding of power outlined by Foucault as a consequence of the formation of a civic affect as well as a tool of forcing the proliferation of a certain type of behaviour. He argues that power is situated within everyday life; it is socialised and integrated. He suggests that power does not lie within rules and regulations; to this extent, systems of surveillance and standardisation can be seen as instruments of power (Seidman and Alexander, 2001). As a result of the process of normalisation, everyday life becomes unconsciously coded. Within this, techniques organising civic discipline can be regarded as "certain relations between forms and forces" (Deleuze, 1995, p. 85).

> Discipline is a technique of power, which contains a constant and perpetual surveillance of individuals. It is not sufficient to observe them occasionally or see if they work to the rules. It is necessary to keep them under surveillance to ensure activity takes place all the time and submit them to a perpetual pyramid of surveillance.
>
> *(Foucault, 2007a, p. 147)*

Foucault recognises cities as habitations of different powers, that are in constant negotiation. For Foucault, cities are systems whose "centres of power [are]

multiple in which the activities, tensions, the conflicts [are] numerous" (Foucault, 1986, p. 82). The connections between organised spaces and various forces that help operate their conduct is significant in Foucault's notion of power. Accordingly, he states that "from the eighteenth century on, every discussion of politics as the art of government of men, necessarily includes a chapter or series of chapters on urbanism, collective facilities, on hygiene, and on private architecture" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 240). Consequently, starting from the eighteenth century, disciplinary powers engaged with spatialisations of everyday life through implementing interventions in order to affect social bodies and, as a result, city spaces were seen as a mode of disciplinary power that interacts with society. According to Foucault, prisons, schools and hospitals are figures of this disciplinary power as they are manifestations of the regulatory techniques. As a socio-spatial setting, they regulate and order individuals' acts and behaviour. For example, schools become collective spaces that foster educators who are "the great advisor[s] and expert[s], if not in the art of governing, at least in that of observing, correcting and improving the social body" (Foucault, 1980a, p. 177). Foucault suggests that disciplinary power is related to problems of controlling large populations and the economy centred on the relationship between knowledge and power. This set of management techniques is to "disindividualise power" (Foucault, 1995, p. 202) and stabilise a civic unity.

Foucault describes the concept of the de-individualisation of power in *Discipline and Punish* (1995) with regard to the "panoptic mechanism" (Foucault, 1995, p. 200). This panoptic system functions not only to disseminate power, as in the case of a prison, but also to construct knowledge. Hence, Foucault's conception of the term "power knowledge" evolved from Bentham's assumption that the panopticon would function as a "laboratory that could be used as a machine to carry out experiments, to alter behaviour, to train and correct individuals" (Foucault, 1995, p. 203). For him it is not legitimate to define the objective of these practices (panopticon system, surveillance society) in terms of oppression. Rather, the goal of the panoptic system of power is to develop an accepted norm that creates stability in everyday life by comparing individuals, analysing their specific characteristics and using the obtained knowledge to stabilise the social body.

The UN may be understood as a powerful organisation in Pyla, for example through simple acts such as patrolling the village in their white jeeps on a daily basis. Yet, the UN's power permeates the village even when they are not patrolling it. Its power has diffused into the essence of the everyday life of the village and has become the relation that sustains bi-communality and integrity. This style of disciplinary system could be referred to as "a new law of modern society" (Foucault, 1995, p. 184). In this regard, I argue that Pyla is a laboratory of the UN, where the new norms are prescribed, created and practised in the form of laws. In the light of this, the notion of "return to the normal condition" used as a strategy set out by the UN in the buffer zone (UN Res. 186, 1964) can now be related to Foucault's normalisation concept in controlled societies. Disciplinary power "is about a rule: not a juridical rule derived from sovereignty, but a discourse about a natural rule,

or in other words a norm. Disciplines will define not a code of law but a code of normalisation" (Foucault, 2003, p. 38). Consequently, the techniques of normalisation intervene within inhabitants' life in order to establish the harmony with the idea of the bi-communal village norm.

> The UN is "doing its best to halt violence, to promote a reduction in tension and to restore normal condition of life, thus creating an atmosphere more favourable to efforts to achieve a long term statement."
>
> *UN Report, S/6228 of 11 March 1965*

The UN thus applied a normalisation that sustains and generates power relations in the village. In Pyla, the norms become established by the UN disciplinary techniques as it implements an ideal bi-communal quality and the setting of two different administrative systems. The UN officers as well as both Turkish and Greek Cypriot authorities (mayors) developed and adopted this ideology in performing the procedures that assist the ideal characteristic of the bi-communal normal life. The "return to the normal condition" (UN Res. 186, 1964) is rooted in the process of systemising territories within the social system (cafes, restaurants, markets, public spaces) and the education system that can be seen as defining the norms of social life in the village. In this sense, the UN normalisation strategy in the village constitutes a homogeneity; however, it draws a line of separation between the inhabitants within the village. The UN can sustain the social discipline via the surveillance system and its services. In this regard, the panoptic nature of the system allows me to go beyond the concept of legitimate security requirements and examine the normalisation process of the UN where the power is incarnated in social relations and monitored in society in order to discipline individuals.

In this sense, the disciplinary power is embodied as UN inspection towers, patrolling white jeeps, street labels and separated public places. The media purports this "disciplinary" (Foucault, 1980, p. 61) power and supports the normalisation process within the village. According to Foucault, then, power does not lie within its implications; rather, the systems of surveillance and standardisation become instruments of power (Seidman and Alexander, 2001). Hence, as a result of this process of normalisation, the village itself becomes a panopticon, which shapes and controls inhabitants' everyday life and allows constantly controlled bi-communal peace.

Although power has been analysed as a norm that converts into discipline in order to control society, Foucault sees it as a multiplicity of relations. Accordingly, authority cannot be perceived as an entirely repressive notion that has absolute control over bodies; instead, it must be understood as a set of relations that provides possibilities for resistance. This notion of resistance has allowed me to understand the possibility of shifts in power relations. Disciplinary power and its imposition of forces are essential in the creation of resistance within the two communities. In this regard, the essence of power can be understood as a set of certain modifications that is not only related to the direct restrictive force, but also to the conduct of its

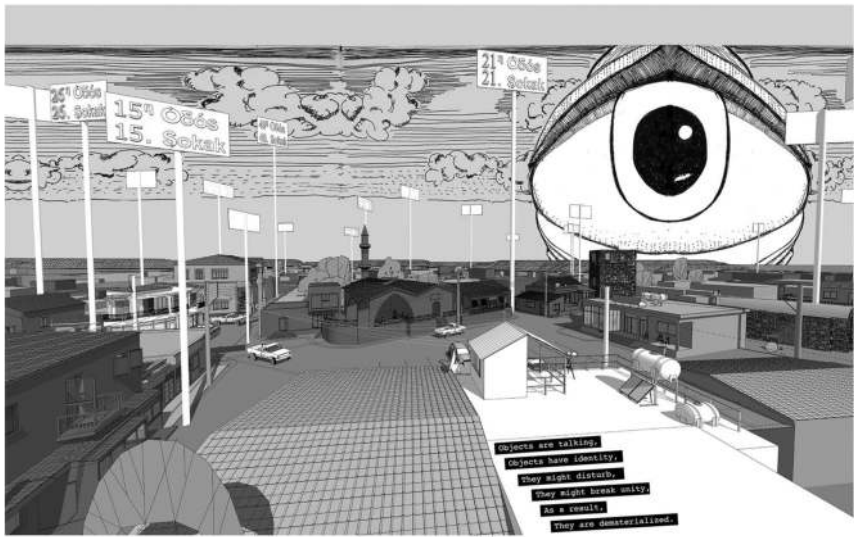

FIGURE 4.1 Illustrated by Cagri Sanliturk due to the ban on photography in the village. This shows the materialisation of the disciplinary power such as street labels, patrolling white jeeps, separated public spaces (as represented by different shading based on their nationality). The eye symbolises the constant surveillance feeling in the village.

Source: Cagri Sanliturk.

own potential to resist. According to Foucault, this can be seen in the notion of the "care of the self" (1987, p. 115).

Every individual in a society, either willingly or not, engages within societal disciplinary rules and regulations. At the same time the principles of care of the self might instigate resistance. This means that power allows the possibility of realisation within the individual, and the care of self acts as a resistance to structure its own conduct. Therefore, in Foucault's description, power has dialectic relations as it is power and resistance at the same time:

> One cannot care for the self without knowledge. The care for self is of course knowledge of self but it is also the knowledge of a certain number of rules of conduct or of principles which are at the same time truths and regulations. To care for self is to fit one's self out with these truths. That is where ethics is linked to the game of truth.
>
> *(Foucault, 1987, p. 116)*

I consider the notions of power and resistance as correlated in the context of Pyla. To some extent, the UN and the Greek and Turkish Cypriot authorities protect the diverse community in Pyla and establish unity through the

implementation of different forces. However, the context of deep socio-political divisions and the attempts of the UN to unite may lead to unexpected situations. For example, in the village individuals are affected by limitations and restrictions, and anyone crossing the line will be judged for breaching the peace in the village, thus breaking the societal unity. In this regard, Foucault's notion of normalisation in disciplinary power enables individuals to problematise and create possibilities to modify their individualities. By this means, power enables resistance and allows the practice of care and participation of its own conduct in society. According to Foucault, "power is everywhere" (Foucault, 1990, p. 93), and expresses where various relations of force transverse and imbricate within everyday life. Likewise, this variation in or diversified feature of power suggests that such coercion relations will not arise from one particular origin; there will be a collection of power relations that affect everyday life interactions in different ways and at different levels.

This *mani* reflects my own engagement with the assemblages on site:

The village is unceasingly being transformed into prescriptions,
The prescriptions are operating the space,
Space is controlled,
Space is watching,
But,
Space is also transforming.

Desire within power

Foucault articulated new understandings of how power functions. However, the dialectic meaning of power and resistance are defined at the institutional level of power towards society. In order to expand on the notion of resistance, I elaborate on the concept of desire introduced by Deleuze and Guattari.

Deleuze and Guattari's notion of *desire* is a concept of a productive force that produces a reality (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000). Desire is not a subject itself but it is partially reproductive of power structures. Desire points to the mixture of forces that constitutes the subject: "Desire, any desiring-machine; is always a combination of various elements and forces of all types" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, xxiii). Consequently, desire establishes relationships, forms associations between subjects and constitutes the social field:

> We maintain that the social field is immediately invested by desire, that it is the historically determined product of desire, and that libido has no need of any mediation or sublimation, any psychic operation, any transformation, in order to invade and invest the productive forces and the relations of production.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p. 38)*

Desire thus becomes the infrastructure of material entities that constitute the social field: "In any case desire belongs to the infrastructure, not to ideology, desire is in production as social production, just as production is in desire as desiring-production" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p. 348). Therefore, Deleuze and Guattari's analysis of desire has correlations with Foucault's analysis of power. The concepts of power and desire are multiple forces and relations that have an effect on the social field and its subjects. Indeed, it can be understood that desire (through its productive capacity) to some degree operates within and is a basis for power relations that associate it with an agenda. In this regard, the notion of desire provides and completes Foucault's notion of power/resistance.

> Paragraph 16. In addition to maintaining the military status quo, UNFICYP must also preserve the integrity of the buffer zone from unauthorised entry or activities by civilians. As a result, UNFICYP has from time to time become involved in crowd control. Civilian demonstrations near the cease-fire line on the Greek Cypriot side have often degenerated into individual or mass attempts to enter the buffer zone with the declared purpose of crossing to the other side. Sometimes, such demonstrations have been accompanied by considerable violence on the part of demonstrators, including attacks on UNFICYP personnel and property. While the primary responsibility for preventing demonstrators from crossing the cease-fire line rests with the civilian police authorities concerned, experience has shown that UNFICYP troops and United Nation Civilian Police (UNCIVPOL) must be deployed in considerable numbers to prevent demonstrators from entering the buffer zone. In addition, each year UNCIVPOL investigates hundreds of other incidents (249 during the first nine months of 1993) occurring in the buffer zone, such as unauthorised entry by civilians, traffic accidents, fires, thefts, shooting, hunting with firearms, rubbish dumping and other unauthorised activities.
>
> *UN Report, S/26777 of 22 November 1993*

The above extract from the resolution can be seen as the documented example of the connection between the notion of power/resistance and desire. In this regard, it establishes limitations and restrictions in the village. The notions of "striated" and "smooth" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1999, p. 474) space was developed by Deleuze and Guattari to investigate the limits and the heterodoxy of everyday life: "In striated space, lines or trajectories tend to be subordinated to points: one goes from one point to another. In the smooth, it is the opposite: the points are subordinated to the trajectory" (1999, p. 478). I argue that spaces and objects in Pyla are shaped through practices of surveillance, strict control and idealisation processes that aim to establish the ideal bi-communal village through security requirements. However, as based on the above UN report, there are moments of disagreements between the different powers and this caused the transgression of those striated spaces, which further aided the creation of the smooth space. Deleuze and Guattari

emphasise the irreversibility of smooth space as it "is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1999, p. 474). Spaces and individuals act to interrupt the existing hierarchical relations, which are defined by oppression and hegemonic control; as such, this further smoothens the prescribed social space in the village. As a result, smooth space is where the desire between inhabitants, objects and ideals has a chance to unveil to its full potential.

Amongst the hierarchy of the UN that striate the space into that of a civic image there are examples of a gentle approach to the division. An example would be a local bakery. Analysing the functioning of the bakery is a way of tracing the relationship between two different powers relations and desire (state/inhabitants), which can change the energy flow between spaces. Resisting the disciplining of everyday life, the bakery arguably moves "between deterritorialization—freeing itself from the restrictions and boundaries of controlled, striated spaces—and reterritorialization—repositioning ourselves within the new regimes of striated spaces" (Tamboukou, 2008, p. 2).

I thought,
the village is unceasingly being formed into prescriptions,
I thought,
the prescriptions are operating the space,
The time is for me to realise,
How did the space become?
Did it become because of the striations of social space?
Is it maybe embodied within security requirements?
Or, perhaps it consists in the control space,
perhaps,
"space" was stuck in-between the state and mundane life,
"space" had to carry on,
"space" was consumed by itself,
"space" is encountered within the security requirements,
then "space" became a desire,
Where is the "space" now?
In the process of territorialisation, "space" has become transition in time,
"space" is flowing,
"space" is de-territorialised,
"space" is creating its own consistency,

"I" am realising.

Bakery

In this section, I seek to complete and unite the notions of power and desire as they both have constructive and productive effects. In this context, I investigate a

local bakery in the village of Pyla and examine how it engages in desirous relations within the disciplinary power. I elaborate on the ways in which the co-established enterprise bakery shop could be understood through the concept of counter-conduct, embedded in the complementary notions of power and resistance by Foucault and desire by Deleuze and Guattari.

Monday, 14th of March 2016.

It became a habit for me to explore the village. I was seeing markets, shops, restaurants with Turkish or Greek languages written in their windows. It was not difficult to pinpoint which community they belonged to. This mundane scenery reappeared again and again on other streets of all neighbourhoods until one day when I was almost out of the green line (buffer zone). In fact, I did not see any line, barricades, walls or fences that could materialise the border of Pyla to the southern entrance to the village. However, when I looked down at the map, I could see a distinctive border line characterised by a physical feature in the landscape. It was just 200 metres away from where I was standing. Yes, it was invisible—I could not see it. There was nothing. However, where I was standing, I noticed what I initially assumed to be a market. It was, in fact, a bakery shop called "Just Baked Bakery Shop".

Something was different in comparison to the other markets or restaurants; I could see words in English, Turkish and Greek. What made me bemused to see that bakery? Was it because the bakery shop represents what does not exist in the exceptional, hybrid village—the idea of *living in togetherness* (Turkish and Greek Cypriots)? The bakery shop had broken the monotonous, separated everyday practice in the village. In a way, it became a manifestation of an unwelcome product of the United Nations and the Cyprus and TRNC governments. What perhaps had also added to my confusion was the fact that, after the division of the island, the UN has been seen as a peace agency to avoid conflict, but, at the same time, it engaged in a peace-building strategy to isolate the interaction between the two communities. More importantly, the state of perplexity that I was in could be a link to the reality of the performance of the bakery shop as what Foucault, based on his experience in turmoiled political landscapes, would have been likely to call "counter-conduct" (Foucault, 2007c, p. 259), which has, in its own way, formed an act towards the governmental system.

Then I entered the bakery shop . . . I was the sole customer and I started to look around. I was baffled; I did not know what I had expected from this place; perhaps a sign of peace or resistance; something that would identify the space as an executor of this mundane realm of the village or a dissent from the aspiration of bi-communality. Maybe I was expecting too much? After a while, I found myself in front of the refrigerators where refreshments were located. Then I noticed the products in the fridge; they were not arranged in any particular order. I could see Turkish and Greek products of milk, water, juice and, especially, the Turkish beer brand "EFES" and the Republic of Cyprus one "KEO" on the same shelf, all placed one next to the other, without any division between the nation of origin.

You must pardon me as a native citizen of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus who cannot imagine all of this after witnessing such a segregated public life in Pyla. The assemblage of things in the bakery shop hit me as a bureaucratic dilemma the first time I saw it. My impression was that the organisation of the products in a way that the UN officials would support was not the prime concern of the shopkeeper. Taking this example as a precedent where the order suggested by the UN does not abide, it is possible to see how an organic and peaceful system of relations is possible to emerge without the assistance of a grander ideology. This bakery is not a simple commercial shop in Pyla; instead it represents the relations between people, things and ideas but somehow it missed the concept of the conflicting nationhood.

I forgot my anxiety in that space,
Space against the particular modality,
It is not only Red or Blue,
It is in-betweenness,
It would be entirely hostage to its own desire
And
Its partisans

Before 2003, Pyla was the only place for the black market trade, where goods and products were brought from the northern part without any tax implications. Given that there was no place in Pyla that sold fresh bread, a Turkish Cypriot had the idea of opening a bakery shop. As he had no skills in baking, he contacted his Greek Cypriot friend, with whom he co-established the first bakery in Pyla. The development of the bakery was organic, and it emerged from the context of a divided city, which allowed it to flourish. The bakery shop's premises were previously owned by the Turkish Cypriot co-owner's father and they were used as a fish restaurant before 2003. Due to the opening of the borders, the restaurant lost its attraction and these circumstances led to the closure of the restaurant.

These exceptional characteristics and operations of the bakery shop in the system of the UN governance accommodated the *abnormal* functioning in the mechanism of power structures in the village. Foucault described this notion as "how not to be governed like that, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them" (Foucault, 2007b, p. 44). The concept of counter-conduct has been developed by Foucault under the idea of *governmentality* (Foucault, 1997, p. xvii), which he deemed to be the relationship between the state and the self; the practice or technologies that "try to control the conduct of others" (Foucault, 1997, p. xvii). This concept also gives a more precise understanding of power and its relation to desire. He unfolds the notion of governmentality as a "*guideline*" (Foucault, 2007c, p. 471), which is composed of constitutional rules and state regulations. In addition, he considered it as a matter of control, instruction and supervision of bodies and things. Opposite to governing others, he described counter-conduct as

"wanting to be conducted differently . . . through other procedures and methods" (Foucault, 2007c, p. 259).

In this sense, the bakery shop does not completely refuse the technique of governments that striate Pyla (the UN, RC and TRNC). The bakery shop engaged with the space to practise its own governmental system with the aims of increasing bi-communal relations in order to create a space for village inhabitants, regardless of their ethnic differences. In this manner, the bakery shop reclaims the absent right of living in a hybrid village (mixed everyday interaction) and disrupts the mechanisms of disciplinary power through the desirous relations it engages with and fosters.

Is there a dialectic loop and cooperative exchange between the UN and the bakery shop is the transgression of the bakery instigated by the dialectic loop caused by the UN's presence? Could the legal means to set up that bakery shop be seen as a case of counter-conduct? I am inclined to say that the bakery shop can be regarded as a co-produced practice at the power/desire interface. The functioning of the bakery shop is, according to the UN/RC/TRNC government, undoubtedly bizarre from the standpoint of the assumptions raised by the government's peacekeeping strategy. This is due to its manipulation of the functioning of the village and its generation of settings that promote and persuade the idea of dangerous possible consequences for bi-communal activities and one-to-one direct dialogue between inhabitants. However, every bi-communal attempt conducted under the control of the UN fully supported and encouraged the participation of the two different ethnicity groups in Pyla (bi-communal Pyla festivals, football and basketball tournaments and trips to historical sites on both sides of Cyprus). Following this, the UN governmental power itself effectuates, via its workings, the same dialectic directions that are already common to the idea of the bakery shop and counter-conduct. Hence, the main functioning system of the UN breaks down in the bi-communality of the bakery shop. This can be seen as a dialectic loop of cooperative relations of governmental power and counter-conduct.

Free of the requirement to produce peace as defined by the UN, this place allows people and objects to assemble in a fitting way and form desirous assemblages between people, ideas and goods. This redefines the UN's mission in Cyprus as a "*peace enforcer*" rather than a "*peace builder*". Papadakis[2] noted that:

> The UN's role in Cyprus is that of a mediator in order to get the two sides to move towards a mutually agreed solution. While they do not make as strong claims as the two communities regarding interethnic relations in Pyla, their interest lies in ensuring the wellbeing of its inhabitants, in preventing conflict and ensuring the two ethnic groups there can live together as well as possible.
>
> *(1997, p. 361)*

This rhetoric denotes the territorial segregation of the everyday practice in Pyla: different coffee shops, markets and restaurants for different communities. The

segregation of communities provides an advantageous situation where surveillance for the UN is easier to ensure as interactions are limited. In his field trip, Papadakis asked one of the inhabitants:

> *—Why don't people visit each other's coffee shop?*
> *—Well, they would have liked to, but they are afraid that their authorities may punish them if they do so.*
>
> (1997, p. 369)

The bakery shop is a space in which cognition and re-assimilation of prescriptive activity is possible because it is not policed; in a way, it takes the form of resistance to the mode of power: punishment. For example, the bakery had gone through many difficulties due to the regulations that the UN had put in place. In particular, due to its co-establishment, the bakery kept on resisting power in different ways, for instance by buying a power generator when they were denied the use of electricity.

These difficulties can be seen as a punishment conducted by the Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot and the UN authorities. In this case, the space of counter-conduct means intransigence towards power: "power that conducts us or that conducts our conduct, power that directs us on the right path" (Siisiäinen, 2016, p. 301)

Conclusion

In the light of the space as counter-conduct, the bakery shop can thus be understood as a space of contestation of societal norms. The bakery shop, as a counter-conduct, can be identified at the micro level as a space of transgression to accepted norms, such as segregated and separated public spaces. That is how the shop compiles a particular desirous element or user group due to its geopolitical positioning.

Now I am out of the space,
Back to "normality" which is
Red and Blue

In the controlled village where inhabitants are not allowed to engage in direct interaction between the two communities—unless approved by the UN or in the presence of the UN, the "Just Baked Bakery Shop" can be seen as an entity that enacts a space and allows for the coming-together of desirous assemblages, not necessarily related to the way the UN planned. In this regard, the bakery shop can be seen as the product of desire that produces a reality that emerges from and reproduces existing power structures. It is a space where the Greek and Turkish Cypriots assemble in peace and form organic relations with one another and the merchandise on offer. Perhaps the way that the merchandise is disseminated on the shop floor might resemble disorder but at the same time it is a result of the assemblages enacted therein.

Notes

1 In 1974 the actual territorial segregation happened between the two communities. This was caused as a result of the interethnic conflict when the Greek military tried to annex the island to Greece; following this the Turkish military intervened and supported the Turkish community by helping them establishing their own territorial community in the north side of Cyprus. For more detail on the conflict please see *The Crux of the Cyprus Question* (Fevzioglu and Ertekun, 1987)

2 Yiannis Papadakis's (1997) anthropological research also analysed Turkish and Greek Cypriots' daily tactics to avoid conflict between the two communities and the dominant power in Pyla. His interviews with members of both communities allowed me to understand and conceptualise the notion of power.

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5

ARCHAEOLOGY OF DESIRE

Urban palimpsest—unveiling invisible sites of Sarajevo

Joanna Zielińska

Palimpsest is a multi-layered textual document from which the content has been scraped or washed off so that the page can be reused again. Therefore, it can be said that a palimpsest embraces in one document past and present strata of a text, leaving the possibility for future layers. I apply the concept of palimpsest to describe the historical structure of Sarajevo. The city-as-palimpsest is the topic of Azra Akšamija's work *Palimpsest of '89. Institutions of the Commons* (Figure 5.1), in which she explores the role of multicultural heritage in shaping the urban identity of Sarajevo. She uses graphic patterns of the most representative symbols of four historical epochs in the history of the city: the Pre-Modern (Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman period), the Modern/Austro-Hungarian, the Modern/Socialist and the Post-Dayton Period (1995–2016). In order to achieve the form of palimpsest, Akšamija executes her project through the lens of a traditional Bosnian *ćilim* (a carpet). The patterns, applied to shipping crates, create a "palimpsestuous carpet" that symbolises the complex heritage of the city. The urban layers either intertwine with each other or new patterns erase and replace older lines. This cut-through historical strata of the city is an embodiment of the flows of desire that can be productive through creating new forms together with the old ones, passive through duplicating old forms or destructive when destroying the previous strata. In this chapter, I examine more recent historical strata of Sarajevo-as-palimpsest, that is the period of the 1992–1995 siege of the city and its post-war reconstruction.

In 1980 the leader of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz died. His death became the turning point for the fate of the utopian project of creating a country wherein "brotherhood and unity" of the South Slav people overcame the historical animosities between the ethnic groups of some of the republics of the second Yugoslavia. The process of the dissolution of Yugoslavia started with Broz's demise and coincided with economic decline and the rise of nationalist sentiments. The situation in some republics incited demands for a greater autonomy

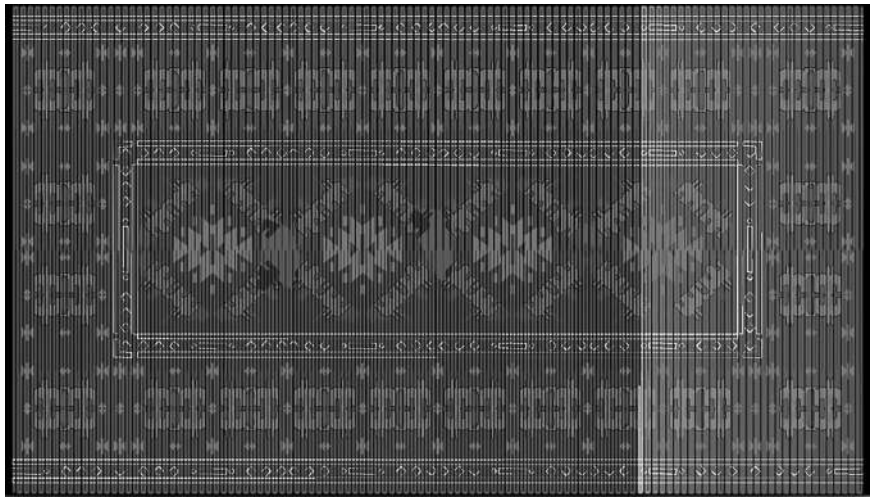

FIGURE 5.1 Excerpt from Azra Akšamija's work, *Palimpsest of '89. Institutions of the Common*.

Source: Azra Akšamija.

and independence from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and ultimately to the war of independence in Slovenia and later in Croatia. During these events, the fate of the multi-ethnic state of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina became particularly obfuscated. Several ethnic groups, which defined themselves as Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and Muslims, demanded territorial autonomy. The outbreak of an armed conflict was inevitable. It was 1992 when the fights started between three "entities" of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serbs (Republika Srpska) and the Bosnian Croats (Hrvatska Republika Herceg-Bosna). The last two were entities *within* Bosnia and Herzegovina supported by neighbouring countries Serbia and Croatia.

As a result of this war, for almost four years Sarajevo was surrounded and continuously sieged by the Army of Republika Srpska, commanded by the president of the newly established Serb entity Radovan Karadžić. The destroyed city is still going through the process of reconstruction that is concurrent with its transition from the political context of socialism to that of a liberal democracy, based on a free market economy. The repercussions of these changes within the urban space of Sarajevo can be analysed using theories raised by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. I mobilise urban space as the stage where the micro- and macro-political forces perform, clash and transform. Wherein urban design and architecture can serve as strategic tools of social resistance or revolution on the one hand, on the other, they can be perceived as biopolitical projects through which the State apparatus governs citizens' bodies and pre-determines their performance. The city is therefore an assemblage consisting of complex, interconnected political, historical and cultural

strata, which could be considered mediums of identities, ideologies, memories and traditions in the city. Based on this, I set out to "map" the micro-politics of fascist desire underlying the outbreak of aggression against the city, resulting in its *urbicide* (Coward, 2009; Bogdanović, 1993). Second, treating urban space as a palimpsest consisting of different overwritten layers, I review two urban projects for the war-torn site in Sarajevo: one by Lebbeus Woods, driven by the nomadic desire; and the other, driven by capitalist desire.

Theoretical background

> Desire is never separable from complex assemblages that necessarily tie into molecular levels, from microformations already shaping postures, attitudes, perceptions, expectations, semiotic systems, etc. Desire is never an undifferentiated instinctual energy, but itself results from a highly developed, engineered setup rich in interactions: a whole supple segmentarity that processes molecular energies and potentially gives desire a fascist determination.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 2005, p. 215)*

This quotation from *A Thousand Plateaus*, also mentioned by Charles Drozynski (see Chapter 9) indicates that desire produces and is reproduced within "complex assemblages". Such assemblages are ontological collections of heterogeneous elements that can be segmented according to different codes (cultural, economic, political, etc.). I comprehend an assemblage as a concept to examine the performance of desires. The relentless flows of desire within and between assemblages constitute and reconstitute assemblages. These flows of desire, and the assemblages they produce, demonstrate the political reactions between the entities from which desire springs forth. These processes can be better understood by Deleuze and Guattari's differentiation between the micro-politics and macro-politics of desire.

> [. . .] everything is political, but every politics is simultaneously a macropolitics and a micropolitics. Take aggregates of the perception or feeling type: their molar organization, their rigid segmentarity, does not preclude the existence of an entire world of unconscious micropercepts, unconscious affects, fine segmentations that grasp or experience different things, are distributed and operate differently. There is a micropolitics of perception, affection, conversation, and so forth.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 2005, p. 213)*

As mentioned in the quotation, assemblages are organised in molar and molecular ways. A molar organisation territorialises dominant cultural, religious or political discourses or codes. This is the space of macro-politics, which is embodied in public institutions as State apparatus, sites of memory, temples, places that are characterised by rigidly delineated strata. The molecular dimension of space is not rigidly embedded in the city, it rather captures the differences between the collective life

of individuals. This sphere consists of attitudes, individual maps of the city, scripts of social interactions, mythologies, etc. This is a micro-political space, armed with revolutionary potential to make a breach within the molar structure of the State apparatus. This subversive decoding force is called de-territorialisation, while the opposite movement of re-coding the urban space within another ideological, cultural or political structure is called re-territorialisation. In this chapter, I focus on the examination of desires that de-territorialised and re-territorialised the public space of Sarajevo within the last 26 years.

In the following section, I draw attention to the micro-politics of desire that resulted in the siege of Sarajevo. In particular, I examine the assembly between multicultural Sarajevo and Radovan Karadžić, a Serbian psychiatrist, political leader and the first president of the Serb Republic. I explore the grounds of micro-fascist desire that led Karadžić to formulate a doctrine that taught people to seek the annihilation of the "Other" and the destruction of the public space that might signify them.

Assemblage no 1: the city and its psychiatrist

Most documentaries featuring a besieged Sarajevo depict the tragedy of the city from its inside. They tell the story of a surrounded city where normality can only be a dream. One documentary that looks at Sarajevo from the perspective of its aggressors is Pawel Pawlikowski's *Serbian Epics* (1992). The film portrays the Serbian troops besieging the city, focusing on their leader, the president of a newly established Serbian Republic, Radovan Karadžić. One scene that profoundly affects the viewer envisions Karadžić, together with the Russian poet Eduard Limonov, visiting war-torn Bosnia and Herzegovina, and looking at the city from one of the surrounding hills. Karadžić proudly presents to Limonov the stage of his war theatre, the motionless body of the city. The camera frames his single hand, seemingly like the hand of the Creator, directing the stage movements, marking pivotal points in action and determining the destiny of invisible characters of this tragic play. The city-as-a-body lies before their gaze; motionless, exposed, vulnerable. Karadžić starts declaiming his prophetic poem "Sarajevo" (see Donia, 2015, p. 34) that dates back to the year 1970. It reveals the Serbian leader's early obsessions with the imagery of violence, death and destruction. One might assume that this was the foundation for this particular incarnation of a "fascist desire".

