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EDITORIAL

Cosmopolitan Practices

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The European Journal of Creative Practices in Cities and Landscapes emerged from the initiative a group of researchers, practitioners, administrators and organizers, coming from various backgrounds, who started collaborating within the Horizon 2020 ROCK project to experiment innovative solutions for the regeneration of historical European cities. As a parallel to the fast-paced activities required by technological and social innovation, CPCL was initiated to provide the time and the space for (self-) reflection upon the practices and the agents that make and transform the European city. The concepts at the core of the Journal are presented in CPCL's Zero issue editorials.[1]

In this inaugural issue, CPCL reflects upon the first adjective that qualifies its title. What is the European city? What does it mean to be Euro-

1 CPCL Agency, "Culture as Primary Political Action in City Governance: Three Key Concepts and Ten Policies to Start With," *The European Journal of Creative Practices in Cities and Landscapes* 1, no. 0 (2018), https://cpcl.unibo.it/article/view/8153/7840; Carola Hein, "Creative Practices: Bridging Temporal, Spatial, and Disciplinary Gaps," *The European Journal of Creative Practices in Cities and Landscapes* 1, no. 0 (2018), https://cpcl.unibo.it/article/view/8154/7842.

pean, today? The project of a political unity of Europe of Nations, as it was imagined in the postwar period, has long been defeated. The end of the world order based on the Cold war, the rise of global wars, climate change, and the rise of new possibilities and desires emerging in an increasingly connected world have radically changed the way in which people inhabit the Earth today. The fading neoliberal as well as the rising sovereignist political projects seem unable or unwilling to give up the organization of a political space still based on borders as devices to manage, control, put to work and govern human beings. However, alongside hatred and racism, in the everyday practices of migrants and citizens new forms of solidarity, organization and communication are emerging. This issue of CPCL presents a series of studies putting at the center experiences exceeding the juridical order as an experimentation of new institutions, new life possibilities and new forms of habitations.

The first two contributions address the irreducible necessity and desire for movement which human life expresses, one which is negated by the organisation of camps. Professor Robert Gordon, writing from the perspective of the international symposium that was held at the former concentration camp in Fossoli (Modena),[2] problematized the use of the category of camps, as in the famous definition proposed by Giorgio Agamben, to interpret modernity and its spatial deployment. Looking at transit allows Gordon to see modern camps not as enclosed entities abstracted from European's spatial and juridical order, but on the contrary as part of a larger network, in a porous relation between their inside and outside. The relation between movement and forceful immobilisation is also the key through which Pierpaolo Ascari approaches the life of camp dwellers. Through the lens of Frantz Fanon's writings, by looking at the body of the interned, with their concrete perceptions and affections, Ascari poses the basis for a phenomenology of *waiting*.

The possibility of movement is also central when dealing with strategies of commoning bringing together citizens and non-citizens in contemporary European cities. Two contributions bring an ethnographic account on two experiences of the solidarity and collaboration between resident and migrant groups in Berlin and Brussels. Katharina Rohde and Viviana d'Auria present the act of *walking* as a radical antidote to urban segregation, bringing migrant's *pedetic force* as their "prime source of agency" against the forced *stasis* imposed upon them by camp life. Racha Daher and Viviana d'Auria present the case of the constitution of large networks of citizens in support to migrants in Brussels, during and after the so-called 2015 "refugee crisis." The authors show how, beyond the rhetoric

2 "Transit camps in Europe from the Second World War to today: history, spaces, and memories," Fondazione Fossoli, Carpi (Modena), 3-6 October 2018, https://www.fondazionefossoli.org/it/news_view.php?id=612.

of emergency, new stable forms of grassroots organisation have been consolidated as "mobile commons."

Solidarity is unfortunately not the only way through which Europeans approach the arrival of migrants in their cities. The Greek far-right party Golden Dawn, favoured by the economic crisis and the international blackmail over the Greek government, finds in the contested spaces of Athens a fertile ground for their politics of hatred. Aikaterini Antonopoulou decodes the use of low-resolution Youtube videos that constitute a central part of the party's propaganda, in the perspective of a coming *cosmopolitics* of conflict between various forms of situated knowledges.

The *Practices* section is CPCL's platform for the dialogue among the various figures and approaches through which the city is understood and transformed. Matthew Bach, Anthony Colclough, Cécile Houpert, Cristina Garzillo, editors of the section, present a series of initiatives on how European cities has approached the issue of permanence and impermanence in recent years. Two dialogues close the issue on the practice of academic research and its social responsibility in urban regeneration processes vis-à-vis the mass transit of people in European cities for leisure or work. Vando Borghi and Davide Olori reflect with Roberto Falanga and Chiara Pussetti from the Instituto de Ciências Sociais of the University of Lisbon on the role of tourism in the urban regeneration and the branding of Portuguese capital, problematizing the role of urban researchers towards city administrations and residents's organizations. In the last interview, Vando Borghi and Amir Djalali interview architectural historian Esra Akcan (Cornell Universtiy) on her last book on one of the largest and most successful urban regeneration processes in the postwar period—the IBA Berlin (1979-1987), highlighting the forgotten role of guest workers, mainly from Turkey, in the development of the housing program.

The idea that emerges from these contributions is that citizenship can be understood not as a set of rights bureaucratically conceded from above, but as a capacity, the power to act politically which is directly exercised in the everyday practices of the nomadic as well as the sedentary populations of European cities. The examples in this issue suggest that the cosmopolitanism of European cities is far from being a universal and ideal concept. Cosmopolitanism is currently practiced by the creative capacity of the people who inhabit European cities, beyond the national and European policies that inhibit and criminalize the free movement of people.

Thanks to the Authors for their patience and for having believed in this project despite all the uncertainties linked to the launch of a new journal. This issue would have been impossible without the help of a dedicated team of anonymous peer reviewers, whose names can now be finally disclosed: Vanessa Azzeruoli, Bernardina Borra, Teresa Carlone, Giulia Custodi, Deanna Dadusc, Ivano Gorzanelli, Platon Issaias, Marta Menghi and Davide Olori.

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POSITION

Transit

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These notes have their origin in the conceptualization of a conference and research project centred on the mid-20th-century prison camp at Fossoli, outside the town of Carpi (Emilia, central Italy), a camp which was in operation in various forms and periods from the 1940s to the 1970s. The foundation responsible for the maintenance and valorization of Fossoli and other memorial sites linked to it in and near Capri, including the remarkable museum/monument to the deported in the town centre (BBPR, 1973), wanted to launch a series of research initiatives led by its academic advisory board (*Comitato scientifico*), which would re-establish and re-invigorate the importance of Fossoli in the town, the region, in Italy and in Europe, inserting the history and site of Fossoli into a wider debate and discourse, supporting high-level historical research but looking also for impact and resonance in the present day. The board's discussions centred, then, on a key question: what does it mean *today* to propose Fossoli as a site of remembrance and of research; how does Fossoli fit the archive and the map of the contemporary?

FIG. 1 The Camp of Fossoli. Historical archive of the city of Carpi, Modena, ethnographic section.

In answering these questions, first considerations inevitably centred on Fossoli's role as part of the history of the Holocaust, since in early 1944 the camp was taken over by the occupying Nazi forces in central Italy, in collaboration with Italian Fascists who had been managing the camp until then, and it became the principal national holding site in Italy for arrested Jews as well as resisters ready for deportation to the concentration and extermination camps of central and eastern Europe. This phase of Fossoli's history, its best known, links it into the complex European history of the Shoah, as well as pointing to the often ill-understood or misremembered ways in which Italy entered into that history; as well as tying this reality into the local communities and networks around such camps, which made the entire system function in practice. Fossoli and the Shoah is a key history in its own right, with further research and documentation still to be carried out across all these layers and networks; but it has also taken on a resonant *symbolic* role in Italian memories of the Shoah over the long post-war period, not least because of a few pages of remarkably powerful writing dedicated to it in Primo Levi's first work of Holocaust testimony, *If This is Man* (1947; 2nd edition 1958), as well as in a handful of poems, where he describes his weeks spent in Fossoli between 20 January and 22 February 1944, and his subsequent deportation from Fossoli to Carpi station and

from there by train to Auschwitz.[1] Those pages contain some of the most moving and also sensitive reflections on what is lost in the hours and days before deportation and they mark all subsequent work of memory and research on Fossoli; to cite just one example, the historian Liliana Picciotto Fargion entitled her account of Fossoli during the Shoah with a phrase from Levi, *L'alba ci colse come un tradimento* (Dawn caught us like a betrayal).[2] The documented and symbolic role of Fossoli in the history of the Holocaust stands alongside its representative status as one of the hundreds of sites in the Europe-wide network of Nazi (and Fascist) camps, of varying kinds and varying levels of function, imprisoning various population groups, and deploying different degrees of murderous violence and torture; from extermination camps, to concentration, holding, deportation, work, and prison camps and indeed combinations and mixtures of these, not to mention the extensive patterns of mobility of prisoners between them. This complex network is the reality captured in David Rousset's pregnant phrase, coined as early in 1947, the *univers concentrationnaire*.[3] Along with sites such as Drancy, Westerbork, Mechelen, Gurs, Bolzano, even Theresienstadt in certain respects, Fossoli fits within this "universe" most properly under the category of the *Durchsgangslager*, or transit camp..

Fossoli, however, like most other concentrationary sites, was not built for nor did it exist only in its Nazi configuration, nor was the entire system as closed, watertight or invisible to the surrounding world as it might seem in some contemporary and later accounts. Indeed, the attempt by both perpetrators and bystanders to maintain the fiction that it was closed off—that most outsiders had 'no inkling' of what was happening there—is what makes the early sequences of Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985), when he visits with ageing witnesses the woods and river around Chelmno with survivor Simon Srebnik or the train station at Treblinka, in places that now seems oblivious to their history, so poignant and necessary. Fossoli's functioning as a transit camp was, in other words, embedded in a wider network of wartime, occupation, Republic of Salò Italy, which in turn was one branch-line of the continental networks of the camp genocides.

Fossoli in 1944, and the entire network it was part of, was furthermore a manifestation of the idea and practice of the concentration-camp which has its own long history, stretching in its modern iteration at least as far back as the late 1800s (Cuba, South Africa) and existing across a vast, indeed global geographical space, as Nicola Labanca and Michela Ceccorulli have shown in a recent survey.[4]

Finally, like most of the camps sites used within the Nazi system, Fossoli's

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1. Primo Levi, *Se questo è un uomo*, 2nd edition (Turin: Einaudi, 1958).

2. Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *L'alba ci colse come un tradimento: gli ebrei nel campo di Fossoli 1943-1944* (Milan: Mondadori, 2010).

3. David Rousset, *L'Univers concentrationnaire* (Paris: Editions du Pavois, 1946).

4. Nicola Labanca and Michela Ceccorulli, "The Geography and History of Camps" in *The EU, Migration and the Politics of Administrative Detention* (London: Routledge, 2014), 28-50.

FIG. 2 New York. Ellis Island. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

own local history expands well beyond the months of Nazi control, in a long and complex trajectory of multiple use and re-use, both structured and improvised, and indeed of lengthy periods of disuse and abandon. Fossoli's history has been well studied, although the force of the memory of its Nazi (Nazi-Fascist) period has inevitably obscured all other parts of it.[5] It was opened in 1942 as a Fascist prisoner-of-war camps for Allied soldiers captured in the Africa campaign; it was subsequently used also as an internal Fascist internment camp for Jews and for anti-Fascists (part of the national network of Fascist camps that have only recently been recovered in their full articulation through the research of Carlo Spartaco Capogreco and initiatives such as the 'Campi fascisti' online project),[6] before being taken over by the Nazi SS and turned into a holding, transit and deportation camp for Jews, political prisoners and forced labourers. At the end of the war it was briefly used as a prison camp for interned Fascists, before being reclaimed as a camp for war orphans by the Christian community of Nomadelfia, led by Don Zeno Saltini. Later it became a camp for refugees from Yugoslavia, the so-called Villaggio San Marco. Before, after and between these periods, the site was variously expanded, reduced, dismantled, rebuilt, reclaimed as farmland, in disuse, until finally it now stands within an unfinished trajectory of development as a memorial, museum and education site. All these phases and functions, the site as locus of imprisonment and death, which is then repurposed, stripped and re-shaped, and in part lost, are part and parcel of its history.

5. Marzia Luppi and Patrizia Tamassia, eds., *Il museo monumento al deportato politico e razziale di Carpi e l'ex campo di Fossoli*, (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2016).

6. Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); www.campifascisti.it.

The camp's site and history—for Fossoli as for so many others—are balanced between the horizontal—its role within the history of the Holocaust or within other temporally delimited historical "events"—and the vertical—the longer history of "the camp" as phenomenon and a place that operates in both space and in time. The fluid changeability of all these dimensions can be usefully subsumed under an idea, drawing on but extending the category of the *Durchgangslager*, of transit.

FIG. 3 New York. Ellis Island. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

Transit offers a means of merging different models, patterns and sites, and different histories, into a new configuration that offers a distinctive and illuminating perspective on key aspects of the modern. This is significant not least because the category of "the camp", represented by everything from Auschwitz to Guantanamo, has been elevated in recently political theory to something like the emblem and essence of a certain modernity; a notable and influential instance was Giorgio Agamben's epigrammatic assertion, in his *Homo Sacer* project, that the camp is "the nomos of the modern", something like the degree zero of the norms and laws of exclusion, the biopolitical discipline, and the state of exception deployed by the modern state.[7] The proposition is a powerful one, which has found terrible contemporary geopolitical and historical resonance but the problem with the elevation of this idea of the camp to such high symbolic status, for all its undoubted force, is that it risks reproducing the enclosed focus, the assumption of system and planned perfectibility that was one of the self-sustaining myths of the system itself, including of the Holocaust and its early post-war interpretations. It reflects essentially an

7. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1998), esp. pp. 166-80.

industrial and capitalist model of efficient production (of control, degradation and death). By shifting our ground and perspective sideways, from the enclosed site and system of the camp to the complementary category of transit, of camps as sites of nodal points in a network of movement, and of the dynamic of transit across space and time as intersecting with different single camp sites, we can open such sites outwards to their inherent dimensions of mobility, migration and unplanned contingency. These are further dimensions of the modern, built on fluidity, liquidity and inherent instability.[8] Transit shifts the focus to dynamics of suspension, liminality, and is therefore more sensitive to the voided status of the refugee and of statelessness, something akin to the figure of the pariah, all essential elements in the reflections of Hannah Arendt in her *Origins of Totalitarianism*.[9]

If Arendt was writing in the aftermath of the war, with her own very personal experience of exile and loss in mind, it is undoubtedly also the case that the mobility and contingent danger of the refugee's experience points forward powerfully and directly to our immediately contemporary, late modern anxieties about transit as migration and population movement. Globalization, porous borders, migration and the fierce backlash against it are defining vectors of the current moment and it is plausible to propose that a notion of transit in space and time, in history and our present can help illuminate these. Contemporary migration or transit, like most other migrations in history, works through a simultaneous push-and-pull dynamic; it begins in an idea of movement to freedom, prosperity, safety and thus in some sort of dream of remaking, a subjective imaginary of a new self; but it is also rooted in escape from, in response to risk, fear, hunger and violence. This double dynamic is remarkably powerful, propelling widespread reformations of global socio-economic reality, especially accelerating in periods of deepening economic and ecological instability. The mass movements of people that results flows at different speeds, through different channels and technologies, propelled by different internal (and often illegal) economies and in different groupings, but they all inevitably coalesce into both routes and sites, stop-start dyads of transit. Sites of transit are temporary spaces where for shorter or longer periods, populations are variously held, processed, recorded bureaucratically or simply obliged to wait between phases of onward movement (or indeed failure and return). Under this conception, sites of transit are bottleneck spaces, where the flow of people along transit routes stalls temporarily, but they are also something like mass-production processing sites, where "new" citizens are produced.

At different times in both history and in the present, this model of the transit site as production-line has worked with extreme rapidity and efficiency: the Nazi system transformed individuals from free subjects into nameless,

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8. Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).

9. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), 1st edition 1951.

FIG. 4 Inspection room, Ellis Island, New York, N.Y. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

undifferentiated and dehumanized masses in hours; but a converse, equally significant and representative parallel example of productive transit in global history might be Ellis Island in the Hudson harbour off Manhattan (New York), which processed up to 20 millions European immigrants from the l890s to the 1920s, its period of peak operation, transforming the vast majority of them from poor anonymous masses into American proto-citizens, producing in the process also a founding myth and identity of modern America itself (figures 2-6). The processing of populations, even the architectonic structure of the site, on Ellis Island was uncannily similar to the processing in mass prison and concentration camps, even if the ends and outcomes were in some sense opposite; not degradation and death but new identity and a new mass citizenship (although several hundred thousand were held or hospitalized on the island, or indeed rejected and sent back to Europe). The place was contradictory in its iteration of transit: productive, transformative but also profoundly anonymous and mass in scale, and objectifying in its processes. Georges Perec, the French writer and experimental chronicler of the objects and spaces of the modern, visited Ellis Island and made a documentary film about it in 1979 with filmmaker Robert Bober, eloquently capturing its contradictory

status as a "non-place", shapeless, rooted in histories of exile and chance, wandering and hope (*histoires d'errance et d'espoir*).[10]

Auschwitz and Ellis Island, in their mirrored trajectories, both operated as actual and symbolic sites of transit, rapidly producing millions of new subjects or citizens and/or rapidly moving them through their destructive or productive processes, either by physically destroying them or bureaucratically and medically certifying them for a new status. But they are in some sense anomalous, exceptions in both their vast scale, efficient planning and astonishing rapidity. Another messier and more variegated archipelago of small-scale, contingent transit exists across the field of modernity in myriad different sites, closer in analogy to Fossoli than to Auschwitz in the 'transit universe', and replicated in many different guises in contemporary flows of migration. Smaller sites of transit, which are more numerous and thus more typical in many ways, work with different rhythms and temporalities, and different structures and regulations, compared to those mass-scale operations. It is the temporal, spatial and functional characteristics of this vast archipelago that requires urgent research and elaboration today, and some lines of analysis and distinction can be usefully laid down to help map them.

First, in temporal terms, where Ellis Island was frighteningly efficient and rapid, small sites of transit are often slower—transit becomes holding—and can block their subjects for months and years, stagnating, becoming suspended and unproductive (both the site and the embryonic "citizens"). Fossoli is an interesting case in point, not only because of the experience of Jewish prisoners including Levi who were held in the camp and not deported for weeks or months until a rapid acceleration following takeover by the Nazis; but also because of the post-war periods of Nomadelfia and Villaggio San Marco, when refugees were not so much processed and removed as set up in semi-stable, if temporary communities. Even more extreme examples are to be found in Palestinian or African "temporary" refugee camps, some of which have survived now for decades and become, paradoxically, semi-permanent civic societies built on transit.

In spatial and social terms, small-scale transit sites tend also to bleed into local setting and populations, to be less hermetically sealed off than larger-scale, self-sufficient and heavily policed camps. This creates local forms of transit in and out of the sites, of work and contact: here one might point to prisoners of war who escaped from camps such as Fossoli, in some cases joined the local Resistance, forging relations with local populations, at times even marrying and settling. Small-scale sites of transit are also inevitably more easily adaptable to the changing uses and purposes, changes and adaptations in architecture, and changes in regulation, which are strongly characteristic of Fossoli among many other sites and which

10. Georges Perec and Robert Bober, *Récits d'Ellis Island. Histoires d'errance et d'espoir* (Paris: POL, 1994). See also documentary at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s6l2xFQztsM. Cf. Marc Augé, *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995

are in themselves also forms of functional and spatial transit.

As well as being porous to local populations and social realities, sites of transit are also embedded in and conditioned by the local through their necessary proximity to and relation with networks of transport (routes of

FIG. 5 Emigrants in "pens" at Ellis Island, New York, probably on or near Christmas, ca. 1906. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

transit): transit camps and transit sites emerge typically at nodal points in transport networks and at bottleneck points in migration flows, whether this be in a planned site such as Fossoli, which was able to draw prisoners from across central and northern Italy by train (Levi was arrested in Val d'Aosta and moved via Milan to Fossoli), and propel them from there along the direct train line north to Bolzano, Austria and from there to Mauthausen or Auschwitz; or in accidental geographies of convergence, such as the island of Lampedusa or the central train station in Milan, where "concentrations" of migrations have formed in recent years. Again, there is a difference to be noted in scale: a vast operation at Oswieçim / Auschwitz operated its own train station; across the larger part of the European train network that subtended the Holocaust, civilian stations were used, which

for Fossoli meant the small town station at Carpi, criss-crossed with local populations and services.

Inevitably, many of these nodal points and transport-transit sites cluster also at or near borders, walls, natural and man-made barriers to population flow and to identification; another source of the bottleneck-and-flow vectors noted earlier. In the contemporary European migration crisis, there are countless examples of this; Lampedusa again, but also Calais, Ventimiglia, the Hungarian border wall erected in 2015, or indeed Trump's real or imagined wall at the Mexican border.[11] Borders are always also policed sites, and a focus on the conjunction of transit and borders prompts a further set of questions on the governing structures and efficient and material causes of emerging sites of transit. Put into a series of simple binaries, we might ask of any given site whether it has been institutionally established, or improvised by the migrant population itself; whether it is hidden and isolated, or in close proximity and open to local populations and economies; whether it is officially managed by police, state, local or national government (or inter-governmental agreement) applying national or international law (on asylum, refugees), or whether instead it works by informal internal self-regulation, or indeed whether it is in some sense anarchically unregulated, thus becoming a no-go area for local authority (often requiring eventually, as in the case of Calais in 2016, para-military forms of invasion or aggressive dismantling by the state to take back control of the site); whether it has been planned and constructed with a more or less long-term vision of purpose and function, or whether it has been thrown up by a situation of emergency, a natural disaster (earthquakes, famines, storms) or an unpredictable and sudden acceleration in man-made flows; or once again, a combination of the two. In the latter regard, one of the more suggestive examples in recent history might be the case of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005, when a natural cataclysm, among its many disastrous effects, led to the re-purposing as an improvised shelter and transit site of the city's vast Convention Center, as well as an improvised jail under a law of exception, which produced rapid degrading in social order and civic function, caused by a combination of natural disaster and human mismanagement.[12]

This sequence of binaries suggests one final aspect of the site of transit in this fluid and open formulation of the category, one perhaps especially pertinent in the modern reality of migration and population movement: unlike the relentless violence and control of the Nazi camp system which left only infinitesimal margins for the subjects and victims, contemporary sites of transit can on occasion be reframed as sites of resistance or struggle. Even though there might be no possibility of autonomy in

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11. On contemporary Transit Points, see the "Documenting Migration" project, Queen Mary University of London, https://www.qmul.ac.uk/documentingmigration/.