The micro-politics of fascist desire that Karadžić's poetry might be coming from could have its source in the cultural milieu that influenced the Serbian leader since his childhood in Montenegro: national mythology, a strong social memory of atrocities committed during the Second World War on Serbians, oppressions that his father and family suffered, etc. The political climate of the late 1980s and early 1990s in Yugoslavia, first and foremost, the rise of the political expression of the ethnic tension, set the stage for transgression of the micro-fascist desire present in Karadžić's cultural milieu. According to Deleuze and Guattari, fascism is not merely a result of ideology imposed by the state apparatus, ruling class or any other

molar structure. On the contrary, it proliferates from the micro-politics of desire in a social field: cultural scripts, beliefs, collective mythology (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000, p. 115). When fascist desire undertakes a violent form, it becomes a macro-politics and what we may recognise as an ideology, that directs nations to seeks confirmation of an identity through the destruction of an "Other". The "Other" was embodied in Sarajevo, where Karadžić moved in 1960 to study psychiatry at the Sarajevo Medical University. Multi-religious Sarajevo was at the time seen as Europe's Jerusalem, as a bridge between cultures and civilisations, and a symbol of the Bosnian cultural system. This was a system that Bosnian intellectual Dževad Karahasan describes in his essays (1993) as a culture that evades strict dichotomies and embraces the "Other". According to Karahasan, the Other in this system serves as a mirror of understanding oneself and is, as such, an important part of the Bosnian tradition. Therefore, Sarajevo with its patchwork cultural milieu became the symbol of the region's diversity and coexistence between Muslims, Croats and Serbs. In fact, it might have triggered the core of Karadžić's desire to trigger war. In the paper *Was This a War?* (Svetigora, 1996), delivered during the conference in Cetinje in 1995, Karadžić locates the roots of the last conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the wider historical horizon of Serbian struggles against the Other. Serbian history, as he writes, is engraved with death, destruction and an endless fight in the name of Serbian identity, endangered by the presence of the Other, i.e. people and cultures that did not align with his ideology of a Serbian society, by whom he mainly means Muslims.

Karadžić emphasises that for Serbians the war has never stopped, and, as can be read between the lines, the war will not stop until the Other no longer exists. In this perspective, the siege of Sarajevo can be perceived as a final act of a centuries-old play. Its aim was to destroy the symbolic centre of diversity with its institutions and structure. Therefore museums, schools, libraries, mosques, churches and monuments became the target of the troops led by Karadžić. As such, the siege of Sarajevo is defined by many scholars as an example of *urbicide* (see, e.g., Coward, 2009; Bogdanović, 1993), which is a programmed aggression performed on a city in order to erase its cultural heritage and, more importantly, any traces of the Other.

Let us leave Karadžić on the hills surrounding Sarajevo, and move down to the heart of the besieged city, where, at the same time, another man with a great desire for freedom is preparing plans to rebuild the city.

Assemblage no 2: Lebbeus Woods and spaces of crisis

The core of Deleuze and Guattari's project, as Michel Foucault noted in the *Introduction* to *Anti-Oedipus* (Deleuze and Guattari, 2000), is to find a new type of revolutionary organisation of collective desire, which would replace fascism in any form, whether political, personal or psychological. From this perspective, the deteriorated space of Sarajevo can be seen as a challenging project to reorganise what Foucault would have referred to as "collective desire". It requires reconstruction that not only rebuilds the city but also prevents the emergence of fascism. Therefore, in this

section I introduce the architectural vision of American architect, Lebbeus Woods, whose projects for places in turmoil and his conceptual ideas of *freespaces* challenge and re-territorialise Sarajevo as a place for desires other than fascist.

In 1993 Woods visited Sarajevo. He was invited by Haris Pašović, director of Sarajevo International Film and Theater Festival, to lead a series of lectures and workshops devoted to the theme of design in times of turmoil. The architect was known for his designs for cities in crisis, such as San Francisco after the earthquake, Havana in the grips of a trade embargo, and Berlin with the Berlin Free Zone project. Very futuristic and abstract, Woods' projects have never been executed on a large scale, nevertheless his ideas impacted the way architecture is perceived. His ideas challenge the boundaries of traditional architectural discourse, resulting in controversial and experimental designs, charged with strong political and social messages. The architect, according to Woods, is not merely a constructor of the buildings, but a revolutionary visionary who, by designing the space, frames people's ways of thinking and living (1997). Thereby the work of an architect is considered by Woods as a political act. Its aim is to re-code the space, especially one that suffered destruction caused by fascist flows of desire, either through human or natural disasters. The changes in spaces of crisis are needed because people cannot simply "resume the old, disrupted ways of living", says Woods (1997, p. 29). Instead, a new way of living can to be introduced by architecture. Sarajevo during the siege happened to be a perfect ground for the implementation of Woods' thesis. His book, *War and Architecture* (1993) begins with a manifesto:

> Architecture and war are not incompatible. Architecture is war. War is architecture. I am at war with my time, with history, with all authority that resides in fixed and frightened forms. I am one of millions who do not fit in, who have no home, no family, no doctrine, no firm place to call my own, no known beginning or end, no "sacred and primordial site." I declare war on all icons and finalities, on all histories that would chain me with my own falseness, my own pitiful fears. I know only moments, and life times that are as moments, and forms that appear with infinite strength, then "melt into air." I am an architect, a constructor of worlds, a sensualist who worships the flesh, the melody, a silhouette against the darkening sky. I cannot know your name. Nor you can know mine. Tomorrow, we begin together the construction of a city.
>
> *(1993, p. 1)*

This opening paragraph of Woods' book (1993) could be read as a manifesto of an architectural "war machine", created for nomads-warriors. It describes architecture becoming a tool of resistance against the apparatus of control. The concept of the war machine was introduced by Deleuze and Guattari in *Thousand Plateaus* (2005), as a revolutionary tool against the rigid, stratified model of social space, governed by molar assemblages. In other words, it can be described as a de-territorialising machine. The de-territorialising features of Woods' designs were

achieved by the application of so-called *freespaces*. *Freespace* is a form of architectural self-organising structure that remains incomplete inside the building. Woods' designs seem to present rhizomatic characteristics similar to that of Deleuze and Guattari's depiction of nomadic spaces. Those features would be intrinsically anti-structural, organically escaping the rigid coding of any regime. Similarly, one of the principles of *freespace* is to never be subjugated to any meta-code but rather to a multiplicity of potentials. Its incompleteness and constant inner movement reminds us of the work of desire in an assemblage. The walls of *freespace* seem to be a chaotic web of intersections, they are undone, open to new possibilities and temporalities. *Freespaces* orchestrate a dialogue with the moment that emerges from the fluid assemblages of people's desires and physical walls. As a result, the building constructed from *freespaces* never adopts any rigid identity and stays in the constant process of "becoming-a-building". By doing so the architect prevents the desire of occupants of *freespaces* to be caught in the fixed conceptual and ideological frames. It stands in contrast to institutionally coded buildings that aim to control people's cognition and performance. Moreover, in the work against biopolitical control, inhabitants focus on breaking down the habitual patterns within social interactions and embrace new, alternative ways of thinking and acting. *Freespaces* are open to people from every social class, as Woods states, they are dedicated to:

> [W]hoever has the desire or necessity to transform their everyday patterns of life from the fixed to the fluid, from the deterministic to the existential. For the most part, it will be people who find the old, hierarchical orders too uncomfortable, too oppressive, too unworkable to stay within their dictates of custom or law, and are driven—from within or without—to take their lives more fully into their own hands. They will be the people of crisis: the crisis of knowledge, the crisis of geography, the crisis of conscience. They are the ones who must perpetually begin again.
>
> *(1993, p. 32)*

Thereby *freespaces* are idealistic nomadic designs of boundless freedom of social, political and economic movement. As such, they are hoped to have a power to work against the revival of fascism.

Woods' designs for Sarajevo after the siege included the so-called "Sarajevo Window", the residential project "High Houses", the reconstruction of the Parliament and the Electrical Management (Elektroprivreda) Buildings and the "Walls" for Bosnia. In the next section I examine Woods' project "High Houses" in more detail.

Assemblage no 3: nomadic architecture vs .glass buildings

The High Houses project designed by Woods was meant to occupy the destroyed facilities of a tobacco factory constructed in 1880 by Austro-Hungarian investors. The buildings were used by different companies until the outbreak of the war in

1992. During the siege of Sarajevo (1992–1995) the factory buildings shared the fate of many other industrial facilities and were largely destroyed. Woods' idea was to transform the damaged ruins of the factory into a residential district, called High Houses. Woods abstracted the architectural parts from the "wounded" structures of the original buildings and surged them over the ground on long, lanky "legs". The metal ropes that stretched between the elevated *freespaces* and ruins of the factory on the ground were meant to articulate the connection between the past and the future of this urban site. As the architect wrote: "The post-war city must create the new from the damaged old. [. . .] The familiar old must be transformed, by conscious intention and design, into the unfamiliar new" (Woods, 1997). The *freespaces* inscribed in the residential blocks constituted supple strata. They were growths on the building, developing like a scab under which the wounded space could heal and at the same time could enable a free and unlimited adaptation of the space according to uncoordinated desires. As Woods (1997, p. 18) writes:

> These houses respond to people's powerful need to achieve freedom of movement in space through a fuller plasticity of experience, and to exist in the full dimensionality of space—to fly and yet, paradoxically, to be rooted, to belong to a particular place and time.

The constructions resemble an insect or futuristic war machine and produce a feeling that the High Houses are ready to invade the space above the ruins; the same space that was damaged by the shells and mortars during the war. The inhabitants of High Houses, in Woods' vision, would constitute a new type of nomadic society. In his writings, he explicitly explains how he imagines the community that would inhabit Sarajevo. They are people of crisis, with no roots (physical or mental): artists, opportunists, criminals, inventors (Woods, 1997, p. 13). As Woods introduces them:

> They are nomads of the body, refugees of the mind, restless, itinerant, looking without much chance of finding a sure way either forward or back. Instead, they turn the situation to an advantage, making uncertainty a virtue, and strangeness an ally.
>
> *(1997, p. 13)*

The High Houses were designed to accommodate a new type of society that would be able to take the reins of the city as a war machine. The socio-political dimension of Woods' designs for Sarajevo is even more obvious if we take into consideration his other project developed for the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The molar structure of the parliament, the material representation of the State apparatus, Woods filled with sets of de-territorialising machines—*freespaces*. The political and social importance of both projects implies that the architect allotted these designs to become role models, or inspiration for the revitalisation of Sarajevo after the war. The vision of post-war urban space situates architecture as a

war machine against ideological stagnation and dialectical differentiation between us and the Other. This way nomadic architecture works as anti-dialectical cure against the rebirth of fascist desire, one that Sarajevo was inflicted with from the hands of military men and women following orders issued by or with the approval of Karadžić.

Instead of Woods' nomadic spaces, the site behind the tobacco factory was turned into a temple for the capitalist desire-producing machine—a state-of-the-art shopping mall and business centre—Sarajevo City Center (Figure 5.2).

Sarajevo City Centre is only one of many capitalistic injections that Sarajevo was treated with after the end of the conflict. Between 2010 and now Sarajevo experienced a shopping mall "boom". This boom, and Sarajevo City Centre in particular, demonstrates the foundation of the capitalist project to reconstruct the city. The complex was opened in 2014 and it comprises of a grand commercial space with over 80 shops, services, restaurants, an indoor theme park, a "hotel district" and underground parking. It occupies about 105,500 square metres, which makes it the largest construction of this type in Bosnia and Herzegovina and one of the biggest in the region. The massive block of Sarajevo City Center, armed with a shiny, colourful media facade of 1,000 square metres, defines the taxonomy of the surrounding district. It invades the public space with luring images of perfect bodies, joyful holidays or ideal love, standing in sharp contrast with the neighbouring residential buildings whose walls are still marked by bullets and mortars (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4).

The initial concept for a shopping mall by Victor Gruen was that it would be a substitute for busy downtown areas, establishing a public space of social communication, togetherness and exchange of goods and services. The democratic

FIGURE 5.2 Sarajevo City Centre (outside).

Source: Nikola Turalija.

FIGURE 5.3 Sarajevo City Centre, view from the street.

Source: Nikola Turalija.

FIGURE 5.4 The residential block on the opposite side of the street from Sarajevo City Centre.

Source: Nikola Turalija.

aspirations behind Gruen's project are elaborated in *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (1960), where Gruen and Larry Smith express their ambition for a shopping mall to become a modern agora (Gruen and Smith, 1960). As such, the idea of erecting a shopping complex in the centre of a divided and

war-torn city would not seem completely out of place. It would provide the community with multipurpose public space where a possible dialogue could start a reconciliation process. However, those who regularly use any shopping mall would argue that these venues might not sustain cultural dialogues, as they tend to be set up to accommodate services that align with neoliberalist "regime[s] of money" (Harvey, 2012). Dialogues, distractingly, seem to be guided by alluring images and slogans, promising a reassertion of normality (see Figure 5.5): "Shopping is CHEAPER than a psychiatrist", "Don't disturb. Shopping is on", "Take me shopping, I will be yours". Commodified desires in the form of images of perfect bodies and desirable lifestyles and products provide consumers with ready-made props and scripts to perform a new type of selfhood. One that in this case links emotional well-being and bodily satisfaction with virtues raised by a capitalist agenda. This selfhood is one that seeks the retreat from spaces dominated by local or ethnic narratives and moves into the realm where it is designated by the global trends. In this way, this shopping mall can be seen as a self-sustainable universe; Sarajevo City Centre forms a fortress, isolated from its urban context by a shiny shield—a media-animated facade. The constant stream of marketing creates an assemblage with the potential visitors. The message seems to imply that if one wants to love and to be emotionally stable and calm, one should indulge.

"Everything that one might need, one will find in Sarajevo City Centre—A city within the city!" (Scc.ba), says the slogan on the official website of Sarajevo City Centre. According to Kroker (see Kroker and Cook, 1989), a shared experience, similar to the one offered by Sarajevo City Centre, provides recuperation from a trauma to a certain degree, but its impact can be elusive. The simulated

FIGURE 5.5 Sarajevo City Centre (inside).

Source: Nikola Turalija.

unity of individuals participating in a global performance of trading goods, trends and lifestyles is immediately disintegrated outside the isolated zone of the complex. The unmissable contrast between the colourful, virtual reality of a shopping mall and the post-war scars of Sarajevo is visible when leaving Sarajevo City Centre. Streets, buildings, even the trams, bear the marks of collective trauma, present economic struggles show the emerging potential of the city but it is still in its infancy. In this case Sarajevo City Centre could be considered a space "where the alienated selves seek salvation in consumption, in the shopping for or witness to commodification" (Langman, 1991, p. 118). Perhaps this is necessary to heal in the global context that offers a very particular range of possibilities.

One might find a deceptive similarity between Woods' *freespaces* and Sarajevo City Centre. The structural logic of both is built upon the movement of de-territorialisation from the old, counterproductive molar structures. However the mechanism of *freespaces* secures the unrestrained and self-determining character of community space, that precludes its re-coding into ideological systems.

It might be said that the capitalist system offers freedom, but it is a freedom based on a "regime of money" (Harvey, 2012). Sarajevo City Centre took the place of absent power structures, in this way the place ordains discipline and a culture of implicit control. Socio-technological mechanisms of control become increasingly elusive and difficult to apprehend or detect. The assumption of the capitalist discipline may be understood as one that implies that civic affect should no longer be controlled by means of labour but rather of consumption.

This tendency is reflected in urban space all around the world. The new counterparts of Marx's factories are shopping malls, where affects are translated into commodities. In case of Sarajevo these would be emotions connected with trauma of the war, ethnic and religious tensions that capitalism reuses to create a new type of outwardly open and unrestricted space. However, the slogans inside seem to imply a very particular, utopian or conceptual image of citizenry. These kinds of regulations are a potential source of micro-politics directed against the Other, as the Other is identified here as the one who may not fit the envisioned utopia. The shopping mall thus re-codes the desires and engraves them into the global simulated show. Even though Deleuze and Guattari (2005) suggest that capitalism is based on a strategy of de-territorialisation of social machine and constantly extends its impact and range, this movement is immediately followed by the process of re-territorialisation. Re-territorialisation, which I understand as re-coding the space, by establishing scripts of behaviour, commodities and images within which society performs.

Conclusion

One of the consequences of the last war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a loss of confidence in the institutions representing the power of the State apparatus. The reconstruction of Sarajevo plays an important role, not only in defining the character of the urban space, but also in the ways it designates a micro-politics of everyday practice of communities inhabiting the city. Indeed, it is the micro-politics of

everyday life that can prevent the rise of radical ideologies. In their own way, both projects described earlier in this chapter develop biopolitical strategies for post-war Sarajevo, as they inscribe a set of habits into the urban tissue. They suggest behavioural scripts and cognitive patterns. The crucial problem of spaces such as Sarajevo is the prevention of fascism. In this chapter I have stressed the anti-fascist core of Woods' project that builds a bridge between the past and the future of the city on the one hand. On the other, as an architectural, nomad war machine it has the power to be reshape the future city with the means of a collective effort. Looking at the development of Sarajevo City Centre I would say that in the search for peace Sarajevo is being reconstructed within the global trends of capitalism, indifferent to the urban history of the region as well as to the complexity of its social structure and problems. It may not bring a constructive solution to ethnic divisions existing in the city and politics, but it will provide a more global and commercial definition of a civic dweller. With these new spaces of a different type of dialogue, the city changes to become a more cosmopolitan entity with a different set of desirous relations, which can be seen as less local in quality. Joining the global family, Sarajevo, as many other cities in the past, faces the risk of losing track of its rich multicultural history and becoming a palimpsest of repetitive patterns.

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6

HI-RO-SHI-MA SPACE

The pathways of post-memory

Kim Roberts

"Hi-ro-shi-ma" (Duras, 1961, p. 83): the word is broken and transformed on the tongue of a foreign traveller. The space she attempts to navigate, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, is broken too on the banks of her memory. Through her and the story in which she functions, this space—a civic and universally construed place of remembrance—is reconstructed via post-memorial pathways. She glides on the surface of history, mapping its traumas and traces with the intensities of her own past and present experience. Territories of site and self shift. She sees everything, and she sees nothing. She becomes a sensory conduit in a network of urban-cinematic desire, a desire that links this memorial image, this memorial object, with that. She is a moving part in a frisson of affect, a shudder that connects past and present places and loves. Through her is assembled a space like a song—full of reverberant notes, immersive repetitions and silences that swallow one whole.

She, a character from Alain Resnais' cinematic collaboration with novelist, Marguerite Duras, *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), is in many ways emblematic of the body of research explored within this chapter. The film is predominately set within and around the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. The Park, designed by modernist architect Kenzo Tange, commemorates the city's destruction by an atomic bomb dropped by United States military forces at 8.15 am, 6 August 1945.

The film reveals a Hiroshima seen less through the eyes of this character-as-subject than through the cinematic network of images that frame the love story in which "She" is a functioning component as lover and foreign interloper. *Hiroshima mon amour* is less directly *about* Hiroshima (the city-as-object) than it is a desirous assemblage of parts (bodies, sounds, images, objects) through which the city becomes apparent. The film is a deliberately indirect, but layered and desirous, exploration of the functioning of memory and the memory of the city.

Similarly, the research with which this chapter is concerned attends to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and the many ways in which an economy of desire

FIGURE 6.1 View from the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, 6 August 1954. Photograph courtesy of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Archives.

Source: Hiroshima Municipal Archives.

produces this commemorative space, its perception and affects. As in *Hiroshima mon amour*, it is the "conceptual persona" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994, pp. 61–83), of the foreigner visitor or tourist who is the medium through which the memorial landscape is divined, navigated and mapped.

This chapter proceeds via a brief exploration of the film and the ways in which desire fuels its memorial machinations to create a landscape: a memorial landscape that gives rise to difference rather than fixity of memory and meaning. It draws upon a series of in situ and retrospective interviews and mapping exercises conducted with people visiting, or who have previously visited, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. In doing so, it draws on my own reflections of this site and the post-memorial process of grappling with it and the event it recalls. Finally, it turns to focus in particular on a group of discussions with a number of tourists about their memories of the site. Cognitive maps produced by these research participants reveal new ways of envisioning the Park's apparently immobile physical contours. Revealed in these "spatial stories" (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 115–130) are the connections, entanglements and disconnects between key human and non-human elements of the Park's environs. Revealed too, are its post-memorial affects that extend far beyond the site's material boundaries.

Hiroshima mon amour

Hiroshima mon amour opens in a darkened hotel room in the southwest corner of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. The camera is an intimate witness to the

embrace of "He" (*Lui*) and "She" (*Elle*). Their embrace is tightly framed: moving images of interlocked torsos are interspersed with jump cuts. The images of these tangled human bodies are spliced with views of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and of the atomic bomb's effects on its people and the post-war city. This embrace, and the images that punctuate it, are accompanied by an "*operatic exchange*" (Duras, 1961, p. 9) between two anonymous lovers whose faces are yet to be seen. Famously, the film begins with words endlessly repeated by commentators and critics—words of his denial, her insistence:

HE: You saw nothing in Hiroshima. Nothing.
[. . .]
SHE: I saw *everything*. *Everything*.

(Duras, 1961, p. 15)

She enumerates what she has seen in this city, only recently reborn from the ashes of atomic destruction. These are the self-same images that have greeted myriad pilgrim-tourists: the same mediated memories, the same *memento mori*.

It is the late 1950s, a little more than a decade into the city's recovery from the event. The Park's resoundingly modern museum is newly opened; its memorial landscape is newly planted with fledgling trees. Ahead of her imminent return to France, She, a French actor, has met, He, a Japanese architect. The film tells the story of their 24-hour love affair. Eschewing narrative conventions, it does not reveal how the pair met. Similarly, it does not reveal how, or even if, their affair ends, however imminent this end appears. Their story, in other words, has no proper beginning and no end.

The two central characters are strangely generic. They are denied a proper name. Their subject-hood is reduced to a nationality (a home territory) and a modus operandi (actor, architect). They move restlessly through the city by way of their desire. Their movement simultaneously draws from and infuses Hiroshima with memories that are explicitly other than memories of the city's infamous destruction and its traumatic aftermath.

The meeting of She and He marks the collision of two territorial milieu: her hometown of Nevers and this place, Hiroshima, at once so famous and so foreign. These are memories awoken by a chance visual semblance and a question from, He, her new-found lover: "*What did Hiroshima mean for you, in France?*" (Duras, 1961, p. 33).

This question is reinforced by the twitch of a hand. The involuntary movement sets in motion a chain of thought, awakens old memories anew. Via these connections Hiroshima is simultaneously inscribed with this present desire and the alternative place, time and desire with which it connects: the story of her first love for a German solider, lost long ago in occupied Nevers. Resnais' hypnotic montage sequences intertwine the bodies of lovers—past and present—with that of the city. Amorous hands grip the surface of a river once glutted with dead and dying bodies. The silhouette of a uniformed German crosses a square in Nevers. He surfaces, coming to life once more, in a Hiroshima bedroom.

These are memories that could be universal (memories of love lost) but that cut a specific trail through a particular assemblage of Hiroshima images, objects and experiences. With the spontaneous recall of a past trauma elements of the *collective* memory of Hiroshima are shot through with a highly *singular* thread of memory. It is the irreverent, "*the sacrilegious*" (Duras, 1961, p. 9) intrusion of this singularity into the smooth solemnity of the commemorative space of Hiroshima that lends renewed power to both collective and individual memorial expression and experience within the film. It disrupts sanctioned and well-rehearsed narratives—be they that of a "three-penny" romance (Duras, 1961, p. 80) or brittle official commemorations. It charges them with a new ardour in the present: love, grief, anger, awe.

Desire here is multiple, social and more-than-human. It is not simply his desire or her desire. It is a circuitous networking of components and energies—electric, magnetic—that rapid-connect this image with that (personal memories, historical images, architectural vignettes, atmospheric cues). This is a networking redirected (de-territorialised) and fused with difference. Like the scar of which Deleuze speaks in *Difference and Repetition*, this memory is "the sign not of a past wound" but "of the present fact of having been wounded". It is, he writes, "the contemplation of the wound" that "contracts all the instants which separate us from it into a living present" (Deleuze, 1994, p. 77).

The little hooks of affect that *Hiroshima mon amour* extends reach beyond its narrative and cinematic boundaries. They extend beyond to needle the imagination of the viewer. Like the film's central female character, the cinematic audience has no easy role to play as mere spectators of the events. The film's images are echoes—both ghosts and after-images—that repeat with impunity. These are images that lurk, plotting ambushes with future images, future thought. They unhinge received historical understandings and infuse extensive delineations of place with intensive qualities.

"Practicing" rather than representing the space, in the sense expounded by Michel de Certeau (de Certeau, 1984, pp. 92–99), Resnais' film causes the commemorative space of Hiroshima to stutter (Deleuze, 1997, pp. 107–114). It causes our inherited, our post-memorial, memories to stutter as well. *Hiroshima mon amour*, to use Deleuze and Guattari's terms (terms to which I will return), is not merely concerned with a cinematic "tracing" of the outer semblance of Hiroshima. It entails instead a multiplicitous "mapping" of the spaces and pathways of intensity that emerge from the meeting of He and She in this city. It is a similar cognitive mapping I pursue within my own research.

***

The field and the expanded-field

The pre-dawn stirring of the darkness and the ticking clock in my children's bedroom awakens me half a world and seventy-three years away. The tick slips into step with my thoughts. It calls me to rise, recall and reconstruct, once more in words, the world-fragment generously offered to me by the Sparrow-man ("Yamamoto-san", 2013). The recording device failed

as I interviewed him in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park in August 2013, leaving me adrift, with only notes and memories (not to mention the slow-drift of fiction amidst fact) for support.

I return restlessly on a number of occasions, not least this one, to re-write the encounter and the real and amorphous space that continues to encompass it. As if in the revised collection—the collision, the collusion of words and objects and images—I will discover something new in the workings of all the parts that fuel space-memory: this clock, the itch in my mind, those words, that park bench, this outstretched-hand feeding . . .

Sparrows. Museum. Rocket-ship, child-monument. School. Mourning. Sometime-cenotaph.

These objects are nodes lit up by the liquid reach of memory: the desire to remember. The space of the Park bursts its banks, traces song lines across the globe. Its currents cause thought to spark, cogs to turn, distant and latent words to sally forth.

When the bomb detonated, he knew nothing of it. He was curled in his mother's womb. It shaped the city he grew with and into. He is now retired and comes here almost daily from his home a few city blocks away: he gestures away, towards the northwest. He speaks to me all these years later through an interpreter as he feeds the birds.

His world is one in which the peace doves, ceremonially released each year on the 6th of August, must be culled to allow the lithe native sparrows at his feet, taking seed from his hand, to return to their rightful home.

In my country, these birds are the inverse of his. They are scruffy, overblown foreigners that scuffle for scraps on the library steps so close to where, in Melbourne, I now write.

FIGURE 6.2 Sparrows in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park.

Source: Kim Roberts.

(The circling tourists pause to photograph my progress as I write under the picturesque reading-room dome.)

These creatures are so similar and yet so different. Through these birds and the objects about which we speak, his world plugs imperfectly into mine.

The world of his childhood is one in which memorial sculptures land "like a rocket ship" in the park near his home. His memory extends back to when the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, the celebrated modernist creation of Kenzo Tange, stood looming like an alien above the timber shanties. The building and master plan brought the architect international attention—his work illuminated by its masterful synthesis of form and space but also by that word, that city, that event: Hiroshima.

The Sparrow-man remembers the museum (in the early 1950s) as a newborn ruin, windowless, incomplete, its construction halted due to lack of funds. Our storyteller (then a small boy) and his mother curiously climbed up into the edifice. They fled in gentile horror upon discovering the faecal traces of its recent residential use. He says, flat and dry: "It was that type of time."

It was that type of time and space—in the wake of war—when the homeless shat in incomplete and unconsecrated museums.

This image settles on the serene surface of the Park, its orderly pathways and neatly demarcated spaces. Like a paper on a pond, it takes water slowly. The sparrows flutter pre-emptively. A van door opens.

He sits facing away from the Atomic Bomb Dome: the omnipresent image of Hiroshima endlessly recorded in guidebooks and history books and the snapshots of tourists. He looks instead towards the opposite banks of the river. This bench? I ask. For any particular reason? The Sparrow-man does not answer immediately.

We speak of other things before he responds to the previous question, abruptly, as if he has only just realised, only just now decided to share. The view from here takes in the school at which his Aunt died in the months before his birth. "I sit here," he says, "and think of my aunt." Is there anywhere else he frequents within the Park? "I used to visit the cenotaph—now and then."

The words hang in the air. And our conversation concludes.

***

The Sparrow-man interview recounted here was one of a series conducted as part of fieldwork conducted in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. This interview and its subsequent reconstructions, through reflection and in written form, seek to grasp the commemorative space that frames a historical event—the atomic bombing of Hiroshima—and its aftermath.

The Peace Park is a space that is, for most people who enter it almost seven-and-a-half decades after the event, essentially "post-memorial". This term is derived from Marianne Hirsch's research into second-generation Holocaust survivors and their troubled but highly affective "inheritance" of traumatic memories—memories that do not stem from their own experience. These are memories gleaned, in various ways, from other sources, most pointedly from previous generations who experienced those traumatic events first hand, but also via historical texts and cultural

representations. Imaginative engagement with remnant and fabricated cultural objects, as well as stories, frequently provides the source of many contemporary post-memories and post-memorial experiences (Hirsch, 1993, 1997, 2008).

Within my research, even the Sparrow-man (a lifelong Hiroshima resident and an in utero survivor of the atomic bombing) has a relationship with the event, which is defined, by mediation, by family trauma, history, culture and imagination. As another in utero survivor explained to me: while the bombing of Hiroshima shaped the terms of his everyday experience—his health, his fears, his identity—he simply did not experience the event itself (Mito-san, 2013). He has no memory of the bombing or its immediate aftermath, though his life was lived in its part-known, part-imagined and (later) in its avidly researched shadow. In a similar way the accounts of both men are restlessly mediated and remapped by my own post-memorial memory work.

In the sweltering heat of late July and August 2013 I conducted fieldwork within and around the Peace Memorial Park. I observed the site and its patterns of use and, as part of this, questioned visiting Japanese nationals and English-speaking foreign tourists about their visit (and any past visits) to the Park. Together we *traced* their trajectories through the Park on a map.

It was, however, a second group of interviews (conducted after my arrival home) in Australia that revealed to me more of the way desire shapes the post-memorial contours of the Park. This second phase of interviews—which I have come to call my expanded field research—was not initially planned. Its first subjects, having heard I was researching the Peace Park, approached me to voluntarily offer accounts of their visit or visits to Hiroshima or, in some cases, the news of their imminent departure to Japan.

It quickly became apparent that this second group of people largely offered more nuanced and reflective narratives than the in situ interview subjects. It might be said that the lapse of time carved idiosyncratic gaps and emphases in their memory of Hiroshima and the Peace Park at its centre, but enhanced narrative coherence. The spatial dislocation from the site held an opportunity: instead of tracing each participant's pathway on a ready-made map, I asked these post-memorial travellers to take up a pen, to draw their own map of the Park. The reinvention entailed by each spatial story, each *mapping*, was revelatory.

The diagrams made by these sometime tourists are similar to those famously used by Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (1960), and later referred to as "cognitive mapping" by Frederic Jameson (1984). Jameson's adoption of this term harks back to its use by behavioural psychologists to describe mental representations of physical environments (Tolman, 1948, pp. 192–201), or the process "by which an individual acquires, stores, recalls and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of the phenomena in his everyday spatial environment" (Downs and Stea, 1973, p. 7).

However, I do not share quite the same phenomenological presuppositions as Lynch. I do not, that is, rely solely on what Jameson critiques as the "precartographic operations" of individuals, framing them as independent artefacts lacking in cartographic sophistication. Treating them, that is, as "itineraries rather than [. . .]

maps: diagrams organized around the still subject-centred or existential journey of the traveller, along which various significant key features are marked" (Jameson, 1991, pp. 51–52). Neither do I completely share Jameson's interest in a cognitive mapping (a "mapping" he does not define in any concrete sense) as a potential means of grasping an elusive but latent social *totality* and a "practical *reconquest* of a sense of place" (1991, p. 51 [my emphasis]).

Rather, it is the multiplication of maps, the constant reinvention of the space of the Peace Park (and, more broadly, the conceptual space of Hiroshima) within them that is illuminating. It is the lines of language and thought that unfold in their making, the faltering and breaking down of speech and sense that compel. There is something to learn in the echoes and disjunctions, harmonies and discords that reveal new connections and pathways. This is something that Jameson's words hint at when he suggests that cognitive mapping may have something to reveal about "the construction or reconstruction of an articulated ensemble which can be mobile, alternative trajectories" (1991, p. 51).

As individual artefacts, disconnected from the storied process of their production, from each other and from a detailed consideration of the physical environment in question, the cognitive maps produced by my research participants have much in common with the sketches produced by the participants of Lynch's study. In many cases these simple diagrams *do* simply reveal the subjective journey of the traveller and a set of dominant landmarks. However, it is the "critical practice" (Tally, 1996, p. 401) they entail, and the combination with the spatial stories told through and by them, that is important. For me, what cognitive mapping opens up is a domain that fuses the real and the speculative. This is a domain that Deleuze and Guattari conjure when they make the following distinction between *tracing* and *mapping* in *A Thousand Plateaus*: "What distinguishes the map from the tracing is that it is entirely orientated toward an experimentation in contact with the real" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, p. 12).

Such experimentation reveals the Peace Park as a fluctuating and evolving landscape activated by affect in the here and now. It shakes the traditional acceptance noted by James E. Young that the apparent "land-anchored" stasis of memorial sites and monuments "could also guarantee the permanence of a particular idea or memory attached to it" (Young, 1993, p. 3). This type of experimentation makes sense of Deleuze and Guattari's claim that the monument's use-value is not simply the commemoration of past events. Instead, the monument is a "bloc of present sensations", the preservation of which is owed not to history or any other grand narrative but "only to themselves". This gathering of affect and potential in the "celebration", mourning or memorial marking of the event is an act of creation. "The monument's action", as they declare, "is not memory but fabulation" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994, pp. 167–168).

Tourists, objects and desire

Tourists enter the Park trailing half-digested history lessons, fragments of retrospective media accounts, photographs of mushroom clouds and the iconic shuffling

images of *Hiroshima mon amour*. The cognitive mapping research undertaken with past visitors to Hiroshima in Australia reveals somewhat more prosaic and less explicitly desire-filled encounters with the spaces of Hiroshima's commemoration than those of Resnais' film. Nevertheless, this work—work that attempts to understand more about the encounter between foreign (read "Western" and, for the purposes of this research, English-speaking) tourists and the architectural landscape of the Peace Park—shares resonances with it, even if the libidinal forces at work take forms less obviously charged with eros. These are forces that reach out instead to touch flowers and yellow-hatted children, aging paper cranes and ice cream amidst a bundle of other actions and emotions.

It too turns on a variation of the question raised by the Japanese architect of *Hiroshima mon amour*: "What did Hiroshima mean for you [. . .]?" To echo Deleuze and Guattari's challenge to Oedipally construed desire, I too would pose here the dismantling of the common question addressed in regard to memorial sites, "What does it mean?", and the championing of an alternative, "How does it work?" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983, p. 109). That is, I ask how this memorial space affectively works upon those who broach the boundaries of this commemorative space and how they and their practices re-map it in response. As Adrian Parr argues in her book, *Deleuze and Memorial Culture: Desire, Singular Memory and the Politics of Trauma*, it is not "the meaning of any given memorial" that should be our sole consideration. Rather, she suggests it is also "the deeper problem of how memory affects and energies are put to work by the public" that deserves our attention (Parr, 2008, p. 16). That is, it is a problem of singular desire and its isolation and entanglement in social space.

Like She in *Hiroshima mon amour*, the foreign interlopers of my research (including myself) arrive in Hiroshima with their own territorial baggage of past, present and future desires.

In contrast to their local counterparts, unfamiliarity enhances novelty, increases shock. It can bring with it a self-conscious awareness of lack, of authenticity and of entitlement, to the affects the space provokes. With this lack may come a fervent desire to both assuage and hold onto the affect of this gap, this guilt and, perhaps, to define its terms: even the least nationalistic Australian hurries to clarify that they are not American.

The tourists arrive with their own fears and desires, their own expectant narrative threads:

Kim: *So what made you decide . . .*
Candice: . . .
Well Kim, being born
on a certain date
in August
[. . .]
and also of a certain time.
Because I was born in '55

and . . .
I don't know,
coming into consciousness,
sort of late 60s peace movement.
It's sort of always been
part of my life.
And it's a constant reminder
every year.
[. . .]
So it's just always,
been there.
And the whole
environmental-nuclear debate
has always been there as well.

("Candice", 2014)

As a conceptual persona, the international tourist is both outsider within and key audience of the Peace Park. This is an audience that has not been given much scholarly attention in previous attempts to map the Peace Park's physical or conceptual contours. Lisa Yoneyama's important study, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space and the Dialectics of Memory* (1999), attends to the locally and nationally produced "memoryscape" of Hiroshima but only glosses the impacts of tourism on the city. As Stefanie Schäfer points out, Yoneyama treats tourism as an eventuality of the 1980s rather than acknowledging it as a force in the Park's development (Schäfer, 2015, p. 3).

Schäfer and Ran Zwigenberg's more recently published research establishes that Hiroshima's "tourist potential" was on the agenda for the city's reconstruction authorities as early as 1946 as a way of re-establishing a new economic basis for the city (Schäfer, 2015, 4; Zwigenberg, 2014, p. 39). The Peace Park was conceived as a central component of this new economy: a commercial economy certainly, as both commentators persuasively argue, but also, as I would suggest, an economy of desire.

Neither Schäfer nor Zwigenberg give much consideration to the perception or reception of the Peace Park by tourists or link this agenda with the details of the Park's architectural design development. Theirs are historically rather than geographically or spatially concerned investigations. As such, they are concerned more with historical facts about the space and less about the relational and affective becomings that unfold within it. Neither are they concerned with the geographical and evolutionary development of the Park itself. Their scholarly investigations centre upon the production of memorials as spaces made and controlled solely by designers and civic and state authorities rather than spaces that also unfold as a result of what Michel de Certeau termed "the practice of everyday life".

At the Peace Park tourists connect with the desiring lineaments of other individuals, entities and objects. This includes, but is not restricted to, the historic and contemporary motivations of those that are, and have been, more consciously

engaged in making and managing the Park. Tourists come into this space with partial knowledge and affective allegiances that seek new alignment or confirmation. The space is ostensibly civic, but despite the Park's global aspirations, the tourist's status as citizen within it is anything but clear or confident. Rather, as I have argued elsewhere, tourists are liminal entities within a liminal environment (Roberts, 2016, unpaginated). In the Peace Park, a region spatially and conceptually excised from the surrounding city, the tourist hovers at a threshold, a limen. Here, however, there is no ready mode of ritual incorporation of the type explored in the anthropological research of Van Gennup (1960) and Turner (1964). The tourist "marvels" but, unlike locals such as the Sparrow-man, does not actively "mourn".[1] Seemingly, the tourist lacks the orienting rituals that might see them recognise themselves as an authentic part of the world they observe. Local people, too, may find themselves in a position of affective detachment within the site: through weariness; through a sense of estrangement from official narratives and ceremonial machinations; from the influx of tourism itself. Nevertheless, they appear more likely to possess *as right* sense of proprietary within it.

Into the Park the tourist is compelled, variously, by historical and moral obligation, geopolitical and humanitarian incentive, curiosity of different temperaments—and simply because the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park is a touristic *sight* par excellence. It is a site of appearance (with a nod to Arendt, 1958, pp. 198–199) as well as surveillance (a nod to Foucault, 1991, pp. 195–228): a sight to see and in which to be seen. A sight and site in which one, and one's relationship with the world, may appear to oneself in new ways. A sight in which, like *Hiroshima mon amour*, has the potential to produce seers instead of mere spectators. But for this a revolutionary leap of imagination, affection is required.

The city, and the Park at its centre, court the presence of tourists via guidebooks and history books, by journalism and fiction alike. They court this variant cohort of travellers as they have done since the actors of *Hiroshima mon amour* emerged from the newly minted facilities for tourism within its grounds. What was a hotel in the late 1950s, when the movie was filmed, is now an international conference centre. The complex tangle of forces tensioning the site, however, still endures and expands along similar lines.

The Park is the centrepiece of a city that has emerged from the economic and urban ruin of war like no other. It holds open a focal civic space to display Hiroshima's wounds to the world, as a warning and supplication. It provides a landscape in which the city can come to privately and publicly mourn its dead, to lobby local and international communities and to fuel a civic economy. Local and global tourists enter this charged environment with their cameras. They enter on the drawstrings of guilt and fascination, of curiosity and horror, disbelief, moral indignation and squeamish reluctance. They come with the stubborn wrath of retribution or indignation, the wistful pity for a young girl (long dead), a clutch of paper cranes and laconic indifference.

"Carey", an interviewee and an architect who customarily works through hand-drawn sketches, spoke to me of feeling his way through space as he draws

a cognitive map of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. He recreated blocs of form and emotion: the long and heavy box elevated above the ground that is the museum, the intense circle of ink in the lower portion of the page marking the small monument draped with paper cranes where his partner, "Candice", wept.

Prior to drawing, he spoke critically about feeling the architect of the Museum building in particular was "steering" and "playing" him in a somewhat ponderous and predictable manner, but he was taken by surprise by individual artefacts and stories he termed "harrowing". However, as he draws later, he takes pleasure in the fact he is able to propose corrections to his own map, based not on memory but deduction born of the assemblage of components on the page that he gradually gathers around an axis. In the collection of remembered elements he discerns the potential of an ordered set of abstract object-relations. This is an accurate extrapolation rather than a memory, a creation that happens to coincide with Kenzo Tange and his team's design:

Carey: . . .
And I suppose in retrospect,
If I was thinking about it
That
[the circular ruin of the A-bomb dome—draws arrow]
would be probably central
of this
and that
would be there.

("Carey", 2014)

Carey vividly recalls yellow flowers within the grounds of the Park that he chromatically links with the hats of visiting school children in its grounds. He metaphorically contrasts these elements with the horrors and grave atmospherics of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, which, in his account, he had just left:

Carey: [. . .]
It was kind of beautiful
These blooming young
Flowers.
And these kids that are
blooming
and full of humour.
So it felt full of life
Outside.
And you are taken from . . .
You're dropped
down to the ground.

("Carey", 2014)

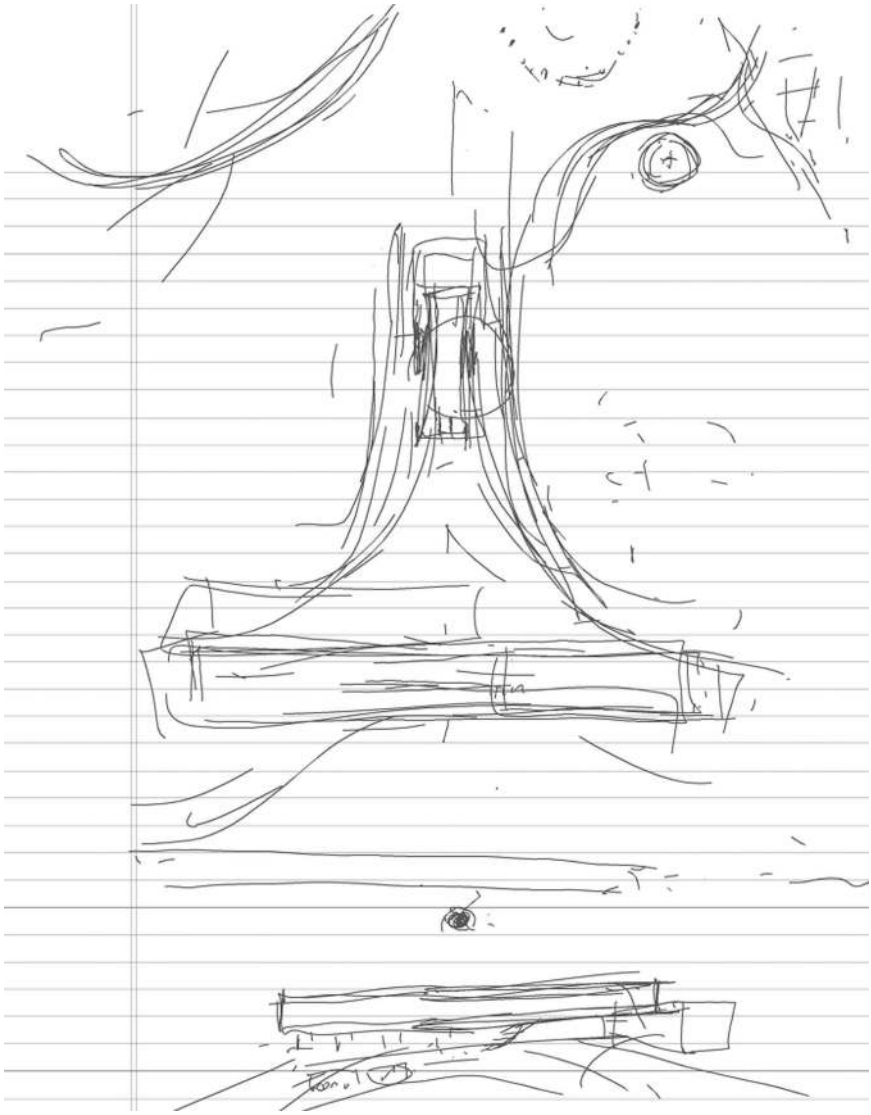

FIGURE 6.3 Cognitive map drawn by "Carey", 29 March 2014.

Source: Carey.

However, as his photographs and the account of his partner Candice evidence, there were no yellow flowers in the Park that autumn day. Instead, the Park beneath the trees was carpeted with a layer of fallen yellow leaves, objects that would have provided a quite different metaphor of affect. Through his narrative recall, and his narrative desire, Carey fabulates a memorial image constructed of particulate fact.

This type of cognitive mapping, in which the atmospherics of the landscape are mapped relative to an affective response, was not uncommon amongst my expanded field interview subjects. "Anna" linked her solemnity as she entered the Park with the weather saying:

Anna: *It was really overcast*
and it was quite, quite cool
and I remember then
when I looked at
I think I walked in.
And to the left where
was the dome.
Yep.
And you could see the sky
up through it
and it was all . . .
You know, quite bleak-looking.
It was just this really lovely . . .
Mirror.
Of what I
what I thought I was about
to experience.

("Anna", 2014)

"Anita" instead felt overwhelmed by the aesthetic contrast between the peaceful blue sky and the ruin of the Atomic Bomb dome in front of her. Her emotions catch her off guard, seeing and feeling tangle and conflate:

Anita: *But to just see that memorial like that.*
Um was just like:
Oh my goodness
Um. What,
this is what,
this is the first thing that we're feeling
and we've read nothing
and heard nothing
and . . .
[. . .]
And then it was that sort of emotion.
And then I'm thinking, Oh.
And there's more to see.
[. . .]
So what is there to come?
What emotion is there to come?

When you are seeing this image?
And I think just the way the sunlight,
I don't know,
just the way the sun was shining.
And the whole building.
And how.
The age of it too.
You know?
And I don't know.
It was just.
The whole situation
was just a bit:
Oh my god
we're actually here
and what horrible devastation
has happened?

("Anita", 2014)

Two emotional depth charges dominate the accounts of most interviewees and their cognitive maps: the "harrowing" evidences of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum ("Carey", 2014) at the south end of the Park and the Atomic Bomb

FIGURE 6.4 Atomic Bomb Dome, Hiroshima. "Anita", 2013.

Source: Anita.

Dome (the preserved ruins of Hiroshima's former Industrial Exhibition Hall) to the north. The latter in particular, in line with touristic promotional material and historical tracts, is claimed by many to be the "image" of Hiroshima. Both elements are present in all but one of the maps drawn by my interview subjects. Lisa stated she did not visit or physically see the Atomic Bomb Dome because it was under scaffolding at the time of her visit. Nevertheless, she was well aware of its presence due to historical and promotional material and its many photographic and three-dimensional representations within the Park ("Lisa", 2014).

What is most frequently, and perhaps most surprisingly, missing, in over half of the cognitive maps produced, is the diminutive, but spatially and physically distinctive monument at the heart of the Peace Park. This, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Cenotaph, is the ceremonial centre of the site and the point to which all of the major paths in Kenzo Tange's master plan lead.

The cenotaph is the focus of the Peace Memorial Ceremony held on 6 August each year and the primary photographic opportunity for visiting dignitaries. It is a photographic opportunity too for visiting tourists, where it becomes a central element or a ubiquitous lens finder for the Atomic Bomb Dome in the background. This is the case even when the monument is not actively recalled and represented in participants' interviews or cognitive maps ("Trent", 2013). Similarly, it is a lens finder of a more acute type for agency photographers who stake out prime positions in the Park on the 6th of August each year, waiting to capture a glimpse of grief authenticated on the face on an aging *hibakusha* (an atomic bomb survivor), framed by its arch as they bow their head in prayer.

FIGURE 6.5 View of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum from the cenotaph, 6 August 1954. Photograph courtesy of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Archives.

Source: Hiroshima Municipal Archives.

The affective utility of this central monument seems to be disarmed for many visiting international tourists who visit the site on a single occasion. For them, the cenotaph is not the subject of cautious curiosity as it is for a number of those who have visited on multiple occasions. Nor is it charged with the tentative type of affective resonance it possesses for the local population, hinted at in the accounts of many repeat visitors, who respectfully enfolded this monument in their mapped journey through the site. "Caitlyn" (a repeat visitor interviewed within the Park), for example, describes sitting to watch "local people" in this area:

Caitlyn: *When I've come by myself before*
I come really early in the morning
And just sit on a seat and watch the
Local people.
And they come along.
And they lay flowers, and they pray.
And it's just . . .
really interesting.

("Caitlyn", 2013)

The repetitions and faltering, as she attempts to explain what it is she is drawn to see at this site, are common throughout the interviews as participants struggle to articulate that which has evidently moved them, affectively and conceptually.

The physical and affective space around the cenotaph no longer works as it did in the early and mid-fifties when the Park was young and unfinished, and the city's losses palpable and raw. The small casket beneath the saddle-shaped arch that holds the names of those claimed by the bomb is the only tombstone for many (Foard, 1994, p. 33). It was the only concrete marker for the families who clustered tightly around and beneath it after the Annual Peace Memorial Ceremony, looking down upon that lengthy list of names, breaching the low fence marking its perimeter. Now, this boundary is regulated and policed to a much greater degree. The ritual use of the Park has hardened into clearer rhythms and become more spatially defined (Roberts, 2015, unpaginated)

The familial, social and cultural links are missing for the tourist along with their desire to know or remember those individuals invisibly enumerated in volumes hidden within the arch's shadow. This object, with its abstract design, seemingly carries little of the aura of authenticity associated with the objects within the Museum and the ruins of the Atomic Bomb Dome. At least, that is, for those who have not received, gleaned or formulated the spatial stories (with their attendant threads of desire) that would make this object a part of their memorial lexicon and cartography.

This monument is one of neat and repetitive formalities now. It is perhaps where the tourist most finds themselves a foreigner, an outsider to rituals that are somehow private, within the vast space of the Park. They are unsure what to make of this monument and the territory around it, unsure what it is, what to call it, or

how to act. There is a reluctance to intrude on a space that is clearly for those who bend their head in prayer:

Carey: *And I, I would have felt*
like . . .
I was actually . . .
um perhaps stepping over
a boundary . . .
Break—
I just kind of felt that
It was their space . . .

("Carey", 2014)

It would seem that this monument is not readily the place of the tourist. They are not comfortably incorporated within its territory. They awkwardly circle the mute object in this landscape: oblivious, abashed, uncertain. Without a wreath, an official role and a raft of photographers in their wake, they are at a loss. The cenotaph eludes their map; it eludes their desire.

Conclusion

Shaped by the elliptical vicissitudes of memory the post-memorial *mapping* of my expanded fieldwork opens avenues for re-thinking and re-seeing the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. These inventions challenge assumptions one might make about the space of the Peace Park using more traditional architectural and historical assessments of the site, assessments that attempt solely to interpret and faithfully *trace* the maps drawn by Park makers and managers.

As I multiply the maps of the Hiroshima Peace Park, repeatedly returning the maps to the tracings, the tracings to the maps (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, p. 13), I am gradually building an alternative picture, a sense of the Park as a living landscape of desire. Like the cinematic landscape evoked by *Hiroshima mon amour*, this is a landscape of uncanny, shifting, overlapping and contradictory affects and territories. These are territories by which it is manufactured and which manufacture affects within its boundaries and beyond: daily, and weekly, and over the years—inscribing new lines, new paths of post-memory over the old.

Note

1 With thanks to Diana Beljaars for this apt word pairing.

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7

"PARK RATS"

Exploring a violent continuum of more-than-human indifference and post-humanity

John Clayton
(With an introduction by Diana Beljaars)

> From the little reading I had done I had observed that the men who were most *in life*, who were moulding life, who were life itself, ate little, slept little, owned little or nothing. They had no illusions about duty, or the perpetuation of their kith and kin, or the preservation of the State. . . . The phantasmal world is the world which has never been fully conquered over. It is the world of the past, never of the future. To move forward clinging to the past is like dragging a ball and chain.
>
> (Miller, 1965, p. 262, quoted in Deleuze and Guattari, 2004)

> La bêtise insiste toujours.
> [The bestiality/stupidity insists relentlessly.]
>
> (Camus, 1947, p. 41)

There is a vitalism in death. John Clayton knew this. Nothing is less than life, nothing ever dies, no matter how full of death. Organic matter that induced and supported life merely becomes taken up in new forms. New forms that arise in a constant reconfiguration of liveliness and deathliness onto which a humanity and a non-humanity is projected. For John, such projections did not uphold as he sought to approach the liveliness of the non-human on shared terms with the human. He rejected the ontological structures that create and uphold the polar oppositions between life and death on humanist terms; an experiential ethics that separates life and death, and inserts death as the ultimate *Other* or the "black wall of nothingness" (Lingis, 2000, p. 160). He dismissed the claims of humanity as a guiding principle for the attribution of value on life in the face of death and vice versa, and resented the insistence of irreconcilable fault lines between the categories of the human and non-human. The proliferation of structural atrocities that such thinking allows to be committed on all life that is not acknowledged as "fully human"

by those in power, pained him, and his work was aimed at reconciling this. John found great inspiration in Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy, and their conception of desire in particular, as it helped him find new ways to break down the imperialism of humankind.

As "the most posthuman of humans", he obliterated the Cartesian dualisms and fixities imposed by Enlightenment thought, through thinking with kinaesthetic capacities and embodiments imprinted with violence. John dealt in life coiling in and bursting out in shared affects and bodies in eternal excess, demanding a Derridean reinsertion of the truth of the animal. Following Deleuze and Guattari, life with the anticipation of death, he endeavoured to explore ways in which death finds its "way in" to subsume and invigorate futures of life alongside Bergson. Or perhaps he saw death as liberating all that is caught up in the temporally more rigid organisation of life. In this rigidity and the resistance of the manifold forms of life to liberation in death he found precipitation of vitality with politics. How is life recognised as such? What counts as life at all? For whom? And when does life cease to be discernible from death? Determined by whom and for whose benefit? The foundational questions he raises and the (re)considerations of our epistemological politics he urges, place upon us a demand to think of the politics of vitality as being interspersed with the schism humanity and inhumanity differently.

What follows is the late John Clayton's conference paper, presented at the symposium entitled "Spaces of Desire: Remembrance and Civic Power" in June/July 2016. This is the presentation that is discussed in the introduction of this book. John's text embodies his intellect, his politics and his (post)humanity without which this world would have been a worse place.

***

I set myself a problem, in the best interests of exploring the contentions and objectives of my discipline. I'm an animal geographer, working at the intersection of animal studies and biopolitical theory. Congruent with this position is the task, as heralded and oft cited, to bring the animals "back in" (Wolch and Emel, 1995) to social scientific and humanities debate. This call has been hugely successful, as attested by the growth of the animal studies discipline and, indeed, finding myself working within it to explore the problematics of animal spatial politics, predation and livestock bio-security.

However, that is not the content here, instead I challenged myself to "think" animals into an entirely arbitrary circumstance that emerged from an everyday routine. Note, here, I have no pretensions to Derridean philosophical extrapolations involving nakedness and cats. Instead, it was whilst passing through the landscaped space of Alexandra Gardens (the remembrance park to the front of this building), that I had a moment of reflection more akin to Jane Bennett's (2010) recollection of collected objects in a storm drain.

This was, I think, a moment of radical immanence, in which I sat in the park dedicated to remembering war dead, stewing quietly over the decision taken by the UK government to undertake strategic bombing in Syria. My emotions built as I considered the implied hypocrisy of remembrance, that we may remember the dead whilst reifying a nation state system that actively produces wars, that encourages conflict to benefit arms exports. It occurred to me that

the park was a discursive fold wherein the park acted to imprint an affect of remembrance that produced the nation state in a subject, and thus, continued complicity in the production of further dead. This would be affect as "object-target" as Anderson (2014, p. 15) states, the deliberate manipulation of space to produce an effect.

But, as I pondered this, I noticed a large brown rat working its way along the flower beds some distance away, perhaps 20 feet, seemingly unconcerned by the proximity of humans, albeit the most post-human of humans, and dashing from cover to cover in the search (I imagined) of its next meal or perhaps in search of familial comrades otherwise engaged out of sight in the park. I have no revulsion to rats, unlike many, but this was not a moment of shared recognition. The rat did not meet my gaze and pause momentarily, what struck me was its "indifference" not only to me and other humans in the park, but to the affective fold that pervaded the park. So I resolved to explore this moment as an explorations of the limits of a discipline and the affirmative politics of post-human philosophy, which has come to dominate animal studies in the social sciences.

In essence, the question produced by this immanent moment was how can I think a notion of remembrance, and becoming rat, of humans, or becoming nationalism of the rat. Could the rat know the park "by its affects" to follow the Deleuzian thinking, and thus be enrolled in the radical politics of the moment that I was feeling. Invoking the park's requirement to remember, I began to consider the historical relationship between humans, rats and war, a temporal human–rat–war assemblage that stretched from an enlightenment human past to a post-human future, from rationality to flesh.

Rats

Whether we like it or not, rats are an utterly ubiquitous companion of human culture, a companion that thrives everywhere that humans thrive. The immunologist Hans Zinsser states:

> Gradually these two have spread across the earth, keeping pace with each other and unable to destroy each other, though continually hostile. They have wandered from East to West, driven by their physical needs, and—unlike any other species of living things—have made war upon their own kind.
>
> *(Zinsser, 1935, pp. 208–209, in Ramsden, 2012)*

It would appear that we're locked in a dance of eternal attrition, thriving on the losses of the other, cleanliness, consumption and antagonistic companionship. The philosophical ethologist Vinciane Despret (2015) cites the "Umwelt" in exploring the manner by which a rat might make sense of the world, following Von Uexkull, to suggest a kind of haptophilia as kinaesthetic memory.

> It inscribes the course of its route in its body in the form of lines, curves and turns, or even roughness, textures, sensations of cold and humidity—what do we really know about what a rat body can sense?
>
> *(2015, p. 127)*

> The rat responds to the question of an architecture that constitutes the world around (it).
>
> *(2015, p. 128)*

Not entirely "indifferent", then, to the architecture of remembrance. Indeed, it might be said that the space offers a respite from the aggressive anti-rodent architectures of brutalist office space, encasing Welsh civil servants. Remembrance is shelter, foliage, earth and green, scattered with refuse and lunch remnants in fetid bins. Stone and water. Invoking the requirement to remember, how might the architecture of war express a difference for these furry companions? More earth, more noise, more bodies, more food, fewer walls, more holes, less bleach. Eruptions of food accompanying intense heat.

Soldiers serving in World War 1 recalled how rats gained in boldness, stealing food momentarily left and crawling across sleeping bodies. Feeding openly on the decaying remains of the dead, attacking and eating the eyes first, then swiftly working through the rest of the body. Less "indifference" here, more a celebration of bounty, the decay of human cultures forming the halcyon days of rat imperialism, peeling upon the bodies of the dead in droves and harvesting grim mementos.

On the eve of the Somme, as we're today 100 years hence, the rats of Flanders fields did not have long to wait for a sumptuous feast of the fallen. Touch and feel, the kinaesthetic memory of war felt in the full belly of human flesh tenderised in the torture of state-craft.

Becoming—Rat

Rats are a vector of disease and are thus persecuted, but what does this mean? What materiality does this embody? It is an invocation of the separation between nature and culture, a reinforcing of a dualism that removes humans from a notionally separate "nature". Cartesian thinking that produces discreet subjects and an impermeable line in between. And yet, rats are with us, have always been with us and may yet outlive us. As geologists announce the existence of the "anthropocene", we recognise that a separate "nature" is a myth, however, has it ever been so for rats. They have been instrumentalised in the pharmaceutical industry for decades and perhaps as the ultimate expression of this utilised to grow human body parts and counter human cancers (Haraway, 1997). Rat flesh and human flesh are porous conduits of common contagion from Weils disease to plague. A fact well utilised by unit 731 of the Japanese army in China April 1945, where 3 million force-fed rats were raised to produce billions of bubonic plague infected fleas using 4,500 machines.

> We would inject the most powerful bacteria into the rats. On a 500 gram rat, we would attach 3,000 fleas. When the rats were released, the fleas would transmit the disease.
>
> *(Li, 2017, p. 296)*

> The rats were placed in porcelain bombs and parachuted into target areas so that they wouldn't be killed by the impact. The resulting plague spread across 22 counties killing between 20 & 30,000 people.
>
> *(Li, 2017, p. 297)*

So given this industrialisation of horrors, both military and civilian, for the good of some and the detriment of others, the force of rationalised warfare and the flow of flesh and material movements between porous bodies and interstitial species, it's difficult to maintain a separation of myself from the rat in the park and our place together, there, at that moment.

I remember my kin, as I am instructed, and I remember his kin as I have chosen to notice. I remember war, and war crimes against humans and crimes against humans perpetrated by animals acting like animals on behalf of humans acting like humans treating humans like animals? Where sits Cartesian duality now? Who's fallen do I weep for? Am I the same as all the dead? The same decaying organic matter as everything else.

Mass graves

I'm dealing in molar aggregates, these are the problems of molar aggregates, the undifferentiated mass of human-animal-rat-mass death and contestation, rooted in a moment's haecceity. Braidotti (2013, pp. 49–50) urges a "post-human ethics for a non-unitary subject, with an enlarged sense of interconnection between self and others, including the non-human . . . by removing the object of self-centred individualism".

Given this condition, can the affects of nationalism and thus the state apparatus of war exist in concert with post-anthropocentric acceptance of antagonistic ratty companions? Perhaps this post-anthropocentrism requires that humans view these vectors of disease differently and, much like the recent Channel 4 series "Utopia", begin to understand that bacteria has its place in the evolution of human culture. State war-craft has its roots in modes of production that mobilise masses and are, in turn, productive of masses, both rat and human. A humanist rational-asceptic world of ever-increasing people removing risks and competing species, could be brought to check in futures steeped in anti-biotic resistant plagues productive instead of the mechanised need for mass graves.

I'm searching for an affirmatory post-human politics for ratkind. I am reminded of the revolutionary discourse of Ulrike Meinhof (Edel, 2008), "Burning one car is a crime, burning 100 cars is political action" by this token might I suggest that one rat eating one rotting corpse, is horrific, a thousand rats eating a thousand bodies is performing a vital function. A function of life in the culture of war, cleansing the battlefield of dead friend and foe alike.

So by bombing another country we're providing a concerted and deliberate benefit to that nation's rats, removing obstacles and providing plenty of food in the form of the dead. 1,000 bombs, 10,000 dead, a million rats, or calculations to that effect. Stateless rats, insurgent rats, homeless rats.

Similarly in peace time, these quiet masters of the shadow might be thought of as the benevolent consumers of capitalist waste. The unsung beneficiaries of globalisation and Western imperial intentions. But an affirmative politics based on functionality is problematic, I am uncomfortable with the connotations. What determines the validity of function, and with function comes system, an over-coding of conduct within a dominant molar aggregate. Perhaps even a return to the dualities of ecologism, a humanist re-separation of me from the rat in the space of remembrance. Can there be no affirmative politics without function? Rats slip through the affective gaps of capitalist over-coding of the subject, rendered abject and removed to the shadows of the alleyways and bushy corners of rare green spaces. No surplus value to slurp up to arborescent hedge funds.

The functionless rendered abject, the functionless rendered mass, and in the mass rendered killable (Haraway, 2008).