12. See the powerful narrative-documentary account in David Eggers, *Zeitoun* (San Francisco: McSweeneys, 2009).

FIG. 6 Immigrants waiting to be transferred, Ellis Island, October 30, 1912. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

almost all cases, there is nevertheless a potential, if not for controlling the central process of citizen-production, of forcing acceptance into the host nation or community, then at least for contesting control of the site itself, its meanings and local customs, the intimate regulation of human, social, economic relations within the camps. If the overarching *system* of exclusion, expulsion, integration, of processing and management is opaque to the inhabitant of the site and often also to its local regulators (police, officials etc), determined as it often is at the level of national or supranational treaty law; nevertheless, sometimes, these same sites can produce resistance, temporary community, improvised domesticity, even real or imagined utopias, however short-lived. Sociologist Nando Sigona has attempted to capture something of this status of subjecthood and citizenship even within often degrading and highly challenging settings, with his proposed neologism and new category of citizenship, "campzenship".[13]

Fossoli, then, might stand a starting-point for a new interrogation of the camp as a site of transit, in both space and time, in function, structure and architectural reality. Fossoli stands as a potent example of all of these in its history, but also as a site, in its buildings and spaces, and its modes of

13. Nando Sigona, "Campzenship: Reimagining the Camp as a Social and Political Space," *Citizenship Studies* 19, no. 1 (2015): 1-15.

use, re-use and disuse. Of course, it is only one such site amongst hundreds, even thousands, but to note this is merely to reinforce the point and the initial intuition, that a shift from the closed category of the camp to the fluid and open site and dynamic of transit can potentially open up rich new territories of theoretical conceptualization, resonant parallel histories and transversal connections across geographies; in other words, new angles from which to interrogate some of the most urgent challenges of the contemporary world.

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Last scene from Gillo Pontecorvo's The Battle of Algiers (1966)

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MAIN SECTION

Bodies, Spaces and Citizenship: the Theoretical Contribution of Frantz Fanon

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ABSTRACT

The theoretical horizon of the post-colonial city postulates the survival of the old imperial project in the structuring or production of the current European and North American space. The genealogy of this space fully incorporates Frantz Fanon's considerations on the situated form of membership produced by the colonial city.

KEYWORDS

Frantz Fanon; Camp; Phenomenology; Gillo Pontecorvo

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As is known, there is a historical link between the experimentation of internment camps in the eras and territories of colonial conquest (South Africa, Namibia, Cuba) and the appearance of camps on European soil—not only in Germany—during the early 20th century and Second World War. In Italy too, from this point of view, it was with the Libyan war that between 1911 and 1912 recourse was again made to the institution of confinement, many years before the fascist regime used it more systematically to persecute political opponents. It would also be in the places of confinement like Lipari or Ustica that the first internment camps would be built for Ethiopian and Eritrean civilians, and later "Yugoslavs", i.e. Croats and Slovenes, the same places that in the immediate post-war period would be used as collection centres for "undesirable aliens" awaiting repatriation.[1] The post-colonial reflection is then in agreement that the extermination of the Jewish people represented a paradigm shift with respect to the forms of deportation and internment that preceded it, but this does not mean that to clarify its peculiarities it may be important to include the Nazi-Fascist *concentration camp* in a broader perspective, which evidently survives it. "Today's camps are not yesterday's camps—observed Georges Didi-Huberman—but they are still camps: their very structure is the result of a long history. A history that already on other occasions, without the states being too disturbed by it, began with 'simple' detention procedures."[2]

The theoretical horizon in which I will place my contribution, therefore, will be that of the post-colonial city, which postulates the survival of the old imperial projects in the structuring or production of the current European and North American space.[3] In fact, as Didi-Huberman claims, today we would still say the camps still exist in various forms in the formal and informal places that migrants pass through like Calais, Idomeni, Lampedusa, Ventimiglia, Lesbos and Misrata, or in the autonomous cities of Spain located in North Africa, not to mention all the centres designated for the administrative detention of foreigners who are still undesirable and awaiting repatriation, inside or outside Europe.

These are places that can clearly vary, assuming from time to time the form of shanty towns or tent cities, hotspots or penitentiaries, an island or an expanse of containers, but they still remain united by a rather coherent series of typological and functional constants. They often arise near ports, motorway junctions, border crossings, where moving populations seek a stroke of luck or are held back by the police or army. They generate conflicts between different diaspora cultures, natives and foreigners, authorities and voluntary associations. They are above all places that correspond

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1. Costantino Di Sante, *Stranieri indesiderabili*, (Verona: Ombre Corte, 2011), 36-68.

2. Georges Didi-Huberman and Niki Giannari, *Passer, quoi qu'il en coûte* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 2017), 50.

3. Brenda S. A. Yeoh, "Postcolonial cities", *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 3 (2001): 457. For a first approach to the topic refer to Neera Chandoke, "The post-colonial city," *Economic and Political Weekly* 26, no. 50 (1991): 2868-2873.

to a specific form of life, both those who *are held* and those who have set them up and administer them. The French anthropologist Michel Agier, who coordinates a research group devoted to the study of these issues at the École des hautes études of Paris, has therefore proposed to define the* camp* as every "social and spatial reality generally associated with immobility or more precisely immobilisation of people in movement."[4] As I will try to demonstrate, the genealogy of this contemporary form of immobilisation fully incorporates Frantz Fanon's considerations of the colonial city.

Considerations that we could develop starting from 1954, when in an attempt to draw a lesson from the defeat in Indochina, the French army reorganised the Algerian territory according to the increasingly pressing needs of military control. It is necessary to avoid any contact between civilians and rebels, promote the logistics of repression and thus create centres for mass gatherings of the population. Thus driven out of their homes, the peasants are transferred to the so-called "new villages", hundreds and hundreds of camps surrounded by barbed wire in which they will soon struggle to distinguish the functions of gathering from those of detention. As Joël Kotek and Pierre Rigoulot have pointed out, 19th-century literature allows us to establish how the compromise between the two functions does not represent a "last gasp of dying colonialism" but rather the very truth of the colonial system.[5] Frantz Fanon had come to the same conclusion: "The native is a being hemmed in," we read in the first pages of the *The Wretched of the Earth*, "apartheid is simply one form of the division into compartments of the colonial world."[6]

The "new villages," therefore, do nothing but intensify a more usual spatialisation, that of the "districts" in which the indigenous labour force that seeks a socio-economic integration in the *European city* is restrained and administered, "that fraction of the peasant population which is blocked on the outer fringe of the urban centres—as Fanon calls them—that fraction which has not yet succeeded in finding a bone to gnaw in the colonial system."[7] They are "[t]he men whom the growing population of the country districts and colonial expropriation have brought to desert their family holdings [that] circle tirelessly around the different towns, hoping that one day or another they will be allowed inside."[8] It seems like the history of today. But in the meantime, at that time, it is also the Casbah that turns into the place where a population is concentrated in transit towards independence, 100,000 individuals locked up in one square kilometre and fenced in. In

4. Michel Agier (ed.), *The Jungle: Calais's Camps and Migrants*, (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2018), 146.

5. Joël Kotek and Pierre Rigoulot, *Le siècle des camps. Détention, concentration, extermination, cent ans de mal radical* (Paris: CJ Lattès, 2000).

6. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. By Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 51.

7. Ibid., 103.

8. Ibid.

fact, Fanon writes: "The European city is not the prolongation of the native city. The colonisers have not settled in the midst of the natives. They have surrounded the native city; they have laid siege to it. Every exit from the Kasbah of Algiers opens on enemy territory. And so it is in Constantine, in Oran, in Blida, in Bone. The native cities are deliberately caught in the conqueror's vise. To get an idea of the rigour with which the immobilizing of the native city, of the autochthonous population, is organized, one must have in one's hands the plans according to which a colonial city has been laid out, and compare them with the comments of the general staff of the occupation forces."[9]

But the aspect of this siege that Fanon wants to examine above all concerns the "dialectic of the body and the world,"[10] that is to say the experience that individuals can have with their bodies in relation to the environments in which they are held and forced to live. In fact, it is in this dimension that the colonised continuously receives an implicit order that immediately resonates with the camp-form defined by Agier: the order not to move, to remain immobile, because in the presence of an absolute and discretionary power any movement could result in guilt and arouse the gendarme's reaction. "The native is always on the alert, for since he can only make out with difficulty the many symbols of the colonial world, he is never sure whether or not he has crossed the frontier."[11] Fanon calls this structural and corporal guilt of the natives "a kind of curse," but a few pages earlier he allowed himself one of the very rare annotations on the life of the metropolis that appear in the T*he Wretched of the Earth*, where the existence and destiny of the European citizen are mostly ignored, as Sartre will note. Fanon writes: "In the colonies it is the policeman and the soldier who are the official, instituted go-betweens, the spokesmen of the settler and his rule of oppression. In capitalist societies," on the other hand, "the educational system, whether lay or clerical, the structure of moral reflexes handed down from father to son, the exemplary honesty of workers who are given a medal after fifty years of good and loyal service, and the affection which springs from harmonious relations and good behaviour—all these aesthetic expressions of respect for the established order serve to create around the exploited person an atmosphere of submission and of inhibition which lightens the task of policing considerably."[12] Now this is a track that would take us away from our topic, so I will limit myself to pointing it out, but in this passage there are all the conditions to start thinking about what Rosa Luxemburg might have defined the *organic link* between "being hemmed in" and the "aesthetic expressions of respect for the established order," a link that still today seems to persist in the contemporaneity

9. Frantz Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled," in *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. by Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 51.

10. Ibid., 59.

11. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 52.

12. Ibid., 37.

13. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 165.

of the hotspots of the policies against disorderly conduct[13].

In the same colony, moreover, in order to protect their interests, the assimilated bourgeoisie "can find nothing better to do than to erect grandiose buildings in the capital and to lay out money on what are called prestige expenses"[13] and to mobilise the aesthetic function in the sphere of social control and class relationships. Indeed, it is the colony that establishes a more controversial relationship between cause and effect, the structure and superstructure: "you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich—Fanon writes—this is why Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem", and "the very nature of precapitalist society, so well explained by Marx, must here be thought out again."[14] On the one hand, therefore, "the attention that Fanon paid to the logic of dominion […] that does not take the immediate form of coercion" could motivate us to reread the work in relation to Antonio Gramsci's reflections on the concept of hegemony,[15] on the other hand the elaborations that the colonial experience allows us to carry out in the study of pre-capitalist societies would push us in the direction specified by the pages in Rosa Luxemburg's "Protective Tariffs and Accumulation." But let's limit ourselves for the moment to register this: according to Fanon it is possible to make a generalisation of the Algerian exception in more or less vandalistic or persuasive forms, police or sublime, bloody or edifying, coercive or cultural, African or European that would seem to already imply the thesis of Agamben regarding the need to "to regard the camp not as a historical fact and an anomaly belonging to the past (even if still verifiable) but in some way as the hidden matrix and *nomos* of the political space in which we are still living."[16]

What interests us now, however, is not a political philosophy of the camp, but rather a phenomenology. Donatella Di Cesare recently wrote: "There are many philosophical and political questions that the world of camps raises, even in its reflections on the city, questions that need to be addressed in a comprehensive study. To give just one example, there is not yet a phenomenology of life in camps, nor a reflection on the waiting".[17] Fanon's work allows us to sketch out precisely this phenomenology of life and waiting in the specific case of the colonised, being held in an enclosure whose experience is above all that of a body exhausted by the muscular and sensorial control of the injunction to stay still. It is a command that inflames the tendons and exacerbates the burden of the external environment: it is for this reason that the colonised does not cease to achieve his freedom "from

14. Ibid., 39.

15. Hourya Bentouhami, "De Gramsci à Fanon, un marxisme decentré", *Actuel Marx* 55 (2014): 99.

16. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. by Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Meridian, 1998), 166.

17. Donatella Di Cesare, *Stranieri residenti. Una filosofia della migrazione* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2017), 213.

nine in the evening until six in the morning," according to Fanon, dreaming of jumping, running, swimming or climbing,[18] because during the day he is forced to maintain a constant alert in a dimension that the Ghanaian philosopher Ato Sekyi-Otu has defined as "perceptual enclosure".[19]

The scandal of violence is all here: the violence that triggers the process of decolonisation, the violence of the colonised, is the exact opposite of colonial violence. It is not an ideological violence, organised ahead of time, which takes form in response to an ethical reflection or a series of strategic or moral demands: it is the epileptic violence of the man with his back to the wall, as Achille Mbembe defined it, being kept in an enclosure that he confusedly seeks to interpret as survival.[20]

To grasp the survival of this being, therefore, it will be worthwhile to take advantage of a significant coincidence, because the value that Fanon attributes to the activities included "from nine in the evening until six in the morning" immediately resonates with the title and anthropological perspective of another fundamental study on the conditions of the wretched of the earth: I refer to *The American Slave: From Sundown to Sunup* by George Rawick. A colleague of C.L.R. James, Rawick edited an edition of 41 volumes of oral interviews with former slaves and their children, of which *The American Slave: From Sundown to Sunup* represents an attempt at interpretation. And Rawick's basic thesis is the following: "The slaves used what they brought with them from Africa in their memories, nerve endings, and speech to help them adapt to the new environment and to build for themselves a new life".[21] The sensory sphere, therefore, is immediately involved in the negotiation of new African-American societies that "are not bundles of African characteristics, but rather the product of the interactions of individuals whose ancestors had come from West Africa and had used West African forms to create new behaviours that would make survival in the New World possible".[22] It is therefore by adapting his original culture to the newfound circumstances that the slave could survive the hostile environment of the plantation, keeping for himself a slice of subjectivity "from sundown to sunup" that allowed him to actively contribute to the abolition of slavery. This happened through boycotts, escapes and participation in the civil war, of course, but also thanks to the more ordinary practices of worship or domestic life, where the resistance of the person and of an entire community coincided with the re-pur-

18. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 51.

19. Ato Sekyi-Otu, "Fanon and the Possibility of Postcolonial Critical Imagination", in *Living Fanon: Global Perspectives*, edited by Nigel Gibson (London: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2011), 45-60. For further development of the same concept see Katarzyna Pieprzak, "Zones of Perceptual Enclosure: The Aesthetics of Immobility in Casablanca's Literary Bidonvilles", *Research in African Literatures* 47, no. 3 (2016).

20. Achille Mbembe, *Critique de la raison négre* (Paris: La Découvert, 2013), 245. English trans. Achille Mbembe, *Critique of the Black Reason* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

21. George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: From Sundown to Sunup* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Pub. Co., 1972), 30.

22. Ibid., 31.

posing of simple objects or other traditional practices. The most convincing pages that Rawick devotes to this topic are those related to the new functions that are attributed to the iron pot or to the transmission of oral stories where the problem is always solved by a weak yet shrewd, ironic, cheating character.

Based on these indications, therefore, it is possible to see how even in Fanon's world of compartments the survival of the person is not entrusted exclusively to the passage from the atmosphere of violence to violence finally channelled against the occupier, nor confined literally "from nine in the evening until six in the morning". With regard to the physical and perceptive enclosure to which I am referring, Fanon himself also notes the smallest internal modifications, the waste, the exemptions to immobility that colonialism seemed to establish and that in the historical perspective of the camp could be defined as the temporary forms of resistance to detention. In *The Wretched of the Earth* the subject will re-establish itself in dance, rites of possession and in a supernatural world infested by zombies, snake-men, six-legged dogs and other monstrous creatures. The function of these terrifying myths is dialectic, Fanon explains, because while on the one hand they inhibit aggression, on the other they foster the production of a space in which "the settler's powers are infinitely shrunken."[23] "Religion was close to being the centre of slave life from sundown to sunup," Rawick would write: ""By terrifying me—argues Fanon—it integrates me in the traditions and the history of my district or of my tribe, and at the same time it reassures me, it gives me a status, as it were an identification paper" (*un statut, un bulltin d'état civil*).[24] The use of tradition, in other words, can provide the indigenous "a collective mediation necessary for the complete and dynamic recovery of the national culture, an instrument of incomparable defence for the recovery of its particularity in the universal framework."[25]

Similarly, in *A Dying Colonialism* we witness the transformations that involve some more concrete objects like the radio or the female veil or the re-articulation of parental structures and gender relations: Achille Mbembe defined it as "an immense work on objects and forms"[26] to which transit now entrusts a new function—different and vital—oriented towards the breaking of a physical and at the same time symbolic link that Fanon literally calls Europe: "[q]uittons cette Europe," he says to those imprisoned in the enclosure.[27] Physical link and at the same time symbolic because "culture is the combination of motor and mental behavior patterns arising

23. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 55.

24. Ibid., 54.

25. Pietro Clemente, *Frantz Fanon tra esistenzialismo e rivoluzione* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1971), 123.

26. Achille Mbembe, "La pharmacie de Fanon," in *Politiques de l'inimitié* (Paris: La Découverte, 2016), 121-122.

27. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 310.

from the encounter of ‚man with nature and with his fellow-man",[28] he had said at the first congress of black writers and artists in Paris, in 1956. The relevance of motor behaviours (*l'ensemble des comportaments moteurs et mentaux*) therefore requires us to "consider both the processes of subjection and insurgency (the subjectivication) in the colonial situation starting from their elementary *physicality,*" maintained Sandro Mezzadra . Who then adds: "Radically discarding every image of the subject built around the primacy of *conscience*, Fanon seems to return to the original story of modern political philosophy, to that narrative of the social contract for which he suspends progressive temporality to reintroduce us to the scene of the state of nature."[29] A state of nature that does not correspond to the final cause of a given political doctrine, therefore, but to a history of bodies and spaces that precedes and informs any representation of history: "The struggle against colonial oppression—wrote in this regard Homi Bhabha in his famous foreword to *Black Skin, White Masks*—changes not only the direction of Western history, but challenges its historicist 'idea' of time as a progressive, ordered whole."[30]

And it is the essay on the woman's veil—that Stefan Kipfer called "the most important point of access to Fanon's reflection on space and the city"[31]—in which the reflections on *physicality* refer more explicitly to the teachings of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, whose classes Fanon took in Lyon in 1948 (and therefore three years after the publication of *Phenomenology of Perception*). I will just point out a few passages where the dialogue with Merleau-Ponty is evident, without getting into the merits of a more analytical comparison:[32] "The absence of the veil distorts the Algerian woman's corporal pattern—writes Fanon—[s]he quickly has to invent new dimensions for her body, new means of muscular control."[33] And again: "The Algerian woman who walks stark naked into the European city relearns her body, re-establishes it in a totally revolutionary fashion."[34]

But the phenomenology of Fanon's female perception is much more meticulous. At first, he explains, the woman coming out of the Casbah has to deal with a completely unknown spatiality. In fact, "[h]aving been accustomed to confinement, her body did not have the normal mobility before a limitless horizon of avenues, of unfolded sidewalks, of houses, of peo-

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28. Frantz Fanon, "Racism and Culture", in *Towards the African Revolution*, trans. by Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1988), 32.

29. Sandro Mezzadra, "Questione di sguardi. Du Bois e Fanon," in *Fanon postcoloniale*. I dannati della terra* oggi*, ed. by Miguel Mellino (Verona: Ombre Corte, 2013), 199.

30. Homi Bhabha, "Remembering Fanon: Self Psyche and the Colonial Condition," introduction to Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 2008), xxi.

31. Stefan Kipfer, "Fanon and Space: Colonization, Urbanization, and Liberation from the Colonial to the Global City", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25, no. 4 (2007): 703.

32. For an in-depth analysis see Jeremy Weate, "Fanon, Merleau-Ponty and the Difference of Phenomenology", in *Race*, edited by Robert Bernasconi (Oxford: Blackwell 2001), 169-183.

33. Frantz Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled,", 59.

34. Ibid.

ple dodged or bumped into."[35] No one has taught her how to behave as"a woman alone in the street," nor does she "have the sensation of playing a role she has read about ever so many times in novels, or seen in motion pictures." It is therefore "an authentic birth in a pure state, without preliminary instruction," which can only follow the dramatisation of "a continuity between the woman and the revolutionary." Every time she has crossed the European city so far, perhaps to go to the funeral of a relative who lived elsewhere, she did so by car, so much so that now she "must overcome a multiplicity of inner resistances, of subjectively organised fears, of emotions. She must at the same time confront the essentially hostile world of the occupier and the mobilised, vigilant, and efficient police forces," but also "achieve a victory over herself, over her childish fears." "She must consider the image of the occupier lodged somewhere in her mind and in *her body*, remodel it, initiate the essential work of eroding it, make it inessential, remove something of the shame that is attached to it, devalidate it."[36] Beginning in 1956, therefore, when the National Liberation Front decided to respond to the massacre of its civilians with the massacre of European civilians, "[c]arrying revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards or bombs, the unveiled Algerian woman moves like a fish in the Western waters". Now "[s]he no longer slinks along the walls as she tended to do before the Revolution," her shoulders are free, "[s]he walks with a graceful, measured stride, neither too fast nor too slow. Her legs are bare, not confined by the veil, given back to themselves, and her hips are free." Yet "[o]ne must have heard the confessions of Algerian women or have analysed the dream content of certain recently unveiled women to appreciate the importance of the veil for the body of the woman. Without the veil she has an impression of her body being cut up into bits, put adrift; the limbs seem to lengthen indefinitely. When the Algerian woman has to cross a street, for a long time she commits errors of judgement as to the exact distance to be negotiated. The unveiled body seems to escape, to dissolve. She has an impression of being improperly dressed, even of being naked. She experiences a sense of incompleteness with great intensity. She has the anxious feeling that something is unfinished."[37] Until in 1957—in the dialectic between revolutionary struggle and *counter-assimilation*—the veil did not reappear and "[t]he Algerian woman's body, which in an initial phase was pared down, now swelled. Whereas in the previous period the body had to be made slim and disciplined to make it attractive and seductive, it now had to be squashed, made shapeless and even ridiculous"[38] to allow the veil to hide grenades and machine-gun clips while at the same time showing empty hands.