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8

STYGIAN DARK

What the presence and architecture of sex clubs reveal about the politics of public and private space in a city

Laurence Kimmel

Introduction

This chapter explores the links between dark rooms in sex clubs and public space. It also defines the theoretical underpinnings that are useful in developing our understanding of the role of dark rooms in cities. The sex clubs considered here are venues for the public where citizens can engage in consensual sex, rather than sex businesses such as brothels and massage parlours. Dark rooms are spaces within sex clubs that have such low light that an individual's identity remains hidden and signs of the social construct in society do not abide. They are spaces that enable sexual encounters that incorporate all kinds of sexual practices beyond optic and scopophilic stimulation. The assumption herein, is that these spaces are not as disconnected from the civic culture as they first seem, and are an aspect of civil behaviour. The aim of this chapter is to show how a precedent for such a space, Ken's at Kensington, operates on the fringe of what we would habitually call the civic. This space is stripped from notions of class, political affiliation and wealth exhibited in the inner workings of the LGBT+ community in Sydney and provides grounds for a balanced civic dialectic.

Ken's at Kensington functioned as an entertainment and social venue as well as a place giving the opportunity for casual sex. Such spaces take part in the expression of the politics of the society and the city, stripped of the ordained aspects of the daily civic. It is argued that the architecture of sex clubs take part in the expression of the politics of the society about sexual practices. The expression and visibility of the architecture of sexual practices in the city is thus relevant to developing knowledge about the society and the city. Political dialectics can be expressed in the architecture of one place (i.e. the politics of one place).

The chapter is divided into four sections, which address objectives that need to be answered in order to satisfy the aim. The first positions the reasoning presented

here within the philosophical strands proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari as well as Walter Benjamin. This section gives a sense of the theoretical foundations of the text. The second section expands the theoretical context to include other European writers and the wider approach to the concept of the civic. The second section also introduces key ideas of how the city functions and how the "civic" intertwines with the "desirous". The third section shows how sex clubs are presented, positioned and architecturally expressed in the city. This third section also addresses the particularities of Ken's at Kensington directly, and leads to the fourth section, which discusses the events unfolding in the club.

The particular inspiration for the theoretical underpinnings of this chapter are taken from *Anti-Oedipus* and *The Logic of Sense* by Deleuze and Guattari and *The Arcades Project* by Walter Benjamin. This is supported by writing put forward by Theodor Adorno, Mehdi Belhaj Kacem, Michel Foucault and Gilbert Simondon.

Section I

In 1969 Deleuze published *The Logic of Sense* in which he discusses the diagnosis of desire that can be said to be operating in and through literature, art and architecture. The author of the work is like a diagnostician of desire and the relation it takes producing a civic affect. Architecture in the same way would be a diagnosis of the state of the development of attitudes prevalent in society in a given moment towards the events that a designed building is to foster. Deleuze here echoes Walter Benjamin and his rhetoric on architecture as a metaphor of the dynamics within society. By framing desirous relations, be it between things, people and systems, architectural design gives us an indication of how the constructs of societal norms determine relations of the civic. Benjamin here, similarly to Deleuze, suggests that architectures are not considered as fixed symbols but rather change and flow with the currents in society (Benjamin, 1999).

Architecture can therefore be said to respond to movements in society expressed through dialectics. The concept of dialectics is inherited from "dialectical materialism" (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who adapted the Hegelian rhetoric). Dialectical materialism regards every historically developed society as in constant transformation. Contradictions and conflicts of various forces act on a given society to affect its transformation. The varying fields of forces of the social discourses are expressed in the architecture. Architectures bear tensions that reflect those conflicts with different intensities. According to Benjamin, an architecture that is not only functional expresses the social and political dialectics of a society. Politics is defined in this chapter as dialectics in the realm of opinions and actions of citizens. According to French philosopher Jacques Rancière, disagreement or "dissensus" (as opposed to harmony and consensus) is inherent in politics and is often inherent in the spaces governed entirely by desirous relations as opposed to civic regulations. For Rancière such dynamics, which relate to a constant reconfiguration of community, are made visible as public space, or in public space (Rancière, 2010, p. 28),

and this chapter will argue they are also made visible on the edges of political or civic life and in some of the city's darkest spaces.

Benjamin shows how some singular architectures can be seen as incarnations of political or socio-economic struggles as well as relations that counter what we may call the civic (Benjamin, 1999). His conclusion came from a deep analysis of changes in the Late Modern Period. As an example, he presents the Parisian Arcades and their characteristic intertwining interior–exterior space. He understands the Arcades as a symptom of a turning point in history: a remnant of the nineteenth century in the twentieth century (Benjamin, 1999). In the context of Benjamin's philosophy of architecture, singular programmes that intertwine public and private spheres express the dialectics of the society on the threshold between the public and private space.

Deleuze and Guattari develop this notion of the threshold and note that "social symbolism can become a sexual material, and sexuality, a ritual of social aggregation" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2013, p. 179). The sex clubs considered in this chapter can thus not only be a place for the exchange for sexual relief, but also places engaging and indulging social aspects of sexuality. Following Benjamin's definition of the "singular", a sex club is a singular place in the city: it is both open to the public (even if some limits exist for its accessibility: money exchange and sometimes selection), and at the same time it is a place of expression of intimate sexual practices. In a sex club, public and private space are even more intertwined than in the Passages and in other singular examples studied by Benjamin. Benjamin praised more "dirty" cities like Marseille (Benjamin, 1991b) and Naples, where sexuality was less taboo than in other more policed and hygienic cities. Benjamin described social life in and discussed his observations of the brothels of these cities.

Section II

Within the concert between Deleuze and Benjamin we should also look at the wider debates on the relation between sexuality and urban order. Theories raised by Gilbert Simondon, Theodor Adorno, Gilles Deleuze and Mehdi Belhaj Kacem are taken as references here. This is to define and name the specific desirous relation between Ken's at Kensington and the civic regulations in Sydney.

Sexual practices in the public sphere were not always repressed, as we can sense from Benjamin's writing. The casual attitude to sexuality in public presented in Ancient Greece needs to be mentioned here as a stark comparison to the sexuality of contemporary civic spaces. In Ancient Greece, such practices were deeply connected to the public realm. The split between the public and intimate was defined differently and left a certain freedom in the relation between the two. To understand this relation we may look at Ancient Greek literature and mythology as, to paraphrase Deleuze, *literary authors are also diagnosticians of society*.

Our attention may turn to one particular myth that showcases how the Ancient Greek writers or storytellers considered what is rational or civic and what is irrational or desirous. The myth in question explains the functioning of the Ancient Greek

afterlife and the river Styx, which in mythology is described as a black underground river that forms the boundary between Earth and the Underworld (Hades) (Ovid, 1916; Hesiod, 2009, pp. 775 ff.). In some places, it connects to the surface and in some it is deep in the bowels of hell. If we consider that the river can be a metaphor for the daily rational part of public life and the intimate aspects of sexuality, then we may conclude that the sexual was an accepted part of the world. Philosophical thought about rationality and irrationality in this sense is embedded in these contrasts. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, for the rational world to exist the irrational world must be linked and intertwined with it (Adorno and Horkheimer, 2007). One might say that the world needs its Stygian part to enable one to think philosophically. In the same way, the Stygian part of the city is necessary for the functioning of the whole. Everyday public practices need to coexist in the city along with sexual practices. The black space would be the literal expression of the dark part of the city.

The understanding of dialectics in architecture as described by Benjamin remains valid today and can be seen as a split between the individual and the collective; an idea that originates in the Modern Period. Through the split between private sphere and collective sphere, sexual aspects of life shifted primarily to the private realm. According to German philosopher Theodor Adorno, this dynamic is in part created and emphasised by Christian introversion (Adorno, 1997, p. 219). Unlike *the interaction between the upper world and the underworld in Ancient Greece accessed via the black river Styx, which can be associated with well-functioning sexuality (*Mauron, 1963*), the places of sexual practices today remain mostly in a disconnected underground.* When the dialectics of sexual practices in relation to the public sphere cannot be addressed any more because of moralism, ascetism or what Adorno calls "ascetic authoritarianism" (Adorno, 1997, p. 371), an explicit expression of real sexuality and sensuality in the city disappears.

However, for Adorno, instead of disappearing, sexuality returns and paradoxically becomes "even more palpable through its concealment" (Adorno, 1997, p. 371). Such an account resonates with Michel Foucault's "repressive hypothesis" (Foucault, 1998). Examples might include the "secret societies" that spring directly out of Christian fixations with sexual practices. The Hellfire clubs from the mid- to late eighteenth century, met in secret and were concerned with carnal pleasures and sexuality. Sir Francis Dashwood's *Order of the Friars of St. Francis of Wycombe* merged Enlightenment thought, experimentalism and sexual liberation (Lord, 2008). This seemingly open sexuality is in fact not what Sir Francis Dashwood discussed. It is worth noting that this isolation from public space comes with some potential risks to the persons involved. Inhibited, conventional and aggressive-reactionary individuals tend to prefer the absolute inwardness of places of sex clubs. For Adorno, inwardness is an anti-psychologism and "intolerance to ambiguity"; an impatience with what is ambivalent and not strictly definable (Adorno, 1997, p. 158). Adorno defends a dialectics of interiority against extreme inwardness as extreme abstraction from outside, from nature and its pleasures, and against the inwardness of sentimental popular culture. He casts a reconciling light on an inwardness that participates in dialectics.

It might be said that because of this in the Modern Period in the Western cities, the aspects of life and cities as they were freely expressed in Ancient Greece do not exist any more, or barely exist. In terms of sociology, Benjamin describes the split between the individual and the collective of the Late Modern Period. A distinction arises between individual sensibility (dream and will) and the collective sensibility of the urban crowd. As described in *Der Erzähler* (Benjamin, 1991a), this divergence ends oral tradition as a catalyst between the individual and the collective and leads to the global impoverishment of experience. French philosopher Gilbert Simondon theorised how, in the Late Modern Period, the experience of the private sphere becomes disconnected or "dephased" from the experience of the collective sphere (Simondon, 1989, p. 227; 1995, p. 232; 2014, pp. 315–329).

For American sociologist Richard Sennett capitalism is the major socio-economic and political factor that affects contemporary collective life, comprising the politics of sexuality. According to Sennett, capitalist society encourages the desire for the protection of persons behind the sealed boundaries of private space. The city becomes a mosaic of individuals or micro-communities (Sennett, 1992), where public life and public space and thus politics tend to disappear. And paradoxically, at the same time, the Late Modern Period displays erasures of boundaries. *Jugenstil* (Art Nouveau) was described by Benjamin in this sense (Benjamin, 1999, p. 9). Both clusterisation and transient boundaries coexist in the Late Modern Period, and these contradictions are exacerbated in the contemporary era. When the dialectics are not in play any more in the city, because of their restricting limits or a loss of limits of this play, the city cannot be a place of balanced affective social life. In this case on top of losing the balance that was set out in by the Stygian flow, society loses dialectics that enable the convening of a balanced politics.

We can generalise characteristics that affect social aspects of sexuality by considering any excessive law or absence of law that regulate it. When there is a shift from the realm of Common Law (that is the basis for the play of dialectics) to extreme modes of collective psychology, dialectics are not in play any more in the city. French philosopher Mehdi Belhaj Kacem describes the disappearance of affect for both absolute Law and absence of Law (Kacem, 2007). Identifying these dynamics enables the study of the possibility of a Stygian space as an element that counters capitalist determinism. According to Kacem, when the city is excessively controlled and policed, it loses its potential to be a site of politics and aesthetics. In psychoanalytical terms, the primacy of Law names sexuality as sadism. It is one extreme of the spectrum named "the extrinsic rule" by Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 154). The link can be made with city politics and social functioning. Any strong regulation of sexual practices would amplify practices that are not affectual. When the city is *not* controlled and policed, it also loses its potential to be a site of politics and aesthetics. In psychoanalytical terms, the absence of Law names sexuality as masochism. It is one extreme of the spectrum referred to as the "transcendent ideal" by Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 154). According to Kacem, pleasure is not reachable, and instead the aim is to attain what is considered to be the Ultimate Good. It is also linked to the idea of the virtual as Universal Relation. Desire is

then considered to be inconsistent, diffuse and infinite. In the extreme case of the absence of Law, affective life is also not possible.

According to Kacem, this "masochism" is in fact close to Deleuze's theory of an "infinite giving-consistency of desire" (*mise-en-consistance infinie du Désir*) (Kacem, 2007, p. 37), although Deleuze and Guattari differentiate their theory of the plane of consistency of desire from masochism (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 154). They argue for a form of desire unlike the traditional notions of desire that might link it with lack. They would assert that desire is about connection and that there is no "loss" or "lack" that desire fills. Kacem argues that, through the theory of lines of flight, the supposedly plain desire tends to become diffuse and unreachable. Kacem builds his theory of desire in relation to Deleuze and Guattari, but sets it between the extremes of sadism and masochism. The reflection on Deleuze and Guattari's notion of desire will have an impact in Section III of this chapter.

The architectural implication of the primacy of Law is that sex clubs are secluded and hidden from the public sphere. When sexual practices are remote from public space, their expression might become, or be seen to be, pathological, as outside the autoregulation of public space. That is, the link between open public space and sex clubs is a key metaphorical aspect. The location of the sex club in the city, its thresholds and progression of spaces from exterior to interior creates the politics of the sex club. The facades are a visual expression of this link. The architectural implication of the absence of Law is a generalisation of the phantasy and ideals that are impossible to be reached. The erasure of boundaries in the expression of sexuality creates a dispersed superficial "fraudulent sensuality of culture's facade" (Adorno, 1997, p. 54). Therefore, a certain restraint in the expression of sex clubs is a key aspect of the politics of sexuality. The fluctuating balance between these two requirements is an effect of the politics of sex club in the city.

Section III

Following from the rhetoric in Section II, what I would call a *Stygian space* may be a sign of balanced politics in a city. What I would call a Stygian sex club is part of the dialectics of public and private spheres (and its architecture an expression of the politics of sexuality). To be considered a Stygian sex club it might not necessarily be a sex business, and not ostensibly commercially expressed towards the outside. That is, sex is not the commodity being bought and sold and the architecture is not merely a billboard for commercial exchange. That is, sex is not the commodity being bought and sold suggesting that architecture that fosters it is not merely a billboard for commercial exchange; however it should not be divorced from the public space.. Dialectical or Stygian sex clubs are thus closely linked with the "upper world"; they are publicly accessible spaces instead of totally remote private places. A particular Stygian sex club is iconic if the social and political interactions are key to the politics of sexuality of the particular city.

There are specific architectural implications for Stygian sex clubs. In addition to the architecture not merely acting as the advertisement, and following the writings

of Benjamin, there is a high chance that the spatial characteristics would be singular, as defined in the introduction. The sex club would not directly relate to the business district or the entertainment district. In its spatial layout, it does not present an ostensible commercial sign towards the outside nor is it totally remote from public space. It would surface like a wayward branch of the river Styx, in joyous and surprising manners.

Former Sydney gay club Ken's at Kensington (Ken's) is an iconic signifier for the LGBT+ community in Sydney. Ken's, although closed in 2012, remains deeply embedded in the memories of its customers and has been ever since it opened in 1972. First located on Belmore Road in the suburb of Sydney called Randwick, it was relocated to 83 Anzac Parade in the same area, where it remained until it closed. The former house in which it was situated on Anzac Parade housed the Purple Onion nightclub from 1962. Ken's original owner was Ken "Kandy" Johnson, a drag queen who performed in Purple Onion. Johnson opened Ken's Baths in a gym at 97 Belmore Road, Randwick, in 1971 before relocating to the (at the time) vacant old Purple Onion building. The venue was later sold to David Ross and Nicolas Lorschy and was first popularised under the name: Ken's Karate Klub and also Kensington Karate Klasses. The name was supposed to explain the vinyl-covered mats and the thumping and groaning inside but was also a way to keep the place confidential before the legalisation of homosexuality in New South Wales. The final owner of the club was Rainer Becker. When it closed in 2012 it ended a 50-year association with the LGBT+ community.

With homosexuality in New South Wales not decriminalised until 1984, Ken's was also a shelter and a place to obtain advice and support. It was a place of brotherhood, and the memory of the place and its events is still vibrant in Sydney's gay community. Person A—a former staff member, and two former visitors (persons B and C)[1] all agree that the place played an important role in gay sexual culture and community at that time. Persons A, B and C still feel connected to the people who were running the place and to the people they met at the place. Person B fell in love in the dark room of Ken's, and had a 13 years' long relationship with this person. The major social and political role of Ken's made this place iconic.

Although situated on a main road, Anzac Parade, Ken's was unusual being located outside the business district. It possessed neither an active street front facade (like venues on Oxford Street), nor was it a remote sex club disconnected from Sydney's public space. Ken's had a position and a spatial layout that matched the characteristics of Stygian sex clubs: an "underground" with a facade in a random non-commercial area.

Inside, Ken's was like a labyrinth. It had three levels connected through several stairways. The entry level was on the upper floor. It comprised an entrance and facilities for washing, lockers, gym, massage, TV, smoking and reading, and a DJ area with lounges and glory holes. The level below was accessible through two sets of stairs, and contained a swimming pool, jacuzzi, cubicles, steam room, showers, dark room and a porn theatre. When Johnson remodelled the venue, the nightclub's stage was replaced with a swimming pool, around which shows were

occasionally performed. The swimming pool was notorious for having a perspex ceiling, so that people above at the entrance could see people bathing (and cavorting) below. The small cubicles were the size of mattresses, which sums up their main purpose. Two or more persons could lock themselves in with lights on, off or dimmed.[2] The coexistence of areas for social interaction and discussion with areas for play and sexual intercourse clearly distinguishes Ken's from sex business sites. With the freedom to engage with "the other" in different ways, persons constantly negotiated their place and occupation in space. Even the perspex ceiling might have been interpreted as part of the transparency of public politics, creating a symbolic link between persons and contributing to the theatrical occupation of space. Through the exterior, threshold and interior characteristics, Ken's club in Sydney ignited the civic dialectics by providing a Stygian element in the civic.

Section IV

Considered as a whole, the sex club is a place of social interaction. Taken in isolation, dark rooms might at first glance seem to have little to do with the "social" of social interaction. However, paradoxically, dark rooms can be considered even more public than the rest of a sex club in that an encounter with the "other" happens without the optic privilege and the biases that the visual often reinforce. A visitor cannot tell the race, the socio-economic status, the level of education or the ideological position of anyone else. It is also unlikely that a person could be recognised in such a space. Unlike the visible parts of sex clubs, dark rooms are places that offer even greater freedoms of expression of desire in a habitual or Deleuzian sense and allow an escape from the moral control of society.

Dark rooms enable a wide range of sexual behaviours, within the limits of consent between adults. They enable the extremes mentioned in Section II: the repetition of the sexual act described in relation to sadism, and, because the room is dark, the experience of phantasy and imagined ideal in relation to masochism. These two can be combined. In this sense, dark rooms can be considered a symbol of resistance against identity politics and places for revolutionary expressions of desire. They are a provocation to commercial rationalities: even if one pays to enter, the encounter in the dark with unknown persons, without considering visible social status, where security cannot be managed, disrupts the logic of productivity. The existence of locations in Sydney where no CCTV can be used and that are not policed, are a first rank provocation against the growing control and policing of society.

Distinct but not far from the description of masochism according to Kacem, in the words of Deleuze and Guattari in *Mille plateaux*, the expression of desire in dark rooms can be described as an "escape" from the daily public realm. They provide an escape from the traditions of public behaviours and the habits of thought that we tend to repeat. And for the bodies that come to occupy these spaces, they are moments of what Deleuze and Guattari might call "de-territorialisation" where who you are, in traditional senses, fails to register. What matters in here is what

you do, not who you are. Deleuzian desire "works" in a dark room, first because of the invisibility of the subject is also the removal of logics to which a subject is habitually subjected. Second, Deleuzian desire "works" in a dark room because the lack of sight is not felt as lack. It supersensualises touch, taste, sound and smell. The body is played in an alternate manner that emphasises the value of contact and connection. Its value system (if it has one) is one that promotes the rawness of sensation over the measures of the sensible.

This possibility of lines of flight as "escape" has political implications for the interaction between the gay community expressing sexual practices in the city and the daily politics of the power of the mainstream. The "signifying regime" of signs (SRS) of the powerful or mainstream and the "passional post-signifying subjective regime" of signs (PPSSRS) of the minority, as defined by Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 157), enable one to discuss the expression of sexual practices in relation to the power of the mainstream. Deleuzian desire is played out differently in the SRS and PSRS. In the SRS, a line of flight is assigned a negative sign "because it exceeds the degree of deterritorialization of the signifying sign, however high it may be" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 116). "Against the negative", Deleuze and Guattari favour a desire that is positive in their theory. The line of flight is assigned a positive sign especially in the PSRS. The PSRS proceeds entirely differently;

> because the sign breaks its relation of significance with other signs and sets off racing down a positive line of flight, it attains an absolute deterritorialization expressed in the black hole of consciousness and passion. [. . .] it has its own way of repudiating the positivity it frees, or of relativizing the absoluteness it attains, without, however, falling back to the preceding regime.
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 133)*

In this regard, every glory hole is a "black hole of consciousness and passion" and every Stygian dark room is an escape, if only for an intense, sweaty moment. As the two regimes of signs held by the dark room are never totally distinguishable, the positive aspect of desire is present in the interaction or intertwining of the SRS and PSRS in the whole social system. The system transforms itself in a creative way, especially to become less hierarchical. The empowerment of sexual minorities in a PSRS lacks nothing. The sexual minority as PSRS is empowered through desire and in reverse this empowerment creates positive desire.

The architectural implications of re-territorialisation after the experience of the "escape" is a continuity from open public space to the more enclosed parts of the sex club, through sequences or gradients of spaces. We reassemble ourselves in light spaces, in observed spaces, in locker rooms and then out via a discrete exit. The wide range of PSRS expressed by the sexual minority is set in play with the SRS through this continuity with public space and through the existence of gradients of spaces. The dark room is a place of extreme ranges of sexual behaviours. The experience of this radicality is further enabled when the continuity with public space is

maintained. The coexistence of the dark room and of the socialising spaces creates the politics of the club, just as does the coextensivity of the street, the entrance and exit. From the analyses of Sections III and IV, we can conclude that Ken's Sydney ignited the civic dialectics by providing a Stygian element in the civic.

Conclusion

As a resistance to the split between the public and the private sphere, we focused on the existence of publicly accessible places of intimate practices. Against the clusterisation of intimate practices, or in reverse, the excessive expression of intimate practices, the existence of diverse publicly accessible spaces in the city is a sign of balanced politics. Sex clubs are an example. To sum up, the Stygian sex clubs require three characteristics. The first is the existence of a social aspect that enables resistance against the split between the collective and the private in the Modern Period, and against the social and political extremes (excess of Law or absence of Law in public life), capitalist determinism being its most influential contemporary form. A Stygian sex club is iconic if the social interactions, including shallow or deep political content in the exchanges, give the place a key role in the politics of sexuality in the city for the long term.

The second is the play of dialectics between public and private in the way the sex club is organised. It has spatial requirements and facilitators: in terms of exterior characteristics, the sex club is set in continuity with the open public space without being commercially advertised. In terms of interior characteristics, the experience inside the sex club spans from the social areas to the dark room, and a person can negotiate their location, activities and interactions inside the club. Due to the affective aspect of the place, this is an individual and collective transformative experience.

The last characteristic is that dark rooms in Stygian sex clubs can be iconic parts of the city: mitigate the passage from the upper ground to the underground and reverse. Focusing on dark rooms in sex clubs means focusing on a fragment that unveils the politics of sexuality at the scale of a city.

Notes

1 Conversations, June 2016.
2 Conversation with A, June 2016.

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9

FOLDS OF DESIRE

Charles Drozynski

Introduction

Architecture may be seen as an art of manipulating spatial divisions for the purposes of generating networks and new relations between spaces and people. More often than not architecture deals with the problem of introducing a new element on site that has the potential to reconfigure that which we have habituated. What I find particularly challenging about this process is the question of including elements that produce relations that contest the norm and disrupt the networks and flows of people, goods and information on site. Perhaps those elements do not even wish to be included and perhaps there is no need for them to be. There will however always be a liminality or a threshold that links what is subversive to that which is not. This chapter discusses the differentiation of gay leisure establishments through a Deleuzian analysis of the interior–exterior relations that they create and challenge the normal way of seeing the LGBT+ culture as a single entity.

In the early 1990s Gilles Deleuze published a book entitled *The Fold* in which he discusses a concept that can help in understanding these liminalities (2006). In his text he discusses the architectural significance of what he calls a "fold"—as a disfigurement of the continuity of space and ideas to link apparently distant concepts and/or places. He does so by analysing the philosophy and theories of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. This chapter examines this concept and how it may become unfolded in and through public discourse on the gay subculture in London in the 1990s. I am arguing that by the act of "folding" and "unfolding", the subculture created different assemblages between its interiority and the civic spaces occupied; and by doing so offered a new quality of space. The relation is considered in the context of a political *affect*, challenging the norm and proposing new ways of participating in the civic but always within the framework of ongoing debates or societal norms.

The chapter is based on a study of two architectural cases; a gay bar and a dark room. One of two case studies investigated in this chapter is the Rupert Street Bar in Soho. The bar developed with the embrace of the growing visibility of the LGBT+ Community in the 1990s. The transparency of the elevation allowed the customers or patrons within to engage in the habitual liberty of the district. The patrons of the bar could be seen from the outside and could see the outside from the inside. In this way it was easier for them to engage in a dialogue with the public. This daring engagement of a gay bar with the public added to the movement of the political agenda of equality that had characterised the club culture of the area at the time. It introduced ideas that the civic space was not explicitly (as Deleuze might say) *folded into*.

In spite of the strength of this contestation, or perhaps because of it, Soho started aligning itself with a normative commercial prosperity of London. In this light this alignment subversion had to find a new place of release. With this displacement came a change in the architecture that was to cater for new, subversive patrons that did not need to carry associations of past struggles or push a socio-political agenda. This rupture with the heritage of political signifiers allowed for a re-evaluation of queer-friendly venues and a return to—and even amplification of—old typologies of leisure facilities. Some dissented from the agenda of inclusion to address its patrons' intimate needs. This dissent came to be reformulated in a physical representation in architecture of sex shops, sex clubs and dark rooms that showcase (albeit in darkness) the diversity within queer or LGBT+ culture. Whilst the Rupert Street Bar assumes an exhibitionist openness presenting all the inner workings to the public, the dark spaces signify frontiers that divide the interior from the civic and thus come to represent an emblematic manifestation of both the implicitness and exclusion of the civic.

The chapter convenes the discussion engaging with queer theory and its intersections with ideas formulated in Deleuze's *The Fold* as well as Deleuze's collaborative work with Félix Guattari fixated on desire, *Anti-Oedipus* (1972) and *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980). The chapter also engages with Michel Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France concerning "counter-conduct" (2007).

"The fold"

"The fold" as described by Deleuze is a spatial operation that works in and through what he and Guattari described in *Anti-Oedipus* as "desire" (2013). As such, the fold may be understood as the spatial embodiment of desire or a product thereof. This section of the chapter intends to explain the relation between desire and the fold by an analysis of the key texts.

"Desire" is a concept central to Deleuze and Guattari's work. The notion of desire, in their writing, can be understood as a force that allows for the meeting and interaction between ideas, energies and bodies, both human and non-human in origin. Desire is the state of being complete but allowing for a relation that, when assembled, would bring a new unity to a composition of both parts. This assemblage can take many forms and can function through attraction or repulsion,

depending on the context in which this interaction takes place. For Deleuze and Guattari, desire always plays a productive role in any given situation. In *Anti-Oedipus* the authors refer to the work of Melanie Klein as a means of illustrating what they mean by the term desire. They fixate on Klein's description of "partial objects" and how those can exist independently but as they come together they reconfigure the status quo to produce an assemblage. They write:

> Desire is never separable from complex assemblages that necessarily tie into molecular levels, from micro-formations already shaping postures, attitudes, perceptions, expectations, semiotic systems etc. Desire is never an undifferentiated instinctual energy, but itself results from a highly developed, engineered setup rich in interactions, a whole supple segmentarity that processes molecular energies [. . .]
>
> *(Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 215)*

It might be said that desire allows for the translation of molecular (meaning small or insignificant but composing larger elements) relations into social productions or political assemblages as a by-product of the abundance of the energy that operates on the smallest scale. In this way desire is a rich array of energies that form the smallest assemblages that result in more refined and noticeable relationships, which can be manifest in, through and as part of what we think of as "civic".

Space or architecture and desire come to be explored as inseparable entities. In 1991 Deleuze had engaged with architects explicitly and elaborated his concept of desire through his publication of *The Fold* (Deleuze, 2006). In his description he points out that there is an old, Cartesian way of understanding space that can serve as a comprehensive way of denoting the physical distance along a straight line, between two locations. Deleuze writes:

> Descartes was unable to reconcile them, it is because, unaware of the soul's inclination and the curvature of matter, he tried to find content's secret running along straight lines and liberty's secret in a rectitude of the soul.
>
> *(Deleuze, 2006, p. 3)*

If three-dimensional space can be represented by a two-dimensional surface, such as a map, then the function of folding the surface will create close relationships that diminish the physical or linear distance between apparently distant Cartesian locations. If one side of the surface is the location at hand and the other is representing a space that we can only tentatively perceive via sight, sound, memory or imagination, then it might be understood that folding is the art of creating relationships between that which is immediately tangible and that which is distant or that which cannot be imminently acted upon. The fold can, in this case, be read as a diagrammatic representation of a virtual link, which can be articulated in physical space by an architectural form. It can also be considered as a composition of architectural elements in space that orchestrates inclusion of that which is close

with that which is not. In this sense the fold can be seen as a spatial manifestation of Deleuze's notion of desire (as a force that creates immanence through assemblages). Deleuze considers the fold to be a transcendental experience rather than a literal abridgement. The fold, in his description is at the same time embedded within the Cartesian world of the two-dimensional plane of measurable space.

If one were to understand spatial design as an attempt to orchestrate opportunities to engage in desirous relations then architectural design can be seen as the art of creating opportunities of relationships between those events. Creating opportunities of relation might be thought of as "framing" events. Bernard Cache suggests that the fold can be manifested by a frame (1995, p. 2). A frame allows for the creation of assemblages between a physical space, which is at hand—offering imminent possibilities and that which is at a distance', or which cannot be reached, such as a distant exterior through a vista via a window—another room via a door. The aim of architectural design, in this way, is to create the folding of space by avoiding conflicting clashes between expected types of actions that would rather be separated. An example of a clashing relationship would be placing a space designed to foster public events next to one that is planned for intimate acts and linking them with an explicit frame. A specific example would be placing a library reading room next to a busy highway, or placing an office for a person—who refuses to acknowledge the benefits of the European Union—in the heart of the European project. Though such spaces might be placed uncomfortably close to one another in an exterior sense, such as on a street or on a map, the same spaces have interior conditions that make them worlds apart and necessarily exclude one another from the events they envelop. Deleuze writes:

> When inclusion is accomplished, it is done so continuously, or includes the sense of a finished act that is neither the site, the place, nor the point of view, but what remains in point of view, what occupies point of view, and without which point of view would not be. It is necessarily a soul, a subject. A soul always includes what it apprehends from its point of view, in other words, inflection. *Inflection is an ideal condition or a virtuality that currently exists only in the soul that envelops it.*
>
> *(Deleuze, 2006, p. 24)*

In the context of Deleuze and Guattari's writing (in particular on the "diagram") the fold can thus be understood as the descent of an abstract idea onto its materialisation in an actualised, physical space creating a relation between the metaphysical and Cartesian. Deleuze writes: "[w]hat is Baroque is this distinction and division into two levels or floors. The distinction of two worlds is common for Platonic tradition" (Deleuze, 2006, p. 33). To clarify what he means Deleuze refers to a Baroque painting by El Greco, *The Burial of Count Orgaz*, which, as he points out, is divided into two horizontal sections (2006, p. 33). The lower part is devoted to "bodies" and the top is inhabited by the "soul", while the link between the two is a fold (ibid.). It might be understood that Deleuze's rhetoric implies that

the fold can function as a relation between a singular, Platonic idea (or imaginary, schematic form) and/or a composite thereof in the mind and corporeal reality. As such an example might be the function of linking a horizontal plane on four legs with the concept of a table. The fold might in this case exist in the mentality of the observer and only be attained through their particular "point of view".

Unfolding is not a retreat to the state (or status quo) from before the fold was generated, but rather a production of a different and rich spatial relationship celebrating desirous relations in a different way. As Deleuze writes: "[u]nfolding is thus not the contrary to folding, but follows the fold up to the following fold" (2006, p. 6). Paraphrasing Deleuze, it could be argued that the leisure establishments analysed in this chapter are an example of a case of *unfolding of space* that was folded by the struggles of the LGBT+ culture for equality.

The civic fold

The fold is a complex set of relations that may be problematic when considering civic space; a space that is shared between large numbers of people representing numerous concepts of unity that can at times contradict one another. Likewise, the fold can be engaged as a tool that informs negotiations for manifesting repressed ideologies in a shared space.

Accompanying strong power structures have always been places of respite from such infrastructures. This is the case in contemporary times, where the dominant relation generated by our cities tends towards commercial or consumer assemblages. Contestations to such spaces can be manifested through alternate ways of being, which might be called ones that counter the conduct of conduct in the city. As Foucault wrote: counter-conduct is an expression of a rejection to be governed: "like that, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them" (Foucault, 2007, p. 44).

One of the explicit outlets of the diversity of engagement has found a place in the district of Soho (Crotchet, 1904). Frank Mort describes Soho as having been a thriving and diverse community since the mid-eighteenth century (2007, p. 31). He points to the abundance of street prostitution, bars and clubs and burlesque shows in the area. By 1961 the district had gained a reputation as a centrepiece of London's libidinal economy.

Soho had become a place and a symbol of the variety, creativity and relaxed orthodoxy. The folds forming in Soho between two places as well as spaces and ideas could be seen as forming differently from what was intended by the authorities. Soho had become a district that was renowned for creating a festival of enjoyment and relaxation, attracting people seeking a break from the formality and rigour of the city and familial structures. It could be understood that the folds in Soho did not require a strong, regimented system of barriers to be upheld. The break with normative habituality would sometimes take the form of counter-conduct. This conduct manifested in seeking sexual release (Mort, 2007, p. 30). The intensity of

such acts included some but excluded those who were not comfortable with the presence of such explicitness. The queer unity of Soho created an embracive fold where new forms of civic dialogue of the issues of diversity could be addressed in a safe way, a different way, and without the watchful eyes of the prudes.

One of the social groups that such liberties felt attractive to was the LGBT+ community; the presence of which was noted in the second half of the twentieth century, particularly in Rupert Street, a side lane off Brewer Street. The movement came to be represented by the district as a form of social and political dissent from the normalising public as response to the growing aspirations of the people of London to achieve equality between sexual dispositions, genders, races, preferences, etc. (Brettschneider, 2011, p. 24). Brettschneider discusses queer theory and deconstructs the limits of the segregation of definitions in the heterosexual world that appear to her to be too confining and to be based on models that miss the current problems of citizenry. She argues that queer theory brought a re-politicisation of the family as a tool in power struggle, making the LGBT+ movement a problem for political systems reliant on concepts that were heteronormative or fixated on narrow definitions of family (Brettschneider, 2011, p. 25). According to Tim Dean this contestation is amplified and interpreted by the right-wing establishment as a threat to society, validating an attack on the LGBT+ movement as "anti-social" (Dean, 2006, p. 826). As such, the equality for LGBT+ representatives is often generalised as a singular fold, a unity that stands against the normal state of the civic.

Soho presented an opportunity to release this latent sexuality and explore new, forbidden ~~pleasure~~ ideas that link sexual and non-sexual organs into an unmentionable assemblage. This prevailing situation of being in a space filled with acceptance (or of a different type of prejudice) opened up possibilities to explore the civic performativity in a daring and novel light. It could be said that the unity created by the inhabitants of Soho empowered dissent from the normative way of "being in public". This unity of contestation allowed the architectural and interior designers of gay bars in Rupert Street to take new approaches to the urban interface.

The fold that was created allowed for a link between the interiors of gay bars with the public streets of Soho. Rupert Street was the home of some of the first gay bars in London that have windows overlooking the public street. And, likewise, where the street overlooks—looks into—the bars. Rupert Street is a place where one can now see go-go dancers from the public street in the Village bar, and shirtless bartenders welcoming gay men attending The Yard bar. This transparency between the public and the interior of a gay bar was innovative at the time of its introduction, exploring and challenging the conduct of civic habits in a novel way. A gay bar that could be seen into denied the closeted lifestyles of gay men and reflected changes in the legislative framework that formally *allowed* the exploration of queer conduct. This fold implied civic acceptance.

One bar in the vicinity, called the Rupert Street Bar, responded to and accommodated this relation by architectural means. In 1995 50 Rupert Street applied for and was granted planning permission from the authorities in London to change the definition of the place from an "amusement arcade" on the ground floor of the

establishment to a "licensed bar" (City of Westminster, 1995) when the owners of the establishment moved to a building owned by Soho Estates.

The spectacle on the street seems to be a festival of relations between people and things that are outrageous and things that are simply fabulous, creating a unique series of opportunities to engage. This set of relations outside longed to connect with the interior of the bars and clubs and the two eventually folded into a singular unity of a kind. The exterior relation and the interior drive would seem to have coincided. This followed with the 1996 (approved) planning application that would allow the venue to install a canopy above the corner entrance, which created a gradual transition inside via a sheltered and extended threshold (City of Westminster, 1996). The public/private division along with the private/civic distinction faded. The 1996 application also allowed for the basement of the building to be used for functions ancillary to a bar such as a kitchen, storage and toilets. This suggests there was an effort to open the interior space to the outside. The main space for the bar was to have as great a relation with the public as possible, at least on ground floor—where it can be seen and most easily interacted with. In some ways we can see such architectural examples as manifestations of the long struggle of the LGBT+ movement to attain inclusion into civic life. The Rupert Street Bar's urban interface between the interior and exterior in Soho reflected the unity of the LGBT+ culture. The formerly concealed practices of two women passionately embracing or of two (and sometimes three) men kissing suddenly came out as accessible for all to see.

The creativity and vibrancy spread throughout Soho, attracting other establishments that were also looking to exist in a more open manner (e.g. sex stores, strip clubs, kitsch pop culture hubs and alternative music). Soho remains an attractive venue not only as a sexually explicit place, evoking a certain type of affiliation, but as a place where people go to present their support to the LGBT+ movement and to the agenda of equality between fluidities of sexual expression. This is a place where new ways of participating in public can come into being.

Over time the subversive qualities of the queer individual subsided as their presence became more accepted in society. The necessity for a strong counter-conductive affect of the place followed the same trend. Even now the enchantment of Soho attracts the attention of people of all professions and backgrounds. It subsequently has become subject to the effects of commercialisation and, as a result, the cost of space has been elevated to unaffordable levels (Heywood, 2012). In a report for the Smith Institute, Andrew Heywood (2012) argues that owning a property in London is becoming so desirable that landlords can charge extortionately high rents in the city, elevating the cost of living to such an extent that it is creating a "dysfunctional" relationship between the city and its inhabitants. This dysfunctionalism is amplified by what Philippe Bracke notes to be the lack of regulation in the rent and prices of property in Central London (2015, p. 404). The lack of regulation changes the space of bars and clubs to that of gated communities protected by surveillance equipment to secure the wealth and valuable property of the inhabitants who can afford to pay rent. Though the use of glazing an architectural sense

of openness pervades; CCTV, doormen and women, and an overarching sense of being watched, pervades the area and surveillance comes to operate much like a gate. Dividing the district with *gates* changed the metaphorical fold and created a situation ripe for exclusion, dis-unifying the space of Soho, which has been one of the most attractive selling points to start with. In the context of this fiscal organisation, which is based on neoliberal values (Hodkinson et al., 2013), the district is becoming more and more confined and the experimental qualities of counter-conduct are being devalued. The richness of the diversity of the area is becoming standardised and bland.

The character of the district is becoming streamlined, along with the standardisation of the venues in Soho, and has become normalised. It might be said that Soho is gradually being taken over by commercial business-owners with a firmer eye on profit than on diversity. The business-owners aim to develop the bars of Soho in accordance with a shallow understanding of the LGBT+ demography and force a pop-like way of addressing the queer community. Following Yvette Taylor, the current venues of Soho target a demography that is seemingly most likely to spend money and the new bars adapt all the entertainment offered to that particular "class" of people (Taylor, 2010, 2015). The affect created by the opportunity to engage with a certain repetitive type of entertainment is also feeding back into the culture. It could be understood that this way of organising entertainment is producing an image of a homogenised subculture that one might or might not affiliate oneself with but one that, as Taylor claims, is rarely sought after. Following her writing and looking at the developments on site, its variety and daring nature is becoming standardised and stagnating. The place that once spoke clearly of inclusion is starting to speak loudly of an exclusive and a normative commercial agenda.

The unfold

In the context of political and fiscal assemblages widely operating in society, the LGBT+ movement is usually described as a uniform entity that can produce only one type of fold. The umbrella of the political fold in Soho perhaps reflects the wider phenomenon that results from the objectives of everyone in the LGBT+ culture to "come together". In this way the movement does not have to be aligned with an inherent and unified aim; but it should "stand together". The perceived cohesion of the movement, as apparently anti-establishment, gives it a political power and translates the desires that function within it into a necessity to be recognised as equal in a wider cultural scene. However, following Deleuze, one might say that there is still room for creating folds within folds. As Deleuze wrote: "[a] fold is always folded within a fold, like a cavern within a cavern" (2006, p. 6).

Frank Mort suggests that in the 1970s the trend of raising the rents in the area forced a number of venues catering for the creative industry to relocate (Mort, 2007, p. 36). Some more daring and less acceptable-in-public passions had to move as Soho became more aligned with the governance it tried to dissent from. With displacement from Soho, the diversity of the LGBT+ movement had a chance to

re-evaluate its position and shed the confines of a uniform way of addressing political associations. A different release of the queer unity or queer civic space that once animated Soho and inspired the design of the Rupert Street Bar moved to Vauxhall, where the post-Victorian oscillations of sexual economies could continue developing and manifesting themselves architecturally. There are at least four venues in Vauxhall that I could find that cater for unorthodox sexual practices, and the number keeps increasing with similar places and hotel-like apartments with access to specially designed areas to foster sexually explicit and/or experimental acts.

This new space is devoid of the historical associations of struggle of the LGBT+ culture to gain equal rights and has focused on the industry aiming to satisfy more corporeal agendas. This touches upon the lesbian and gay avant-garde theory that suggests resistance to be a case of claiming a libidinal identity as queer (Hannessy, 1993). Wittig (1992) suggests that this position is a choice that deserves equal attention and as much respect as the meta-ideologies of capitalism or political agendas that are acted out in the civic. This choice generates new ways of becoming an abnormal fold that can coexist in the civic without disturbing its unity.

The development of popularity of this area amongst the LGBT+ culture allowed for a creative take on a typology of space that is referred to as a "dark room". The misleading name of the space insinuates a relationship with photographic processing, and the qualities of the room are such that they might conjure up images associated with a camera obscura. Contrary to these expectations, the room is an enclosed and isolated space (normally) within a gay-oriented venue. As the name suggests there are no or very few sources of light, there are also no windows or obvious ventilation tracks. This dark room offers an opportunity for gay men to become included in events where explicit acts or eroticism become acted out in a semi-public setting. According to Diane Binson and William Woods such places usually set out an opportunity to engage with a particular type of assemblage that is constantly in flux due to the changing numbers of patrons (2003, p. 27). According to Moos and Lemke dark rooms would also usually be associated with facilities such as a "maze" or "glory hole", devices that are used to disorient and disengage the participants of the sexual act in developing a normative emotional connection with one another (Moos and Lemke, 1996). Sexual favours here have no price. It is a space that distorts economies and laws and reason, especially those set out by the capitalist system of trading an item for a commodity. Sexual favours in this space cost nothing. This is a space where notions of interiority and exteriority are challenged and where the division between "us" and "other" becomes superfluous. The consumers of Rupert Street would find themselves denuded of all the accoutrement of class and culture in the dark space of Vauxhall. Unity is achieved via the lack of explicit formation of civic assemblages. The inclusive quality of the space is different from any architectural fold, and it is corporeally much more intimate. The fold of the dark room ~~is not spiritual in the conventional sense but~~ breaks many of the conventions by which a social assemblage is generated and, alongside it, many of the architectural conventions that might demarcate or frame events. What Deleuze and Guattari refer to as the molecular aspects of life may

become dominant and swarm into new engagements with what is imminently *at hand* (2013). Things and concepts that are usually missed in everyday politicised and commercialised life may proliferate in a desirous relation.

The dark fold

One of the clubs that offers access to this type of room in Vauxhall granted access to the facility outside opening hours. This place will remain unnamed. The material here is of my impression of the architecture in this venue when it is closed, during one day in 2016. The bar is close to the Tube station, just across from the rail line, and is under the arches that support the trains' infrastructure. The place is now vacant but operated from 1995 and ran concurrently with the Rupert Street Bar, and yet was devoid of the political associations that the Soho venue represents. It was an architectural representation of a different fold.

The location of the place and its main entrance were inconspicuous. The elevation did not have an active frontage, such as in the case of Rupert Street, as it rejected explicit engagement with civic debate. The venue was described in a film by Charles Lum and Todd Verow from 2014 entitled *Age of Consent* as:

> [A] glorious, irreverent, sacrilegious, queer space for perverts, deviants, faggots, dissidents, the people that didn't fit in to the nice, squeaky clean image that so many gay people wanted to cultivate. It was the place for the sexual outlaw.
>
> *(Lum and Verow, 2014)*

This description of the space shows that its interior allows for the fixation of the queer to become unpinned from what the establishment expects it to be. In this way the film and quote resonate with a conversation that Deleuze had with Claire Parnet:

> To become is never to imitate, nor to "do like", nor to conform to a model, whether it's of justice or of truth. There is no terminus from which you set out, none which you arrive at or which you ought to arrive at . . . The question "What are you becoming?" is particularly stupid . . . as someone becomes, what he is becoming changes as much as he does himself . . . Becomings are not phenomena of imitation or assimilation.
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 1987, p. 2; quoted in Millet, 2006)*

The fold in this respect is rather an unfolding of the efforts to describe same sex relationships as similar to those of heterosexual relations. Those were the same efforts that gave birth to the Rupert Street Bar. However, the Vauxhall premises were also an unfolding of the efforts to describe sexual relationships as similar to other standardised relations. This does not imply a loss of what the LGBT+ movement was fighting for nor a complete lack of engagement with the civic or

a devaluation of its unity. The interior is open to the public to a degree, therefore the patrons still function within a type of civic regulation when being in the club, but the fold of the space simply morphs into a different type of inclusion. The elevation of the club is unassuming, but perhaps it was through its inconspicuous nature that it became so explicit. The only signifier of the presence of such an establishment in the nearby area is the behaviour of people who were passed when approaching the bar. As I approached the place men tended to engage into an exchange of gazes inviting social interaction. The interface of the venue was based on implicit signs and its interaction with the public was not immediately clear, although one might imagine that it would have been intensely erotic for the patrons. The entrance had a narrow doorway clad in black steel bars and most likely would have been guarded by a member of staff. There are no windows and the elevation is unremarkable for a front facade. Contrary to Rupert Street the bars in Vauxhall had no meta-ideology to satisfy and hence there was no need to engage with public or political debate on an explicit level. The inside and outside relation rather implied withdrawal from the civic.

Immediately after the entrance, the space the patrons were introduced to was a narrow and unwelcoming corridor with several doors. The lighting would have been red and the walls clad in posters of upcoming events. The first door to the left, midway through the corridor, led to a large changing room, under one of the arches, where each guest could change clothes and shed the signifiers of class, upbringing or job title. This is where the patrons could cleanse themselves of the remaining regulations they brought with them to the place. They would then usually clad their skin with metal and/or leather and resume the journey along the corridor. This would have put them in the right attire for the events at hand. One can imagine that this unremarkable promenade along a narrow corridor could have held the greatest intensity of expectation of an imminent sexual release.

The main space of the bar area was accessible via a door on the right, at the end of the corridor, under the second arch. To the right there was an open plan space where the patrons could buy a drink. To the left the open plan became filled with metal–mesh panels and steel rods. Those supported a mezzanine level under which there was a leather hoist hung by industrial chains. As one approached the far end of the "cluttered" side of the arch the architectural elements became denser and the space became more confined and filled with mirrors and metal elements. This was designed to make the patron lose perception of distance and spatial orientation.

The confusing aspect of the space was even more intense when faced with a flight of stairs leading to the mezzanine level. The materiality, in spite of the small scale of the resulting spaces, was unpleasant to the touch. It was the exposed bricks of the arch as well as metal and mirror.

The interior of the bar and the corridor was a buffer between the civic and the dark room that had a prominent position in the architectural intervention. This delay of attaining the goal signified dissent from the norm and becoming a new persona. This is a space where people engaged with others according to different

rules. In the dark room the civic sense that we have habituated was no longer a prevailing rule.

The owners of the club were honest about not being concerned with matters other than their patrons' sexual release at the venue. And the architecture echoes this attitude. This might be the reason for the pretence of the elevation and its defensive quality. Paradoxically it still is a commercial establishment that charges its patrons entry and therefore the purity of the fold is obfuscated by an introduction of a revenue demand.

Conclusion

It is at the facade where the microcosm of the civic has a chance to meet the inclusive properties of the unity orchestrated by the events organised in a building. It is a political negotiation for space, and a frontier for the inclusivity and exclusivity of the events they envelop. To paraphrase Deleuze and Guattari, *the desire operating within the LGBT+ culture and the civic spaces of London is not an undifferentiated instinctual energy, but itself results from a highly developed and engineered setup rich in interactions, a whole supple segmentarity that processes molecular energies* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 215). The differentiation of the elevations of the Rupert Street Bar and the dark room in Vauxhall is an embodiment of this principle. This embodiment provides an insight into the diversity of what we might consider as a unified unit congealed with desire capable of producing one type of fold.

The relation of the dark room and the public can be considered as an "un-fold" of the connection determined in Soho that resulted in the transparency of the elevation. This new relation, however, did not retract to the state from before the Rupert Street Bar was opened. The fold of Soho is politicised and the required unity between interiority and exteriority and its urban interface is transparent to mediate this relation. This fold normalised the gay presence and allowed the people who claim to belong to the LGBT+ culture to conduct their lives as a repetition of heterosexual habituality. This normative state of habituality was based on the definition of a cellular family unit. As the LGBT+ agenda (to become included in the spatial negotiation in the civic) in London became achieved, Soho partially lost its quality of counter-conduct and became standardised. In this light it became exclusive to the very quality that produced it. When part of the vibrancy of Soho moved to different locations, devoid of the political association of the unity of the LGBT+ culture in London, an un-fold was created. The un-fold was therefore still engaging with politicised, normative habituality as it suggested a retreat of the erotic from the civic. By this retreat it was conforming to the shame of publicised eroticism. This allowed for the normalisation of the space for sexual practices in public and what looked like the development of a whole industry based on creating spaces designed to accommodate practices of sexual release. This came to be manifested with a surplus of sex clubs in Vauxhall, which were designed to provide a dark room. The quality of these places was enriched with the experience gained through the years of development in Soho and they became a recognisable and

discussed (albeit niche) part of the cultural life of London. In this way the desire that exists within the LGBT+ community becomes channelled and its ability to develop in a creative way is suppressed.

The isolation of the dark room engages the patrons in a game of forming assemblages with imagined sexual intensity (that they themselves cannot gaze at due to immanent darkness). This flows from the desire that binds queer personae together through darkness in a space, one that is manifested in an array of erotic needs. The venues that foster such spaces allow for an exploration of attraction that did not have to engage with the civic in an explicit way or pursue a political agenda, but started a new, yet controlled, dialogue that countered the expected habituality. Through this the un-fold of the dark room creates unity with the civic.

The desire of the erotic relation in a dark room is a conscious and established manifestation of the corporeal element. This fold of desire, which acts between the patrons and the darkness of the room, unveils in their minds in a fetishised way being obfuscated into a political and social organisation and is the result of unfolding the desirous assemblages with the civic. In this way, the dark room discourages the exploration of erotic aspects of life in a different way, one that potentially could interact with the civic. By that it does not challenge heterosexual habituality and connects with the civic (unlike the bars in Soho) in a fold that was imposed by the normative conduct of the city.

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10

ARCHITECTURE, EROS AND CIVILISATION

Chris L. Smith

The long story of desire and architecture is punctuated by moments of exclamation and moments of pause. Herbert Marcuse inserts a pause in the story in the mid 1950s. It is a pause in the sense that Marcuse was to gently prompt a reader to rethink the narrative, to retrace steps and consider alternate routes. In this chapter I undertake an exploration of Marcuse's 1955 work, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Enquiry into Freud* (Marcuse, 1966). Alongside this long pause in the story of desire, I explore a similar moment of "stocktaking" in architecture. It is the moment of New Brutalism and its provocations both to, and within, Modernism. I turn to an essay that introduces the quizzical logics of this style, Reyner Banham's "The New Brutalism" (Banham, 1955). The work of both Marcuse and Banham constitutes moments of pause in complex stories of desire and architecture.

Marcuse

In *Eros and Civilization* Marcuse prepares the ground for a synthesis of the work of Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx on the question of desire. It was an agenda that many of Marcuse's colleagues pursued at the Institute for Social Research, known today as the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. This agenda was reignited in the collaborative work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari some years later, in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (initial publication date, 1972), where Marcuse became a key figure in the post-structural formulation of desire. Marcuse aligns Freud and Marx, largely by reworking Freud in order to liberate desire from the bodies of individuals so that it might come to operate as a broader cultural force. It is no small feat. The core logic of Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents* (initial publication date, 1930) was that culture and society could only flourish with the suppression of the libido. That is, for Freud desire and its expressions were considered antithetical to the advancement of societies and civilisation itself.

Freud's thesis was that sexuality was by nature "polymorphous-perverse" and it was necessary for it to be reined-in for the sake of appropriate and necessary social interaction (Freud, 1920).[1] Restraint—the suppression and repression of desire—is seen as a precondition of civilisation. Marcuse adopts Freud's use of the word "civilisation" to encompass all that might be otherwise denoted by the word "culture" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 8). He sums up Freud's position in defining culture as "[t]he methodological sacrifice of libido, its rigidly enforced deflection to socially useful activities and expressions" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 3). To align Freud and Marx was going to be a very difficult task for Marcuse. The repeated theme of Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents* was that culture and the gratification of pleasures were incommensurable. For Freud:

> The conflict between civilization and sexuality is caused by the circumstance that sexual love is a relationship between two people, in which a third can only be superfluous or disturbing, whereas civilization is founded on relations between larger groups of persons.
>
> *(Freud, 1961a, p. 55)*

Though I have never found "a third" to be either "superfluous or disturbing", for Freud two people suffice and, as society is constituted by three or more people, it is incompatible with libidinous investment. The position is an extension of one of Freud's key theories, related to the tripartite construction of the human psyche (Freud, 1961b). For Freud our unrestrained desires, joys and pleasures are associated with the "id". The id is concerned with uncoordinated instinctual impulses. Freud invokes the "ego" to give order to the id. He would characterise the ego in much the same manner as architecture had been spoken of since antiquity: as a mediator between the impulses of the human animal and the external world. Where architecture might secure its subject from a harsh environment and frame the external world, the ego has the task of "representing the external world for the id and so of saving it; for the id, blindly striving to gratify its instinct in complete disregard of the superior strengths of outside forces, could not otherwise escape annihilation" (Freud, 1946, p. 106). In this manner, the *pleasure principle* associated with the id is usurped, and the *reality principle* associated with the ego, with its promises of security and operability, rises. The move from the pleasure to the reality principle is a move from: I want sex to I want security; I want joy to I want work; and I want pleasure to I want restraint of pleasure. Architectural readers might note that many a contestation among architects is framed in these same terms—as discourses of wayward, dramatic, expressive and aesthetically driven buildings needing to be reined-in, in order to guarantee that the architecture functions and does not leak. If the ego is a force for stability, then Freud's third psychic agent, the "superego", sets the ground rules for what stability and security actually *are* within any given social context. It is the superego that comes to rule and regulate the ego. It is associated with morality and a type of social and shared (familial) understanding, and the judgements that are imposed upon the subject. Where raw pleasure may have

been the realm of the id, and measure the realm of the ego, the sense correlated with the superego is guilt. The superego operates like an internal civilisation, constructing societal laws as key grounds for suppression. In this way, desire and the libido associated with the id are posed in clear opposition to the civilisation and culture associated with the superego. Marcuse writes, "'Happiness', said Freud 'is no cultural value' (Marcuse, 1966, p. 3).

It is this position that Marcuse seeks to undermine. Marcuse's approach is not, however, to find fault in Freud. Rather, Marcuse mounts a case that the work of Freud already contains every seed for a fusion of desire and culture. Marcuse is keen to note that the ego emerges from the id. The precedence is important; as is the idea that the ego "retains its birthmark" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 30). That is, the ego is thereafter always marked by the id. Marcuse notes that, even for Freud, pleasure continues to compete with civilisation and the battle is never completely won. An architectural reader might imagine this relation between the id and the ego to be a somewhat akin to the experience of coming home only to find colourful and erotically charged murals painted by an old naked architect on the white walls of your crisp modernist house (E-1027 perhaps). The house was designed as a counterpoint to the dynamism of the swirling blue sea and sky in order to secure its occupants against the dangers of exterior chaos. In emerging as a reaction against exterior chaos, the house already embodies this chaos. In this respect the mural may be thought of as an internal expression of the very logic of the house. The chaos of the murals, like the id, was always there—it was just previously repressed. For Marcuse the libido and desire associated with the id are ever-pulsing, and "the *return of the repressed* makes up the tabooed and subterranean history of civilization" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 16).

Marcuse reads Freud as *already* or inherently sociological, because Freud's "biologism" is, according to Marcuse, a social theory (Marcuse, 1966, pp. 5–6). The biologism of Freud (that is repeated by Marcuse) involves applying the logic of species evolution to the mental development of the individual and the formation of the social. It also involves then finding in the developmental stages of individuals, an analogical relation to the growth of species, societies and civilisation. This is why Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, can come to speak with confidence and without hesitation about the health and well-being of civilisation as a whole. It would seem to be a *fallacy of composition* that might lead one to conclude that insights into the psychology of an individual could be upscaled into insights into the health of a culture. In biological science this type of leap, which translates ontogenetic (individual) traits directly onto the phylogenetic (genus) scale, is referred to as *recapitulation*. It is considered a logical fallacy of false equivalence. For Marcuse, however, Freud's biologism is a bridge that runs between the unconscious of individuals and the consciousness of culture. He notes "[i]t is this mental dynamic which Freud unfolds as the dynamic of civilization" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 16). Marcuse is content to repeat the pattern by referring to the libido as "animal drives" (Marcuse, 1966, pp. 12, 14) and suggesting that the transformation of animal to man is articulated by desire and its contexts (Marcuse, 1966, p. 13). The logic is important to Marcuse's

task of finding *within* Freud consistencies between eros and civilisation. If the ego retains the birthmark of the id, and a society retains the birthmark of the individual psyche, it stands to reason that civilisation retains the birthmark of desire.

If biologism constitutes the bridge for Marcuse's argument for a new relation between desire and civilisation, it is the libido that rolls across that bridge. The motilities of the libido foster the potential for social change (and, at its peak, revolution). The reappearance of suppressed desires, the *return of the repressed,* in the form of libidinal liberation emerges in the work of Marcuse as a "locomotive force for history" (to paraphrase Marx). Again, Marcuse does not challenge Freud on the point, but rather derives from Freud the logic for the libido's liberation. The libido's liberation from the traditional *objects of investment* (genitals) was already under way in Freud. Infantile sexuality, psycho-sexual development and the recognition of the erogenous capacity of a multitude of organs, were innovations of Freud that constructed the libido as a roaming energy. That is, Freud had been clear that the libido moved about the body from one object of investment to another. And Freud would even posit the possibilities of the libido to find itself lodged in exterior objects, in the form of fetishism. Though Freud's tendency was to pathologise such investments, he had (perhaps unwittingly) heralded a theoretical liberation of the libido. Marcuse would go as far as to suggest that in Freud we find "an inherent trend in the libido itself toward 'cultural' expression, without external repressive modification". And would go on to suggest that "this 'cultural' trend in the libido seems to be *genitofugal*, that is to say *away* from genital supremacy toward the eroticization of the entire organism" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 208). In Freud's account the libido is not "deflected from its aim" but rather invested in acts that are other than genital sexuality, that are for Marcuse still "libidinal and erotic" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 208). This extension of Freud's conception of the libido allows Marcuse to consider desire as a constitutive force for culture. The libido surges away from the genitals and then the body of the individual, towards a social body and cultural production. For Marcuse "[t]he impulse to 'obtain pleasure from the erogenous zones of the body' may extend to seek its objective in lasting and expanding libidinal relations because this expansion increases and intensifies the instinct's gratification" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 210). The phrase "lasting and expanding libidinal relations" comes to serve as a definition of civilisation for Marcuse.

Freud's accommodation of the slides between scales of life (psychological, biological, individual, social), coupled with the motilities of the libido, provide Marcuse with a foothold in developing a theory of the constitutive value of desire (eros) for culture (civilisation). His careful (re)reading of Freud complicates the dichotomy of the pleasure and reality principles and the axiom that associates civilisation with repression. Whilst the potential of a liberated libido is great, history has shown that the materials and masses that are liberated from one system are often co-opted (territorialised) into another. Marcuse would suggest that what is at stake in culture is not simply the repression and then liberation of desire, but rather an altered focus for desire. And the risk is that in turning desire towards social investments, we turn desire from the personal pleasures of the id towards the impersonal

obligations of the superego. It is at this point that desire comes to be the shared intellectual property of both Freud and Marx. For Marcuse:

> Men do not live their own lives but perform pre-established functions. While they work, they do not fulfil their own needs and faculties but work in *alienation*. Work has now become *general*, and so have the restrictions placed upon the libido: labor time, which is the largest part of the individual's time, is painful time, for alienated labor is absence of gratification, negation of the pleasure principle. Libido is diverted for socially useful performances in which the individual works for himself only in so far as he works for the apparatus, engaged in activities that mostly do not coincide with his own faculties and desires.
>
> *(Marcuse, 1966, p. 45)*

For Marcuse, desire does not only occur *in* a social context but is structured by that context. That is, societal demands are internalised and made the subject of desire. Every desire to succeed is a desire to succeed *within* an extant social system (labour systems, governmental systems, military, industrial, academic, political, religious, etc.). The measures, rewards and pleasures of these systems are collectively constructed and aim towards the perpetuation or growth of the system itself. These are processes whereby "erotic performance is brought in line with [. . .] societal performance" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 46). For Marcuse, it is these processes that make an individual's desires not their own, but rather the desires of civilisation itself. The successful diversion of the libido is evidenced in someone feeling joyous at work, or pleasure at being rewarded for work done. For Marcuse "neither his desires nor his alteration of reality are henceforth his own: they are now 'organized' by his society" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 14). The examples that Marcuse presents focus on the acquisitions and co-options of life as "time" (work time and leisure time), but he also nods towards spatial co-options. For Marcuse the diversion towards labour

> achieves the socially necessary desexualisation of the body: the libido becomes concentrated in the one part of the body, leaving most of the rest free for use as the instrument of labor. The temporal reduction of the libido is thus supplemented by its spatial reduction.
>
> *(Marcuse, 1966, p. 48)*

In the work of Marcuse the discussion of spatial reduction is limited to a description of the individual's body. He suggests that restricting the libido to the genitals frees legs, arms, hands and minds for the purposes of labour. I contend below that the same logic of co-option might be deployed in relation to architectural space.

Marcuse's concern is one that Marxists will easily recognise, that the body and life has been co-opted for the purposes of production and capital accumulation. This co-option has been achieved in the most subversive of manners: by the alignment of desire and civilisation. This alignment is so smooth that individuals barely

notice that their desires are not their own. For Marcuse, individuals of the past (albeit cast under the net of Oedipal theory) dealt with "impulses, ideas, and needs which were largely *their own*" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 96). Now, however, "the repressive organization of the instincts seems to be *collective*" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 97). That is, mass media alongside all tools and formations of the socius[2], channel desire. A young Oedipus would find a father-substitute in every transmitter of social value and would suffer the concomitant judgement:

> In exchange for the commodities that enrich their life, the individuals sell not only their labor but also their free time. The better living is offset by the all-pervasive control over living. People dwell in apartment concentrations—and have private automobiles with which they can no longer escape into a different world. They have huge refrigerators filled with frozen foods. They have dozens of newspapers and magazines that espouse the same ideals. They have innumerable choices, innumerable gadgets which are all of the same sort and keep them occupied and divert their attention from the real issue—which is the awareness that they could both work less and determine their own needs and satisfactions.
>
> *(Marcuse, 1966, p. 100)*

For Marcuse the liberation of the libido is not a *de-territorialisation* of desire that opens towards possibilities for new sexual expressions and new communities that might form as a result, but rather the liberation is co-opted for the purposes of *re-territorialisation*. Erotic desire is liberated from the *genito-centric* libido, only to be turned to work (Ferenczi, 1968).[3] The frames of guilt and shame persist, but they no longer herald from the father. Rather they come from the father-substitutes associated with the superego, channelling one's desires towards work, products and production. For Marcuse, it is no longer Freud telling the story, but, rather, it is Marx.