In short, the shape of the body is also a form subject to the re-purposing

35. Ibid,, 49.

36. Ibid., 52, emphasis added.

37. Ibid., 59.

38. Ibid., 62.

of the camp, a movement analogous to the "historical dynamism of the veil," as Fanon defines it: "In the beginning, the veil was a mechanism of resistance—he explained—but its value for the social group remained very strong. The veil was worn because tradition demanded a rigid separation of the sexes, but also because *the occupier was bent on unveiling Algeria*. In a second phase, the mutation occurred in connection with the Revolution and under special circumstances. The veil helps the Algerian woman to respond to the new demands of the struggle".[39]

It is in relation to these considerations, perhaps, that Hannah Arendt's criticism of Fanon is less convincing, because the collective violence—in *The Wretched of the Earth*—does not facilitate the exaltation of a biological life indifferent to the death of individuals,[40] but the subjectivication of a historically situated body that expresses itself in a new relationship with the world and with others. If violence allows the *colonised thing* to return to being a man, it is not in relation to an almost mystical experience, but rather to that of a form which, collectively liberating itself from the suffered and withheld violence, returns to life, even and above all in the most idiomatic (and phenomenological) sense of letting us know about itself. The prayer with which he closes *Black Skin, White Masks* was clear: "O my body—Fanon had written—make of me always a man who questions!"[41] It would be Judith Butler who would interpret this invocation with greater clarity, writing "as if countering the psychoaffective dying in life that pervades the lived experience of the colonized, Fanon seeks to prompt the body into an open-ended inquiry."[42] A body, therefore, that is understood and stimulated "as an opening toward the world and toward a radically egalitarian collectivity."[43] Therefore, what Arendt says is correct: what the concreteness of the struggle immediately fractures is the individual.[44] But it is not a generic individual—this is the point—but "a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity." Fanon writes it clearly: "Now the native who has the opportunity to return to the people during the struggle for freedom will discover the falseness of this theory. The very forms of organisation of the struggle will suggest to him a different vocabulary. Brother, sister, friend—these are words outlawed by the colonialist bourgeoisie, because for them my brother is my purse, my friend is part of my scheme for getting on."[45] On the contrary, thanks to the explosion of a shared violence, "[henceforth] the interests of one will be the interests of all, for in concrete fact everyone will be discovered by

39. Ibid., 63.

40. Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York and London: Harvest/HBJ, 1970), 67ff.

41. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* 181.

42. Judith Butler, "Violence, Non-violence: Sartre on Fanon", *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* 27, no. 1 (2006): 3-24.

43. Ibid., 58.

44. Arendt, *On Violence*, 67.

45. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 46.

the troops, *everyone* will be massacred—or *everyone* will be saved."[46] As Stephanie Clare wrote, therefore, the violence in Fanon is "life that overcomes the stagnation of death,"[47] a death that—evidently—is not restricted to its literal and biological meaning.

That this overcoming takes place in the mass dimension should not be surprising, because it is truly "the settler who has *brought the native into existence* and who *perpetuates his existence*,"[48] Fanon explains, causing him to disappear into a "world without spaciousness" in which "men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of the other," a city reduced to the shapeless mass "of niggers and dirty Arabs."[49] And it was precisely a witness of the Nazi concentration camps—Viktor Frankl—who explained the desire that could push a deportee to camouflage himself in this world without spaciousness: "the man in the concentration camp =[…] in a last effort to save his self-respect, […] lost the feeling of being an individual. […] He thought himself then as only a part of an enormous mass of people."[50] If "the camp contains masses and produces masses" as Kotek and Rigoulot have argued, it is also because being absorbed by the mass means not attracting attention, avoiding the ever sadistic attention of the guards, not being recognised.

Thus, from the look of the coloniser and the desire to survive, now "the chorus of the struggle, the feelings and emotions experienced in unison by a mass of men" and "the enthusiasm for the collective battle" drive the *motor behaviour* of the colonised. These are the words of Gillo Pontecorvo, who together with Franco Solinas explicitly referred to the work of Fanon when writing and shooting the film of *The Battle of Algiers*.[51] The adherence to the pages of *The Wretched of the Earth* dedicated to the topic of spontaneity is quite evident: "they are the essence of the fight which explodes the old colonial truths and reveals unexpected facets—wrote Fanon—which brings out new meanings and pinpoints the contradictions camouflaged by these facts.[...] Without that struggle, without that knowledge of the practice of action, there's nothing but a fancy-dress parade and the blare of the trumpets."[52] Now, however, for Solinas and Pontecorvo there was the problem of representing this epistemological fracture resulting from the metamorphosis of bodies and their performative incursion into space. A problem that emerged strongly at the time of the shooting of the famous scene in which the three militants of the National Liberation Front were preparing to go to place bombs in the European city. Pontecorvo was not

46. Ibid.

47. Stephanie Clare, "Geopower. The Politics of Life and Land in Frantz Fanon's Writing", *Diacritics* 41, no. 4 (2013): 66.

48. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 35, emphasis added.

49. Ibid., 38.

50. Viktor E. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1985), 92.

51. ^^* Irene Bignardi, *Memorie estorte a uno smemorato. Vita di Gillo Pontecorvo* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1999), 121-129.

52. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 146.

convinced of the dialogue, he remembered, or better still, the climate that the dialogue established while the three women were combing their hair and joking in an atmosphere that was "too feminine."[53] Solinas rewrote that dialogue several times, but he was not satisfied either. On set, Pontecorvo remembered, there was the air of ugly silence typical of moments when the director does not know what to do. "But suddenly I remembered some music that I had heard and recorded—he continued—a *baba saleem*, the traditional music of Arab beggars, who perform it with a drum and castanets, a music that sounds very much like a beating heart." The *baba saleem* was then played on set during the shoot, becoming the soundtrack without dialogue during editing. That music still conveys the tension of the moment, probably the most dramatic of the film.

With the decision to resort to a cultural form *as a* heartbeat, a relationship is established between corporeity and tradition that involves the same biological datum (and the violence it supports) in a process of historical re-purposing. From this point of view, the body could be defined not only as an "opening" with respect to the world and the collective, as Judith Butler maintains, but also with respect to the past, from which it inherits a still unexpressed yet decisive posteriority in the production of new meanings and their knowledge. While in other respects it seemed to us that Fanon's "decentralised Marxism" could enter into a dialogue with the reflections of Gramsci and Rosa Luxemburg, here the terms of a possible juxtaposition with Ernst Bloch and Walter Benjamin seem more apropos.[54] What in any case it is important to emphasise for our conclusions is how Fanon's historical-racial scheme is not produced discursively, but are rather the deep-seated experiences of racism that support a corporeal scheme.[55]

Fanon had already explained it in *Black Skin, White Masks*: "I know that if I want to smoke, I shall have to reach out my right arm and take the pack of cigarettes lying at the other end of the table. The matches, however, are in the drawer on the left, and I shall have to lean back slightly. And all these movements are made not out of habit but out of implicit knowledge. A slow composition of my self as a body in the middle of a spatial and temporal world—such seems to be the schema,"[56] to which the deep-seated experiences of trafficking and colonialism add the implication of "legends, stories, history, and above all *historicity*."[57] In *Black Skin, White Masks* the lived body of the black person would therefore have to deal with "the can-

53. For criticism of the still "too feminine" atmosphere that the film scene would continue to convey despite the director's intentions, see Lindsey Moore, "The Veil of Nationalism: Frantz Fanon's 'Algeria Unveiled' and Gillo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers*," *Kunapipi* 25, no. 2 (2003): 56-73.

54. Roberto Beneduce has already discussed the comparison with messianism in "La potenza del falso. Mimesi e alienazione in Frantz Fanon," *aut aut* 354 (2012): 25-29.

55. Dilan Mahendram, "The facticity of Blackness. A Non-conceptual Approach to the Study of Race and Racism in Fanon's and Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 5, no. 3 (2007): 200.

56. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 83

57. ibid., 84.

nibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetichism, racial defects, slave-ships, and above all else, above all: 'Sho' good eatin'."[58] but the insistence with which in *The Wretched of the Earth* appear references to open wounds, muscle paralysis, breathing or that same heartbeat refers to the action of a connaisance implicite that adheres to a different programme, allowing the colonised to "bury himself among the people during the struggle for liberation."

To name the "situated form of membership produced by the camp," the sociologist Nando Sigona recently proposed implementing the term *campzenship*[59]: it could be said that this implicit knowledge defines the specific campzenship of the colonial city, a state of non-progressive nature but substantiated by lacerations, inherited violence and an eminently physical religious terror that while inducing the colonised to "but of considering three times before urinating, spitting, or going out into the night," includes him in history and issues "a certificate of civil status."[60] That all this can resonate with what is happening today in the camps or structures for holding migrants, which can mirror the criticism and deconstruction, is quite clear. Perhaps it is not so clear to hypothesise that the analyses of Fanon can also reflect other forms of adhesion, no less situated or elementary. Forms that are taking on decisive importance in the reproduction of the so-called "postnational citizenship," as defined by David Jacobson and Jamie Goodwin-White,[61] that is to say in the context of a response to cosmopolitanism that notwithstanding its keywords like *sovereignty, security or border wall* obeys the intimately consular (or post-colonial) logic of globalisation.

58. Ibid., 85

59. Nando Sigona, "Campzenship: Reimagining the Camp as a Social and Political Space", *Citizenship Studies* 19, no. 1(2014). My thanks to Professor Robert Gordon who referred this article to me.

60. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 55.

61. David Jacobson and Jamie Goodwin-White, "The Future of Postnational Citizenship: Human Rights and Borders in a Re-Nationalizing World," *Mondi Migranti* 2 (2018): 7-26.

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MAIN SECTION

Building Cosmopolitan Citizenship Through the Mundane: Insights from Walking Conversations in the Public Spaces of Berlin

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ABSTRACT

This contribution focuses on the urban environment of Berlin and the role of walking as a generator of cosmopolitan citizenship that builds on migrant agency as a prime contribution to city-making. It explores the re-shaping of Berlin in the course of the "refugee crisis" and the resulting engagement by displaced persons and urban practitioners to foster interaction between a wide array of participants, independent of their citizenship status. By building on Thomas Nail's kino-political approach to migration, which identifies in the migrant's pedetic force a prime source of agency, three urban projects involving the act of walking are analyzed. While these initiatives vary in terms of project articulation, they all use the urban fabric of Berlin as a key terrain for discussion and critique. The walking conversations become an expression of exercising cultural citizenship, whereby the right of membership exists prior to the allocation of official statuses. This seemingly mundane experience plays a relevant role in reinstating the defining feature of the migrant as that of movement, in contrast with the constraints of containment that displaced persons experience. The three cases illustrate how the successive instances of them leaving the camps, exploring Berlin's spaces and taking the lead in narrating the city contribute to the reinforcement of a cosmopolitan perspective.

KEYWORDS
Berlin; cultural citizenship; pedetic force; refugees

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Introduction

Between January 2015 and June 2016, approximately 1,5 million displaced people arrived in Germany, and 65.000 to Berlin.[1] The rapid and high influx of people to the city triggered various interrogations on how to host the new arrivals, and several attempts were made to welcome them. Due to the exceptionally high number of people arriving, the question of quickly accommodating them became particularly urgent during 2015 and 2016, with the city´s administration overwhelmed by the number of asylum applications to be processed. The solutions proposed for actually hosting those in the process of asylum and those granted a refugee status, or a comparable form of international protection, have for the large part been temporary, and remain so until today. Asylum seekers and refugees continue to be hosted in temporary constructions[2], such as container camps, or they are accommodated in former office blocks or other non-residential buildings, such as the Tempelhof airport that is no longer in use. The duration of a stay in camps largely depends on the status of each individual person, since only once a refugee status or subsidiary protection is received, the person can move out of the camp and search for an alternative living situation. Yet, to find accommodation on the local housing market is nearly impossible, particularly in Berlin, where affordable housing is increasingly inaccessible, not only to refugees. Camps[3] are often located in areas outside Berlin's most central districts, and not seldom within a vulnerable socio-economic tissue, where unemployment is higher and fears are easily projected onto the new neighbors.

Following the administration's collapse during the so-called "refugee crisis" of 2015, a huge solidarity movement developed in Berlin, that is still ongoing. Citizen-led initiatives emerged providing various forms of support, ranging from language classes, to housing and legal advice, as well as setting up projects and events to include asylum seekers and refugees and to foster encounter between longer-term residents and the newly-arrived. While the most recent migration "wave" has engendered efforts from host communities across Europe and beyond, and many individual citizens have been involved in supporting new arrivals,[4] asylum seekers and refugees are prime actors in terms of learning about the cities and

1. The Senate of Berlin. "Zahlen & Fakten" berlin.de. https://www.berlin.de/laf/ankommen/aktuelle-ankunftszahlen/artikel.625503.php (accessed November 14, 2018).

2. Andreas Abel, "Senat baut 36 neue Flüchtlingsheime in Berlin." *Berliner Morgenpost,* April 13, 2015, accessed October 18, 2018. https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article139453814/Senat-baut-36-neue-Fluechtlingsheime-in-Berlin.html

3. The city of Berlin hosts different kinds of camps. Newly-arrived refugees need to register and are then accommodated in the *Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung* (initial reception centers). Due to the high number of refugees in Berlin in 2015 and 2016, the city opened Notunterkünfte (emergency camps) in gyms or tent structures. From the initial reception camps, refugees move to *Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte* (community camps) until their status is clear or they have found an apartment. The community camps have different structures - from container camps to regular residential buildings. In 2016, the Senate of Berlin introduced Modular accommodation for refugees (*Modulare Unterkünfte für Flüchtlinge*, MUF), that are five-story modular buildings, and 12 Tempohomes (Temporary Homes).

4. Michel Agier and Babels, *De Lesbos à Calais: comment l'Europe fabrique des camps* (Lyon: Le Passager Clandestin, 2017).

countries they live in, however suspended they may be in their legal status. Asylum seekers and refugees accommodated in camps manifest their agency in various ways, for example by exploring their new neighborhood. Some camp residents gradually commute into the city, and in particular to the consolidated neighborhoods of arrival, such as Neukölln or Wedding. In such areas interactions remain generally within the broader migrant community itself, a process that helps new arrivals in familiarizing with the new urban environment, its rules and regulations, and its cultures and customs. This learning from other (former) temporary citizens helps to build self-esteem in approaching locals and in accessing the city and its infrastructures more generally. Language can be an obstacle for asylum seekers and refugees to leave the camps: some may find it difficult to read street signs, or ask for directions, or apprehend public transport systems.

Refugee "integration" is defined by consequence of a cultural understandings of nationhood, that in most European countries are related to a modified form of ethnic-based citizenship.[5] In the case of Berlin, this has an obvious link to the German self-conception of nationhood, that "associates belonging to the nation with sharing the same language and origins rather than more inclusive criteria, such as individuals' desire to be part of society."[6] Since Germany was one of the last European countries to accept that it had to become a country of immigration, related legal frameworks were revised as late as 2000.[7] However, to acquire full citizenship is a relatively long and demanding process, whereas temporary citizenship is largely experienced in terms of informal membership and accessibility to services provided by voluntary associations and migrant networks rather than by the State. In this paper we will refer to refugees and asylum seekers as "temporary citizens," and to people with German citizenship (whether with a migrant origin or not) as "full citizens".

Constructing cosmopolitan citizenship through the act of collective walking

Several refugee- and citizen-led initiatives work as movements which challenge the access to citizenship based solely on the perspective of legal frameworks and the required changes to them in order to grant access to a number of associated rights. While this remains a crucial question, the kind of citizenship embedded in German and European legislation is questioned by actually uplifting temporary citizens from their state

5. Alice Bloch and Carl Levy (eds.), *Refugees, Citizenship and Social Policy in Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 225.

6. Dennis Lichtenstein, Jenny Ritter and Birte Fähnrich, *The Migrant Crisis in German Public Discourse* (Zurich: LIT Verlag, 2017), 108.

7. Peter Scholten, et al., *Policy innovation in Refugee Integration? A comparative analysis of innovative policy strategies toward refugee integration in Europe* (Rotterdam: Dutch Department of Social Affairs, August 2017).

of suspension, induced by stringent legal frameworks that characterize recent European migration policy. On the other hand, citizen-led projects have practiced a form of urban inclusion rooted in the idea that temporary citizens are actually present in Berlin, even if their access to various amenities is minimal. The concept of cultural citizenship is relevant here, as a way of having a "right of membership which exists prior to formal allocation of citizenship and upon which basis they (irregular migrants) now insist on legal recognition."[8] This notion was introduced by American anthropologist Renato Rosaldo, and "refers to the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense."[9] Through cultural practices and processes a new collective arena can be constructed, and the notion of citizenship becomes a "practice which constructs relations between insiders and outsiders,"[10] between temporary and full citizens.

The initiatives led by full and temporary citizens are also partial answers to the interrogation of how a "cosmopolitan citizen thinking," as it was described by Stevenson,[11] can be achieved. For Gerard Delanty, to approach a cosmopolitan imagination, is to "share experiences, cognitive processes, forms of cultural translations and empowerment discourses."[12] Through their work these initiatives enact cosmopolitan, rather than temporary citizenship. They illustrate that progressing from temporary to cosmopolitan citizenship is not only a matter of changing legal frameworks, but it requires a society that feels cosmopolitan at its core. The walks also emphasize how relevant it is for citizenship to be "understood not as a possession, but as an identity and practice."[13]

To explore these questions in more depth, three urban projects are analyzed. The cases are generated by various coalitions: between full citizens, between temporary citizens coalesced through self-initiative, and co-productions between full and temporary citizens. All of them are based on walking in the city of Berlin as a prime means to generate interaction between participants (whether temporary or full citizens), and their living urban environment. Berlin's architecture and urban forms become mediums through which ideas around co-habitation are shared and common experiences are generated. These walking experiences embody the idea that it is through the "role of mundane interaction, (that) cosmopolitan norms are spreading."[14]

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8. Anne McNevin, "Political Belonging in a Neoliberal Era: The Struggle of the Sans-Papiers," *Citizenship Studies* 10, no. 2 (2006): 144.

9. Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994):402

10. Anne McNevin, "Political Belonging," 136.

11. Nick Stevenson, "Cultural Citizenship in the 'Cultural' Society: A Cosmopolitan Approach," *Citizenship Studies* 7, no. 3 (2003): 342.

12. Gerard Delanty cited in Silvia Fehrmann. "Wir können auch anders:"Cultural Citizenship" als Herausforderung für Kultureinrichtungen in einer vielfältigen Gesellschaft," *Heimatkunde, Migrationspolitisches Portal* (2012), https://heimatkunde.boell.de/2012/12/18/wir-koennen-auch-anders-cultural-citizenship-als-herausforderung-fuer-kultureinrichtungen.

13. Engin Isin cited in Anne McNevin, "Political Belonging", 137.

14. Jeremy Waldron, "Cosmopolitan norms" in *Another Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Seyla Benhabib (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 84.

Walk 1 — How we live together: Full citizen-led walking conversations

Responding to the high influx of people arrived in Germany and Berlin in 2015 the project "How we live together"[15] emerged as a collaboration between three independent urban practitioners[16] and the German Architecture Centre (DAZ) in Berlin. The initiative was part of the umbrella project Berlin Mondiale,[17] a union of Berlin-based cultural institutions, and the Berlin Council for the Arts. The latter had already emphasized the role of artistic and cultural practices for establishing a welcoming culture for temporary citizens. In its view, opening up cultural institutions to new arrivals would promote mutual learning between full and temporary citizens. This would also help refugees to better establish themselves within the city, for example through internship and/or job opportunities in the same institutions.

The project was based on a tandem between each institution involved and the different refugee camps that exist in the city. The development of collaborative projects and initiatives was tailored according to the particular needs of the camp´s inhabitants. The team working with the DAZ partnered with a container camp in Berlin-Buch. In the course of initial meetings between the DAZ team and the camp's residents, the latter expressed the common interest to explore their place of "arrival", namely Buch as an immediate neighborhood, and Berlin and the city's various neighborhoods and spaces, its public transport system, its communities, its socio-cultural practices, and its society as a whole. More general questions were also solicited, such as access to health care, employment opportunities and education.

These interests and questions led the team to formulate the idea of walking in the city together and to use these explorations as moments of interaction, as actual conversations. The walks were viewed as a method to explore the city and to share stories between participants of very different backgrounds, leading to an approximation of how to live together. Via an open call, other urban practitioners were invited to participate. By definition, the walks had to be organized on a voluntary basis and be free of charge for participants. The response from practitioners was overwhelming, and the respondents proposed walks designed at foregrounding a particular part of the city.

Between fifteen and twenty-five people joined the walks each time and approximately ten persons became regular participants. Many of the tem-

15. Berlin Mondiale, "How we live together" berlin-mondiale.de, http://mondiale18.wasgeht.berlin/kooperationen/archiv-tandems/9-deutsches-architekturzentrum-awo-refugium-buch/ (accessed November 14, 2018)

16. Katharina Rohde, Ingrid Sabatier and Stephan Schwarz.

17. Berlin Mondiale, "Kunst im Kontext Migration, Flucht und Exil," https://berlin-mondiale.de/ (accessed November 14, 2018)

porary citizens that joined the walks were actually architects or urban planners, or were in the course of their studies in such fields when they had to leave their home countries. Generally more men than women joined the walks. Apart from those interested in leading a walk, there was significant motivation by longer-term Berliners in joining and accessing the opportunity to interact with temporary citizens. Interestingly, the walks were visited also by lawyers, doctors, and school teachers, who provided additional and informal knowledge to the walking conversations, answering questions on legal, educational and health support and giving information on how to access it. Buch is a neighborhood in the North-East of the city, and belongs to the district of Berlin-Pankow. Its main center is located around the S-Bahn station Berlin-Buch, where the historical village core is located. The predominant urban feature of Buch is its Plattenbau[18] architecture. The Campus-Buch, a science and technology site with biomedical research institutions, is in the South-East side of the center. Berlin-Buch is located 16 kilometers away from the city's center (Mitte), and is relatively well connected via public transport, with journeys taking 45 minutes on average.

The AWO-led[19] Refugium Berlin-Buch, opened in April 2015 and it was still operational in November 2018. It is one of the city's biggest container camps with a capacity to accommodate 500 people.[20] The camp consists of three two-story buildings, a green area with a playground and picnic benches. The 15 square-meter rooms host two persons, and families are accommodated in double rooms with a connecting door. Community kitchens exist on each floor, as well as gender-separated sanitary facilities. The perimeters of the camp are challenging to transcend, particularly for women with children, as they often do not have access to child care, and many feel too insecure to explore the city by themselves. Language constraints as well as culturally related hesitations to publicly commute are also common obstacles, while traumatic experiences also play their role since they have increased a sense of vulnerability.

The walks were organized in different neighborhoods: the modernist Hansaviertel, the Tempelhofer Airfield community gardens, Moabit's different religious sites, the vibrant migrant district of Kreuzberg, spaces of refugee resistance such as the Oranienplatz[21], public facilities such as the multi-lingual library (Amerika-Gedenk-Bücherei), the Kreuzberg Museum with its permanent exhibition on migration, and one of the city's biggest hospitals (Urban Krankenhaus). One walk focused on spaces of memory, and included a visit to the Gedenkstätte Berliner Mauer (Wall memorial site), to trigger discussions around German history and that of Berlin, including war and flight.

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18. Pre-fabricated housing, particularly used in the former GDR for social housing.

19. AWO stands for *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* and is a welfare association that runs the camp in Buch.

20. See https://www.awo-mitte.de/index.php/unterkuenfte-fuer-gefluechtete/awo-refugium-buch (accessed November 14, 2018).

21. Between 2012 and 2016 the Oranienplatz was occupied by refugees that were resisting the harsh asylum laws and conditions refugees have to face in Germany.