Banham

A similar stocktake was occurring in architecture at this time. It was a moment of disciplinary pause where questions relating to the *doxa* of the modern movement were being framed. Architecture had long been considered an expression of civilisation, and modernism had established itself as *the* culture of architecture; but by 1955 incursions from both within and outside modernism were challenging the logic. The architectural historian and commentator Rayner Banham commences his "New Brutalism" essay with the sentence: "Introduce an observer into any field of forces, influences or communications and that field becomes distorted" (Banham, 1955, p. 355), and he proceeds by way of two key examples: the influence of Freud on clinical psychology and that of Marx on capitalism. Banham suggests that both figures significantly disturbed the disciplines in which they operated. Freud had left any patient with the capacity to "make a nervous wreck of his analyst",

and Marx "played old harry with capitalism" (Banham, 1955, p. 355). Beyond the introductory paragraph, Banham does not explicitly deal with the work of either Freud or Marx, and yet both figures whisper through the essay. The explicit target of Banham's essay is the impact of "contemporary architectural historians" as "observers" of architecture. Banham turns to "New Brutalism" as a case of architectural historians impacting directly on the formation of architectural movements. The oddity of this argument is the irony involved. It was Banham's own account of New Brutalism that would come to be the key reference point for the style. In 1966 he published the book *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* and the caution of his earlier essay hardened in the wake of the architecture that rose in the intervening years to fulfil the moniker (Banham, 1966).

Banham's 1955 essay considers the manner by which an architectural style (New Brutalism) and a movement (of New Brutalists) came into being. The forces Banham associates with this emergence resonate with Freud's descriptions of civilisation. Banham asserts that "New Brutalism has to be seen against the background of the recent history of history, and, in particular, the growing sense of the inner history of the Modern Movement itself" (Banham, 1955, p. 356). The "inner history" of which Banham speaks is the articulation of the internal logics of a social or artistic movement from *within* that movement. Peter Collins' *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture* (1965) or indeed Freud's *The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement* (1917) would be good examples of inner histories (Collins, 1965; Freud, 1917). These narratives summate the disciplinary and historical moment in a manner that is *operative*. Such histories are often written as if the authors were passive observers whilst advocating movements to which they are aligned. Banham was to describe the role of the architectural historian as putting "the movement on the couch", and much of his work constitutes an "inner history" of the discipline.[4] The inner history is the story that architects tell themselves that stabilise the discipline in particular moments. If the inner history of architecture is a force for stability, then what Banham refers to as the "history of history", sets the ground rules for what stability actually *is* within a broader cultural context. Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* (first published in: 1934) or *The Pelican History of Art* series, edited by Banham's former teacher Nikolaus Pevsner, might serve as examples of histories of history (Mumford, 1934). It is the history of history that comes to summate culture and thus has a tendency to rule and regulate inner histories. It is associated with shared (disciplinary) understandings and the judgements (largely to do with success and failure) that are imposed upon the discipline. Such a division of history into its inner personal and outer social formulations resonate with Freud's categorisations of the ego and superego, operating as regulatory forces that make all manner of undertaking subject to the judgements of the civilisations within which they emerge.

The inner history of New Brutalism is complex. New Brutalism operated much as a floating signifier at the time of its emergence, and yet became productive of a set of images and buildings that might occupy the empty frame (created by the title itself). In his 1955 essay, in the first of four footnotes, Banham identifies the

origins of Brutalism and is keen to emphasise, albeit in a tongue-in-cheek manner, the tentative character of such origins:

> There is a persistent belief that the word *Brutalism* (or something like it) had appeared in the English Summaries in an issue of *Bygg-Mastaren* published late in 1950. The reference cannot now be traced, and the story must be relegated to that limbo of Modern Movement demonology where Swedes, Communists and the Town and Country Planning Association are bracketed together as different isotopes of the common "Adversary".
>
> *(Banham, 1955, p. 356)*

New Brutalism thus comes to be defined by that which it is opposed to; by its discontents. In terms of what it actually *is*, Banham suggests that the term New Brutalism denotes two different types of *ism*. First, the term refers to a set of defining characteristics of the architectural works of New Brutalism and operates as "a label, a recognition tag" that might be used to denote "certain consistent principles" (Banham, 1955, p. 355). Thus, New Brutalism operates as a set of symptoms that were collated in order to fulfil a moniker. Banham's 1966 book sums up the idea in the first section of text under the subheading "In the beginning was the phrase . . ." (Banham, 1966, p. 10). Second, New Brutalism operates as an *ism* that defines the shared drives and collective desires of the band of practitioners of the movement. This is despite radical differences in the resultant work. In this way New Brutalism is "a banner, a slogan, a policy" that is "consciously adopted by a group of artists, whatever the apparent similarity or dissimilarity of their products" (Banham, 1955, p. 355). Despite these two categorisations of New Brutalism Banham suggests that the novelty of the style is "that it should confound these categories and belong to both at once" (Banham, 1955, p. 355). Banham notes how an aesthetic might be constructed from multiple forces, sometimes antagonistic and sometimes in resonance.[5] In the case of New Brutalism:

> Words and ideas personalities and discontents chimed together and in a matter of weeks—long before the Third Programme and the monthlies had got hold of the phrase—it had been appropriated as their own, by their own desire and public consent, by two young architects, Alison and Peter Smithson.
>
> *(Banham, 1955, p. 356)*

For Banham New Brutalism emerges as a textual, logical, political (antagonistic) and personal entity, and as all at once (agonistic). Banham's account suggests the style is clearly driven by the desires of individuals involved and the consent (and discontents) of social orders. The emergence was from both the "own desire" of two architects and a broader "public consent", like a tensor running between the drives of Alison and Peter Smithson and public or social legitimation. The core "public" that Banham refers to in his essay does not draw upon a particularly broad definition of "the public". Banham instead refers only to a society constituted of

architects, architectural critics and historians; and the core civilisation to which Banham refers is that of Modernism. Banham notes that the phrase "New Brutalism" once "[a]dopted as something between a slogan and a brick bat flung in the public's face" had now "ceased to be a label descriptive of a tendency common to most modern architecture and became instead a programme" (Banham, 1955, p. 356). Though he would suggest that the architecture of New Brutalism is consistent only to the extent that it is the product of a "new brutalist", behind dissimilar products was the attempt to articulate something that was occurring *within* Modernism itself. This is what he refers to as "a tendency common to most modern architecture". This tendency might be summarily defined as the candid expression of structure and material. Nothing in New Brutalism is covered or contorted.

If New Brutalism was a programme, then the architectural content to fulfil the agenda came in the form of the 1954 Hunstanton School project by Peter and Alison Smithson. For Banham Hunstanton would be at the core of the inner history of New Brutalism. This school is an asymmetrical rectilinear configuration of steel, glass and brick. It is an architecture pared-back to its defining elements. All its materials are expressed and even the pipework running from sinks and drains that collect the spillage are made visible (see Figure 10.1). Banham writes "[o]ne can see what Hunstanton is made of, and how it works, and there is not another thing to see except the play of spaces" (Banham, 1955, p. 357). Even the "abstemious under-designing of the detail" and "ineloquence" of the design is taken as a measure of New Brutalism. The complex construction of New Brutalism as a style that is at once from within Modernism and yet presented as "instead a programme" is reflected in the Smithson's complex relationship with the stalwarts of Modernism. Hunstanton School would open a few months after the July 1953 CIAM meeting in Aix-en-Provence, where the Smithsons were busy challenging modernist doxa, particularly on the question of urban planning. "Belonging", wrote the Smithsons "is a basic emotional need—its associations are of the simplest order. From 'belonging'—identity—comes the enriching sense of neighbourliness. The short narrow street of the slum succeeds where spacious redevelopment frequently fails" (Frampton, 1980, p. 271).[6] This critique was made against the vast high rise and open field urban planning schemes by, or inspired by, one of the fathers of modern architecture, Le Corbusier. The Smithsons would invoke the biological notion of "habitat" as a way to reinstate the importance of the cultural conditions of urban space. They presented a "Hierarchy of Association" diagram and an "Urban Re-Identification Grid" at the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) and spoke of "scales of association" that would draw an architect's attention away from the building towards interpersonal relations (such as children playing in streets) and social relations (at the scales of streets, districts, cities). There is thus a complexity to the thinking of the Smithsons that places them in a tangential relation with the Modern movement. The social agenda of a school like Hunstanton is complex. Its creation was tied to the key drives (and funding) that flowed from the 1944 Education Act, which itself was tied to the broader story of the British Welfare State, which "matured in the universalism of the 1940s

FIGURE 10.1 Washbasins in the cloakroom of Hunstanton School.

Source: Banham, *The New Brutalism*, 40.

and flowered in full bloom in the consensus and affluence of the 1950s and 1960s" (Fraser, 1984, p. 233).[7] The rhetoric of the architects would resonate with the broader political rhetoric of the need to care for and advance all in the wake of the Second World War. The large social spaces of Hunstanton and the privileging of

volume as a concern above comfort might be seen as a deferral to the needs of the masses over the accommodation of the few. Despite such thinking, a school such as Hunstanton today is likely to be categorised less for its social ambitions than within the realm of "spacious redevelopment", cold modernist aesthetics and in the hard terms of modernist logics.

It was Banham who bound the work of the New Brutalists to a few of the key principles of Modernism, noting that New Brutalism was previously tagged "[t]he warehouse aesthetic" and suggesting that this was "a fair description of what The New Brutalism stood for in its first phase" (Banham, 1955, pp. 356–357). The relation between factories, warehouses and other spaces of production to almost all other typologies in Modernist discourse is clear. The conception of the house as a machine for living and Le Corbusier's manifesto *Vers une architecture* (first published in 1923) tie architecture into logics of production (Le Corbusier, 1986). Banham was to describe Corbusier's book as "one of the most influential, widely read and least understood of all the architectural writings of the twentieth century" (Banham, 1960, p. 220). What we get from Corbusier is a logic of work and labour applied to all of life's spaces. Marcuse would suggest that "the libido becomes concentrated in the one part of the body, leaving most of the rest free for use as the instrument of labor" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 48), and in the architecture of the period we find a similar spatial relegation. The wholesale adoption of a warehouse aesthetic correlates to the wholesale adoption of warehouse logics: a logic of efficient enterprise and function in all life's endeavours. The *plan libre* of the warehouse was fast becoming the *plan libre* of all architecture and urbanity. The alienation of labour was fast becoming a more general alienation of life in apartment buildings, or sprawling suburbs, or in schools such as Hunstanton. Marcuse's fear that the body and life would be co-opted for the purposes of production and capital accumulation are borne out in the logics of New Brutalism. The modern house might have been a machine for living but it wasn't a particularly good machine for loving.

It wasn't, however, just the key principles of Modernism to which New Brutalists turned. Though this inner history might have been the starting point for the New Brutalists, Banham would elevate the architecture to the status of a "programme" and place it in a type of moral framework where truth or honesty are involved. For Banham:

> This ruthless adherence to one of the basic moral imperatives of the Modern Movement—honesty in structure and material—has precipitated a situation to which only the pen of Ibsen could do justice. The mass of moderate architects, *hommes moyens sensuels*, have found their accepted practices for waiving the requirements of the conscience-code suddenly called into question; they have been put rudely on the spot, and they have not liked the experience.
>
> *(Banham, 1955, p. 357)*

And here New Brutalism is placed firmly in the framework of civilisation with its "moral imperatives" and "honesty", and in the frame of the superego with

its "requirements", "codes" and capacity to judge. The Norwegian playwright, Henrik Ibsen, was often referred to as the "father of realism" and for Banham the *hommes moyens sensuels* were unlikely to father anything. The "history of history" into which New Brutalism fits is made clear in Banham's paper. Banham identifies in New Brutalism "a tendency to look towards Le Corbusier" (Banham, 1955, p. 356)—a father substitute for all architects of the time. Banham, himself is not immune. Below the title of his essay and above the introductory text in a small font sits a quote from Le Corbusier's revolutionary manifesto: "L'Architecture, c'est, avec des matières bruts, établir des rapports émouvants." The English edition translates the text as "The business of Architecture is to establish emotional relationships by means of raw materials" (Le Corbusier, 1986, p. 4). Banham could put architecture on the couch, because Le Corbusier had given glass, steel and concrete emotional capacity. In the early pages of Corbusier's *Vers une architecture*, which summate the lessons and arguments of the text overall, Corbusier makes the reference to "raw materials" under the chapter heading "The Lesson of Rome". The lesson is an imperial one that attempts to tie Modernism to the monumental logics of civilisations past. It is in the corresponding section of Corbusier's main text that the notion is elaborated (a little) further: "By the use of raw materials and *starting from* conditions more or less utilitarian you [Rome] have established certain relationships which aroused my emotions" (Le Corbusier, 1986, p. 153). I imagine that arousing emotions by raw materials is civilisation's bland equivalent to the types of arousal achieved by raw bodies. Banham's use of the quote from Corbusier, sitting above his essay on New Brutalism, is an example both of selective reading and of finding in the voice of the father a tender moment that one can hold on to. For Banham the key value of New Brutalism was the pursuit of functionalism as a logic and the emotional or aesthetic value of the work would always be a by-product of that which was "*starting from* conditions more or less utilitarian". Published 11 years after "The New Brutalism" essay, Banham's eponymous book would be subtitled "Ethic or Aesthetic?", but the question was rhetorical and Banham would lament every endeavour that thwarted "utterly uninhibited functionalism" (Banham, 1966, p. 135). New Brutalism thus emerges as a reinstatement of civilisation over desire: a "placard" for the advancement of Modernism into a second Machine Age. The New Brutalists would adhere to the rules, established by the word of the father, Corbusier, and should do so in spite of personal desires. The ethics of New Brutalism would become a measure of judgement against which all that is aesthetic or sensual might fall short. Banham would note that "contact with Brutalist architecture tends to drive one to hard judgments" (Banham, 1955, p. 358).

Civilised stories

For Marcuse, with the liberation of the libido, "artistic culture" might re-emerge as "a new rationality" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 223). That is to say, artistic or aesthetic cultures might come to constitute logics beyond those of repressive civilisations.

Not because they are counter to civilisation, but because inherent to every civilisation is a current of pleasure that exceeds the logics of security and function. Marcuse would refer to this current of the subsumed and repressed that nevertheless continues to pulse through a culture as a "tabooed and subterranean history". This is different to an inner history and radically different to a history of history because, for Marcuse "[t]his sensuous rationality contains its own moral laws" (Marcuse, 1966, p. 228). Though architecture is ripe to constitute such an aesthetic culture, the history that its historians tend to produce is, however, a history of civilisation. Architects, critics and (particularly) historians come to speak of architecture as a civilised subject and a cultural artefact in the service of civilisation. It is the civilisation of Freud—a story of fathers and dominant movements that succeed in spite of the moments of subversion or the passing rise of the repressed. Banham was to follow the line of his one-time teacher, Pevsner, in trying to isolate the main currents of architecture as it surged forwards. His fixation was the contemporary and the technological movements that were emerging and that might dominate. The most pleasurable of qualities came to be summated as by-products of functional decisions and outcomes. Banham concluded that "the New Brutalism if it is architecture in the grand sense of Le Corbusier's definition, is also architecture of our time and not of his" and "a major contribution to the architecture of today" (Banham, 1955, p. 361). But that was yesterday.

Notes

1 Refer also to S. Freud, (1920), Twenty-First Lecture: Development of the Libido and Sexual Organizations, *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, p. 282.
2 The meaning of socius is elaborated on in the introduction.
3 Sándor Ferenczi had labelled it "genito-fugal" in S. Ferenczi (1968), *Thalassa: A theory of genitality*. New York: Norton.
4 For a fuller examination see S. Lavin (2004), *Form Follows Libido: Architecture and Richard Neutra in a psychoanalytic culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p. 141.
5 I use the term "agonistic" in the sense that it is explored by Chantel Mouffe in relation to "agonistic pluralism". See C. Mouffe (2000), *The Democratic Paradox*. London: Verso, p. 103.
6 A. and P. Smithson, CIAM 1953. Cited in K. Frampton (1980), *Modern Architecture: A critical history.* London: Thames & Hudson, p. 271.
7 Reference is to *The Education Act 1944* (7 and 8 Geo 6 c. 31). See D. Fraser (1984), *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: A history of social policy since the Industrial Revolution*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 233. Refer also to P. Gosden (1995), Putting the act together, *History of Education*, 24(3), pp. 195–207.

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11

RE-MEMBERING DESIRE

Visual tracings of a billboard

Linda Lapiņa

Through photographs, this chapter trails affective circulations that began unfolding after I danced with a billboard on a construction site in a Copenhagen on an August night in 2015. The dance aligned me, the billboard and the construction site as bodies in mutual becoming. It attuned me to the multi-layeredness and multi-directionality of embodiment in space and time: a branching out to multiple elsewheres always-already present in the here and now.

On the basis of the dance and continued engagement with the billboard, this text performs desire emerging through embodied re-membering. Re-membering refers to "the material reconfiguring of spacetimemattering [. . .] to account for the devastation wrought as well as to produce openings, new possible histories by which time-beings might find ways to endure" (Barad, 2017, p. 63). Re-membering enacts a rhizomatic desire (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), circulating in unpredictable ways across mo(ve)ments in time, amplifying and aligning. At the same time, re-membering outlines a *directed* desire, operating as an assembled and assembling force (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 399). This highlights the transformative political potential of desire (Lazzarato, Manning and Massumi, 2009; Colebrook, 2017). Desire strives towards transformation, it operates through a yearning to sense and imagine time, space and ways of enduring and be(com)ing otherwise (Braidotti, 2011; Povinelli, 2011, 2016). Concerned with the mutual enactment of desire, space, time and bodies, this chapter draws on and contributes to feminist-inspired thinking on embodiment, affectivity and new materialisms (Braidotti, 2002, 2011; Barad, 2007, 2017; Bennett, 2010; Blackman, 2012; Haraway, 2016).

Inspired by twentieth-century feminist thoughts on methodology (Rich, 1984; Haraway, 1988), this chapter demonstrates how research methods are interlinked with knowledge production (Law, 2004). Building on the engagement established by dance and the visual, sensory affordances of the photos, I apply an embodied,

affective methodology (Lapiņa, 2017) to explore how desire outlines space, time and subjectivity. Photographs and the style of writing function as performative, affective and knowledge-producing devices in this endeavour.

The embodied re-membering practised through the photos, the text and the movements that they invite, brings forth central features of temporality, difference and rhizomatic desire. First, in combination with the employment of dual tenses in the written text, the images reveal the multiplicity of temporality. The photos appear in a seemingly chronological order from August 2015 to May 2016. However, the narratives they present are fragmented, ruptured and overspilling, breaching out to other times and places. This non-linearity displays how time is discontinuous and bent, composed of multiple strands. The written text adds to this multilayeredness and disruption. Switching between past and present tenses, it shows how pasts emerge to rupture the present. The juxtaposition of the images and changing tenses highlights how multiple spatio-temporalities are always-already interwoven and simultaneously disjointed (Rahman, 2015; Sharma, 2017). In addition, the images reveal the generative potential of unfolding, multiplying differences, beyond addressing temporality. The photos constitute refrains or iterative movements (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). They transmit changing affective circulations and patterns of difference—differentiating—entangling (Barad, 2014, 2017), achieving reconfigurations rather than closure. This mode of knowledge production enabled by the photos offers ways of thinking about time, space, embodiment and desire in ways that unfold and expand, rather than statically capture, these phenomena. This links to how the images and the style of writing evoke desire as a rhizomatic, transformative force. The movements that they carry and instil in the reader highlight how, in part through disrupting notions of linear time, desire propagates continuous becoming, a striving towards be(com)ing otherwise (Massumi, 2015).

Before turning to the images, I introduce my research and the urban spaces on which this chapter is based. Then I describe the construction site and revisit the night of the dance. I clarify how photographs enter and rupture the chapter as affective triggers. After exploring the changing affective landscapes unravelled by eight images and mo(ve)ments in time, I revisit the notion of re-membering desire.

How we met: encountering a billboard on a construction site in a gentrifying district in Copenhagen

In the summer of 2015, I was one-and-a-half years into my PhD fieldwork. The project was an ethnographic study of socio-spatial change, intersecting markers of difference, inclusion and exclusion in Copenhagen's Nordvest district. More generally, the project explored mutual emergence of bodies, affect, space and time, working towards an embodied, affective methodology (Lapiņa, 2017). During my fieldwork Nordvest was increasingly experienced and articulated as a gentrifying area. There was an ambivalent anticipation of changes to come. Fear of Nordvest losing its soul, loss of places and livelihoods was mixed with excitement and anticipation of development and improvements.

I came to perceive the district's "dormant" construction sites as key locations to engage with these ambivalent atmospheres of gentrification. Nordvest was replete with such sites: previously industrial spaces, now owned by private developers. Gentrification had been offset due to stagnation in Copenhagen's housing market following the financial crisis of 2008–2009, which meant that the construction sites stood seemingly empty, on standby. At the same time, these places were teaming with life. A few were used by local activists and residents: a community park, skating rinks constructed of salvaged materials, sites for barbecue parties, protests, cultural and community events. Most were occupied by thrown-together material presences: assemblages of plants, trash, discarded furniture, broken bicycles, remains of fireplaces, excrement. There were traces of people spending the night, insects, birds and rodents.

I sensed these localities overflowing with matter and meaning. Yet I struggled to interpret and make sense of this meaning beyond the frame of ("not yet") gentrification temporality. Even acknowledging the pregnancy of their supposed "emptiness", conceiving these sites as vague, on standby, ruinated or decaying (Edensor, 2005; Gandy, 2016; Till, 2011) seemed to reproduce a unidirectional spatio-temporal logic of gentrification as a hegemonic *event,* superimposed on otherwise undecipherable space. Dancing with the billboard attuned me to the

FIGURE 11.1 Assemblage on a dormant construction site, September 2015.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

entangled spacetimemattering (Barad, 2017) of these sites, a relationality this chapter unfolds and re-members.

A dance with a billboard on a later-summer night

In the summer of 2015, I co-purchased an apartment in Nordvest, next to one of the construction sites. Between 2009 and 2013, the post-industrial buildings on this site had been the home of the Candy Factory, a Do-It-Yourself/Do-It-Together cultural and community centre. The activists arranged movie-screenings, concerts, debates and parties. There was a bicycle repair workshop, a recycling station, an art gallery and a garden inhabited by plants mostly rescued from dumpsters.

In 2013, the temporary agreement with the property owner was terminated. The activists tried to collect funds to purchase the site. Unsuccessful in raising a sufficient amount, the activists used the money to throw a final party and whitewash the buildings. The white carcase stood as a ghostly presence of absence for more than a year and was finally demolished in the spring of 2015.

As my then-partner and I moved into our new apartment in August, the construction process was gaining momentum. A construction pit had been dug; plants were razed; heaps of broken chairs, mouldy mattresses, bottles and an abandoned shopping cart were piled up to be removed. The site would feature two types of buildings. Youth apartments would be built first on the furthest half of the site where the Candy Factory had stood, followed by family condominiums with a rooftop terrace and underground parking. The new buildings would change the scale and density of the street. While the Candy Factory had been lower than the surrounding buildings and enveloped by space that accommodated a garden, a scrapyard and a shed, the new buildings would be slightly higher than the surrounding ones. The family apartment building would literally invade the pavement, its facade protruding one-and-a-half meters beyond the existing buildings.

On a generously warm Friday night in August, I was biking home after a conference dinner. As I manoeuvred my bike over the cobblestones into our street, a shimmering presence entered my field of vision, looming over the construction site beyond our building. It seemed to vibrate, light reflecting off its blank surface.

The shape struck me with anticipation and fear. The billboard was evil and monstrous, a harbinger of gentrification. At the same time, it teamed with other forms of life and presence, simultaneously suspended and gravitating. It seemed solid, as if it had grown out of the soil of the construction site, at the same time hovering above it as an alien presence.

What follows is an account of my immediate interaction with the billboard.

> *I park my bike in the racks next to the construction site. I glance around (no people, just parked cars and buildings). I lean into the metal fence, weaving my fingers through the rectangular gaps. I stare, mesmerised. Suddenly I find myself dancing, on that narrow strip around the corner, among parked cars and an entangled mess of bikes.*

I am dancing to the demolished Candy Factory building inhabited by graffiti, noises, dark corners. Activists and party people, homeless and homeowners, dumpster divers, bike smiths, artists, gardeners, migrants, queers, sober and intoxicated, paperless and paper-blessed. I am dancing with the post-Candy Factory ghost, a white carcase stripped of signs of is past; at once commemorating and negating what had been.

I am dancing with the gaping hole in the ground where the Candy Factory stood, greenish water amidst sandy shores. I am dancing with the plants that grew in the now vacant lot, rescued from dumpsters for the Candy Factory garden; the grass, flowers, trees, bushes and weeds that since had inhabited the part of the lot behind the building, razed just a week ago. I am dancing with the people who spent nights in this thicket.

The asphalt is smooth and solid, yet folded and fluid, under my bare feet.

I am dancing with the buildings to be erected on the site; the rooftop terrace, balconies and elevators, images of happy nuclear family life that the billboard will be announcing. I am dancing with the migrant workers from Eastern Europe that I imagine the building of these family homes will be subcontracted to. Workers whose language I might recognise, understand, have spoken before any other language, but never reveal it to them, passing by in the mornings on my bike. I am dancing with the grandiose machinery that will soon populate the site, awake by day, silent by night.

I am dancing with the people who will move into these apartments, administrators, bureaucrats, engineers, expats, academics of different nationalities, their step-kids and bonus kids. I am dancing to the plants that would grow on the rooftop terrace, providing shadow to a baby carriage while its inhabitant would be sleeping. I am dancing to IKEA and other furniture that would populate the rooms, and their Swedish, Cambodian, Russian, Polish, Vietnamese, etc., etc. constituents, human and non-human. I am dancing to webs and grids, arrivals and departures, temporary and ever-present.

Through dance, the billboard and I mutate, resonate and multiply. I am too a materialisation of gentrification, just having co-purchased an apartment next to the construction site. And we are both more than gentrifying-gentrified bodies. We are assemblages of untraceable and traceable materials, having transversed other bodies, space and time to constitute "us" in this very moment. We are related. We are kin, made of the same stuff.

The billboard is a portent of multiplicity, a tense, shifting assemblage of affects and presences inhabiting interconnected layers of space-time. It holds openings to a multitude of space-times.

The embodied labour of the dance aligned me, the billboard and the construction site. Dance was an embodied practice, performative act and relational movement (Yi'En, 2013); a laboured act of embeddedness and spacetimemattering (Barad, 2007, 2017). This relationality evolved over the following months, opening up for apprehending various levels of depth in space-time, memory, matter and movement. This text traces these affective circulations in space and time through photographs.

Photographs as affective devices

I use photographs as performative signs that attend to the co-constitution of visuality and materiality (Rose and Tolia-Kelly, 2012). They are triggers that anchor and unfold affective and non-representational potentialities (Rose, 2014; Yi'En, 2013). Seeing photography as "a *tracing* of something else" (Batchen, 1997, p. 9, my emphasis) illuminates how photographs generate a movement of their own. They unfold embodied, emplaced encounters between differently situated yet thrown-together bodies-in-kin (Haraway, 2016).

The photographs are performative not just in what they do, but in how they do it. I am inviting them into this text as mo(ve)ments of becoming: being-doings, rather than things. In addition to what they do, their performativity is also comprised by what they do not and *cannot* do. Blurry, rendered in black-and-white, the photographs signify gaps, ruptures and distance in time, place and feeling. They produce a sense of absence, of evasiveness, a sense of loss. Affectively, the act of taking the photographs had a simultaneous more-than and less-than momentum. I did not photograph the billboard at fixed intervals, or every time I noticed significant changes on the construction site. The photos were taken in moments of lingering presence. The act of taking them made me dwell with, and amplified, the affective composition of these states of awareness, different from day-to-day passings-by.

At the same time, capturing the photos brought a sense of finality and resolve. The spatio-temporal, affective mo(ve)ment that the intentionality of taking the photo co-produced was now fixated in a medium external to me and the space I was capturing. Thus, taking photos afforded distancing and even escape. This became pronounced during the autumn of 2015, as the construction site transformed from a space of everyday presence to a site of personal rupture and pain. From January 2016, I had no other reason to be on that street than the billboard. Inserting myself into that space demanded emotional effort and resolve. I began to utilise the photos for emotional detachment. It was as if the pain I was feeling was channelled into them. Simultaneously, the photos were enabling affective devices: strange trophies and witnesses of survival. Salvaged with me from those painful spaces, they testified that I had been *there*—and had returned.

The performative potential of photographs operates through desiring an irretrievably absent object (Batchen, 1997). This desire is ambivalent and multi-directional. This became apparent as I started to take the photos for the moment to end, to be allowed to leave, rather than to prolong a presence. And at the same time, the act of taking them was perhaps what enabled this presence in the first place.

The photos carry a sense of haunting central to how multi-layered bodies, spatio-temporal moments and affects can be conceived (Gordon, 2008). A photograph conveys a presence inhabited by absence (Batchen, 1997, p. 186), but these scenes are always-already populated by multiple layers of presence/absence that the photographs' being-doing carries into the text.

Writing on Roland Barthes' writing on photography, Jacques Derrida remarks:

> [. . .] it is what I add to the photograph and *what is none the less already there*. [. . .] Neither life nor death, it is the haunting of one by the other. . . . Ghosts: the concept of the other in the same, [. . .] the dead other alive in me. This concept of the photograph *photographs* all conceptual oppositions, it traces a relationship of haunting which perhaps is constitutive of all logics.
> *(Derrida, 1988, p. 267, my emphasis)*

In this text, the photographs add and create; they subtract and reduce. They seem pale, ghostly and weak compared to the thereness (Rose, 2008) of embodied presence on the street, particularly on the night of the dance. In part, their performativity lies exactly in their insufficiency and paleness: absence as corporeal and laboured, an absence that *matters* (Frers, 2013) of re-membering desire.

What follows is a juxtaposition of photographs and text pertaining to eight moments in space and time between August 2015 and May 2016. These mo(ve)ments are affective gatherings of intensities that rupture and multiply in various shapes and directions.

The photographs are thrown and throw things up in the air; they comprise an itinerary of sensing, rather than making sense (Lapiņa, 2017). They speak of trans-corporeal entanglements (Blackman, 2012) that become tangible through attunement enabled by emotional, embodied engagement. They are separate and interconnected, their affective intensities conveying performative effects of space-timemattering (Barad, 2007, 2017).

(a) The morning after
21 August 2015, 10.36
On the morning after dancing to the billboard, my waking body carries the impression of something having happened. Perhaps an intense resonance from an encounter in a dream. My mind takes a few moments to gather itself into recollection. The thought that I would find the billboard on the construction site, strikes me with infidelity. I want to hold on to the strange beauty of our meeting as singular and complete, its aftermath distinct from our daytime selves.
As I finally bring myself to walk out the apartment—down the stairs—push the door open—exit upon the narrow pavement—take a few steps to the left. There it is. There we are.
The morning light is sharp with disenchantment and interruption. The billboard appears to be just an object: haphazardly conjoined metal and plastic on wooden poles fixed in concrete. Only now I notice how its surface is made up of three narrow strips crudely stitched together.
At the same time, there is a disquieting sense of mystery and secretiveness to us standing there, facing each other. The blankness of the billboard remains evocative. It is the flattened sense of the moment, the space, of us, that is unreal and not to be trusted. The sense of disconnect in that mo(ve)ment of the morning after is a deceptive veil that cannot negate what transpired—and what is yet to unfold.

FIGURE 11.2 Billboard, encountered on the morning after the dance.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

I buy oranges in the grocers across the street. Returning I snap a photo with my phone. Now "just this" is definitely a facade with multiple cracks. In our being here, we know (of) more, we know better. There is more to us, more to the space than this. Or rather, "just this" is claiming itself as a space of unfolding potentialities, multiple shades uncontained by the sharp morning light.

(b) *A rainbow over a construction site*
September 24, 2015, 7.18
The weeks that pass bring spaces of tuning in and out of awareness of multi-layeredness of this space. There are the efforts of weaving an everyday life, of settling in into the new apartment, of going to work, shopping, going for walks. An embeddedness brought together. And there are moments that fracture the labour to assemble this order.
On a Thursday morning I am late for a train. I am already on my bike when I am struck by a rainbow over the construction site. The scene delays me, calls me to standstill. A bid to linger. I allow myself to fall into and be held by the layers of that moment.
I glimpse the truck in the background. The site is being claimed by construction, a process that will envelop and consume the billboard. There is a sense of suspension, of a delicate suspension in the face of impeding loss.

FIGURE 11.3 An overarching rainbow.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

Rather than a bracketed experience of a sheltered and sheltering moment as a tranquil island amidst an onslaught of gentrification, the caring I feel envelops the truck and the transformation, destruction and displacement it signifies. This moment in space and time is a gathering of presences and feelings that assembles itself, and envelops me, into observance. Our entanglements come together in an extended, stretched, sweeping mattering-as-care.