Along the way, different urban concepts and approaches to architecture and society were presented and discussed, to question whether or not these supported a vision of communal living and a pluralist society. The concept of community gardening for instance, that is very common in Berlin and is often established in the form of intercultural gardens, was presented at the Allmende Kontor community garden located at the Tempelhofer Airfield. The garden was established in 2011 by 20 activists running 10 raised beds, and in 2018 counts 600 members and 250 raised beds. The Kontor additionally networks with all community gardens in the city of Berlin. On their website, they describe urban community gardens as "outside district-centers (Stadtteilzentren) that can be shelters for people in need."22 Due to its location in the Airfield, refugees living in the Tempohomes on the same site, are regularly invited to join the Kontor as a terrain for interaction with longer-term Berliners. During the visit to the garden, discussions arose on the increasing privatization of public space, and about the fact that community gardens presented a counter-concept to such processes by creating genuine opportunities for encounter of a diverse range of citizens. The group of Syrian participants that joined the walk that day, explained that community gardens existed in Damascus and Aleppo, but rather than being born out of urban activism, were a custom related to growing vegetables for personal consumption. The shabby-looking raised beds irritated some newcomers, but were understood as being activist space, leading to a discussion around clichés, the right to be different and to belong. Conversations continued at the end of each walk informally and over a cup of tea. These encounters were hosted by different cultural institutions or neighborhood initiatives, such as the Prinzessinnengärten (a community garden), the Spreefeld (a community housing/co-working project), the ZKU (the Centre for Art and Urbansim), or the Sharehaus Refugio (a co-living space for refugees and locals), and supported the process of building a collective cosmopolitan arena.

The citizen-led walking conversations were a strategy to, on the one hand, collaboratively explore the different neighborhoods of Berlin with new arrivals, and in doing so, to foster an improved navigation of the city. On the other hand, the collective walks were an opportunity for urban practitioners to actually familiarize with temporary citizens and to learn about their stories, their home-countries and cultures, and their new realities in Berlin. During feedback sessions, the practitioners reported back that the urban walks were a relevant approach for their professional development. The experience triggered further reflection on how to design for displacement and as a way to stimulate communication, in McNevin's terms, between the "insider" and the "outsider".[23]

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22. Allmende Kontor, "Vernetzung für urbane Gemeinschaftsgärten," http://allmende-kontor.de/index.php/kontor.html (accessed November 14, 2018).

23. Anne McNevin, "Political Belonging," 136.

In response to harsh asylum laws and regulations, the project provided opportunities for walking participants to exit a state of suspension, embodying the idea that "integration" begins from the moment migrants arrive, rather than from the acquisition of full citizenship. Internships in architecture firms were one way to help temporary citizens to leave the monotonous routines of camp life and to return to activity. The opportunity to practice the German language while walking helped temporary citizens to engage with and participate in the city's infrastructures more effectively.

Along the walk, participants have discussed housing issues, unveiling the harsh conditions in which temporary citizens have to experience every day in camps. These discussions have led to collectively rethink ideas about social housing and mixed living, as is currently being tested in some of Berlin´s co-housing projects.[24] A jointly-reached conclusion was that co-housing projects were increasingly required, in which full and temporary citizens would share common spaces and thereby learn to live together in the literal sense. The exercise of walking together through Berlin was therefore a way to share experiences, to build connections and sometimes friendships, and a way to endorse cosmopolitan citizenship through the recognition of the active participation of temporary city dwellers in the social, cultural and political community. [Fig. 1]

Walk 2 — From Camp to City: walking with temporary citizens

The citizen-led walking conversations were curated by urban practitioners singling out parts of Berlin that in their view made sense to visit with temporary citizens. After this experience, however, the importance of reversing the approach became apparent to some of the curators involved in the "How we live together" project. In their view, the lived experience of temporary citizens and the appropriations made within their living space and its surroundings deserved acknowledgment. Likewise, camp residents' perspectives on the urban environment they were experiencing daily became the object of further explorations by urban practitioners and academics[25]. For most participants involved in the research, in fact, the experience of Berlin-Buch and Berlin-Lichtenberg meant discovering a relatively unknown peripheral area of the city.

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24. See for example, the Sharehaus Refugio now run by the City of Berlin (http://www.refugio.berlin) or the ToM - Tolerantes Miteinander by the social housing company DEWEGO (https://www.degewo.de/verantwortung-innovation/fuer-berlin/vielfalt-tom/).

25. The research titled "Life in a Camp" was initiated in 2016 in Berlin-Buch, and was extended to the emergency shelter in Berlin-Lichtenberg during 2017. The investigation focused on the everyday (walking) routines of camp inhabitants in order to unfold their new living environment. Architecture and urban design students and staff from the Technical University of Berlin and the KU Leuven in Belgium were involved in the research. One of the outcomes is: Senne Simoens, "Living Inside a *Notunterkunft*: A Spatial Analysis of Life Inside an Emergency Shelter for Refugees*" (MSc. Thesis, KU Leuven, Fall 2018).

FIG. 1 Citizen-led walking conversation, Kreuzberg. Photo ISSS research and architecture

The container camp in Buch and the emergency shelter in Lichtenberg present some analogies for their residents. Many of them spend large amounts of their day within both camps' immediate perimeters. This was found to be particularly true for women with children, but it was an overall tendency. Generally speaking, it took time for the residents solicited to share their daily routines and perspectives on Berlin, making response uneven. This resistance also reflected the challenge for many residents to exit the passive state resulting from being suspended from many fundamental rights. Actively exploring and partaking in city-making is not a given for temporary citizens for whom access to the local labor market, education and housing is restricted. Younger male camp dwellers were in most cases an exception to the above, and took up the challenge of sharing their daily trajectories from the camp, to the immediate neighborhood of Buch and Lichtenberg, to the larger realm of Berlin.

Insights from the camp in Buch are comparable with those in Lichtenberg, although the immediate surroundings are less complex because of the neighborhood's consolidated role as an arrival destination for migrants, especially from Asia. Urban navigation from the emergency shelter in Lichtenberg is therefore somewhat simpler than from the camp in Buch. Lichtenberg is located to the east of the city center, which can be reached by public transport with a ten-minute journey. Like Buch, it is also a predominantly Plattenbau area, within which the huge complex of the former state security headquarters (Stasi) is located. The latter is where the emergency shelter was accommodated upon its inception in October 2015, hosting approximately 1000 people in the course of its existence. It was shut down in July 2017 in the run-up to national elections, when the city of Berlin decided to close down all emergency accommodation and

provide more permanent community shelters. 13,000 temporary citizens were relocated to more permanent camps by 2017 but around 2,000 people still remain in emergency camps in 2018.[26]

Accessing the massive former Stasi headquarters is already an experience itself, and reflects much of the daily vicissitudes of its temporary dwellers. The ground floor of the 14-story building hosts the shelter management area, run by the Red Cross, as well as a canteen where meals are provided three times a day within allocated hours. Shower cabins have been installed in the courtyard, and people are compelled to queue as early as five in the morning for a warm shower. All the other floors have been minimally transformed so former office space has now become a 19 square-meter room equipped with bunk beds, a wardrobe, a table and two chairs, shared by four to six people. Toilet facilities on every floor are also used jointly, though gender separated, but they have no showers.

The shorter and more frequented trajectories of camp residents in Berlin-Buch were based on accessing the closest S-Bahn stop (Berlin-Buch), followed by walks to reach schools and kindergartens, supermarkets and look for health care and legal support. The 10-minute walk to the S-Bahn stop means crossing a Plattenbau area where long-established citizens reside. Some visit the neighborhood center along the way, and join their German classes or the welcome-café that is regularly taking place to provide a ground for encounter between temporary and full citizens.

The shopping street between the apartment blocks and the S-Bahn station, hosts an Asian Restaurant, a bakery, a supermarket, a clothing shop, a post office and a drug store. Camp dwellers, however, seldom use the nearby facilities, but travel instead to Berlin's more central areas. The consolidated migrant neighborhood of Neukölln, where goods are cheaper and more culturally responsive (such as Halal groceries), is a major destination. Moreover, a visit to such areas becomes a way to connect with same-ethnic communities, and sometimes even an opportunity to find work. Since many of the dwellers do not leave the camp or its immediate neighborhood, a shopping network has established in Buch amongst the Arabic-speaking community. Those staying in the camp compose shopping lists for those regularly commuting to Neukölln who can purchase specific goods, and charge a little extra for their service. Experiencing life in the camp means observing groups of young men returning to Buch in the evening with grocery bags. Other regular commuting activities to Berlin's more central neighborhoods include the Gesundbrunnen-Kiez in Berlin-Wedding to reach a boxing studio, and visits to a mosque in the same area for Friday prayers. When not in Neukölln or Wedding, the younger generation uses the local park area, within a 5-minute walk from the camp. Some benches there allow for some relaxing and lingering, and the youngsters explain that

26. RBB. "Senat plant 25 weitere Modulare Unterkünfte für Flüchtlinge", rbb24.de https://www.rbb24.de/politik/beitrag/2018/02/standorte-berlin-modulare-unterkuenfte.html (accessed November 14, 2018).

the park offers some privacy and retreat. While the camp also features outdoor spaces with benches to hang out, such spaces are usually overcrowded and under the gaze of camp personnel and other residents, including elders. The container camp is in fact fenced off and has a secured entrance area, where people have to sign in and out, making many dwellers complain that it feels like a prison rather than a home.[27]

In Lichtenberg, the camp´s inhabitants visit green areas such as the Parkaue, nearby supermarkets such as Aldi or Lidl and the shopping mall 'Ring Centre', as a favorite destination for the younger temporary citizens, also because of its fitness area, regularly. The centrally located S-Bahn stop Frankfurter Tor is also frequently visited, especially because of cheap cigarettes from Poland being sold there by a Vietnamese trader. A night shop is located within the perimeters of the camp and the owner offers discounts and has bonded with some of the residents. Attached to it, the owner has opened a café which represents a way to connect with other camp inhabitants or to bridge with Berliners.

Another attractive destination is the biggest Asian wholesale center of Berlin, the Dong Xuan Centre, also known as Asiatown. Vietnamese migrants have established the center and run most business there, thought in more recent years, an increasing number of traders from other Asian and Middle Eastern countries have started to open up shops as well. The temporary inhabitants from the emergency shelter come here to search for job opportunities since employment opportunities are increasingly available for recent migrants comparably to other migrant areas, such as Neukölln. Some opportunities stem from solidarity, while in other cases jobs are offered in the black market and result from the exploitation of asylum seekers' socio-economic vulnerability .

Some of the Lichtenberg camp dwellers commute to the market along the canal in Kreuzberg on a regular basis, which used to be known to most Berliners as the "Turkish Market" for many years. While its transformation over time has led to the critique of it becoming a tourist attraction, visitors from the camp appreciate it for its hybrid nature, resulting from a combination of German and Middle Eastern groceries and food cultures. It is viewed as a place where both well-known goods such as spices, and less known customs can be found and experienced.

By walking with camp dwellers in Buch and Lichtenberg, six urban practitioners, five academics and eight students have had the opportunity to delve into the immediate and daily environments of temporary citizens. Twelve temporary citizens were involved, of which eight were men and four were women aged between 19 and 32. For them, the walks developed as a way of story-telling, and of voicing their opinions on camp conditions and environments, as well as their challenges in interacting with the city

27. Informal conversations between camp residents and corresponding author, Berlin-Buch, August 2015.

FIG. 2 "Turkish market," Kreuzberg. Photo Katharina Rohde

and its citizens. Practitioners, academics and students turned into the audience that listens and learns, and by consequence develops a better understanding of what "Life in a Camp" means. This immediate encounter with the daily realm of newcomers can potentially lead to a more critical thinking on urban and national strategies for accommodating newcomers. Viewing the city from the perspective of temporary citizens created a better understanding, not only in regard to questions of cultural citizenship, but also in terms of individual attempts to belong. [Fig. 2]

Walk 3 — Route 44, Refugee voices tours and Querstadtein: temporary citizen-led walking conversations

Expanding on the previous two cases, joint efforts between full and temporary citizens led in turn to exciting endeavors that negotiate how space in the city is shared, and reflect a cosmopolitan thinking. Whereas walking with temporary citizens in the context of the "Life in a Camp" initiative took place in an informal and more intimate setting, a more active approach took shape in the context of temporary citizen-led walking conversations

that provided them the opportunity to present their stories and perspectives to a broader audience, from tourists to longer-term dwellers. While the previously presented walking conversations were less fixed and focused mainly on interaction between participants, the tours described below are designed as such and offer specific information to an interested audience.

Various walking tours have developed in the city in the last couple of years, spearheaded by a decade-old initiative known as Route 44.[28] Since 2008 ten migrant women from different generations, geographic origin and backgrounds design walking experiences through the neighborhood of Berlin-Neukölln.[29] Route 44 is a project of the non-profit association "Kultur bewegt e.V."[30] that promotes cultural projects with migrants and "locals". The guides are Turkish, Palestinian, Lebanese, Ukrainian, and Pakistani in origin, or are born in Berlin from parents with a migrant background. Similar to the "marches exploratoires"[31], developed to explore the social and spatial characteristics of urban spaces for women in order to feel secure, Route 44 aspires to sensitize the greater public vis-à-vis the migrant women's experience of the urban realm.

The more recent "Refugee voices tours" were initiated in 2016 by Lorna Cannon, a young British guide currently based in Berlin, who noticed that the discussions on migration in the media and within the broader society were predominantly talking about refugees. Her aim with the tours was to provide a platform for those "who are so often talked about but rarely listened to."[32] In crafting this platform, she asked refugees she knew personally whether they would have been interested in designing tours for full citizens, and some accepted the invitation, and are now part of the organizing team. Two tours on offer are run by a Syrian and a Sudanese man.

The non-profit organization "Querstadtein" supports temporary citizens to develop walking conversation. They followed comparable principles so that personal experiences and individual perspectives could be shared with a wider audience. As stated on the organization's website the city guides "engage as actors of political education and inspire to see the city otherwise."[33] The organization started in 2012 as a group of volunteers working with homeless people to design walks, and has grown into a small social organization with three full-time employees and fifteen

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28. Route 44, "City guides in Neukölln," http://www.route44-neukoelln.de/neukoelln.de/,(accessed August 14, 2018).

29. The tour ´Explorations in Paradise` was developed by four young migrant women in collaboration with the corresponding author in 2012. Katharina Rohde, "Explorations in Paradise," http://www.katharina-rohde.com/route44/, (accessed August 14, 2018).

30. Kultur Bewegt, http://www.kulturbewegt.de/, (accessed August 14, 2018).

31. The "marches exploratoires" were developed in 1989 by the Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence against Women in Toronto with the aim of creating safer public environments for women. Thereafter they have spread across many cities. Conscienceurbaine, "Marche exploratoire." conscienceurbaine.net, https://conscienceurbaine.net/servicess/marche-exploratoire/, (accessed November 13, 2018).

32 Refugee Voices Tours, http://refugeevoicestours.org/, (accessed October 14, 2018)

33 Querstadtein, https://querstadtein.org/, (accessed October 14, 2018).

guides, which are all male.

The walks are organized in different neighborhoods of the city and have various foci depending on the guide. They cover areas such as Neukölln, Mitte and Kreuzberg as well as historically significant places in Berlin, usually to draw connections with the more recent turbulences and geo-political vicissitudes of refugees' countries of origin. While the guides of Route 44 focus on Neukölln only, the other two operators explore the district of Mitte/Tiergarten and Kreuzberg too. However, Neukölln is a main focus for the guides, and this reflects the significance of this "arrival neighborhood" for temporary citizens.[34]

The guides share their personal stories of flight and talk about their life in Berlin along the walk. Some of these are designed along historically significant places in Berlin, such as the Checkpoint Charlie or the Brandenburger Gate, and connect personal stories with the history of the city. Through this juxtaposition and comparison, the guide intends to show that "no-one is immune to turbulent times,"[35] and argues against those voices rejecting the inflow of temporary citizens. From his perspective, "Europe has the means to offer safe places," and "it needs a change of attitude"36 in order to become an inclusive continent. Another tour from the "Refugee voices tours" focuses on the rights movement of temporary citizens and is led by a Sudanese man, active in the movement. The tour starts at the formerly occupied Oranienplatz in Kreuzberg and ends at the still partly occupied Gerhard-Hauptmann-Schule. Both places have become symbolic for the struggle of temporary citizens in Berlin.

The walks in Neukölln focus on its migrant communities, and the district as an arrival neighborhood that supports temporary citizens. Neukölln is perceived as a place where many can belong. The guides show specific places important to their respective cultural community, such as the Turkish-Shiite mosque, a Kurdish association or the Sonnenallee, which is known as the "Arabic Street" amongst temporary and full citizens, as most shops along the street are run by people from the from the Arabic-speaking countries. The walks point out how migrant communities create their lives in a new environment and how they support each other, for instance through the initiative "Stadtteilmütter" that two of the female guides of the Route 44 walks have joined. This endeavor helps troubled migrant families to navigate better in their often unfamiliar cultural circumstances.

The guides have an opinion, and use the opportunity while walking to voice their perspectives and to enter into discussions with the audience. A young Kurdish-Syrian Berliner described the several hurdles he still faced

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34 For more on Neukölln and its importance for migrants, see Felicitas Hillmann, "How Socially Innovative is Migrant Entrepreneurship? A Case Study of Berlin" in Diana MacCallum et al. (eds.), *Social Innovation and Territorial Development* (Burlington: Ashgate 2009), 101-114.

35 Querstadtein. https://querstadtein.org/, (accessed October 14, 2018).

36 Querstadtein. https://querstadtein.org/, (accessed October 14, 2018).

FIG. 3 Guided Tour with Mohamad Khalil, Neukölln. Photo querstadtein/Judith Affolter

in Germany, with the biggest challenge being the "integration" measurements and the complicated asylum system, that in his view clearly illustrate that temporary citizens are discouraged from making Germany their home. He insists on solidarity as the only option, and the walks for him are a way to overcome clichés about displaced persons and to trigger conversations between full and temporary citizens.[37]

The walks become impressive walking conversations because of the very personal experiences and moments that the temporary citizens share with the participants. During the "Neukölln from a new Berliner´s perspective" tour for instance, that the corresponding author joined in June 2018, a young Kurdish-Syrian man described his flight from the war and the journey's various phases via Turkey, and the Balkans, including first-hand experience with human smugglers. One participant stated that "the tour was an eye-opener, and provided me an entirely new perspective on Syria, and the international community´s role in the current conflict."[38]

Walking together provides the opportunity for temporary citizens to share their stories, and by doing so, they can retain their sense of identity, while at the same time sharing their stories can lead to an increased understanding of their condition by the host community[39]—in this case, the walking participants. Furthermore, the walks provide a space for newcom-

37. Corresponding author, working notes, Berlin, June 23 2018.

38. Querstadtein, https://querstadtein.org/, (accessed October 14, 2018).

39. Judy-Ann Cilliers, "The Refugee as Citizen: the possibility of political membership in a cosmopolitan world," (Master Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2014).

ers to enter the political discussions that are taking place in the city and which they are legally not allowed to participate in, as they don't have a German citizenship and hence are not entitled to vote. It is a way of taking membership in a society they now live in, but yet are not allowed to fully belong to. [Fig. 3]

Walking conversations as enactments of mundane cosmopolitanism

While walking may appear as a commonplace activity performed by all urban dwellers, it plays a relevant role in the case of building cultural cosmopolitan citizenship in the city. The walking conversations that form the focus of this paper confirm the defining feature of the migrant as movement, but at the same time they place all participants in a movement-based relationship with one another and with the city. For full citizens, the walks become a way to experience Berlin's public space through different perspectives while learning not only about the plight of temporary citizens, but also about their individual stories and personal trajectories. Moreover, full citizens learn about "actual places, the marginal, spaces abandoned or in process of transformation,"[40] such as camp structures that start transmuting into homes. For temporary citizens, the walks counter the contradictory nature of stasis imposed upon those who have moved to reach a place of arrival in Berlin, but rarely have access to its amenities, and live segregated in camps until their status is approved—or not. Most importantly, the walks become a tool for the migrants' pedetic force to be exercised. In Thomas Nail's view, the possibility for migrants to use such pedesis coincides with their power to subvert the way in which movement is created and regulated by the state apparatus. Migrant's pedesis allows to understand belonging in terms of place-bound social membership only.[41] By leaving the camp's perimeters, interacting with other temporary and full citizens, and taking the lead in describing and narrating the city, participants have expressed such a force as a crucial component in an increasingly cosmopolitan perspective of urban life.

The approach that characterizes the walking conversations presented has already been corroborated by comparable initiatives such as the walking practices launched by Stalker in 1995.[42] The Italian collective insists on the role of creative practice for overcoming social and political divides. One of Stalker's co-founders has delved deeper into walking as an aesthetic

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40. Peter T. Lang, "Stalker on Location" in *Loose Space: Possibilities and Diversity in Urban Life*, ed. by Karen Franck and Quentin Stevens (Routledge: London & New York, 2006), 195.

41 Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015).

42 Stalker is a collective of architects and researchers who came together in the mid-1990s and developed the method of collective walking. See also: Spatial Agency, "Stalker/Osservatorio Nomade," http://www.spatialagency.net/database/why/political/stalkerosservatorio.nomade (Accessed November 15, 2018).

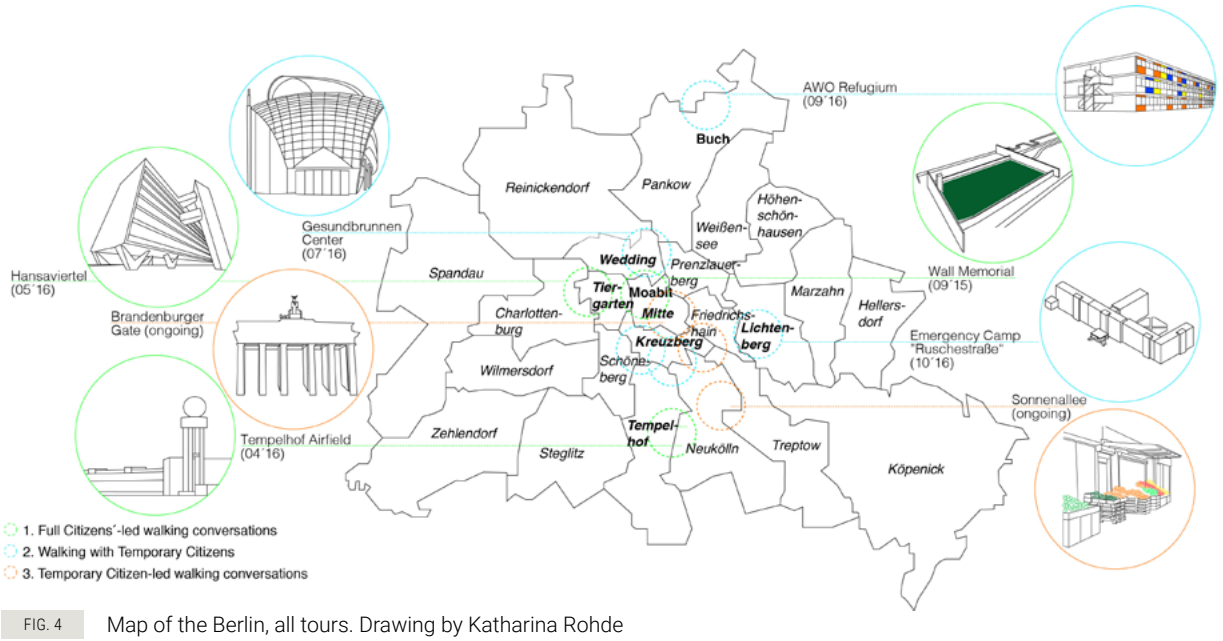

FIG. 4 Map of the Berlin, all tours. Drawing by Katharina Rohde

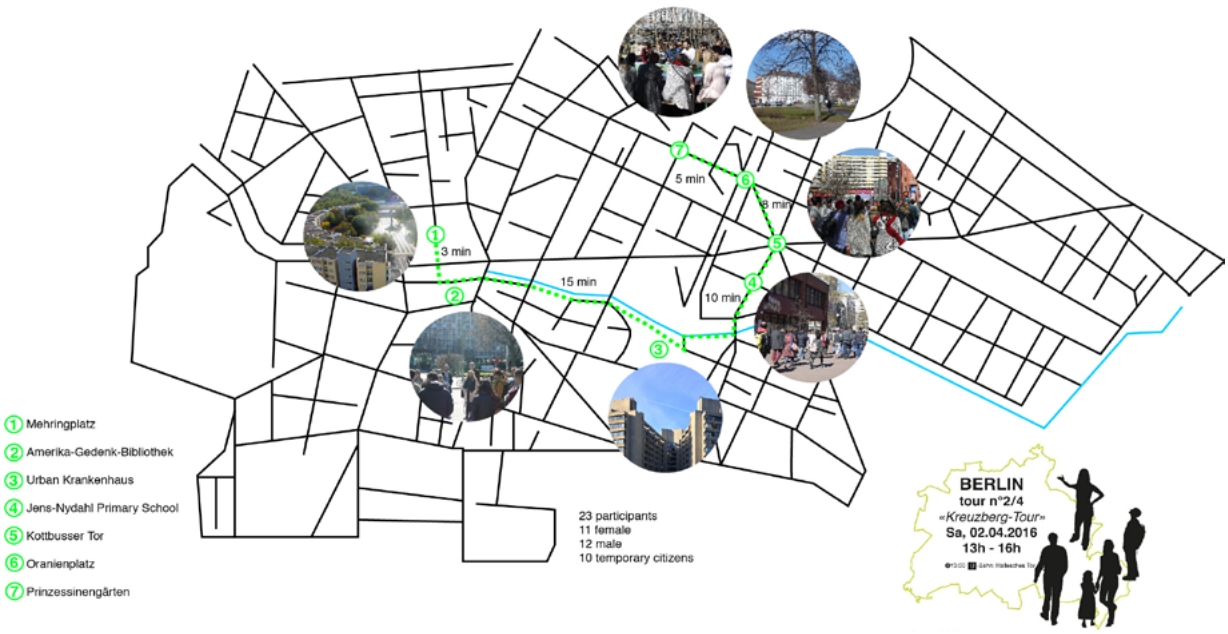

FIG. 5 Citizen-led walk in Kreutzberg. Drawing by Katharina Rohde

practice, reflecting on the established link between walking and its role for apprehending territories from below, and from unconventional perspectives.[43] Such an approach is premised on the Situationist movement and its apology of the "derive" advanced by Guy Debord in 1956, who foregrounded this collective practice as a spontaneous exploration through the urban landscape based on everyday unexpected encounters in the city's terrain.[44]

43. Francesco Careri, *Walkscapes. Camminare come pratica estetica* (Torino: Einaudi, 2006).

44. Guy Debord, "Théorie de la derive", *Les lèvres nues 9* *(1956). See also: Paola Berenstein Jacques (ed.), *Apologia da Deriva. Escritos situacionistas sobre a cidade* (Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Palavra, 2003) and Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998).

Moreover, the public spaces of Berlin become the main terrain upon which stories from various journeys and historical vicissitudes can become entangled, and sites from which cosmopolitanism is practiced. Urban morphologies and their layered history are mobilized and understood as the outcome of flight and plight and thus comparable to environments that are currently suffering from the consequences of conflict and discrimination. Some areas play a particular role for the migrants to exercise their pedetic force, as they are recognized as consolidated destination neighborhoods. Among these. Neukölln, in spite of its contentious urban regeneration, is seen as a site where a large majority of temporary citizens can come to. Such urban spaces are not only where migrants recognize the positive impact of intra- and inter-ethnic support for accessing the urban arena, but also where encounters can occur along mundane lines, such as through shopping. While these ordinary acts can be relatively short-lived, they have the potential to expand into more structured forms of social bonding and bridging, as illustrated by the networks of solidarity providing support to temporary citizens in suspension. Walking through the city, as one of such everyday activities, sets different public spaces, historical moments and personal trajectories in resonance with one another, relativizing but also qualifying distinctions between Berlin and many other cities across the world, between full and temporary citizens. The urban walks act as a cultural medium of societal transformation based on the principle of world openness, and as such they are tools that foster the cosmopolitan imagination.

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MAIN SECTION

Enacting Citizenship in an Urban Borderland: the Case of Maximilian Park in Brussels

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the relationship between asylum seekers and Maximilian Park, a contested site in Brussels in terms of unresolved conflicts around migration, refugees and borders. By tracing the park's evolution as part of the North Quarter, and understanding the various transient trajectories that characterize this urban area, the paper will probe into the interaction between "full" and "temporary" citizens. Through spatial synthesis and mapping, the paper will first unpack the urban history of the North Quarter as part of the arrival infrastructure of the European capital. The connections between groups with varying degrees of vulnerability who claim spaces with more or less legitimacy will be explored through two main sources complementing ethnographic analysis. Firstly, narratives developed by the local press will be used as a means to unfold the main perspectives when dealing with the complex topic of migration and public space; secondly, the on-line organization of a key civil society organization active in the support of migrants will be interrogated. Building on the notion of "non-citizen citizenship" the authors will conclude by critically reflecting on what form the extension of rights could take to help craft a revised form of citizenship based on the politics of presence in the city.

KEYWORDS
Urban Borderland; Non-citizen Citizenship; Maximilian Park

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Nation-based notions of citizenship are increasingly confronted with the contemporary condition of mobile inhabitants in our cosmopolitan era. This tension has intensified in recent years in the context of asylum, challenging the sovereignty of states, their control of borders and their management of migration. In Europe, the unrecognized presence of displaced people defies state control. Their mobility manifests itself in public space, where they claim access to the urban sphere appropriating public amenities and infrastructure to their needs. In Brussels this condition has played out in the North Quarter. Over time, this area has been characterized by infrastructural accumulation, migration, social polarization, and aborted visions, leaving it with a character so ambivalent that it has presented itself as a place of welcome, hosting many asylum seekers moving through Europe during the recent migration wave. This group, the "non-citizens" referred to in this article, have taken shelter in Maximilian Park, as well as in the busiest station in the city, the North Station.

This contribution highlights the processes in which a specific group of non-citizens enact themselves as citizens by virtue of material presence and public space appropriation, with the help of recognized citizens performing acts (facilitated through an online platform) that challenge static notions of citizenship. It will touch upon the concepts of "non-citizen citizenship" and "acts of citizenship" as they relate to the specific urban context, in attempt to answer the question: is citizenship generated by administrative status or by material presence and participation in the urban realm?

The article first begins by describing the urban history that has led the North Quarter to take on its current spatial condition. It further highlights the discourse covering the topic of non-citizens in the area by analyzing postings of a local Brussels-based multimedia outlet, *BRUZZ*, known for its socio-cultural reporting approach. It then moves on to illustrate how a citizen group, Plateforme Citoyenne de Soutien aux Refugiés[1] (PCSR), have mobilized both virtual and physical public space, using Facebook to extend support to non-citizens. PCSR has been selected as a case of study due to its prominent position defending the claims of the non-citizen group inhabiting the public space explored. The research presented has used multiple approaches, from direct observation to media analysis, to digital (social media) ethnography. These methods have been integrated to show how public space can be used as a means to enact urban citizenship.

1. Citizen's Platform for Support of Refugees. Their official website is http://www.bxlrefugees.be/en/.

Enacting citizens, non-citizens, and public space

Several authors have written about the manifestation of Maximilian Park as a camp site for asylum seekers mainly from Syria[2] during the 2015 "crisis".[3] This "crisis" consolidated the North Quarter as a waiting ground for non-citizens and a space for citizens to creatively engage in social and political actions.[4] Specifically, Maximilian Park and the North Station have become political sites that fall out of the control of the nation-state, and in which organizations such as PCSR, have emerged and operate beyond and despite the state, putting pressure on state institutions and challenging the notion of border-based citizenship and access to rights.[5]

We aim to move beyond the momentum generated by the "crisis" and engage in the contemporary condition of Maximilian Park by building on the concept of "non-citizen citizenship." This contribution will therefore focus on the challenge that liminal and hard-to-govern subjects pose to citizenship, as an analytical strategy to redefine it in a dynamic way.[6] Scholarship on "non-citizen citizenship" has challenged the way citizenship is tied to the idea of the nation-state. According to Stevenson, cultural versions of citizenship "need to ask who is silenced, marginalized, stereotyped and rendered invisible."[7] This form of framing citizenship is concerned with "who needs to be visible, to be heard, and to belong."[8] Stevenson insists that "ideas of cultural citizenship need to be able to define new forms of 'inclusive' public space... so that 'minorities' are able to make themselves and their social struggles visible and open the possibility of dialogic engagement, while offering the possibility of deconstructing normalizing assumptions."[9] In light of such emphasis on minorities, we follow Swerts' indication that undocumented migrants, as persons residing in a country in which they have no legal permission to be present, are an extreme case of non-citizens, and as such particularly relevant to understand how citizenship is being transformed from below. In this paper, this social condition is analyzed in Maximilian Park.

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2. Anika Depraetere and Stijn Oosterlynck, "'I Finally Found My Place': a Political Ethnography of the Maximiliaan Refugee Camp in Brussels," *Citizenship Studies* 21, no. 6 (2017): 693-709; Dirk Lafaut and Gily Coene, "'Let Them In!' Humanitarian Work as Political Activism? The Case of the Maximiliaan Refugee Camp in Brussels," *Journal of Migrant & Refugee Studies* (March 2018).

3. Several authors have shown that what came to be called as the 2015 "refugee crisis" in the EU was based on partial and decontextualized use of figures, usually presented in their absolute rather than relative value. It is widely recognized that the highest amount of forcibly displaced are not in Europe. See, for example: Migreurop, *Atlas des Migrants en Europe* (Paris: Arman Colin, 2017): 30-31.

4. Engin F. Isin, "Theorizing Acts of Citizenship," in *Acts of Citizenship,* eds Engin F. Isin and Greg M. Nielsen (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 15-43.

5. Engin F. Isin and Patricia K. Wood, "Cosmopolitan Citizenship," in *Citizenship & Identity* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1999): 91.

6. Thomas Swerts, "Non-citizen citizenship in Canada and the United States," in *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*, ed. by Engin F. Isin and Peter Nyers (London: Routledge, 2014): 297.

7. Nick Stevenson, "Cultural Citizenship in the 'Cultural Society': A Cosmopolitan Approach," *Citizenship Studies* 7, no. 3 (2003): 336.

8. Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality and Multiculturalism," in *Race, Identity and Citizenship,* ed by. R. D. Torres et al. (Oxford, Blackwell, 1999), 260.

9. Nick Stevenson, "Cultural Citizenship," 333.

Maximilian Park and its surroundings have been significantly re-signified by the multiplicity of practices performed by non-citizens and their many related networks. By claiming these spaces and appropriating them for their use, non-citizens operate outside the normative sphere of what their illegal status allows, acting both as citizens and agents of contestation.[10] In that sense a double enactment manifests itself in this condition, an enactment of the citizen and that of the non-citizen, both of which could not happen in the same way without the enactment of Maximilian Park itself. The public park has shown its full capacity in this sense: it is not only a neutral, open space concerned with the intermixing of various groups, but it becomes a space entangled with the cosmopolitan posture of PCSR and the non-citizens it supports, who are "not only concerned with the ethical relations between self and the other, but seek an institutional and political grounding in the context of shared global problems."[11] The contemporary cosmopolitan condition, in which the movement of people and information across borders is amplified, becomes an instrument for such enactment and contestation, and through which new spaces are defined so that they are "neither describable nor governable from the perspective of the fixed and self-contained boundaries of the nation-state."[12] This not only holds true for social media outlets, but also in physical public spaces such as Maximilian Park. Furthermore, this cosmopolitan condition challenges a "deep moral contradiction at the heart of the modern state" shedding light on its incompleteness and the ethical ambitions that still lack at the institutional level."[13]

This takes us to a last point worth noting in the context of this contribution, which concerns the forms of action and mobilization of migrants. As has been noted, these cannot resemble that of collective political subjects,[14] because they do not form classical social movements, but instead have to operate differently because of their unrecognized status. As such, this paper sets in conversation the notion of "non-citizen citizenship" with the contributions made by scholars on "autonomous migration," to focus on mobility's social aspects rather than on the ruptures performed by protest marches, occupations and other comparable expressions relying on the self-organization of undocumented migrants and on the advocacy efforts of human rights activists.

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10. Swerts, "Non-citizen citizenship," 297.

11. Stevenson, "Cultural Citizenship," 332.

12. Isin and Wood, "Cosmopolitan Citizenship," 93.

13. Andrew Linklater, "Cosmopolitan citizenship," *Citizenship Studies* 2, no. 1 (1998): 24.

14. Dimitris Papadopoulos and Vassilis S. Tsianos, "After Citizenship: Autonomy of Migration, Organisational Ontology and Mobile Commons," *Citizenship Studies* 17, no. 2 (2013): 187.

FIG. 1 Infrastructural sequencing in Brussels. (1a) Brussels was a walled city in the valley of the Zenne River. (1b) A canal system parallel to the Zenne River supported economic activity. (1c) By the 20th Century the Zenne river was completely covered and the floodplain occupied by rail and road infrastructure. Maps by Racha Daher, based on historic maps by the Cartographic Military Institute.

The North Quarter, Maximilian Park and the North Station

The North Quarter's urban history has much to do with its position as a place of arrival. Brussels developed where the navigability of the Zenne River ended, as its watershed was composed of unsuitable swampy land. As the city grew, the river became insufficient for the economic purposes of the time, following the technological innovation of transport modes. The floodplain was continuously reshuffled by infrastructural upgrades and shifts: first, river transport was transferred to a canal; then, the canal was extended, to be substituted by railways, railyards and train stations; the rail system was in turn challenged by a widened sea channel, deep sea docks, quays, and warehouses; the railways were electrified; and finally, the subsequent prominence of cars and trucks turned boulevards into urban motorways with viaducts further expanding the city. Throughout this process of infrastructural sequencing, all competing in function and sharing the North-South Zenne watershed, the insalubrious river was covered and a major watermark erased [Fig. 1].

The North Quarter, a fin-shaped territory just north of the pentagon,[15] lies at the confluence where this infrastructural sequencing and its remnants co-exist. Throughout the last century, the quarter has featured disease, disrepair, decay, and societal destitution. The area is also marked by the incompleteness of projects that never came to fruition. The most prominent vision took place in the end of the 1960s, when 53 hectares of urban fabric were razed to make way for economic and commercial development in the name of progress and prosperity. Squeezed between the canal and the rail line, and marked by the World Trade Center, the "Manhattan

15. The historic-walled city of Brussels formed the shape of a pentagon in plan. While the walls are gone today, the morphology of the pentagon remains through a ring road encircling what is now the city's centre.

Plan" intended to create a world-class economic hub and attract international businesses. The project never reached the overestimated potential it aimed for and it was never completed. Instead, it created a quarter full of vast land and vacant buildings. The razing of the old fabric resulted in an erasure of the layers that formed the area's identity over time, but also in the mass expulsion of local residents. Following this displacement, the Manhattan Plan was aborted, leaving the wiped-out fabric empty for many years. Alternative housing was provided to only a small portion of displaced residents, and "compensations"[16] ended up materializing in the form of undefined and fragmented patches of green area all labeled as Maximilian Park.

The area known as Maximilian Park today is composed of vegetated surfaces, playing areas, shaded walks and a didactic farm. Before the park's establishment, the area was occupied by an international passenger heliport inaugurated in 1953 to accommodate intensified service for the 1958 World Exposition. The heliport was closed eight years later, remaining abandoned until the Manhattan Plan's troubled execution. The plan's partial implementation created a commercial district, and mono-functional office towers today cast their shadows on an area where tens of thousands of synchronized employees march at peak hours through the otherwise desolate Simon Bolivar Boulevard that marks the entrance of the North Station. They head forth to catch one of the many trains passing through the most active station of the Brussels Capital Region. Their daily procession to and from the station proceeds largely uninterrupted, and few existing food joints are active at lunch break and no further, since after-work gatherings are seldom amongst a largely commuting population.

The aborted plan also produced a distinctive and omnipresent vastness, creating the conditions for harboring several groups with weak legitimacy by implicitly offering its oversized infrastructure to homeless people, asylum seekers and "transit" migrants.[17] The quarter today is especially entangled with migration, and the park has unconditionally offered the right to its usage, along with a strong co-dependence on the nearby North Station's facilities. The station is a main hub for multi-modal transport combining city metro, national rail, and international bus lines. It has a history of demolition and construction closely related to that of the long gone Allée Verte Station constructed in 1835, and whose site today partially coincides with that of Maximilian Park. The Allée Verte Station was the earliest passenger rail in Brussels and the first to connect to other European cities.

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16. For a detailed chronicle of the North Quarter's transformation, see Nicole Purnôde and Albert Martens, *Renovation du quartier de la gare du Nord dans la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale* (Brussels: Brussels Region, 2010).

17. In Belgium today, "transit-migrants" or "transmigrants" are terms being used for migrants that postpone their asylum application to their intended place of arrival as a consequence of the Dublin Agreement. For the large majority the UK appears as an important destination. Due to its negative connotations and high politicization, the authors will refrain from using this term and employ the more general 'migrant'. For a critical discussion see Franck Düvell, "Transit migration: A blurred and politicized concept," *Population, Space and Place* 18, no.4 (2010): 415-27.

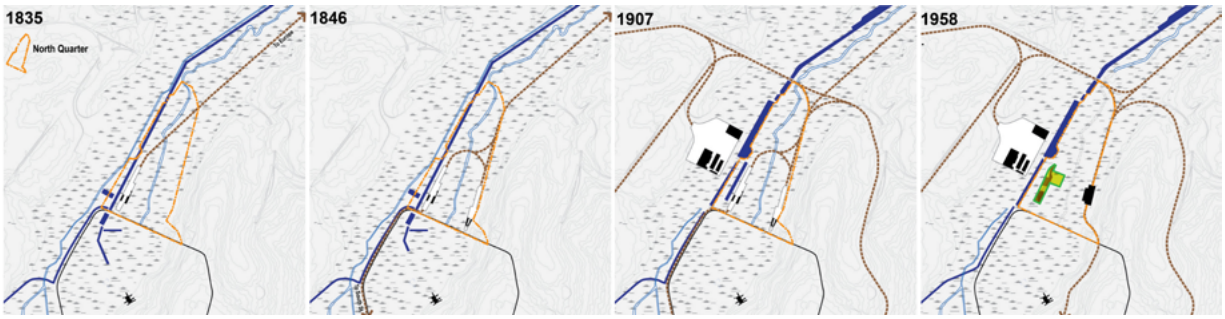

FIG. 2 The North Station has a history of relocation linked with the Maximilian Park site, the former site of the Allee Verte Station. (1a) Allee Verte Station: the first station on the passenger rail connecting Brussels to Europe is constructed. (1b) The first North Station is constructed to increase the passenger capacity not fulfilled by Allee Verte, which soon became exclusively used for freight. (1c) Tour et Taxis becomes the major freight terminal, diminishing the role of the Allee Verte. The canal is widened, the industrial port expanded and the basin constructed. (1d) The new North Station is constructed to increase passenger capacity. The first North Station is gone and the river is covered. The Allee Verte and the basin are replaced by a heliport, where Maxilimian Park is today located. Maps by Racha Daher, based on historic maps of by the Cartographic Military Institute.

As the need for more capacity arose, the North Station opened a few blocks away, resulting in the use of the Allée Verte exclusively for freight transport which in turn, further shifted west as a new larger terminal, Tour et Taxis, opened at the turn of the 20th century, accompanying canal widening and the establishment of a port. By mid-century, the Allée Verte made way for the aforementioned heliport. As the North Station became saturated, it was demolished and a larger building was constructed a few blocks north, further adding the role of passage and multi-modality. The new North Station was part of the "Jonction Nord-Midi" plan, which created direct rail connection through the old city, linking the North and South stations of Brussels. It is this North Station building of 1952 that stands today to provide its infrastructure to the temporary migrants of the North Quarter **[Fig. 2]**.

Upon exiting the station into Simon Bolivar, two blocks down, one turns a corner around one of the World Trade Center[18] towers, where metal barriers make the sidewalk almost impracticable. They are placed in correspondence with the secondary entrance to the Immigration Office, where applicants have to queue to file for asylum. The paving shows signs of lengthy waiting and is constellated with disparate materials for overnight shelter, from cardboard boxes and blankets to leftover meal packaging. On the other side of the street lies the most defined patch of the Maximilian Park, making up a full block as one of the main public spaces of the North Quarter of Brussels. At around 7 pm, the park is at its busiest. A long line forms for the provision of food. A few women can be spotted amidst a definite majority of young men from sub-Saharan Africa—if one is to judge from the languages spoken, from Tigrinya to Zande.

A walk through the park illuminates how its infrastructure is being used at

18. The World Trade Center has recently been re-baptized, World Transformation Center, by the creative community occupying part of the vacant skyscrapers.

its utmost by the same demographic waiting in line, from teams playing in the football field to a smaller group using the public water fountain to wash themselves and their belongings. The gentle slopes at the opposite end of the food distribution point host young men who rest in the shade surrounded by empty containers of various kinds: from Styrofoam hamburger boxes to sandwich paper bags and a wide array of take-away cups and paper towels. Waiting seems to be a major activity in the park: for access to drinking and bathing water, for food delivery, for rides to safe havens across Belgium or to the Porte d'Ulysses, the newly re-opened accommodation shelter[19] where 300 overnight stays are catered for by volunteers of the citizen-led PCSR.