(c) *A path of shimmering metal*
November 13, 2015, 15.27
The construction work transforming the site of the Candy Factory had remained in the background, barely discernible facing the billboard. Then, on an early Friday afternoon, a path of metal plates has been laid, cutting through the site. The plates carry muddy traces of transversions, affording crossings of bodies at work. The lane tears up the site. Now to be penetrable.
The everyday life that I was working to assemble has cracked open in the preceding weeks. Divorce. The apartment and the street cease to be a home without fully having become one. I am one with the space: ripped open, disintegrating to make space for a future that will not include me—a series of next moments imposed and unfolding in a succession, a mattering-without-concern.
This afternoon light brings about a fragile intensity to the interplay of bodies on the site. The patterns of muddy stains on the metal plates reverberate the reflections

FIGURE 11.4 Echoing reflections.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

on the wall behind the billboard. These reflections are cast off the windows of the building that was ours. Yet, as I stand facing the construction site, their origin is irrelevant to the exchange they enter from behind the billboard. The soft glimmer on the house wall embraces the billboard on its way to touching the light cast off the metal plates. Resonance. More than and less than, an enveloping stretching to include us amid fracture.

(d) *Besieged*
December 16, 2015, 14.49
In December, the fence surrounding the site is torn open during the day, laying it bare, exposing it. The emergence of buildings in the background rings as a premonition coming true. Yet it continues to strike with a raw sense of displacement. Gradually unfolding violence, the pain of which does not cease to feel acute with each successive wrench. No habituation. No tolerance.
The billboard is an enmeshed observer. It is trapped and belittled, desecrated by the violent verticality of the crane of a construction company's truck, the facade emerging behind it, the construction rubble thrown at its feet. At the same time, it is compliant in the emergence that will make it obsolete. It stands watchful, its blankness reverberating the construction process overspilling in space and time.
A trembling stuckness.

FIGURE 11.5 The billboard stripped bare and overtaken.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

(e) *OUTRAGE*

December 27, 2015, 12.36

OUTRAGE. It's my last days packing and cleaning the apartment. A late morning after Christmas, the billboard has been vandalised.

A desecrating pang of violet letters emerging on a foggy Boxing Day, so grey that everything comes alive with light. The arrival of the inscription interrupts the dormancy of construction-on-hold, the truck and workers departed for their holidays, traces of their muddy boots on the metal path softened by the rain. The shock notifies me that I had stopped anticipating the billboard's blankness to be disrupted by advertising images of urban nuclear families.

OUTRAGE seems to reach out to everything. At the same time, it seals the billboard, superimposing a divide between us, like a shield. A disfiguring scar on its blank surface whose vibrancy had been so impenetrable, yet so replete with meaning. OUTRAGE shuts off the billboard, steals it away from me.

(f) *A holding presence*

December 28, 2015, 7.47

The following morning, OUTRAGE ceases to matter. The billboard shimmers once more, a presence of witnessing. An embrace. A space of holding and being held, a space of

FIGURE 11.6 Advent of OUTRAGE.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

FIGURE 11.7 Embraced by moonlight.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

us, our space, transversed by the light emanating from the moon and the morning skies, deep blue altered by a vague hint of sunrise behind me.

I have left the apartment hauling a plastic sack of clothes for the charity shop. My things are to be driven to a storage hotel. The keys are to be dropped in the realtor's postbox.

Facing the billboard, I encounter a space of a succession of disappearances and losses. A plane of merciful suspension and disavowal. Everything is reinstated, amplified in its thereness. Everything comes together and is dissolved.

(g) *Submerging/surfacing*
February 25, 2016, 13.55
I'm not going there much these days. This afternoon I visit the billboard pulled by an obligation, like attending to a pebble in my shoe that cannot be removed, an itch that will not go away.
What's in those sacks? They bury and obstruct the billboard. They abstract OUTRAGE. Their stickiness to the billboard comprises an intermingling and thrown-togetherness of bodies stretching and stretched in space-time. They gravitate towards the billboard, adding weight and pull to its presence.
Heavy, dumped on top of one another in a series of successive movements, precariously balancing yet consolidated, these sacks of dark matter overflow in an entangled pile of doing and being. Which elsewheres are they substantiating, instating and imagining?

FIGURE 11.8 What's in those bags?

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

This assemblage emerges as an expanse of potentialities. It is framed but not sealed by the facade of the youth apartment building now looming in its full height—having completed its growth, interior and exterior to the scene like a tumour.

(h) A jolt of yellow tulips
May 12, 2016, 17.25
I have been present elsewhere. I have travelled to Stockholm and San Francisco. I have moved into a new apartment. For weeks, I have not visited the billboard.
Then I am there—and it is not. A jolt of yellow tulips in its place.
I am shocked, displaced, unsettled, to discover the billboard no longer there. I thought that the billboard had allied itself with strong forces, the victors of the present and the future. Instead, it has been disappeared. The vanishing provides that its presence remained a promise, unfulfilled; something to become.
I feel I abandoned the billboard, I failed to care for it properly. I betrayed it.
Its disappearance signifies all we were together. Dance partners. Co-workers, co-monsters, companions, witnesses. Invasive species. Wounds and wounded. Friends. Kin. Shimmering constellations dreaming and desiring. Held by and holding the same space.
I ache with the loss of the billboard. I feel reduced, a part of me gone. And I am liberated, lighter, an attachment and obligation lifted. I will no longer have to keep returning to the site—or will I?
The construction site is once again covered in grass, nettles and dandelions, remains of ivy still caught in the fence. The tulips, their bulbs deposited in the soil, trace the garden of dumpstered plants, cultivated by activists years ago.
We have departed, but we are not gone.

FIGURE 11.9 Sudden (dis)appearance: loss, relief, submergence.

Source: Linda Lapiņa.

(i) *Aftermath*

These days, the place where the billboard used to stand is a couple of metres behind a red-brick facade that protrudes out into the pavement, one-and-a-half metres beyond the other houses on that side of the street. The construction site has been sealed, filled by a greedy growth that could not be contained by its designated boundaries.

An expansion and obliteration, it stirs as I walk past it, a muddle of trembling knots. Constrictions and folds in space-time. I sense the billboard throbbing, like a phantom limb.

Re-membering desire

In this chapter I have evoked and explored the political time and space of transformative desires (Colebrook, 2017) through the practice of re-membering. I have traced sensory and affective mo(ve)ments in the life of a billboard on a construction site through photographs and accompanying text. The images have operated as affective devices, evoking the shifting modes of the spacetimemattering (Barad, 2007, 2014) of the billboard. Through embodied labour in desiring and inhabiting the seeming void of the construction site, I have explored the possibilities "to trace the practices of historical erasure and political a-*void*-ance, to hear the silent cries, the murmuring silence of the void in its materiality and potentiality" (Barad, 2017, p. 64).

Approaching desire through embodied re-membering highlights the rhizomatic working of its transformative political potential (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Massumi, 2002, 2015). On the one hand, desire re-members and re-(con)figures what seems to be lost, silenced, displaced or rendered absent. Activist histories and labour continue to unfold even after the activists themselves literally erased their presence by whitewashing the now demolished buildings. A jolt of tulips surfaces in a dumpster-dived garden that accommodated human and non-human presences, unwelcome in other spaces of the city. At the same time, reinstating pasts-not-past and overspilling more-than-seems-to-meet-the-eye of the present, desire points to futures to be envisioned, to possibilities of be(com)ing otherwise.

Desire operates as a medium through which time comes to matter in rhizomatic, multi-fold ways. I chose to bring the photos in the order they were taken, seemingly following a linear timeline. While a progress narrative can be read from the images (the youth apartment building in the background emerging from nothing to a state of near-completion), the shifting atmospheres and materialities carried by the photos convey multi-layered, multi-directional temporalities. Objects and landscape do not rest into fixity. They morph, vibrate and evoke divergent meanings and desires, ever-new assemblages of movement and spacetimemattering. The metal plates laid out on the construction site are shimmering and casting off reflections in November, and are mute, absorbent, almost soft on 16 December. A rainbow in September seems to lift the construction site upwards, while the moonlight in the early morning of 28 December extends an embrace to the newly vandalised billboard.

The chapter contributes to feminist new materialist conceptualisations of bodies, space and time through performing desire as a medium for spacetimemattering (Barad, 2014, 2017) and making kin (Haraway, 2016). Re-membered and re-membering desire outlines bodies and affects in space, time and memory. Through photos, I have shown how desire circulates in the pregnant space of absence. It stumbles upon objects, bodies and sensations, sometimes violently clashing, other times like a stream folding around rocks and weeds on a riverbed.

The labour of re-membering highlights the heterogeneous constitution of desire. It transverses mo(ve)ments in time, aligns and brings apart, as it moves and multiplies. It can be elevating, swept up by vectors or tensions of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 110) and heavy with longing. Stretching to desiring annihilation of self and other (ibid., p. 165) and beyond separation of subject/object (Massumi, 2002, p. 113), desire can embrace, and even wish for, loss. Desire can be willing to forget itself, dispersed and amplified in the mo(ve)ment of encounter. It can be softly pulling and murmuring, throbbing with pain and mourning, circulating in the time-space of loss and possibility.

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12

UNIDENTIFIED EMOTIONAL OBJECT

When queer desire journeyed to Belgrade (but stayed in its closet)

Marko Jobst

> *It will last only a few days and then the episode will end but during that period the object will cease being itself. It will run its senses against the edge of what it knows and how it has been designed to feel, unable to tell the extent of the change it underwent. At the beginning of the story then it is just an empty vessel, no different to any other of its kind, moving down a street on its diplomatic visit, fixing its alien eyes on the image crowning the horizon: New-New Belgrade, layer upon layer of construction bleeding into the sky.*
>
> (Unidentified emotional object, fragment 1)

0.

> The three misunderstandings of desire are relating it to: lack or law; a natural or spontaneous reality; pleasure or, above all, the festival. Desire is always assembled and fabricated, on a plane of immanence or of composition which must itself be constructed at the same time as desire assembles and fabricates. We do not simply mean that desire is historically determined. Historical determination involves a structural instance to play the role of law, or of cause, as a result of which desire is born. But desire is the real agent, merging each time with the variables of an assemblage.
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, p. 103)*

Desire does not arise from lack, it should not be confused with nature, and it is not reducible to pleasure. Most of all, it is an "agent" that constructs its context even as it is being constructed itself. These are some of the conceptual propositions in Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*, a 1972 challenge issued to psychoanalysis and philosophy, as related in *Dialogues II*, Deleuze's work with Claire Parnet. What had been an exchange between two men—one heterosexual, the other homosexual; one philosopher, the other psychiatrist—would become the basis of an alternative

approach to psychoanalysis (*schizoanalysis*) and an overhaul of the concept of desire. In the process, their exercise in joint authorship would blur the lines that separated the two men as individuals, offering a possible way of tackling the collective nature of "desiring-productions" and their enunciations. But also, it was an open-ended gesture. It invited further participants, as the Deleuze–Parnet exercise shows.

There is a photograph I came across recently: Deleuze rests his hand on Guattari's shoulder, his long nails clearly visible despite the graininess of the image. A *hetero* hand squeezes a *homo* shoulder in a gesture of friendship and vulnerability unmasked (those long nails a shield for sensitive fingertips, Deleuze claimed) yet retains a measure of menace, claw-like as it seems. Both men are smiling at something beyond the frame.

In keeping with that off-frame (and as the first act of potential queering this text employs) I will only use quotes from the text Deleuze wrote with Claire Parnet. The ideas he and Guattari had developed will be related through this collaboration Deleuze had with his (female) interlocutor *sans* Guattari. In my text, Félix will only appear at the very end.

This distancing from the original exchange mirrors something of the project I describe below: an act of tracing a narrative that supressed its queer origins. What had started as an intimate story of two men was eventually transformed through the participation of a number of mostly female agents, until the story's subject was subsumed in a more complex web of relationships and productions of desire: collective, hard to pin down and evaluate and impossible to reduce to the questions of sexuality and gender. The term "queer" used in the title of this essay is employed in two ways then: as associated with homosexual desire and as a cipher for subversive, othering acts. "Taking an author from behind", as Deleuze (the hetero) suggested (1995, p. 6).

The project described below should also be understood as a failed one. Against the backdrop of starker social, economic and political forces, the brief, closeted story of an "unidentified emotional object" of the title was ineffective, its many moves and countermoves reduced to mere experimentation and play. But the trajectory of its failure reveals something of the complex constellations of urban desires and might therefore be worth describing.

1.

> There is no subject of desire, any more than there is an object. There is no object of enunciation. Fluxes are the only objectivity of desire itself. Desire is the system of a-signifying signs with which fluxes of the unconscious are produced in a social field. There is no blossoming of desire, wherever it happens—in an unremarkable family or a local school—which does not call established structures into question. Desire is revolutionary because always wants more connections and assemblages.
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, pp. 78–79)*

In the summer of 2005 I went to Athens and fell in love—with the city, but also with a man. It was the stuff of high drama: he lived there, I was in London. *Why don't you move*, I asked. *Why won't you stay*, he responded. But before that particular impasse, and before the months of mock-existential crisis that followed, we spent a few days drifting across the city: doing nothing, expecting nothing, allowing for the heat and the passage of minutes to wash over us, knowing full well the limits time imposed on our fleeting (if heartfelt) romance. We drove at night, saw films in open-air cinemas. We ate in Psiri, drank in Exarchia bars. The glow the sky held after the sun would sink was ours, as much as it belonged to the city.

Over the next year, between long-distance conversations, questions and promises never fulfilled (mine as much as his), I sat in my closet-sized room in London and wrote down snippets of what had happened. I wished to capture the events so I wouldn't forget the way they'd felt. That vista from Aiolou Street with the Parthenon on top of the hill, moments before I'd met him. The winding road he sped down wildly, drunkenly, after a concert on Lycabettus Hill, as I wished for it all to end in that moment of senseless bliss. The cafés, the beaches. The inside of his flat in Pagrati. The unexpected quiet of nights, smooth like mineral oil.

Several years later, once the writing was long finished and the story set aside—aimless, reader-less—I revisited it, as it no longer meant what it had. I pushed away from what happened and the sites that had felt integral to it at the time. I took the narrating self and turned it into something other, something *not-me*. In the process, the voice lost all distinguishing marks of gender and sexuality, humanity even. The

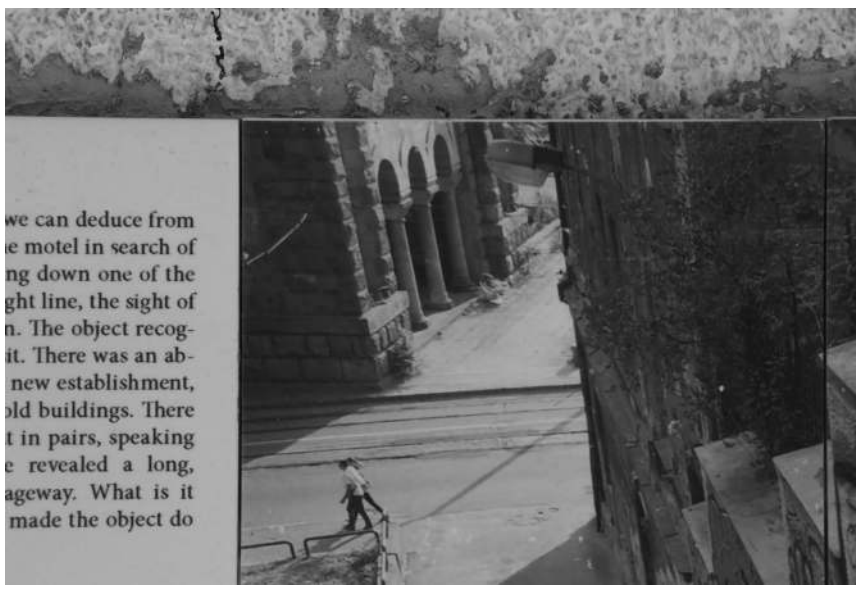

FIGURE 12.1 Unidentified emotional object in situ 1.

Source: Marko Jobst.

narrator, that "I", became an object, a thing. It wasn't a machine, but neither was it an animal—much as it hinted at being both. And the story itself, once overly personal and "realist" in form, had become speculative: a fiction of science. An "unidentified object" had come to visit the city, an emissary from who knows where. It was in the position of power, yet foreign to its environment. Most surprisingly, I discovered, the object was a sweet little thing: the self that had written it into existence could finally acknowledge its own vulnerability. The object, the self—the "I" that is the one you are reading, and not it—was still a child.

> Far from presupposing a subject, desire cannot be attained except at the point where someone is deprived of the power of saying "I". Far from directing itself towards an object, desire can only be reached at the point where someone no longer searches for or grasps an object any more than he grasps himself as subject. The objection is then made that such a desire is totally indeterminate, and that it is even more imbued with lack. But who has you believe that by losing the co-ordinates of object and subject you lack something?
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, pp. 89–90)*

The problem though: the object's affect was still anthropomorphic.

2.

The city was no longer Athens, it was now Belgrade. The child who had left that city never to return—or so he still thinks—had decided to inject the narrative into Belgrade as it had never been, for him at least: exciting and full of promise. It was a future Belgrade he knew would never be the way he'd depicted it. But in the act of translating the mythical site of the Acropolis to the elusive modernity of New Belgrade, the city had become inhabitable to the self that had written the story. The child could deposit his trinket-fictions of love and ruin inside the image of the city he could never have inhabited otherwise.

Because this was a city of playgrounds where fights erupted between boys to prove their claim to masculinity. Where a wrong look would lead to who knew what, better not test it. A city that dictated the child not deviate from the norm, and where illicit desire came to be recognised, then retreat to hidden spaces. In an indirect, elusive way—only of use to the writing "I" no doubt—the city was reinhabited with the object's queer narrative of fragments, ushered in like a herd of miniscule Trojan horses. Straight from Greece.

> And above all, it is objected that by releasing desire from lack and law, the only thing we have left to refer to is a state of nature, a desire which would be natural and spontaneous reality. We say quite the opposite: desire only exists when assembled or machined.
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, p. 96)*

FIGURE 12.2 Unidentified emotional object in situ 2.

Source: Marko Jobst.

3.

I no longer remember which had come first: the invitation to contribute to Mikser Festival 2014, or my decision to transform Athens into Belgrade. The creative director of NGO Mikser, a friend, had offered me the opportunity to participate in work that tackled the urban context of Savamala, a Belgrade district that sits by the Sava river and was undergoing a contested gentrification process, in part precisely due to Mikser's activities. She had found my story its first audience, a group of graffiti artists who I'd never meet. We sent them the text. They read it and picked passages from it, then created graffiti and murals as visual riffs.

Some of the results were startling: a conjunction of a brain and claws inside a metal tin, in forms that resisted fusion of their organic-technological elements. A series of scribbles inside a narrow passageway, part hieroglyphics, part hi-tech code, in fluorescent colours on facing walls painted black. A female figure slumped behind a wheel in what appeared to be a vehicle on the way to nowhere. A small, pale woman jumping through a hoop held by a larger, darker silhouette of a man, each facing their own way. The city's skyline, populated by buildings and cranes, their abstract geometries representative of the "New-New"[1] Belgrade the story referenced.

The responses delighted—but they also hinted at the social context that had birthed them: the object of the story, a thing clearly gendered neuter, was repeatedly depicted as female. For who is allowed to fall in love with a man but a

woman? The dark passageway piece, itself an urban closet of sorts, contained the following line, not to be found in the story: *Don't be a faggot*. It's a common utterance, somewhere up there with the imperative not to be a *cunt*. In the context of the story's surreptitious acts of urban queering though, it was a telling slippage.

I imagined the artist who had done the work: loose jeans, washed-out T-shirt, spray can in hand. Stubble on his skinny face. A prefabricated image, no doubt, something to lust after even as it rejects the gaze that constructed it. For this was not a collaboration, much as that was how it had nominally been framed: it was a way to slip in unannounced and inject fragments of queer discourse into urban spaces, unobserved. ("Taking an author from behind.") In my room at the other end of Europe, I enjoyed the fact that a straight man might have ended up giving form to homosexual desire. I kept my face hidden though.

And there were several facilitators who made the work possible, then and in its later iterations. One of them, a young woman with a head of wild, unruly curls, would send me a photograph of herself standing in front of the mural of the driving figure. In it, she was resting her head against the wall, shoulder sheltered by the peeling facade. The artist had used the disintegrating render to depict a car and the alien woman inside it, making the story merge with the building's crumbling facade. But she, the girl by the wall, had entered into a relation with the figure in an odd way: she was looking lovingly at it, offering herself to the alien woman, all the while allowing the eyes of the person behind the lens to witness the act. And, with those eyes, the eyes of all those who would eventually see the image. She'd made the statement I hadn't dared make, translated the gist of an emotion forged between two men in the summer of 2005, in Athens, into something complex and strange.

For all I know, she could have been posing for the festival's official photographer, a girl so masculine that boys paled in comparison. This was the same photographer who would take the most striking image of the project during the festival. In it, a young man rests propped up between the walls of the passageway piece, looking abstractedly into the distance. As if he wasn't resisting gravity to hold himself in space, as if it took no effort to push against the closing walls. A performance artist from Austria, he had arrived in Belgrade to fill urban space with his own body and the bodies of fellow artists. This particular space was just one of many spaces they tested with their flesh.

> The question about sexuality is: into the vicinity of what else does it enter to form such and such a hecceity, particular relations of movement and rest? The more it is articulated with other fluxes, the more it will remain sexuality, pure and simple sexuality, far from all idealizing sublimation. It will be all the more sexuality for itself, inventive, amazed, with neither phantasm which turns round and round nor idealization which leaps into the air; the masturbator is the only one who makes phantasms.
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, pp. 101–102)*

But perhaps to write all this is still to masturbate.

4.

And that could have been the end of it: nominally visible, part of an unruly festival yet never fully acknowledged, a series of gestures that were simultaneously there and not there, left without an active audience. One of several closets the text had entered and then escaped. The story remained unprinted, its visual translations onto the buildings of Belgrade eventually erased. Not just on account of facades freshly painted (though there were an increasing number of those, driven by the push to beautify the city for the eyes of the tourist); the works were commissioned because they were located in the district of Savamala, and they would disappear for the same reason. The area was on the edge of that aggressive imposition on the city, a supposed regeneration project that was in fact an act of obliteration: Belgrade Waterfront.[2]

For there were other desires at play, traversing the sites of intimate drama and homosexuality tentatively presented, and they cut across the question of sex altogether: the desire of oil money to find outlets and multiply. The desire of the country's political elites to allow external investment and, in doing so, erase every trace of what had once been communal and collective. The desire of finance to acquire material body, which it then tears down and constructs anew as soon as it can find a way. And beyond such lethal poetries of the circulation of capital, there was also a more direct violence here: the demolitions of 2016, during which masked men proceeded to tear down buildings overnight, instructed by no one knows who.[3] The culprits remain unnamed to this day. Closeted, as it were.

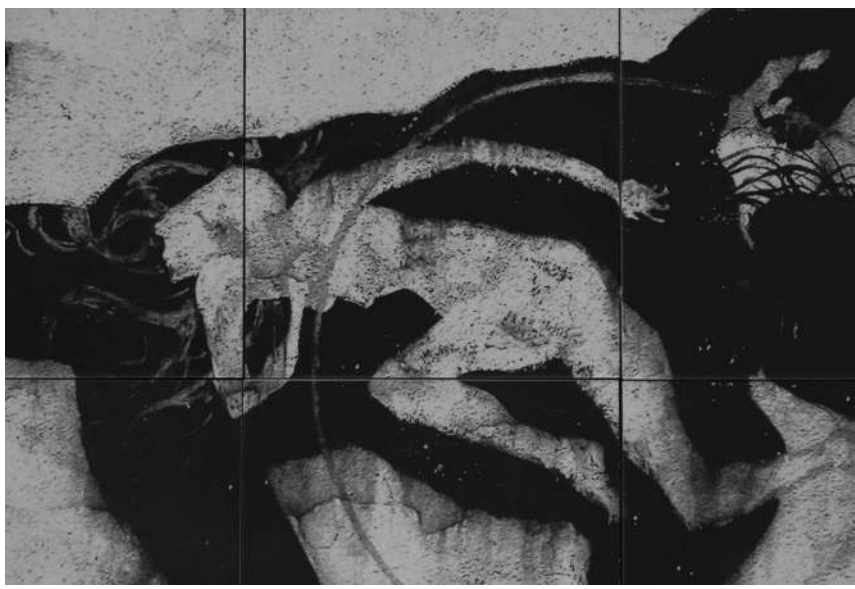

FIGURE 12.3 Unidentified emotional object in situ 3.

Source: Marko Jobst.

Whole areas of the city were rendered clean slate, and with them a site dedicated to the refugees from the Middle East. Because global quakes had brought them into the Balkans by that point, one of their many fault lines cutting precisely through Savamala thanks to its proximity to Belgrade's Central Railway Station and that area's abandoned spaces. Right at the edge of Mikser House, people occupied a city they had never desired to inhabit, uninvited and barely sheltered. So, the creative director at Mikser, that graffiti-commissioning friend, repurposed an improvised skating rink into a refugee point. The place would eventually be demolished as well,[4] and the centre relocated to a more permanent site.

> Desire is not restricted to the privileged; neither is it restricted to the success of a revolution once it has occurred. It is in itself an immanent revolutionary process. It is constructivist, not at all spontaneist. Since every assemblage is collective, is itself a collective, it is indeed true that every desire is the affair of the people, or an affair of the masses, a molecular affair.
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, p. 96)*

5.

Meanwhile, my little story and the art that gave it presence were shifting form, moving back to architecture through building materials, glazed on ceramic tiles this time. Square and solid, they no longer depended on crumbling render. Another facilitator entered the scene at that point, as co-author and willing collaborator. And if I am to trace desire across all the events depicted here, this particular stone can't be left unturned: for under it lies a peculiar beast, that first kiss I ever shared with a woman.

We were on a bench in the park where Belgrade's fortress of Kalemegdan stands, itself the site of Roman Singidunum's military camp. We sat overlooking New Belgrade, and after some brief exchange—so easy in friendship, so awkward when its limits are tested—I leaned in to kiss her. But my adolescent kiss was a spectacle of withdrawal: there was no giving in it, even less desire. My tongue was at the back of my throat. I kept pressing my lips against hers, as if circles of flesh could spark if only we overlapped them accurately. The clumsy choreography of body parts was grotesquely inept, and it was all my doing. Later on, there would be a brief telephone conversation, which set aside all possibility of us continuing down that particular route. How relieved she must have been!

But it is with the weight (or infinite lightness perhaps) of the remnants of desire that still circulate through the folds of our friendship, that the alien object that had visited Belgrade assumed its next form. It was this woman who would help migrate it, yet another collaboration laced with subtext. She would take it upon herself to photograph the graffiti in the area, documenting in the process more than had initially been intended. There was a host of graffiti and murals around by now, unrelated to the story, while others had disappeared, including the one illustrating fragment 34.

We arrived at the idea of tiling—I can no longer recall who had come up with it, it really was a joint effort, after all—in order to reinsert the images of graffitied buildings into the context of the city more permanently. We considered placing them on the corners of buildings and edges of pavements, each of the story's 50 fragments printed separately and located carefully to offer a map of sorts. It was the legal prohibitions that thwarted us in the end, as neither of us was prepared to take on the role of a masked tiler at night in what would have been a bizarre foretelling and reverse image of those masked demolitions a year later. *What I like the most about this*, she said once they were on the walls of the gallery space at Mikser House, *is that it's so unassuming*. There we were: playing like the children we no longer were.

Towards the end of the opening—all microphone announcements, friends and family offering platitudes—the *last* woman I ever kissed approached me to say how moved she was by the story. There was something in the description of loss (clumsily written as the story was) that complemented the caring relationship she and I had retained. And being a psychotherapist, she said: *After all, emotional objects are always unidentified*. The statement was intended with humour, a jab at her own profession. But the objects she spoke of did traverse categories and allowed desire to construct, rather than merely find gaps to fill. Something in the haphazard journey of the story, its embarrassing, personal origins, had resonated with other desires. Decades, genders, sexualities apart. Something new had been forged, for that one person in the audience at least.

> We do not believe in general that sexuality has the role of an infrastructure in the assemblages of desire, nor that it constitutes an energy capable of transformation or of neutralization and sublimation. Sexuality can only be thought of as one flux among others, entering into conjunction with other fluxes, emitting articles which themselves enter into particular relationships of speed and slowness in the vicinity of certain other particles.
>
> *(Deleuze and Parnet, 2002, p. 101)*

6.

Time passed. I received a film of the exhibition opening, neatly edited. My collaborator arrived at Mikser House to take the tiles down—I'd already retreated back to London—only to discover they had been moved ahead of schedule: a promotional event for the Israeli Tourism Board was occupying the same space. Mikser—the term means "blender" in Serbian—was living up to its name.[5]

But the creative director proposed the tiles be relocated somewhere inside the newly established refugee centre, moved from the freshly demolished skating rink that had retreated before the advance of Belgrade Waterfront. She suggested to use them on the walls inside the centre's male toilet and the idea seemed hilarious: for what better place than a *water closet*, the proverbial site of queer loitering? In the

end, they ended up on the side facade of the building, executed by my collaborator and one of the construction workers employed on the refugee centre project. He would ask her out, in the end. *I'll call you*, she'd reply. There is a photograph of the two of them standing in front of the freshly laid tiles, smiling at the camera, with the zig-zag arrangement of fragmented graffiti and text behind them. Mine would have been a different geometry; but *she* had done the work, *she* was there, in Belgrade. She was the one doing the physical work, drinking with carpenters and builders, and fending off their advances. I kept to my room, far removed.

As it turned out, this was the wall that would face some of the neighbouring buildings most violently opposed to a refugee centre being located at their doorstep. It is where objects (and quite a few of them unidentified) would be thrown at refugees from neighbouring windows. It is also where some of the refugees, invariably men, would occasionally gather to evade entering the centre, yet strike deals in its shade, or so I am told. Some might even have been queer. Would they have recognised the story's message?

Two years later, the creative director sent me photographs of the tiles, which had by that point shed their layer of unbaked glaze. Both text and images were dissolving under the onslaught of elements, leaving pristine, blank surfaces. We'd known it would happen from the outset. We were happy for the journey to end in erasure. Playful as it had been, it wasn't worth preserving.

FIGURE 12.4 Unidentified emotional object in situ 4.

Source: Marko Jobst.

7.

The journey had started with a man, and it would end with one: an artist-activist who works with refugees in that very centre these days.[6] He sat across from me on a hot August day in one of Belgrade's many and proliferating cafés filled with tourists. He'd spent the past hour talking to me about politics and its relation to the city, his eyes fixed on mine, unflinching. And I recall clearly the moment I submitted to him, my body relaxing within the space of a single breath, allowing the force of his conviction to enter it. His muscles were shaved all the way to the hairs on his fingers. There were a couple of tattoos scribbled on his thighs, graffiti gestures performed in haste. *So, those tiles were yours*, he asked with a sneer, not unkindly. *We took them down to make a mural with children and refugees*. He paused for effect. *We use them as coasters occasionally*, he added. Then he flashed me a row of perfectly white teeth, shark-like.

Which is when I recalled the chapter omitted from the English translation of Guattari's *Molecular Revolutions*: "Devenir enfant, voyou, pédé"—"Becoming child, rogue, faggot".[7] I am pretty good at covering *child* and *faggot*,[8] I thought as I looked back at this young man and the searing Belgrade heat assaulted my cheeks. But this is the kind of *rogue* this city needs. I will retreat back into one of my many closets, take all my partial, unidentified objects with me. And who knows, perhaps one day I will be able to follow his lead. Take a stand.

> And above all [Deleuze and Parnet write in a single voice] it is objected that by releasing desire from lack and law, the only thing we have left to refer to is a state of nature, a desire which would be natural and spontaneous reality. We say quite the opposite: *desire only exists when assembled or machined*.
>
> *(2002, p. 96)*

> *Once the object is back in its native environment, time changes pace and things happen outside any conceivable event-frame. The object floats in the pools of its days moving through the familiar landscape, aimless. The skies are the same as they'd been before it left: leaden and immutable. The seasonal floods come and go, leaving a moist film over surfaces. The compound where the object lives curves around a lake, in which huge shoals of fish move in complex patterns. The object drifts through the forest clearings and registers the familiar scents. It revisits the routines inscribed in its circuits, focused on what others ask of it, but its world has been emptied of meaning, made unfamiliar. When asked, it gives the briefest of explanations of what had happened but the diagrams it provides bear little relation to the events that had taken place. It feels as if there were nothing to say: something had happened during its mission and now it is no more. And that's that.*
>
> (Unidentified emotional object, fragment 34).