Investigating cultural discourse and mobile commons

Foregrounding autonomy in migration means to acknowledge and build on the capacity of migration to develop its own logic, made obvious by the "multiplicity of actors who install relations of justice on the ground in the midst of [...] sovereign control."[20] Such actors contribute to the construction of "mobile commons" that in turn contribute to "creating conditions of thick everyday performative and practical justice so that everyday mobility, clandestine or open, becomes possible."21 Mobile commons constitute the infrastructure that un-recognized citizens navigate and utilize to access information and build the networks they need to get by. The effective reservoir put in place by this multi-faceted community, involving the politics and infrastructure of care, as well as the invisible knowledge of technological connectivity (to name some of the more central components of such commons) will be highlighted in the next two sections. These will delve into the analysis of cultural discourse on the topic through media coverage by BRUZZ, as well as in the virtual realm of the activist citizens of PCSR operating on Facebook.

Views from BRUZZ on Maximilian Park

As the previous section has highlighted, the North Quarter's development was contentious because of the district's specific urban history and socio-economic evolution. This section focuses on how the park became a visible manifestation of the struggles between solidarity movements, migrant agency, and governmental action, and how this was reported on

19. The Porte d'Ulysses reception center was part of an agreement PCSR negotiated with the Mayor of the City of Brussels to utilize a vacant office building. It was initially opened for a few months, then closed and is now re-open.

20. Papadopoulous and Tsianos, "After citizenship," 192.

21. Ibid.

by the local media *BRUZZ* [22]. This choice rests on the fact that *BRUZZ* is an important Brussels-based, trilingual paper with an emphasis on culture. It focuses exclusively on events taking place in Brussels itself, and is thus distinct from national headlines that have been analyzed in prior studies on migration. As the official website of the Brussels-Capital Region states, "BRUZZ is the reference for everything that is happening in Brussels."[23]

Due to the proximity of Maximilian Park to the Immigration Office, various spontaneous encampments were installed in this area between 2000 and 2013, usually as a consequence of chronically unresolved difficulties around migrants and bordering policies. In the course of the so-called "refugee crisis," an encampment was formed again, largely due to the decision to limit the number of applications that could be processed daily.[24] Asylum seekers waited in the park, even overnight, and subsequently attracted support to make their waiting dignified. This situation resonated with a comparable surge of solidarity by private citizens on the occasion of asylum seekers from war-torn Syria reaching Europe.

In late 2015, *BRUZZ* provided consistent coverage of the park's transformation and the park-neighborhood relationships when migration patterns were subject to change in the aftermath of the "crisis". The North Quarter and Maximilian Park were not only influenced by the numbers of Syrian asylum seekers, but also by how other migratory routes passed by Brussels after the closure of the Calais "Jungle" in October 2016. Prior to 2015, among other topics treated under the rubric of *samenleving*,[25] *BRUZZ* had reported protests by the Front des Migrants, a network of asylum seekers whose applications had been refused but who remained in Belgium nonetheless. Its earliest online post about the park, however, dates back to 2005, and concerned the proposal to install an open air swimming pool.[26] Five years later, reporters followed forty undocumented migrants, "victims of a failing asylum policy," who camped in the park until they were relocated to a former office building.[27] In 2011, refused asylum seekers were expelled from overcrowded reception centers, and 150 of them ended up camping in the Maximilian Park, to be forcibly removed after a few

22. BRUZZ was born in 2016 from the merger of different channels (FM Brussel, TV Brussel, Brussel Deze Week, Agenda and brusselnieuws.be) and is the media brand of the vzw Vlaams-Brusselse Media. It offers news online, on radio, on TV and on print with entries in Dutch, English and French. Two thirds of its funding is public, and 20,000 out of the 62,000 issued copies are distributed freely in more than 700 distribution points across Brussels. More at www.bruzz.be.

23. "The media in Brussels," *be.brussels*, https://be.brussels/culture-tourism-leisure/media, accessed on December 17, 2018.

24. In August 2015, Immigration Office stated that no more than 250 applications a day could be processed. Due to an administrative safety condition, this number was lowered to 150 and later to 60.

25. Literally translated as "living together", the term is commonly employed in Dutch to mean "society".

26. Steven van Garsse, "Openluchtzwembad in Maximiliaanpark," *BRUZZ* 15 July 2005. Retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/politiek/openluchtzwembad-maximiliaanpark-2005-07-15 on 27 July 2018.

27. "Asielzoekers Maximiliaanpark in Jetse loods", 12 September 2010. Retrieved at [https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/asielzoekers-maximiliaanpark-jetse-loods-2010-09-12] on 27 July 2018.

weeks.[28] Yet, most of *BRUZZ*'s pieces focus on the month-long existence of the Maximilian camp that hosted over 5000 asylum seekers thanks to 9000 estimated days of voluntary work.

At the time of the 2015 camp, intense public discussion was generated "by creating links between different marginalized groups and by putting 'outsiders' at the center of the debate."[29] *BRUZZ* entries concerning this debate reflect frictions between various actors dealing with migration. Besides covering the different views of the federal government, the Brussels Capital-Region, the City of Brussels and the multiple caretakers involved, the local media outlet followed the development of volunteer response. Once the camp had completed its month-long existence, *BRUZZ* published an account of its last 24 hours[30] and a yearly overview that questioned the political polarization between Secretary of State for Asylum and Migration and the refugee organizations like PCSR.[31]

In contrast with other organizations, PCSR had accepted the camp to be vacated, on the condition that the Federal Government would take the responsibility for providing longer-term infrastructure for sheltering the migrants. Other actors, such as many undocumented migrant networks operating in Brussels refused to leave the camp.[32] Following the eviction, they installed a protest camp along the Willebroeck dock where assistance was still available to those in need, but they were ultimately arrested.[33] These various "acts of citizenship" relied both on the advocacy efforts of human rights activists and on the self-organization of undocumented migrants.[34] As expressions of "non-citizen citizenship," they are part of "the plethora of political practices through which non-citizens make claims to belonging, inclusion and recognition in their societies of residence."[35]

By early October 2015, *BRUZZ* reports how Maximilian Park is reinstated as a public space for the neighborhood. A first initiative concerns an outdoor work-out area installed after a public call for "cool initiatives that could improve life in the city."[36] The artistic project titled "Nature-Art-Cohesion,"

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28. "Opnieuw kamperende asielzoekers in het Maximiliaanpark," 10 May 2011. Retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/opnieuw-kamperende-asielzoekers-het-maximiliaanpark-2011-05-10 on 27 July 2018.

29. Lafaut and Coene, "Humanitarian Work," 6.

30. Jean-Marie Binst, "Even het hart van Europa: de laatste 24 uur in het Maximiliaanpark," *BRUZZ,* 08 October 2018, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/even-het-hart-van-europa-de-laatste-24-uur-het-maximiliaanpark-2015-10-08 on 29 July 2018.

31. Christophe Degreef, "Jaaroverzicht: Tentenkamp Maximiliaanpark wordt stad," *BRUZZ,* 06 January 2016, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/jaaroverzicht-tentenkamp-maximiliaanpark-wordt-stad-2016-01-06 on 29 July 2018.

32. Lafaut and Coene mention that estimates by relief workers range between 60,000 to 80,000 undocumented migrants, many of which with an Arabic ethnic background. Lafaut and Coene, "Humanitarian Work," 6.

33. "Symbolisch tentenkamp Willebroekkaai opgedoekt," *BRUZZ,* 05 October 2015, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/symbolisch-tentenkamp-willebroekkaai-opgedoekt-2015-10-05 on 29 July 2018.

34. Isin, "Theorizing acts of citizenship," 18.

35. Swerts, "Non-citizen citizenship," 299.

36. "Street work-out in Maximiliaanpark," BRUZZ, 19 April 2016, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/street-work-out-maximiliaanpark-2016-04-19 on 30 July 2018.

expected to improve the "living together" of social associations, companies and artists in the area, and was later exhibited in Maximilian Park.[37] In early October 2016, however, the main focus changes again, aligned with the increased numbers of migrants using the park's infrastructure. Journalists reported that between 20 and 40 migrants had been sleeping in the park since the end of June 2016.[38] By the end of the year, their number had risen to 75, 60 of which from Sudan.[39] As a consequence of the park's use as a site to rest, camp, and benefit from basic assistance near a major transport hub, police raids became commonplace. Their increased frequency, *BRUZZ* reports, is due to "the persistent complaints from local residents about heavy nuisance. Every night people sleep on the street, the bushes serve as a toilet."[40] The presence of asylum seekers sparks objections from longer-term residents of the North Quarter, including shopkeepers of migrant origin along the nearby Brabantstraat.[41]

The intensification of police activity coincides with an increase in brutality, as documented by several online articles on *BRUZZ*. This escalation triggered the sympathy towards the asylum seekers by North Quarter residents who witnessed the ill-treatment, balancing those complaints that had generated police intervention in the first place. Likewise, artistic practice expressed solidarity by means of an installation in the park.[42]

The period ranging from June 2017 until the re-opening of the Porte d'Ulysses a year later is particularly revealing of how Maximilian Park became the central stage for embodied claims between policing actions, vulnerable claimants and caretakers of a different demographic than the asylum seekers from war-torn Syria.[43] The change in origin of asylum seekers from mainly Syrians, Iraqis and Afghans to Eritrean and Sudanese men aspiring to reach the UK, meant that the contested term "transit migrant" became widespread in describing displaced people using the park's infrastructure and the related solidarity networks. Articles in *BRUZZ* adhere to this vocabulary, and alternate accounts of police identity controls, arrests, and confiscations of migrants' personal belongings. Confrontations

37. "Ecologische kunst om iedereen in Noordwijk te verenigen," *BRUZZ*, 28 May 2016 retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/ecologische-kunst-om-iedereen-noordwijk-te-verenigen-2016-05-28 on 30 July 2018.

38. Sam De Ryck, "Opnieuw dertigtal overnachters in Maximiliaanpark," *BRUZZ*, 06 October 2016, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/opnieuw-dertigtal-overnachters-maximiliaanpark-2016-10-06 on 1 August 2018.

39. "Tientallen Soedanezen overnachten in ijskoud Maximiliaanpark," *BRUZZ*, 1 December 2016, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/tientallen-soedanezen-overnachten-ijskoud-maximiliaanpark-2016-12-01 on 1 August 2018.

40. "Politie voert controles op aan Maximiliaanpark: 'Vooral signaal geven'," 12 June 2017. Retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/politie-voert-controles-op-aan-maximiliaanpark-vooral-signaal-geven-2017-06-12 on 2 September 2018.

41. Toon Hendrickx, "Les commerçants rue du Brabant se plaignent des migrants," 13 April 2018. Retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/fr/videoreeks/donderdag-12-april-2018/video-les-commercants-rue-du-brabant-se-plaignent-des-migrants on 2 September 2018.

42. "Des artistes implantent le message 'Welkom' au coeur du parc Maximilien à Bruxelles," 22 September 2017. Retrieved at: https://www.bruzz.be/fr/des-artistes-implantent-le-message-welkom-au-coeur-du-parc-maximilien-bruxelles-2017-09-22 on 2 September 2018.

43. Lafaut and Coene, "Humanitarian Work," 9-10.

FIG. 3 A view of Park Maximilian. Photo Stéphanie Marques dos Santos.

between supporting organizations and police intervention significantly transformed the park's physical space. Medecins du Monde (MdM), for instance, increased its medical assistance two-fold, without any influence on repressive police action.[44] Rather, an opening was provided by the City of Brussels, granting temporary space in the park for medical assistance, in alliance with MdM.[45] Moreover, volunteers and citizens begin to denounce the inhumane treatment of migrants by means of legal action, and PCSR intensified its lobbying through demonstrations and expanded its protection of migrants by hosting them in private homes. From September to November 2017, 50,000 overnight stays were facilitated by PCSR, while tensions continued between various government levels either in favor of or against the opening of the night shelter in Haren.[46] As contentions persisted, in the space of a few days PCSR mobilized Maximilian Park again as a space of visible migrant support **[Fig. 3]**. Firstly, hundreds of tents were installed in the camp to symbolically re-create the Jungle of Calais, to which the spontaneous encampments in the park have been approximated by Theo Francken, the Secretary of State for

44. "Dokters van de Wereld verdubbelt acties Maximiliaanpark," *BRUZZ*, 7 September 2017, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/dokters-van-de-wereld-verdubbelt-acties-maximiliaanpark-2017-09-07 on 4 September 2018.

45. "Stad Brussel geeft Dokters van de Wereld tijdelijk lokaal aan Maximiliaanpark," 15 September 2017, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/stad-brussel-geeft-dokters-van-de-wereld-tijdelijk-lokaal-aan-maximiliaanpark-2017-09 on 8 September 2018.

46. "Burgerplatform verzekert 50.000 overnachtingen voor migranten," 04 January 2018, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/actua/burgerplatform-verzekert-50000-overnachtingen-voor-migranten-2018-01-04 on 9 September 2018.

Asylum and Migration.[47] Secondly, it launched a human chain of solidarity surrounding the park against the transfer of undocumented migrants to closed asylum centers which, however, did not have significant impact on reducing eviction actions in the park.[48] The re-opening of the shelter in Haren and the establishment of a humanitarian hub within the North Station itself will confirm PCSR as a key caretaker for migrants in Brussels, awarded in February 2018 with the *Bruxellois de l'Année* prize.[49]

Accounts by *BRUZZ* help to illustrate how Maximilian Park has become a contested public space by providing unconditional provision of infrastructure to both non-citizens and citizens alike. As a vegetated and equipped playing area, it hasno physical enclosure in itself, but lies adjacent to the strong institutional border of the Immigration Office. While spatially porous, it nonetheless features the liminality of what Michel Agier has termed "borderland". In his words, the liminality of a borderland can be felt when "at the moment one arrives at the actual place of the border, one 'becomes' a foreigner and even momentarily—but sometimes for longer—without status."[50] The park is actually enclosed when it becomes a place of sanctuary for the migrants camping there, either by the protective gesture of human chains, or by a political decision led by the City of Brussels to keep police out of its perimeters. The sanctuary is thus intermittent and supported by different actors in the park, testifying how borders are reinforced to mark the "inside" and the "outside" of a political community and to delineate where citizenship originates as a status and where it is governed.[51]

The analysis of local media showed how the same police forces that had assisted citizen-led organizations during the 2015 refugee camp would become antagonists, rather than facilitators, of grassroots action. Similarly, residents of the North Quarter who had initiated complaints against the overwhelming presence of migrants in the park, stepped in against police brutality. While the exceptionality of the 2015 Maximilian refugee camp as a "contested space for citizenship" and a "stage for a different kind of politics to take place" cannot be understated,[52] the shifting roles of residents, volunteers and police following the camp's dismantlement are emblematic of the additional challenges that the new migration pattern brings to the fore.

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47. "Duizenden mensen trekken op in Human Wave tegen migratiebeleid regering," 25 February 2018 retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/actua/duizenden-mensen-trekken-op-human-wave-tegen-migratiebeleid-regering-2018-02-25 on 10 September 2018.

48. "Symbolische 'jungle van Calais' in Maximiliaanpark," *BRUZZ*, 21 February 2018, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/symbolische-jungle-van-calais-maximiliaanpark-2018-02-21 on 10 September 2018.

49. "Vluchtelingenplatform is 'Bruxellois de l'année'," *BRUZZ,* 28 February2018, retrieved at https://www.bruzz.be/samenleving/vluchtelingenplatform-bruxellois-de-lannee-2018-02-28 on 11 September 2018.

50. Michel Agier, *Borderlands: Towards an Anthropology of the Cosmopolitan Condition* (Cambridge: Polity, 2016): 35.

51. Linda Bosniak, *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership* (Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, 2006): 126.

52. Depraetere and Oosterlynck, "I finally found my place," 693-709.

Challenging borderlands through online organization

The previous section has illustrated how PCSR's action expanded from having a role of caretaker of Syrian asylum seekers occupying the park in 2015 to become an agent for the creation of new forms of cosmopolitan citizenship in Maximilian Park. The actions carried out in the urban realm, however, are made possible through PSCR's virtual organization, which this section will focus on.

PCSR was initiated by "volunteers, students, action committees of undocumented migrants, and political activists."[53] The group self-organizes online mainly via Facebook, functioning through a closed group with more than 43 thousand members. The members[54] seem to be composed of citizens of both migrant and non-migrant backgrounds as well as residents from all over Belgium. To make organization manageable, different local groups are set up by area, rendering communication area-specific. From May 2018 digital ethnography was performed by the corresponding author as a non-participating follower of the main and the North Quarter area-based groups, in order to study and analyze the activity.

Active online organization allows local group members to offer sleeping space in their private homes all over Belgium, so that people do not have to sleep in the park exposed to the elements; they act as hosts to those in need of shelter for as many nights desired. To facilitate this, chauffeurs volunteer to drive recipients to and from the park. A daily online poll **[Fig. 4]** sets the goal of the day (200 places in the case of the figure), and members notify the organizers of what their daily possibilities are: whether they continue to host someone they are already hosting, whether they will start hosting that night, or whether they will act as drivers within or towards Brussels.

Since Maximilian Park has become a borderland, it has also become the platform's main meeting point for the dispatch of action. Every night at 7 pm, a Facebook-organized group meets at the park to deploy its activity between those that host, drive and distribute. Their meeting point has been re-named by one of the organizing members as "the intersection of solidarity". Facebook announcements say that "the citizen hosting begins" **[Fig. 5]**. In this comment, citizen hosting has a double meaning—*the citizen who hosts*, and *the citizen being hosted*; the former has legal citizenship that secures some form of permanence; the latter is the current non-citizen temporarily residing in Brussels.

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53. Lafaut and Coene, "Humanitarian Work," 10. Also see a description of the two main founding figures, Mehdi Kassou, at the time, a telecommunication professional, and Adriana Costa Santos, a student, http://www.imagine-magazine.com/lire/spip.php?article2440.

54. This refers to the members of the Facebook group, not of the PCSR. Undocumented migrants do not seem to be present as members on the Facebook group probably so their identities are not to authorities.

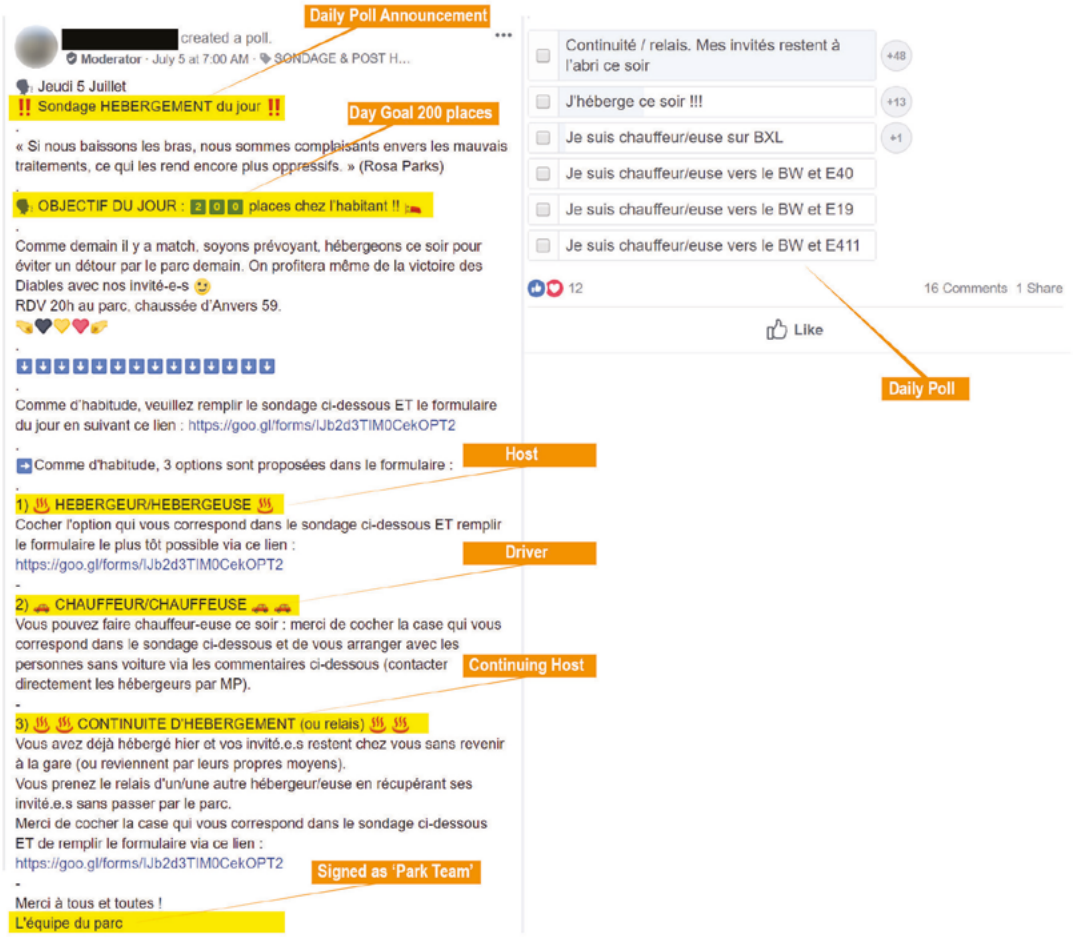

FIG. 4 A daily poll posted on the platform allows members to self-organize their evening work. Retrieval, selection and notation by authors from the Facebook groups.

Sharing alerts of police presence in the North Quarter is another frequent activity that takes place on the platform. "North Station is surrounded by police. They are at all the entrances. Alert the guys. No Station!", and "Now at 18:50… Federal police are at the station… At the park, they are confiscating bags," are two such instances, dating from June and July 2018 respectively. In the first quote, a message from one of the organizers was received that the North Station is surrounded by police. He in turn posts to the group in a plea to citizens to warn migrants in the area. In the second quote, an alert of federal police is posted. Because of the conditions described before, the park and station are main target points for policing. In response to this, warnings of police presence in real-time are posted to the group pages to notify those at risk. When neither the park nor the station are safe for migrants, PCSR opens the night shelter in Haren during the day.

Group events are organized online in various forms: community events like cleanups, meals, and parties, or an assembly or protest for a certain cause, or volunteering efforts for a certain action [Fig. 6]. A telling example is the call for a collective cleanup of waste in Maximilian Park which addresses a direct spatial and neighborhood issue. The call also displays a clever play on words acting not only as direct response to Francken's

FIG. 5 The Park Team Commences its Daily Action—Relevant information for the daily mobilized group. Retrieval, selection and notation by Authors from the Facebook groups.

rhetorical call for "cleanup",[55] but also to the complaints by local residents of littering in the park due to repressive measures forcing migrants to abandon their belongings on site. By rallying heterogeneous groups of citizens around a public space and its maintenance, PCSR shows how non-citizens can exercise civic duties and contribute to the park's upkeep, after having benefited from its amenities. Another telling example is a call to assemble against the imprisonment of migrant children in response to the detention of undocumented minors. Taking a shrewd stance to combat this, the platform organized a rally in front of the Manneken Pis, the famous child symbol of Brussels.[56]

Online contact also allows members to share articles and important updates to create awareness among members about legal frameworks related to migration policies. In one posting, a legal advisor for the platform specifically states that there is misinformation in the circles of those attempting to seek asylum in the UK, and that part of the platform's goal is to provide correct information, not to convince migrants to apply in Belgium, but to help them make well-informed decisions. According to the Geneva Convention, once in the UK migrants have the right to apply for asylum, but there is a good chance they will be refused and returned to the country in which they first entered the EU, abiding by the Dublin Con-

55. Francken used the hashtag *"#opkuisen,"* which translates as"clean up" in reference to the asylum seekers in Maximilian Park.

56. The Manneken Pis is a small statue of a child urinating into a fountain and a very well-known symbol of Brussels.

FIG. 6 Organized Events. Two instances of gathering: a rally and a cleanup. Retrieval, selection and notation by Authors from the Facebook groups.

vention. Many asylum seekers refuse to apply in Belgium due to lack of information, putting them at risk of ending up in a detention center.

Through their online communication, the platform members have coined some new terms that showcase their approach to those displaced. The words *amigrant* and *vnous* are the most commonly used neologisms on the platform: amigrant, a play on the word immigrant using the prefix, *ami* (meaning friend in French), and *vnous*, a composite of the plural form of "you" in French (*vous*), and "we" or "us" (*nous*). Group members also regularly post stories of the migrants they encounter without revealing their identities, sharing specific happenstances with them that highlight their common human characteristics and interests defying the bordering of citizenship and illustrating the idea that "we are not so different after all." They also expose the difficult realities migrants have faced as encouragement toward action. Such accounts foreground the intentionality of individual migratory projects, that are often obscured by structural accounts of state policy which neglect the agency of non-citizens. With solidarity and human value as its motivation, it is through the full practice of citizen rights at the core of its effort that has made the evolution of PCSR as a platform possible.

PCSR's action holds both the virtues of cosmopolitanism, and the limits of humanitarian discourse that focuses on individual cases and the everyday living conditions of non-citizens. Its members are varied and hybrid, personifying diverse degrees of recognized citizenship, and is thus well-versed in challenging repressive bordering practices. PCSR pursues its

action under increasingly repressive circumstances, but through its activism it problematizes the categorization of "citizen" versus "non-citizen" and stretches the boundaries of citizenship. This occurs by negotiating and contesting the borders enforced by specialized agents through material practices such as identity checks. These enforcements are, therefore, considered social constructions that can be challenged inside and around a public space that in its recent past embodied widespread solidarity. This embodiment is protracted and used as a launch-pad for further claims.

Public space as a device for cosmopolitan citizenship

Various authors have highlighted the importance of Maximilian Park's central location[57] in the city. Situated on a powerful institutional border in a global city, it operates as a key political space for the action of new and incompletely formalized subjects.[58] The same authors focused on the momentum generated by the refugee camp set up in the park in September 2015 at the peak of the "crisis" in Belgium. The current migration trend in the park has taken on its own autonomy, moving beyond the camp and the state of emergency; yet, the post-camp life of the park has remained unexplored to date. By spatially recording the North Quarter's historical changes, this contribution further contextualized the significance of the park and neighboring North Station in the complex relationship between migration and public space in Brussels. Space is indeed not only the stage for the manifestation of spatialized politics,[59] but is also a palimpsest where materiality plays its part.[60]. The layered presence of erasure, vacancy, connectivity and reinvestment in the North Quarter are distinctive assets for non-citizens.

Local media analysis has exposed the shift in vocabulary and policing actions after the momentum of the 2015 refugee camp faded. As stated in *BRUZZ*, "Maximilian Park has become a familiar name in recent years as a result of the refugee crisis. The green space has become the home of many looking for a permanent residence on a regular basis." Both the park's non-citizens of today and the volunteers supporting them have consciously engaged with the solidarity that it has repeatedly embodied by reiteration through timely acts and events, thus continually evolving with the issues of the time. This testifies the capacity of public space to engage with the needs of different user groups from diverse walks of life as a device for cosmopolitan citizenship.

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57. Lafaut and Coene, "Humanitarian Work," 14; Depraetere and Oosterlynck, "Political Ethnography," 696.

58. Saskia Sassen, "The repositioning of citizenship and alienage: emergent subjects and spaces for politics", *Globalizations* 2 no. 1 (2005):89.

59. Mustafa Dikeç, "Space, Politics and the Political," *Environment and Planning D* 23, no. 2 (2005): 171-188.

60. André Corboz, "The Land as Palimpsest," *Diogenes* 31 no.121 (1983): 12-34.

Such cosmopolitan capacity is all the more relevant under the present migratory challenges represented by a more transient demographic than the asylum seekers of war-torn Syria. The case of the so-called 'transit' migrants challenges state-bound interpretations of citizenship even further, seen the heterogeneity of their profiles and migratory projects. This heterogeneity questions mainstream notions of integration which pose long-term goals for newcomers, directly tied to fixed place and set along a linear path. While there is in the field of integration policy a clear recognition of the challenges of "temporality of refugee migration,"[61] integration efforts continue to pursue strategies that are tied with nation-state ideas on citizenship, as well as or with the specific status of "refugee".

In Brussels, the autonomy of migration has created new migration trends that have made public space the place which non-citizens appropriate as their own and where they navigate using their own mechanisms facilitated by mobile commons. Their material presence, ability to contextualize themselves within certain networks, and capacity to access amenities render them de facto citizens, although non recognized; on the other hand, this claim to citizenship is substantiated and emphasized through solidarity with recognized activist citizens, who, with their place-based know-how, have facilitated the agency of non-citizens. In turn, non-citizens (by enacting themselves as citizens) and citizens (by enacting themselves as activists), have challenged their nation-state bounded notion of citizenship. Their insistence on the need for alternative forms of citizenship through solidarity and the application of human rights, is rooted in the fundamental idea that citizenship goes beyond administrative status, and is enacted by material presence and participation.

This paper set out to engage in the discussion of nation-bound citizenship by forefronting processes that challenge it. Through investigating cultural discourse and mobile commons emerging in the aftermath of the alleged refugee "crisis," it demonstrated how the autonomy of migration calls for alternative forms of citizenship that can be performed, even if not officially recognized, by mobilizing solidarity networks. With the belief that public space is produced by people claiming their place in the city, it illustrated how a specific group of non-citizens enact themselves as citizens, supported by a unity operating under a collective citizen's platform that self-organizes online. Such networks have been able to morph their roles and ambitions to be responsive of the most current aspects of migration.

This dynamic ability to modify themselves and engage with recent trends epitomizes the cosmopolitan condition, and is critical for their permanence.

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61. Peter Scholten et al., Policy Innovation in Refugee Integration: A comparative analysis of innovative policy strategies toward refugee integration in Europe. (Rotterdam: Dutch Department of Social Affairs/ Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2017): 10.

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MAIN SECTION

The Online Presence of Golden Dawn and the Athenian Subjectivities It Brings Forward

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this essay is to look at the strategic use of the World Wide Web by Golden Dawn in order to create affect, emotion, and personalised perspectives and therefore to promote their explicitly fascist political ideas. Low-resolution videos, carefully presented as if they were filmed by amateurs, rough, unedited televised spectacles and noisy, impromptu scenes that could happen to anyone seem to have a very powerful reality effect upon their viewers, placing them at the centre of the action. The essay will critically reflect on the use of new technologies in the creation of "situatedness" and "situated knowledges" and it will examine the worlds that such stories bring forward, which are often obscured by the mass media: the world of the immigrant who is chased by Golden Dawn; the world of the refugee, whose presence in the country is often opposed; the world of the Golden Dawn supporter, who is made to believe that the immigrant and the refugee are responsible for the country's recession. This essay argues that the worlds of citizens considered as temporary come forward by their very exclusion from such prejudiced perspectives and asks: what could make a cosmopolitical form of citizenship?

KEYWORDS

Athens; Cosmopolitical Proposal; Crisis; Digital Culture; Situated Knowledges;

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Abstraction and High Definition

In his essay "A Global Neuromancer", Fredric Jameson looks back on William Gibson's seminal science-fiction novel[1] written in 1984 and questions the realities that new technologies construct:

The distinction of Neuromancer thus lies in the nature of the form itself, as an instrument which registers current realities normally beyond the capacity of the realistic eye to see, which projects dimensions of daily life we cannot consciously experience.[2]

Jameson argues that the digital age has become an era in which the play of signs and signifiers leads to abstraction and disembodiedness. Abstraction opposes the real and the image of reality opposes reality itself. The digital raises abstraction to the second degree, according to Jameson, as it does not create merely a mimetic, visual representation, but instead it provides us with a representation of the "unrepresentable," in other words, with a mapping of the innumerable and invisible connections that we are unable to perceive with our bodily senses, in the form of a totality. Jameson argues that this unrepresented totality is that of finance capital itself, in which capitalism takes an increasingly abstract form. Therefore, the new postmodern abstraction is that of information, in which the apparent concrete visual image is abstracted by its spread and reproduction and has become more of a visual commonplace. This abstraction comes to contradict the deluge of high-resolution imagery in the contemporary urban life. With visual communication prevailing and underpinning the production of knowledge in the digital age, vision comes as pure excess and omnipotence,[3] presenting us with the illusion that we can see everything from nowhere, raising however questions as to whether such images carry within themselves a reality effect.

Focusing on the tension between abstraction and high definition and reflecting on digital mediation through Donna Haraway's quote: "it matters which stories tell stories, which concepts think concepts. Mathematically, visually, and narratively, it matters which figures figure figures, which systems systematize systems,"[4] this essay looks at the strategic use of the World Wide Web by Golden Dawn in order to create affect, emotion, and personalised perspectives to promote their explicitly fascist political ideas. Low-resolution videos seem to have a very powerful reality effect upon their viewers, placing them at the centre of the action: these include YouTube videos carefully presented as if they were filmed by amateurs, rough, unedited televised spectacles and noisy, impromptu scenes pre-

1. William Gibson, *Neuromancer* (New York: Ace Books, 1984).

2. Fredric Jameson, "A Global Neuromancer," in *The Ancients and the Postmoderns: On the Historicity of Forms* (London, New York: Verso, 2015).

3. Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no.3 (1988): 575-99, 581.

4. Donna Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2015), 101.

sented as if they could happen to anyone. The aim is to critically reflect on the use of new technologies in the creation of "situatedness" and "situated knowledges," and to examine the Athenian landscapes that such stories bring forward, which are often obscured by the mass media: the world of the immigrant who is chased by Golden Dawn; the world of the refugee, whose presence in the country is often opposed; the world of the Golden Dawn supporter, who is made to believe that the immigrant and the refugee, among others, are responsible for the country's recession.

Citizenship and situatedness are intrinsically linked. Traditionally, citizenship is understood in the context of a statist form of community, of a particular ethnic identity, and of a sense of long-term belonging to a place, out of which all forms of inclusions and exclusions can emerge. Although in recent times the shift of governing institutions to transnational scales along with the mobility and the connectivity promoted by globalisation have prompted the discussion towards new forms of cosmopolitanism and the conceptualisation of a universal citizenship, not everyone is able to participate in such constructions in the same way. Especially in the current context of the so-called "European Refugee Crisis," the distinction between the citizen and the refugee/migrant is commonly used to outline all forms of being in or out of place and the emergence of Europe as a heterogeneous and highly discriminatory space. Sociologist and professor of postcolonial and decolonial studies, Gurminder K. Bhambra argues that although most of European states had not been nation-states in the past, they constructed the status of the "migrant" and the "refugee" as a process to redefine their histories as national and to specify who belongs (and, by extension, who does not) in them. Bhambra sees new political possibilities in the way we engage today with the mass movement of people in Europe and calls for a novel conceptualisation of citizenship through the trope of immigration.[5] This essay argues that the worlds of immigrants and refugees in Athens come forward by their very exclusion from the prejudiced perspectives of Golden Dawn. By considering urban inhabitance as key to political inclusion,[6] this essay asks what a cosmopolitical form of citizenship might involve.

Isabelle Stengers' "Cosmopolitical Proposal"[7] will frame this discussion: the worlds described are multi-faceted, divergent, and contradictory, and a common world will have to be constructed anew, slowly, and against all the established classifications. Alongside, a multi-faceted, divergent, and contradictory city of Athens emerges through these mediated perspectives,

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5. "Taking this history seriously, and transforming its associated concepts of citizenship and rights, would provide the opportunity to develop a more inclusive and just, postcolonial cosmopolitan project in Europe, one that dealt with asylum seekers and refugees on the basis of fulfilling its human rights commitments and extending them." Gurminder K. Bhambra, "The current crisis of Europe: Refugees, colonialism, and the limits of cosmopolitanism," *European Law Journal* 23, no. 5 (2017): 395-405, 404.

6. Mark Purcell, "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the Inhabitant," *GeoJournal* 58 (2002): 99-108, 105.

7. Isabelle Stengers, "The Cosmopolitical Proposal," in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005), 994-1003.

a city that calls for a situated rather than abstract, architecture. Stengers rejects the idea of a common world that is already in place by nature—in the case of Athens a common world between the old residents as permanent and the most recent ones considered as temporary—and argues that a "good common world" needs to be constructed anew, with rigour and reservation.[8] She recognises three key aspects in this new construction of the world: *"our" knowledge*, reflects the ways in which understandings of the world are produced and the forms that placeness and situatedness take in an increasingly complex world; *"our" technical equipment* points out to the devices that produce such knowledges (and, by extension, realities, and worlds), and the role and agency that they hold in this process; and, finally, *"our" practices* raise the question as to how we develop methods and tools to respond to particular situations, realities, worlds.

From the Streets of Athens to Online Platforms

The story of Golden Dawn is a story of multiple appearances and disappearances in the Greek social life. In his book *The Black Bible of Golden Dawn*, Dimitris Psarras argues that the most accurate way to describe its ideology, organisation, and practice is that of a "Nazi party," instead of a fascist, far-right or a neo-Nazi one.[9] Golden Dawn comes after a long tradition of fascist organisations in post-war Greece, with many of its leading members today having participated in far-right politics and being arrested for numerous politically driven assaults in the past. In December 1980, Nikolaos Michaloliakos, the current party leader, along with a group of supporters launched *Chrysi Avgi* ("Golden Dawn" in Greek), a magazine with a clearly Nationalist-Socialist content[10] which, after a series of transformations became the Golden Dawn Popular National Movement and was officially declared as a political party in 1993.[11] Although, in his early articles, Michaloliakos claims Golden Dawn as a Nazi party,[12] after considering the party's representation in the mass media, twenty-five years later, in a newspaper article, he calls his supporters to avoid using the term "National Socialism" and to replace it with terms such as "nationalism," "popular nationalism," and "social nationalism" in order to avoid historical connotations, calling, in other words, for the disguise of the party into one with a merely nationalist rhetoric.[13] With the emergence of the financial cri-

8. Ibid., 995, emphasis added.

9. Dimitris Psarras, *Η Μαύρη Βίβλος Της Χρυσής Αυγής* [the Black Bible of Golden Dawn] (Athens: Polis, 2012).

10. Psarras, Η Μαύρη Βίβλος, 36.

11. Vassilis Nedos, "Το Κλούβιο «Αβγό Του Φιδιού» [the Rotten 'Snake's Egg']," *To Vima*, 11 September 2005, in Greek, http://www.tovima.gr/relatedarticles/article/?aid=168197&dt=11/09/2005 (accessed 5 June 20017), and Psarras, *Η Μαύρη Βίβλος Της Χρυσής Αυγής*, 38-39.

12. Golden Dawn, "Emeis [Us]," Golden Dawn Magazine, May 1981 (in Greek), and Psarras, *Η Μαύρη Βίβλος Της Χρυσής Αυγής*, 36.

13. Nikolaos Michaloliakos, "Εθνικιστές ή ναζιστές; Αρνούμεθα το ιστορικό ψεύδος των «καλών» συμμάχων και των «κακών» φασιστών" [Nationalists or Nazist? We deny the falsehood of history of 'good' allies and 'bad fascists'], *Εφημερίδα Χρυσή Αυγή*, 6 April 2006.

sis, members of the party made their appearance on the streets of Athens and other urban areas and particularly in places of high immigrant population; they developed a social programme to support the ethnic Greek population only (by organising food banks and soup kitchens) and even offered protection against immigrant crime. In November 2009, in the national elections, the party received 19,624 votes corresponding to a 0.29% of the total votes[14] and, in the national elections of May 2012 it entered the Greek Parliament holding 21 seats with 6.97% of the total votes.[15] Ever since, the party seems to have consolidated and expanded its electoral power (18 seats and 6.99% in the national elections of September 2015[16]). After gaining popularity and alongside the crisis, Golden Dawn became increasingly active in the streets with members and supporters operating as the "long-arm" of the state, performing violent attacks against migrants and anti-fascists and claiming to rule over entire neighbourhoods in the city centre of Athens. In September 2013 in Keratsini, Athens, in a clash between fascists and anti-fascists, Pavlos Fyssas, an anti-fascist hip-hop artist was stabbed to death by a 35-year-old man who was found to have strong ties to the official Golden Dawn party. This murder initiated a long investigation, which led to the arrests of several founding party members and MPs, including Michaloliakos, and their prosecution to trial. After the arrests, a number of other murders against migrants have been attributed to the party, and since then both members and supporters slowly receded from the city's street life—that is not to say that they have ceased to exist, but rather that they have become more discreet in their activities or they operate under the surface.

The strategic use of the Internet has played a significant role in the party's gain of popularity in recent years. Although the official party has a quite minimal and tactful online presence—especially after the murder of Fyssas—a whole network of disguised members and supporters are hugely active on websites, blogs, and across the most popular social media. Political scientists Eugenia Siapera and Mariangela Veikou argue that the Golden Dawn official pages as well as the MP's profiles on Facebook and Twitter restrict themselves in posting official party information and planned activities, but around them develops a very complex and close-knit network of accounts, channels, and private groups that cross-reference each other.[17] To avoid being reported and closed down (and after the murder of Fyssas to prevent from facing legal consequences in the "real"

14. Source: Greek Ministry of Interior Affairs, http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2009/pages/index.html?lang=en, accessed 3 December 2018.

15. Source: Greek Ministry of Interior Affairs, http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2012a/public/index.html#{%22cls%22:%22main%22,%22params%22:{}} , accessed 3 December 2018.

16. Source: Greek Ministry of Interior Affairs, http://ekloges.ypes.gr/current/v/public/index.html#{%22cls%22:%22main%22,%22params%22:{}}, accessed 3 December 2018.

17. Eugenia Siapera and Mariangela Veikou, "The Digital Golden Dawn: Emergence of a Nationalist-Racist Digital Mainstream," in *The Digital Transformation of the Public Sphere: Conflict, Migration, Crisis and Culture in Digital Networks*, ed. by Athina Karatzogianni, Dennis Nguyen and Elisa Serafinelli (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016): 35-59.

world as well), the most active of such profiles are usually presented as independent and of "nationalist" or "patriotic" character, but they are clearly political, sharing videos of actions of the party's members, speeches of its MPs and posting fascist, racist, and hateful content.[18] Then, two Golden Dawns appear online: a formal, remote one, and a seemingly "grassroots" movement, which is much more aggressive, with supporters targeting and fighting, among others, the migrants, the left-winged, and the homosexuals, and promoting hate speech and violence. This latter form of activity appears to have been key in the party's success over the elections after 2009, but also in its recent activity, which takes place secretly. Ilias Kassidiaris, one of Golden Dawn's most popular and recognisable MPs, argues at a local Greek TV channel: "Thankfully, we have in our disposal an enormous weapon; this is the Internet, where hundreds of thousands of our compatriots managed to learn who we are."[19] Then the Internet has become not just a tool, but a weapon in the ideological war that aims to construct Golden Dawn's other realities.

Constructed Unmediatedness

Against the generic perspectives of the all-knowing observer, the "informal" Golden Dawn presents personalised ways of looking and highly specific viewpoints that serve the party's purposes. Studying the video production and dissemination of Golden Dawn, sociologists Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Nelli Kampouri identify the "amateurisation" of the traditional media coverage as the tool in this bottom-up approach.[20] They argue that the videos that are widely disseminated via YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter are all presented in an amateur-like way, as if they are filmed by lay people rather than professional journalists, using hand-held cameras and abruptly following the main characters of the scene, and therefore adopting "the aesthetics of a first-hand eye-witness," of "someone who seems to just have happened to be there" when then event took place. Indeed, most of the videos appear blurry and shaky, with slogans denoting rage and indignation. A video uploaded by "kastorpolydeukis" in November 2008, shows the "entrance" of Golden Dawn in Agios Panteleimon, a highly contested neighbourhood in the city centre of Athens, where Golden Dawn members regularly targeted and attacked the migrant population.[21]

18. Ibid., 42.

19. "Συνέντευξη Του Ηλία Κασσιδιάρη Στο Tv-100 Τρικάλων [Interview with Ilias Kassidiaris at Tv-100, Trikala]," YouTube video, 51:20, posted by MelitaInsula, 3 October 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqCa81BNAPk (accessed 7 June 2017), referenced by Panos Kompatsiaris, and Yiannis Mylonas, in "Web 2.0 Nazi Propaganda: Golden Dawn's Affect, Spectacle and Identity Constructions in Social Media," in *Social Media, Politics and the State: Protests, Revolutions, Riots, Crime and Policing in the Age of Facebook, Twitter and Youtube*, ed. by Daniel Trottier and Christian Fuchs (New York: Routledge, 2014): 109. Translated by the author.

20. Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Nelli Kampouri, "The Cult of the (Fascist) Amateur," *Nomadic Universality*, https://nomadicuniversality.com/2014/03/05/the-cult-of-the-fascist-amateur (accessed 7 June 2017).

21. "Η Είσοδος Της Χρυσής Αυγής Στον Άγιο Παντελεήμονα [the Entrance of Golden Dawn in Agios Panteleimon]," YouTube video, 2:40, posted by kastorpolydeukis, 25 November 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lG0yhtelPeA (accessed 7 June 2017).