Notes

1 I would discover much later that Deleuze and Guattari had written in *Anti-Oedipus* of capitalism's "new-new filiation" (see Ronald Bogue's chapter on *Anti-Oedipus* in his1989 book *Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 101). The name New-New Belgrade had come to be via a different route, as an absurdist take on New Belgrade. Ironically, it is the Belgrade Waterfront project (mentioned later in the text) that will ultimately deliver the "new-new" of the current global paradigm.
2 See, for example, Eror, D. 2015. "Belgrade's 'top-down' gentrification is far worse than any cereal cafe", *The Guardian*, 10 December. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/dec/10/belgrade-top-down-gentrification-worse-than-cereal-cafe.
3 See, for example, "Staff and agencies in Belgrade 2016. Serbs rally against shady demolitions after masked crew 'tied up witnesses'", *The Guardian*, 26 May. Available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/26/serbs-rally-against-shady-demolitions-after-masked-crew-tied-up-witnesses
4 See, for example, S. Dragojlo, 2016, "Refugee Centre Razed for Belgrade Waterfront", *Balkan Insight*, 27 April. Available at http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/belgrade-s-refugee-aid-centre-demolished-for-belgrade-waterfront-04-27-2016.
5 For more on Mikser and the relationship between the arts, culture and politics in Belgrade and Serbia, see the forthcoming text in M. Jobst, N. Whybrow and M. Cvetković, in N. Whybrow, forthcoming (2020), *Contemporary Art Biennials: The work of art in the complex city*, London and New York: I. B. Tauris/Bloomsbury Academic.
6 For details see https://www.facebook.com/RefugeeAidMiksaliste/. Also, note that the following article incorrectly assigns a mural collaboratively produced by students, activists and refugees to a single person: S. K. Dehghan, 2018, "Iran was like hell: The young refugees starting new lives in Serbia", *The Guardian*, 28 September. Available a: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/28/iran-refugees-europe-eu-serbia-belgrade-asylum-seekers
7 As mentioned in Verena Andermatt Conley, "Thirty-six thousand forms of love: The queering of Deleuze and Guattari", in Nigianni and Storr (2009), p. 30.
8 Especially in the transition from the French *pédé* to the term used in Serbian, *peder*.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to Mikser's Creative Director Maja Lalić for her invitations, organisational dexterity and creative ideas (often much more creative than mine); thanks to the graffiti artists Artez, Master, Alone, Xymo, Woni and Bong for their work, as well as all those whose work was captured in further photographs transferred to tiles; to Marija Draškić for organising the graffiti part of the project; and finally, to Marija Kalabić, my tiling partner in crime.

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13

DESIRING-SPACES

Compulsive citizen–state configurations

Diana Beljaars

Fragment 1

Upon entering the remembrance park a new world opens up, and steals the mundanity of the everyday. The rhythm of John's steps resound, muffled from the asphalt that leads to the centre of the park. The round greyness of the war memorial immediately perforates the sky, rupturing the path and the strip of grass behind it. A green speckled hedgerow presents a horizontal strip, taking away the vision of further ahead. The sound of water clattering echoes up the thick walls of the memorial, overflows them and fills the park. John sees bodies strolling the paths, alone in a rush or paired following the grey asphalt between the stones lining the edges. Sat on benches, quiet conversations are being held and carried away in the rustling of the wind through the leaves. He finds a bench that edges the outer path and is hugged by the rhododendron rooting behind it. Bodies taking photos, framing the height and width of the memorial centrepiece of the park. Its paths drawn towards it and pushed away, connected for apprehension from every angle at a distance, buffered by the grass. John's gaze meets the plaques, statues and memorial stones dotted in clearings of the grass. They hold visitors sway, their bodies bending over, hovering for close-ups in front of them, eyes gliding over their cold, dark stone engravings and cracks (see Figure 13.1). The red poppy garlands left loosely gathering at their bottom; attached plasticised messages flapping with the wind. Some wooden crosses poke the black earth, some rest on the grass scattered and left untouched around the garlands; heads turning attending to the scribbles, sighing in remembrance of the silenced bodies of unknown others. John breathes out, his lungs heavied with war, pain and death.

FIGURE 13.1 A memorial plaque embedded in a large stone in the Memorial Park, Alexandra Gardens, in Cardiff, UK.

Source: John Clayton.

This chapter thinks through the ways in which a "compulsive process" may disrupt the choreographies of civic life as staged by the State. A compulsive process involves a development of the concept of compulsivity as a spatial phenomenon with socio-political affects beyond its medical connotation. Through an ethics of imminence, compulsivity is conceptualised as reproductive of a desire that forms assemblages of heterogeneous presences of a figure or body enacting compulsive interactions. Compulsivity is utilised in similar ways as Deleuze and Guattari (2004, 2013) utilised schizophrenia to imagine and analyse how revolution can erupt, and therefore how the attempts of the State to grasp and oppress its citizens can be curtailed. Transposed into a metaphysics of desire that attempts to understand the workings of the socius, Deleuze and Guattari (2004) develop schizophrenia as archetypical revolutionary line of flight. This line of flight is diametrically opposed to the other archetypical line of flight, which embodies the paranoid, reactionary and therefore fascist State (see Buchanan, 2008). The schizophrenic process thus embodies the escape from oppression of the State, as it "lays bare the material processes of the unconscious" (ibid., p. 40). This chapter explores how compulsivity can arguably be mobilised to similar effect.

The body performing compulsive interactions is mobilised in a non-pathological sense in the same way as Deleuze and Guattari mobilised the schizophrenic body (see Ardoin et al., 2015). However, I invoke *figure*, rather than *body* to diagram the compulsive interactions as assemblage of a multiplicity of partial embodiments. Echoing Deleuze in *Negotiations* (1995), this invocation is in full acknowledgement of compulsive capacities' potential to burden individuals with these sensibilities with or without a formal medical diagnosis. This figure is not a priori understood as suffering and in need of medical, psychological or spiritual aid. However, this figure is also not celebrated because of its capacities. Thus, the invocation of the compulsive figure is not presented as an open invitation to be disruptive in public places, in ways similar to how Deleuze regrets the uptake of schizophrenia "as a licence for people to 'go crazy' " (Deleuze, 2011; quoted in Ardoin et al., 2014, p. 51). Indeed, the body performing compulsive interactions presents a body that might be disruptive of the social order of the park (but see Davis et al., 2004), which is simultaneously affirmative of its material order. As such, the compulsive process incites thinking about a metaphysics of body–world relations of another "compulsive order", which could be at odds with, and therefore render visible, and challenge the order the State instils in its citizens.

The chapter first introduces a compulsive "figure" in its emergence from the compulsive interactions it becomes enlaced in as the embodiment of the compulsive process. Compulsive interactions taking place in the memorial park situation are inspired by and partially based on ones that had been documented in a study combining mobile eye tracking, participant observations and interviews with 15 research participants over an 8 month period in the Netherlands (see Beljaars, 2018). Through the imagined compulsive interactions, the relations between the

park and the body are explored. The chapter reconceptualises the compulsive process on the basis of the emergence of compulsive capacities of a human body and its extracorporeal constituencies through an ontology of energy as a desirous assemblage. Thereafter, it traces the affective resonances of the interactions on the memorial park as co-constituted by all presences, and concludes with the establishment of the resistance to State capture the compulsive figure poses.

Taking place in Alexandra Gardens, a memorial park in the civic centre of Cardiff, Wales, this chapter extends John Clayton's encounter with the rat and his lamentation of war, fascism and the human's co-emergence with the non-human (see Chapter 7). He argued that celebrated histories of humanity are intimately bound up with, and cannot be seen as separate from, histories of animal-kind, as they inflect fascist regimes inflicted on humankind. This extension of John's encounter with the rat is based on and inspired by the many conversations I have had with him about this, both inside and outside this particular memorial park. Here, I wish not to refer to John as a stable *subject*, as *being*, and as *existent*, but as a *subjectification process*, a desirous *becoming* and as *consistent* of the human and the more-than-human: the rat, the park, the State, the dead and the war. Therefore, I wish not to individuate John; or somehow "dehumanise" him, and certainly not to (re)cast him as divinity. Rather, imagining him *in excess* of his humanity, this chapter occupies his gaze in the fragments presented throughout the chapter. This gaze is invoked as *percept*, a concept invoked by Deleuze and Guattari to denote pure perception; perception without individuated perceiver (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994).

In the current age of "nudging" (Pykett, 2015), a heightened immediate threat of war, and the fascist desires of States to control and subdue new kinds of civil organisation, States are relying more on the nationalist sensibilities of their citizens. One of the ways in which States seek to fire up nationalism and pride of nationhood is through the reminder of its greatness as articulated in the victorious elements of its history. Such articulations enter the everyday lives of State citizens through their materialisation in things such as memorial parks that commemorate and glorify those who lost their lives in defending (the interests of) the nation in "exploration" and war. In accordance with Deleuze and Guattari, these parks, propagating this ideology, can be understood as articulations of the presence of the State in the urban fabric (Abousnnouga, 2012). Deleuze and Guattari read the State's presence in a place, where citizens become "captured" by the State "war machine", in its deflection of other citizens' interests. Deleuze and Guattari invoked this concept to denote the territorialisation of citizens as State apparatus in its imperialist tendencies stemming from its capitalist predisposition. Memorial parks are clearly precipitated with these intentions (Raivo, 1998), and with their striation towards serving State goals, they can be understood as one of the most over-coded spaces in the urban sphere (Ballantyne, 2017). Residing in such spaces thus exposes citizens to State oppression. Whilst certain groups in Western society are well equipped to resist such oppression, other, more vulnerable groups, are

at risk either of being (re)traumatised by the adversities of State imperialism, and/or being pressured into the national military forces and committing further atrocities demanded following geopolitical agendas. The conditions upon which civic spaces such as memorial parks are performative of State oppression might become apparent with a compulsive rendering of these spaces.

Fragment 2

> *Now, a foot balancing on the stone ridge between the path and the grass. Another put in front, the gaze downward seeing the leg swaying outward bringing the next foot to the next section of the ridge. Arms spread wide for keeping balance. A moment's hovering to align the width of the foot with the width of the ridge, then actualised in the meeting. A body strolling deliberately carefully planting each step following the ridge. Now, crouching before the stone, the back of the hand swiping the moist sand and rubble to the meeting point with the tiles surrounding the stone, nails scratching off the bulges from its flat surface. Poppy garlands being shoved, their plasticised messages flapped face up, straightened in accordance with the next and in the direction of the plaque. Sticky sand being rubbed off them, creases undone, and undone once more, and once more. Now, crosses pulled from their earthly place, swept from the grass, taking place in new compositions on the other side of the statue, when slanting forced deeper into the wet ground. Now, keeping the same pace as the other body on the other side of the memorial; their hovering head wedging between the columns, resting on the thick wall as the body makes its way to the other side of the entity. Now, a nose hovering in front of the weathered grey surface of the rising column; finger tips following the raspy dry stone, grazing the skin in its force. The nose reverting to point upward, the body turning and the upside of a head resting against the hardness of the wall; sleeved arms flinging up, one eye closing and aligning the fingers with the edge where the column meets the sky.*

Compulsivity

The body in "Fragment 2" is a body with the capacity to engage with the park on unchosen terms. This capacity urges the body to touch, order and align itself compulsively in accordance with its surroundings. This section analyses compulsivity as retrieved from its conceptualisation as medicalised lived reality in order to understand the figure's movements and the emergent configurations of the compulsive process that binds together the park and memorial objects, the visiting citizens, the State and its imperialist cravings, war and the war dead. In close resemblance with schizophrenia, compulsivity could be conceived of as the performance of a pre-personal and pre-reflective enlacement of the human body with its surroundings. As I argue elsewhere, this enlacement may hold some truth in the governance of human bodies (Beljaars, 2018).

The figure's compulsive interactions are experienced as driven by unqualified urges by people with the sensibilities medically recognised under the heading of

the Tourette syndrome diagnosis. Such urge-driven compulsive acts divert from other-than-compulsive acts as they do not follow reason. Indeed, they do not bear reference to purpose, rationality or meaning in ways by which bodies are understood to be governed (see Bliss, 1980; Kane, 1994; Leckman et al., 1994; and countless other experiential accounts). The experience of a collection of material objects—including the body—to breach a particular harmony, or to defy a composition, is accompanied by the uncomfortable urge-sensation to rectify the "wrongness" of the situation. Wrongness does not indicate a moral judgement or psychoanalytical interpretation of a situation. Rather, its non-representational quality names an unspeakable tension or a haunting that increasingly demands attention. In what way the situation is wrong, or how to address this wrongness, is encapsulated in the bodily requirement for a particular sensation in, on, or between the body and its affective environment (Beljaars, 2018). These sensations are described as "itches", tensions or pressures, and are often located in the chest or in bodily extremities that become part of a compulsive interaction (Kane, 1994). Nonetheless, these urge sensations seem difficult to pin down in words: an urge to rub soft fabric between one's fingers is experienced as a "tingling sensation" by one research participant. When she discusses having to choose between two objects she is interested in buying, she experiences the urge to indicate the "right" object as "warmth". Another participant can be seen to rush over to a fruit bowl to reposition a banana in relation to a cucumber as the urge made her feel like "head over heels in love", but "in a terrible way". Therefore, the differences between urge sensations might have less to do with their production in the brain, and more with the kinds of interactions.

The urge sensation increases when not acted upon, so the wrongness of the current situation becomes more and more overwhelming. As a result, such urges interrupt other-than-compulsive activities (Dalley et al., 2011) such as setting the table for lunch to reposition the cushions on the sofa for a third time, which can be seen on the eye-tracking recordings, as well as stopping conversations with another person. At the same time, it can impose strictness on non-compulsive activities, such as sitting on the right-hand side of the train. It can also create zones of imminent danger, such as with a deep-fat fryer that provokes one participant into touching the hot fat if the machine is within reach. In the absence of cognitions, people with these capacities conceive of their compulsive experiences on different, non-representational *felt*, terms (Beljaars, 2018). These urge feelings emerge and fade away when these bodies are in the vicinity of particular objects that evoke a particular compulsive response. Compulsive capacities thus produce a body that seems to be highly sensitive to relations and balance between affective materiality (Beljaars, in review). "Following" this body then allows discerning an experiential geography of intensities.

A body that is moved into performing particular interactions indicates a bodily tolerance to seduction of outside forces in new ways (see Harrison, 2008). This vulnerability to such seductions situates the person performing the compulsions more like a witness than an intentional perpetrator to its own interactions. This

performative "enslavement" of the body to the desirous extracorporeal world can even subject the body to engage in self-destructive acts, such as through pressing the delicate skin of a finger into sharp tips and edges until it bursts. The desire that produces and reproduces compulsive situations employing the body demonstrates that the body can be urged to harm itself, and that the flesh is at the mercy of extracorporeal affects.

Compulsive interactions tend to differ per interaction, with very few contingencies between different people and even between different occasions involving the same person (Worbe et al., 2010). Different enunciation within compulsive interactions happens through colours, delineations, size, proximity, sharpness and texture (Beljaars, 2018). For example, a tall drinking glass stops being an object holding fluids, and becomes pinchable, in addition to a collection of cold, see-through lines, or a flatness when meeting another flat surface. A small statue on display becomes a grainy roundness fitting perfectly with one's upper lip, the indicator of the middle point between two flowerpots, or a reinstatement of the symmetry between the three tips of the surface it is stood on. Lines on the pavement become untouchable and unbreachable. In short, objects bearing similarities might invoke compulsive ordering interactions, whilst a pointed edge might invoke compulsive touching, and two vertical lines in successive depth might invoke the body being optically aligned (see De Leeuw et al., 2018).

Therefore, not only the experience of compulsive interactions, but also the actualised unfolding of these interactions, suggest that the compulsion is not governed by the human. Rather, compulsive interactions seem to reflect the corresponding material aspects of the extracorporeal elements involved. As such, the compulsive desire can be conceived to actualise the affective agency of the more-than-human resonating within and through the human. Not attributable entirely to either the human or the non-human, compulsive interactions could then be conceived of as emerging *between* the corporeal and the extracorporeal, and *between* different extracorporeal entities (Beljaars, in review). With the changing surroundings, the interactions the body is drawn to perform thus change accordingly (ibid.). The body with compulsive capacities can therefore only be understood as always entangled with its material surroundings, so one can reconceptualise compulsivity as a particular "magnifier" of the body's articulation of particular extracorporeal affects. Such a conception of compulsivity allows analysing human/world enlacing both empirically and conceptually without ontologically centring the human. Instead, compulsive interactions demand an ontological centring of the compulsive *situation*. Following Deleuze and Guattari's metaphysics of desire (2013), then, incites thinking through the compulsive situation as produced by and reproductive of a particularly violent assemblage of the body and extracorporeal matter, and hence giving rise to the compulsive process.

Bodily involvements in the ontologically dispersed compulsive situation also has implications for the performativity of a human body as part of any setting. Discarding its allusion to structures of meaning, of ratio, and entering into the realm of an almost nihilistic approach of bodily response to primordial urges requires a renewed

acknowledgement of the disharmony with which bodies actualise. Compulsivity, par excellence, demonstrates the indeterminacy of bodily engagement with the world, both in the corporeal and the excessively corporeal. Corporeally, as having to perform compulsions requires a pause in any other activities. Excessively corporeal indeterminacy arises as the body is perceived to overflow in, or come to consist of objects in the vicinity. The urge signals the desperate requirement to "solve" this indeterminacy by impressing the flesh with this affective materiality perceived as part of the bodily sensibilities. Such excessively corporeal indeterminacy then expresses in its craving for bodily interaction that which is neither up for capturing in signification nor in biological functionality. This suggests that we might reconsider the capacities of the flesh and its sensory registers as emerging with extracorporeal affects, as this would allow capturing the reproduction of material desires through the body. As such, the compulsive body shifts between compulsive and more-than-compulsive engagements with the world. By extension, the compulsive figure in the park then shifts from performing as a more-than-compulsive park visitor, adhering to the codes of conduct and moral order of the park, to a compulsive body that performs the affective materiality of the park on these terms.

Energy/Desire

Returning to the figure in the park, we can now unearth the compellence with which touching the ornament's edge, scratching algae from a memorial stone and rearranging the garlands needs to take place. The compulsive capacities render the figure in constant pursuit of relief from sensory tensions, and, as such, draw it into performing these interactions in accordance with the ongoing arising and fading away of intensities. These interactions occur both without reference to any past recognisable beyond compulsivity, and without bearing towards other futures of interest to the body. However, understood as outside further interests to this body, but extended to and including the objects in question, the spatiality of the park and/or countless other human and non-human elements, might help explain the involvement of the body in the compulsive interactions.

The constitution of compulsive interactions would then involve a greater assemblage than just the figure. In that sense, compulsive body–world formation ought to be understood as occurring *with* the body rather than *by* the body. Therefore, we need to look at this situation as a rhizomatic becoming that forms a metaphysics with the body and other elements. This compulsive process then denotes a forceful becoming of human, non-human and other bodies in their coming together of the elements and their actualising capacities, rather than the attributes of the elements involved. The becoming-forceful of the rhizome can be understood as taking place with the concept of desire conceptualised by Deleuze and Guattari (2004). They mobilise desire neither as a lack or vacuity that becomes powerful in ways black holes become powerful (Deleuze and Guattari, 2013), nor as a sense of wanting that stems and is governed only by an individual (see Butler, 1987). Rather, they situate desire as a flow of energy that is reproduced through a series of "machines" that, one by one, transform the flow of energy into a useable form for the next

"machine" in the flow chain. In turn, desire also produces the machinic system that reproduces it; hence the produced and the producer emerge accordingly; it is a mutually constitutive system (DeLanda, 2006). A simple bodily example is the digestive system that desires, reproduces and excretes a flow of energy.

The human body constantly deals with all kinds of energy reproduction, and extracorporeal affects that actualise the compulsive capacities of the body might be regarded in a similar vein. As such, biological feelings of being hungry are similar to the biological "itch" that is felt when the urge comes into existence. As the empty stomach wants food to negotiate the hunger, the compulsive body has to touch and straighten the plasticised name tags on the poppy garlands to satisfy the itch. Unlike the hunger, the stomach and the food, the compulsive itch switches in location, and the body does not have a "receptive" or reproductive machine to house, process and "release" the energy. Echoing through the bodily flesh—limited by the outer layers of the skin—and not following a distinct path, this surplus energy "goes rogue".

As the desirous energy cannot be reproduced by the bodily organs, one research participant in Beljaars (2018) contends it can "keep bubbling" in his body in an attempt to escape the flesh. He continues to argue that such an escape is only possible through resonation with particular extracorporeal materiality "otherwise it gets stuck" in the body. Only in the material amalgamation of the flesh with affective materiality, can the energy be released. Hence in the moment the sensory registers resonate with such an object—for instance, when one glances over it—the energy locates in the sensory tissues capable of inciting an interaction with the object. This fits with compulsive interactions most often being performed with an index finger, thumb, nose, chin or tongue. And it is only with reproduction of the energy in the sensory tissues that the compulsive capacities of the body actualise in experience. In this situation, the energy is made sensible as the urge acquires enough quality to "guide" the human towards the affective extracorporeal materiality. Performing the specific compulsive interaction then allows the "itch" to be "scratched" (Kane, 1994). One participant describes how she experiences her body in these instances:

> *That itch needs to be satisfied, it is a kind of orgasm in a way; then you feel that itch very strongly, for example, and then you crave that orgasm. That belongs together. [. . .] You constantly deal with a kind of energy that has to do with a kind of orgasmic energy. *laughs* And that is just a very powerful energy that's there, and you can canalise it, or, ehm, that that current becomes weaker, or say like "well, we're not going to that point", but that energy does have a direction. It wants to go there.*

Her experience then situates the involvement of her body in compulsive interactions as supportive of the through-flow of the energy current, which direction she can alter to a certain extent, but cannot block. Indeed blocking it is regarded as "counter-natural" as another participant argues:

> *Ok, there's something that needs to leave your body and you are blocking it . . . and that sounded to me, you know . . . that's like with sneezing and stuff . . . those are things that just need to get out.*

These participants then situate their body as a "conductor" of energy to come in, flow through and come out again, in which the becoming-compulsive of the situation resembles the energy building up in the body to release it in a compulsive interaction. By extension, the compulsive capacities of the body then resonate with the extracorporeal affects that are situated within an explosion of the energy leaving the body with the interaction. As such, the coming together of the materialities of the memorial park and the compulsive body creates a desirous economy of energy.

As the energy flows that give rise to the libidinal economy that governs the assemblage of materialities in, of and with the park and its visitors only actualises with the sensory tissue of the human body, this economy becomes enacted by perceptions of these flows. As these perceptions move with the changing situation of the park–visitor assemblage, they create a geography of energy *percepts*. Developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1994) and based on Bergson's object images (1911), the *percept* connotes perceptions comprehending a unique constellation of all that is present: a gathering of the subject, object and perception itself. As such, the percept is "anterior to the prescription of perceiving subject and perceived world" (Anderson and Wylie, 2009, p. 332) and therefore neither belongs to an object nor to a subject (Wylie, 2006). As such, a percept constitutes "a pure flow of life and perception, without any distinct perceivers" (Colebrook, 2002, p. 74). Rather, it acquires its qualities by the capabilities and sensibilities of objects *and* subjects (Dewsbury et al., 2002). Situated "compulsive cultures" then consist of the collections of all possible percepts that can be "taken" when the human "steps into them", without necessarily predetermining compulsive engagement. It invites thinking spatial constellations that culminate in compulsive touching, balancing and ordering.

Fragment 3

Looking up from the rat between the dead leaves underneath a rhododendron, John sees the odd movements of the figure. At a glance he sees he is not alone. Heads turn, attentive to the motions of the figure doing their balancing acts on the stone edge. Conversations pause, silence rises at the sight of the figure walking, pacing their steps in accordance with another body on the other side of the memorial structure. Are they a threat to us? To themselves? John registers the distinct lack of familiar humanity in the figure. Heads tilting to recognise the sounds a voice makes with the clattering water of the fountain: "Innnnnnnn hocccccc siiiiiiiignooooooo viiiiiiiiiinceeeees".1 Is this a sorry attempt to be funny—what to make of this? A walk interrupted by arms flailing and dirt flying off the marble rest for the statue. Are they vandalising the statue, and should we intervene? John's body stills. Other eyes following the movements of the stretched out arm, measuring the thumb on the head of the angel statue, holding still, perfecting the angle.

The crude and rash movements of the figure are at odds with the peaceful appearance of the park; how can one treat the weathered wooden crosses with such vigour? Why does

the plaque require such fierce brushing; it might roughen the shiny surface. What has the grass done to deserve piercing? And be careful with the plasticised notes, for the edges might tear! They carry so much grief from those still suffering the dead commemorated today, who have poured so many tears in crafting the message before pushing the card in its plastic holder. Why is the stone of the column scratched, why defy its magnificent grandeur by dragging one's hair over its surface? Collective confusion.

What is it of the figure's movements and interactions that causes fury? That tips the balance and breaches its instilled tranquillity, John ponders? Is the memorial "no more" than its angles, its sets of lines, and the grittiness of the stone it is made out of? What constitutes its shock of grace otherwise? Does the water know that it flows in the city's most beautiful fountain? Would the marble care if it would have one more or one less name inscribed on its surface—one more or less body in peace of death? Are the plasticised messages aware of the mighty message they carry, just flapping in the wind like that? Is the weight of the memorial structure carried by hope for a better future? Do the paths remain clean, the flowerbeds ploughed and hedges cut through divine care? Suddenly the park appears anew; the old subtle tingles, incandescence and vitalities have shifted.

As we would like to believe that it will propel its magnificence in resistance to future war being bestowed upon us, how can it, here in front of us, be so indifferent to dirt and algae on its surfaces, and not repel improper alterations to its sounds and organisation? With the memorial park standing exposed in the glorious commonness of its materiality, its touchability, also the ridiculousness of its theatre stands exposed. Our mundanity blares forth, the air of distance falls away, and we ourselves can no longer hide our ridiculousness as puppets on our shared stage. The wars, destructions and deaths can no longer be excused. John leaves.

Resisting overcoding

Bodies with compulsive capacities are at risk of becoming involved in compulsive interactions with the park through its potential to be compulsively ordered, touched and aligned. The park then becomes rendered on its lines, shapes, colours and materialities that change and reformulate with each new moment unfolding, and upon which a compulsive situation can emerge. In short, the compulsive situations that erupt when the capacities of the body and the park become actualised lay bare the intimate material details of the park that become swept up in the "grand" affects that it reproduces. Indeed, such is the plateau on which humans have learned to attune to the memorial park. The attunement to the park as its energy surges through the compulsive figures, and the desirous vitality of their coming together, erupts in unforeseen ways and is completely oppositional from the line of flight assembling the park on its State-coded and political line of flight. If the body with the compulsive capacities aligns with the verticality of the columns, the war memorial "obliges" and becomes decoded. As such, it becomes reified in its capacity to answer to the compulsive situation the body brings about. In their compulsive capacities, the body de-territorialises towards the memorial park, and

the park de-territorialises towards the body, thereby reassembling and following a new line of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004). Rather than retaining its political function, the park can be understood to accommodate such meaningless and apolitical compulsive interaction with the figure. In other words, the park actualises its own potential for engagement in a way other than that allowed by its design, thereby breaching the codes of conduct it has been allocated by the State, and not perpetuating the imposed moral order of the place.

Indeed, it is not just that the moral codes of heroism that the park is designed to celebrate and always returns to in eternal obedience to the State cease to exist, thereby somehow exposing an underlying truth. Rather, it is the violence and vitality of the materiality of the park itself that smooths the striation of the affective regime through the machinic potential of the body with the compulsive capacities. As if these capacities have lain dormant until actualised with the compulsive capacities of the park upon entrance. Nonetheless, the becoming-compulsive of the park and body is not spontaneous, but revolutionary as it constructs a new park–state–citizen configuration (after Deleuze and Parnet, 2007). The performativity and actualisation of the compulsive capacity located in the human body reassembles the park into a desirous assemblage, reproducing the situation and the park with it as something other than, and decoded from, the grand representations in line with the State's intentions.

Precisely in the compulsive situation, the continual affectivity of the grandeur dissolves, the desirous assemblage that the park is designed for falls apart, as if a veil were lifted, the dramatic stage lights turned off and the rehearsal lights on. In these situations, the park and war memorial are not awe-inspiring representations of a military past, as cleansed from the gore of death and destruction, and singularised as warfare and sacrificial death (Walls and Williams, 2010). They do not press upon their visitors notions of life, death, nationhood and sacrifice—heavy from their grandeur—recollecting pasts and reaching into futures. Rather, they re-materialise as and re-territorialise through their situational and momentary performativity; constitutive of a rawer world that befalls all who are present; as an instantaneity that they impose on citizens' personal lives. The symbolism of these notions struggles to retain its actualisation, and keeps visitors captured through an array of *percepts* when the play of the lines, colours, shapes and forms holds sway as materiality that does not differ between bodily flesh, grass and the crumbly stone. Their history ceases, and their future no longer surpasses the present moment; all are thrown back on themselves, as if seeing oneself anew as entangled in a park–state–citizen assemblage.

The extent to which the compulsive interactions are affective beyond the immediacy of the act might vary, but as seen in "Fragment 3", they can gather other citizens, thereby impressing them with and including them within the violence of the compulsive situation. As the lines, colours, shapes, textures and forms can be rearranged in accordance with any human body, the statues, vegetation and all other presences are no longer separate. Not separate in terms of the differences between them, but as united in their articulation of pure difference itself, because all presences have the potential to become other in a thousand ways (after Deleuze

and Guattari, 2004). In their eternal otherness, the compulsive moment sweeps up all presences, and all citizens become constituent parts of the desirous assemblage that undoes the carefully crafted State overcoding. We might then even say that the compulsive form denotes an excess of the flows of energy actualised in the compulsive percepts to an assemblage including a wider audience that might not immediately be graced with compulsive sensibilities.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter situated the compulsive figure in the State's overcoded space of a memorial park in order to understand the affective resonances compulsive interactions would produce in such a heavily striated place. It coined the compulsive process as an analytical tool to trace the socio-political effects compulsivity might have in a civic space such as a memorial park. Through the vocalisation of compulsivity as energy that the body picks up, channels and reproduces, the human body with compulsive capacities can be conceived of as a conductor of extracorporeal affects. Through a Deleuze and Guattarian invocation of desire, this chapter then followed the compulsive becoming of the park, and the subsequent de-territorialising effects on its overcoding.

In terms of the effects of the compulsive co-becoming of the presences in the park, its State overcoding is able to capture its visitors through its stringent use of materiality and its accessibility, to produce its nationalistic penchant that flows forth from this. Nonetheless, precisely through its materiality and open invitation to the State's citizens its overcoding can be breached. The compulsive figure opens up the possibility to become addressed by the material elements of the structure, garlands, plaques, statues and wooden crosses on a different stratum. Attuning to this stratum thus eliminates the State's overcoding to retain its grip on its visitors. In similar ways to the schizophrenic, the compulsive then names the repression of the desire produced with the assemblage of which the body takes part (see Arsić, 2007). The compulsive then demonstrates how the striation of the memorial park becomes so heavy and intense that instead of crumbling, bending or cracking under the pressure, the overcoding of the park ruptures in its entirety. Although this situates the compulsive figure in tandem with the schizophrenic figure, the schizophrenic refrains from pledging allegiance to any territorialisation, whilst the compulsive forms allegiances outside the overcoding of the State, and re-territorialises situations on different plateaus. This makes the compulsive figure not capable of assembling reactionary desire, like the schizophrenic, but a revolutionary one. One that is more vital, materialistic in this sense (see Deleuze, 1991) and, as such, a nomadic war machine.

Thinking with compulsive figures as nomadic war machines has a number of effects on the State's strategy for warfare. Posen (1993) argues that with the increasing number of deaths with the evolving technologies of warfare, States require new methods of capturing citizens for warfare (Shaw, 2003). The current increase in the State's interest in biometrics (e.g. Van der Ploeg, 2003; Amoore, 2006; Maddern

and Stewart, 2008) and the rising influence of the neurosciences on public policy (Davies, 2016; Pykett, 2015) suggest that citizens are increasingly being rendered through impersonal and biological lenses. Rather than recruiting citizen–soldiers, recruitment efforts could currently be understood as targeting bodies. Returning here to John Clayton's argument, in addition to those who suffer from war, also the perpetrators of war are rendered as a killable mass. In turn, this fits the State's neoliberal agenda as it can increasingly distance itself from the violence of war, even when it commands all aspects of it.

Note

1 The Latin "*In hoc signo vinces*" means "In this sign you will be victorious". This is written on the memorial structure (historypoints.org, 2018).

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