The video presents the appalling march of a mob of Golden Dawn members and supporters through the streets of Agios Panteleimon and is filmed by someone who is taking part in it. The viewer cannot focus on anything apart from the density of the crowd, and the excess of Greek flags waved by the people. Slogans are chanted loudly and rhythmically: "foreigners (stay) out of Greece" (0:02), "Hellas, Hellas, protect us too" (0:38), "Greece belongs to the Greek nationals" (0:59), along with the Greek national anthem, inspiring fear and intimidation. It is not clear from the video whether the participants are members of the party or mere supporters or even random residents that welcome the Golden Dawn to "reclaim" the area from its migrant inhabitants, but this is, perhaps, the point: the protagonist here is the viewer, who becomes an active part of the crowd to protest, to terrify, to reclaim **[Fig. 1]**. The viewer is invited to perform their own rage[22] by taking the place any of those shown in the video; they could have been a passer-by, a resident, a supporter

FIG. 1 "Η Είσοδος Της Χρυσής Αυγής Στον Άγιο Παντελεήμονα [the Entrance of Golden Dawn in Agios Panteleimon]," 0:21. https://youtu.be/lG0yhtelPeA

Another video from 2011, represents according to its title *The Battle of Agios Panteleimon*, in which a big group of Golden Dawn members fight with anti-fascist activists and the Riot Police over the control of the church square, the main public space of the area.[23] This is filmed from above, from the balcony of one of the residential buildings across the square with the use of a hand-held camera. It begins with something that looks like a community assembly, in which Michaloliakos (elected member of the Athens City Council at the time) declares his support to the residents (0:37), followed an orthodox priest (1:23) and a representative of the residents

22. Hatzopoulos and Kampouri, "The Cult of the (Fascist) Amateur."

23. "Η Μάχη Του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα – 15 January 2011 [the Battle of Agios Panteleimon – 15 January 2011], YouTube video, 36:19, posted by anypotaxtosEllhnas, 16 January 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UMmGzwP4lTI (accessed 15 June 2017).

who accuse the migrants for the degradation of the area (2:57). The video is cut abruptly and on the next scene Golden Dawn members are shown to line up in a military deployment across and ready to confront the Riot Police on the other side, with Michaloliakos commanding them **[Fig. 2-3]**. The residents stand behind them, as if they are to be protected by them. On the surface of the square, a large-scale inscription in blue reads: "foreigners (stay) out of Greece," "Greece motherland," and "Hellas" **[Fig. 2, 3:14]**. Within the indistinct noise, only the slogans can be clearly heard: "blood, honour, Golden Dawn" (3:14). Next, we see them fighting with the anti-fascists and the police, using bats and throwing objects (4:48). There is smoke from the tear gas and small fires on the ground **[Fig. 4, 9:54]**. The residents stay around the square, and once things calm down they return on it, holding and waving their Greek flags and singing the national anthem. The video puts us in the position of the vulnerable and defenceless residents who appear to have lost control of their public spaces. They might be watching from the balconies or from the street, with the sentiment that the official state has abandoned them in the midst of the financial crisis and within an increasingly deteriorating urban context. The Golden Dawn, it seems, is there to protect them.

FIG. 2 "Η Μάχη Του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα - 15/1/2011 [the Battle of Agios Panteleimon - 15/1/2011], 3:14. https://youtu.be/UMmGzwP4lTI

Such videos are presented online with minimal editing and no special sound recordings or effects, which makes them noisy and rather incomprehensible. Chants and slogans emerge from the indistinct clamour to communicate the tone of the gathering. Despite the low resolution and their bad filming quality, however, they manage to produce a form of situatedness, which explains their successful circulation, and it also raises interesting questions in relation to the "situated knowledges" they produce. In *Situated Knowledges*, Haraway argues that knowledge is always body-specific and site-specific, and therefore framed (but also perhaps limited) by the

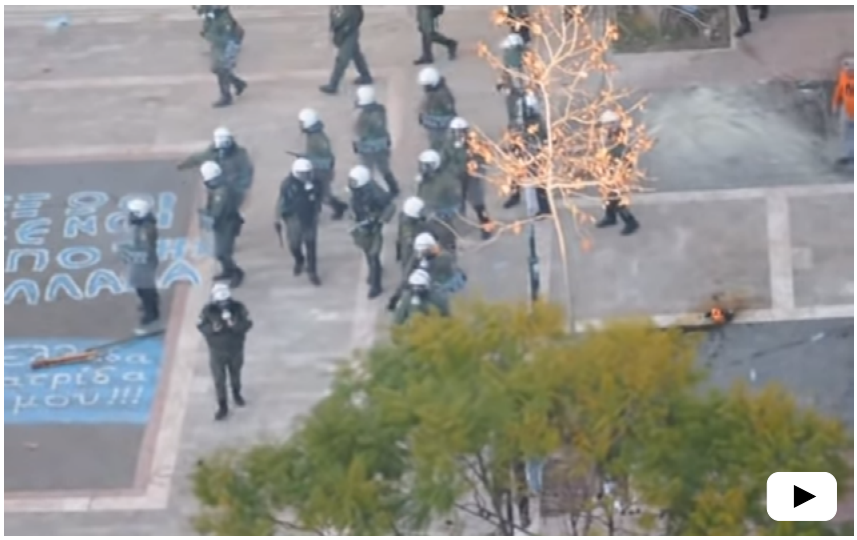

FIG. 3 "Η Μάχη Του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα - 15/1/2011 [the Battle of Agios Panteleimon - 15/1/2011], 7:58. https://youtu.be/UMmGzwP4lTI

FIG.4 "Η Μάχη Του Αγίου Παντελεήμονα - 15/1/2011 [the Battle of Agios Panteleimon - 15/1/2011], 9:54. https://youtu.be/UMmGzwP4lTI

social position of the subject; their race, gender, class, etc.[24] Situatedness becomes key in grounding perception. Positioning takes here a double role. On the one hand, it has to do with learning how to see from another's point of view. Haraway points out that this "other" could even be our own machines, emphasizing on the social, technical, and psychical complexity of our visual systems. Such perspectives that cannot be known in advance open up space for the imaginary and the visionary, against any established and fixed perception. On the other hand, positioning has to do with the place of the observer in relation to the situation observed, and here lies the danger to romanticise and to take advantage of the vision from below: "the positionings of the subjugated are not exempt from critical reexamination, decoding, deconstruction, and interpretation; that is, from both semiological and hermeneutic modes of critical inquiry."[25] The viewpoint of the

24. Haraway, "Situated Knowledges."

25. Ibid., 584.

subjugated is never an innocent one, and Haraway acknowledges that the feminist standpoint epistemology as formulated by Sandra Harding[26] is not unproblematic: the process of "naturally" inhabiting such places is neither simple nor unmediated itself. Instead, she turns the science question into the metaphor of vision: "how to see from below is a problem requiring at least as much skill with bodies and language, with the mediations of vision, as the 'highest' technoscientific visualisations."[27]According to Haraway, the eyes have always been used as a trope to separate the knowing subject from any condition and situation to the benefit of unlimited power, and thus they are tied to militarism, capitalism, colonialism, and male supremacy; in her writings however, they become a symbol for all sorts of instruments of visualisation and technologically enhanced vision. The "mediations of vision" then stand between the place of the observer and the situation observed, often taking an agency of their own and allowing for "highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organising worlds."[28]

The critical stance that Haraway holds in relation to the mediating devices of positioning and the Standpoint Theory calls for the re-evaluation of the amateur-looking videos and their power. Here, we are urged to ask, who is the subjugated? And what is the agency of the medium in this seemingly unmediated perspective? The videos present the old residents as threatened and suppressed by the "newcomers" in the city, in a very prejudiced way of seeing the things. The romanticisation comes from the medium itself: within a complex network of users and hundreds of other videos, the videos display very particular perspectives and for this reason they are watched, re-watched and reproduced, contributing greatly to Golden Dawn's influence on people. The bare and straightforward representation along with the clear and distinctive slogans provide simple narratives in an otherwise overcomplicated world. Media theorists Panos Kompatsiaris and Yiannis Mylonas add to that: "the ostensible purity and communicational uncomplicatedness of Nazi imagery can thus offer sensory orientation in a chaotic world of crisis where complexity prevails."[29] Repetition plays a very important role too. Posted and re-posted via the social media (the examples presented here have gathered 250,000 and 300,000 views respectively at the time of writing), the videos gain in popularity and participate in an endless circle of digital media that promote xenophobia and racism in the city.

The production of noise and the creation of televised spectacles by the Golden Dawn members play along the same lines and aim to attract the masses, initially electronically by increasing the number of viewers and the

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26. Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press).

27. Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 584.

28. Ibid., 583.

29. Kompatsiaris and Mylonas, "Web 2.0 Nazi Propaganda," 111.

re-posts across the different social media, and then physically, by encouraging more agents who represent the Golden Dawn ideals to take to the streets and perform in similar ways. Extravaganzas such as verbal and physical assaults during live TV broadcasts inside and outside the Greek parliament, staged attacks against migrant sellers at flea markets,[30] and "impromptu" protests against anything that doesn't go along their aesthetics are endlessly reproduced through the electronic media in an attempt to "normalise" such happenings.[31] These events not only create publicity but they also present the Golden Dawn as fully active in the urban realm and always prepared to respond to any situation. Moreover, Kompatsiaris and Mylonas add, "through posting these 'shocking' events, followed by spectacular titles on Facebook pages such as 'Ellinon Diktyo' [Greek Network], Golden Dawn attempts to present them as natural, as 'practices of friends,' by taking advantage of the 'mediated intimacy' that it cultivates routinely with fans."[32] Then "low resolution," not only in visual and technical, but also in conceptual terms, alongside an ostensible spontaneity[33] and unmediatedness become powerful tools of communication and situatedness and stand against any attempt to decipher the increasing complexity of the environment. In a world where straightforward, unmediated, and incontestable facts have become increasingly rare, Golden Dawn promises to their followers simple answers and clear solutions.

It is interesting to juxtapose this constructed clarity and simplicity to a very complex form of representation of a Golden Dawn operation. In the 10th and 11th of September 2018, *Forensic Architecture*, as commissioned by Pavlos Fyssas' family and legal representatives, presented their video report and findings on Fyssas' murder (as mentioned earlier in this text) in the Court of Appeal in Athens, where Golden Dawn is at the time of writing on trial. Forensic Architecture is an agency based at Goldsmiths, University of London, and comprises of an extensive team of architects, scientists, academics, journalists, and technology experts whose aim is to locate incidents in their historical frames by identifying agents, practices, structures,

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30. Ibid., 120.

31. At a most recent incident inside the Greek Parliament, Ilias Kassidiaris is heard to strike Nikos Dendias, an MP of the conservative party. "Ηλίας Κασιδιάρης Vs Δένδιας - ΤΟ ΕΠΕΙΣΟΔΙΟ ΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ με τα κομμένα πλάνα [Ilias Kassidiaris Vs Dendias – the incident in the parliament with all the cut scenes]," YouTube video, 3:51, posted by Awakening Era, 15 May 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fBr4bYCri7s (accessed 15 June 2017). The massively circulated video is a clip from the parliament's official broadcast which shows Dendias making his way to the assembly hall exit and passing in front of Kassidiaris, who is at the time addressing the parliament. Kassidiaris stops his talk and aggressively asks him why he passed in front of him while he spoke, joined by more frustrated MPs from his party. As they both lose their temper, the broadcast shows the general view of the assembly that doesn't cover the incident and a sudden snap is heard, followed by an extensive disturbance in the hall, and the Parliament Speaker shouting for the guards to enter the Hall. This video is accompanied by another one which seems to be taken through a hidden mobile phone camera and shows Kassidiaris and other Golden Dawn MPs exiting the Hall, possibly a few moments later. Kassidiaris is heard to shout "I am leaving because I've just screwed a faggot, disgusted by this horrible memorandum that aims to destroy Greece," in "Ηλίας Κασιδιάρης για Δένδια ~ Γάμησα μία αδερφή [Ilias Kassidiaris for Dendias – I've just screwed a faggot]", YouTube video, 0:16, posted by Golden Sotos, 15 May 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRtuNgYbKCY (accessed 15 June 2017).

32. Kompatsiaris and Mylonas, "Web 2.0 Nazi Propaganda," 118.

33. Dimitris Dalakoglou, "Beyond Spontaneity: Crisis, Violence and Collective Action in Athens," *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* 16, no. 5 (2012): 539.

and technologies and reconnecting them to their contexts.[34] Their work on Fyssas' case combined audio-visual footage from security cameras, radio recordings from Athens Police and the ambulance operation centre, and witnesses' statements in order to spatially and temporally reconstruct the incidents that led to the murder. The video is indeed fascinating **[Fig. 5]**: by interweaving simulation, audio-visual recordings, temporal and spatial diagrams, it specifies the time of the murder, it demonstrates the organised nature of the attack, and it raises questions on the failure of the police to act effectively at the time. Low resolution here (which is very common in most footage taken for security purposes) becomes a field for further investigation and careful analysis. Unlike the YouTube videos discusses earlier, Forensic Architecture's representation is highly mediated and manifold; it brings together many situated knowledges and attempts to tell a story that nobody on the scene could construct on the whole.

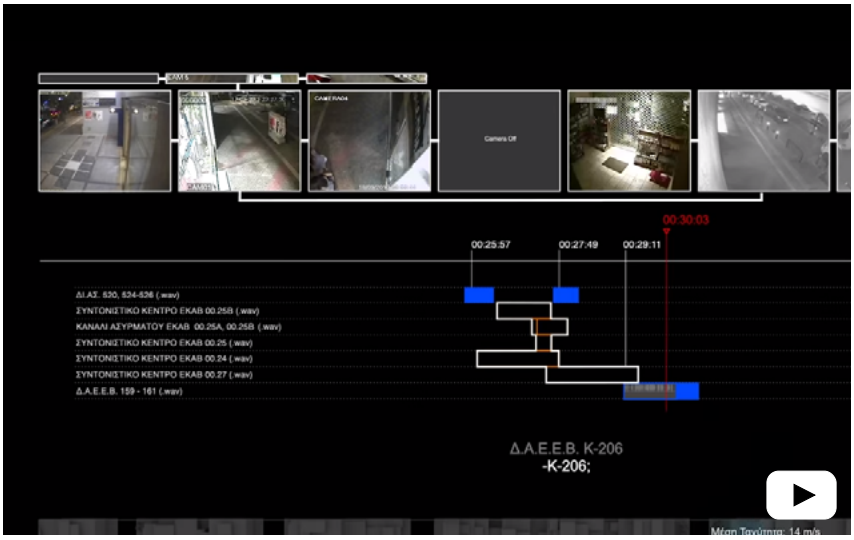

FIG. 5 "The Murder of Pavlos Fyssas, 18 September 2013," Forensic Architecture, 2:34. https://youtu.be/tD0wH3T8wT8

The Other Athenian Realities

The Athenian landscape that emerges through Golden Dawn's videos is that of urban decay and of people exhausted by the financial crisis. It is also a place of absolute (almost military) order, and homogeneity, and of a population of a single origin and religion, and a place where the other, the non-Greek, the non-Christian, is to blame for the country's cultural, social, and financial decline. On a video on YouTube by "Ierax GD,"[35] members, supporters and MPs give out food to those—of Greek nationality—who are in need, in Attiki Square. Similarly to Agios Panteleimon Square and not very far from it, Attiki Square and its surrounding neighbourhoods is another district of high immigrant population in the city centre, which

34. Eyal Weizman, *Forensic Architecture: Violence at the Threshold of Detectability* (New York: Zone Books, 2017), 9.

35. "ΧΡΥΣΗ ΑΥΓΗ - Διανομή Τροφίμων στην πλατεία Αττικής" [Golden Dawn - Dissemination of food in Attica Square], YouTube video, 2:19, posted by Ierax GD, 13 November 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nSLYGZZVxrU (accessed 13 June 2017).

has been overlookedin the past few decades.[36] In the video, the square is dominated by two big banners that read "against the junta of the memorandum—nationalism now—Golden Dawn" (0:10), and "Golden Dawn—for the motherland and the people" (0:12), alongside the meander, the party's symbol. The video shows members wearing black T-shirts with the party's logo to unload cartons full of groceries on the square (0:26) and then the place is swarmed by hundreds of people **[Fig. 6]** who patiently wait to get registered in some sort of catalogue (0:49) in order to be given their provisions **[Fig. 7]**. Another video, published in 2014, shows Ilias Kassidiaris and Ilias Panagiotaros paying a visit at Varvakeios, the central market of Athens, at the time when they were candidates for mayor and regional governor, respectively, at the local elections[37]. Both vendors and clients at the market welcome them with content **[Fig. 8]**; people greet them and take photos with them. There seems to be a very pleasant and all-embracing atmosphere within the crowded market. Following to the surrounding streets and to the vegetable market, they engage in small conversations with the passers-by. A woman from a stall hugs and kisses Kassidiaris **[Fig. 9]** and shouts "They envy you! You are the best! You've got to show them all!" (2:23-2:27) while someone else is heard from the back: "this is the (future) Mayor of Athens." Then Panagiotaros is shown to speak with a group of people: "(…) all problems can be solved, as long as there is good will ('by everyone concerned' emphasises Kassidiaris) and love for the motherland" (2:30-2:37). Finally, a video from 2013 shows a mass gathering of supporters in Eleonas metro station in Athens, protesting against the mosque that is planned to be built in the area.[38] The video is filmed by someone who is in the midst of the crowd and the camera focuses on the sea of Greek flags that dominate the view to any direction. The city can hardly be seen in the background, and only a signpost for the metro entrance places us in some context, on a video that could otherwise be anywhere. A big red banner that reads "Golden Dawn" can also be discerned at the front **[Fig. 10]**, where a speaker addresses the crowds. The crowd from this viewpoint appears enormous; but then another 8000 people have watched this video and it has been re-posted and watched over many more times, gathering a crowd of supporters by itself.

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36. The wider area on the north of Omonoia Square has constituted a middle-class residential district which thrived in the 1950s and 1960s, when the Athenian city-centre expanded to the north. In the decades to come, many of these residents moved further to the north and towards the developing suburbs of Athens and they were progressively replaced by immigrant populations who arrived in Athens during the 1990s mainly from the Balcans. After 2000, and as we get closer to the years of recession, the increasing immigrant population and their presence in the city's public spaces in combination with the declining social conditions of the older residents have led to the depreciation in terms of land value of the area but also, and perhaps more importantly, to the neglect of these areas on behalf of the City Council and the governing authorities. These have been followed by a significant deterioration of the urban fabric and the public space in the area.

37. "Παναγιώταρος Κασιδιάρης Στην Βαρβάκειο Αγορά [Panagiotaros Kassidiaris in Varvakeios Market]," YouTube video, 3:25, posted by 4HELLASONLY, 12 March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQ73SU8qpWkfBr4bYCri7s (accessed 15 June 2017, no longer available).

38. "Οχι Τζαμί Στην Αθήνα: Εθνικός Ύμνος - Ύμνος Χρυσής Αυγής [No to the Mosque of Athens: National Anthem and Golden Dawn Anthem]," YouTube video, 2:03, posted by xryshayghcom, 14 December 2013, https://youtu.be/sGwuZG92e7U (accessed 13 June 2017).

FIG. 6 "ΧΡΥΣΗ ΑΥΓΗ - Διανομή Τροφίμων στην πλατεία Αττικής" [Golden Dawn Dissemination of food in Attica Square], 0:39. https://youtu.be/_9EKa-nErMg

FIG. 7 "ΧΡΥΣΗ ΑΥΓΗ - Διανομή Τροφίμων στην πλατεία Αττικής" [Golden Dawn - Distribution of food in Attica Square], 0:50. https://youtu.be/_9EKa-nErMg

The protesters sing the national anthem followed by the Golden Dawn anthem. Then the speaker calls the audience to shout with him: "Long Live Nationalism!" "Long Live our leader!," "Long Live Golden Dawn!" (1:58-2:00)

These videos clearly illustrate some of the pathologies that have come to the surface due to the deep recession and the social crisis in Greece. Such systematic and persistent representations construct, among others, the immigrant (especially the undocumented one) as a menace and a possible danger for the city. Most recently, the European refugee crisis has intensified such perceptions. Indeed, the precariousness that the financial crisis has created has interwoven with the anxiety over the arrival of populations from Africa and the Middle-East and their entrapment within the country. These phenomena led to the spread of increasingly conservative attitudes that range from the consolidation of the gender and race divisions of labour, to the exacerbation of gender hierarchies, and the progressive acceptance and the "normalisation" of the discrimination of the

FIG. 8 Still from "Παναγιώταρος Κασιδιάρης Στην Βαρβάκειο Αγορά [Panagiotaros Kassidiaris at Varvakeios Market]," 0:40.

FIG. 9 Still from "Παναγιώταρος Κασιδιάρης Στην Βαρβάκειο Αγορά [Panagiotaros Kassidiaris at Varvakeios Market]," 2:32.

"other" in the city[39]. As mentioned above, Agios Panteleimon, Attiki Square, Varvakeios Square, and Eleonas are all neighbourhoods of downtown Athens which have been dramatically downgraded in the context of the crisis. They are also places of the highest immigrant population in the city (Agios Panteleimon and Attiki as residential areas and Varvakeios and Eleonas as workplaces) and this is one of the reasons why they have become major fields of operation by Golden Dawn. Their public space is highly active because of the presence of immigrants who work or live there: children of all backgrounds play in the playgrounds, ethnic shops saturate street life, and local businesses flourish in a place that would otherwise be empty due to the financial crisis. Such activities are however nowhere to be seen in the videos, revealing the people's rejection by those who have been there before them. These videos, apart from placing us in the position of those who turn to Golden Dawn, also reveal the situation of those who are absent from them. On the other side of each one of these filmed perspectives,

39. Dina Vaiou, "Is the Crisis in Athens (Also) Gendered? Facets of Access and (in)Visibility in Everyday Public Spaces," *Crisis Scapes: Athens and Beyond*, eds. Jaya Klara Brekke, Dimitris Dalakoglou, Christos Filippidis, and Antonis Vradis (Athens: Crisis-scape.net, 2014): 86.

FIG. 10 Still from "Οχι Τζαμί Στην Αθήνα: Εθνικός Ύμνος - Ύμνος Χρυσής Αυγής [No to the Mosque of Athens: National Anthem and Golden Dawn Anthem]," 0:28. https://youtu.be/F3kMxVVX1II

an immigrant or a refugee feels unwanted in public space and urged to live a more restricted and private life. A series of different realities emerge here: the reality of the immigrant who is targeted by Golden Dawn; the reality of the refugee, whose presence is opposed not only by transnational and national policies but by the locals themselves; the reality of the Golden Dawn supporter who is made to see the "other" in the city as a threat. To these, many more realities could be added: the reality of the state that has become radically impoverished as a provider of social services and securities; the reality of a city that has become a testing ground—for Europe and perhaps for the rest of the world—for discipline, austerity, and tighter surveillance measures; but also the reality of the emergence of new kinds of citizen-led initiatives and civil actions in the city to fill in the voids of a state that has become radically impoverished as a provider of services and securities. Clearly these realities cannot be easily bridged and brought together into a single, common world. This condition makes Stengers' "Cosmopolitical Proposal"[40] highly significant here.

According to Stengers, the all-embracing, "one cosmos" has disappeared forever, and cosmopolitics have become a practice to deal with the world's complex multiplicity. The cosmopolitical proposal does not intend to put anyone into agreement with anyone else,[41] but rather to suggest that if there is to be a common world, then this needs to be constructed anew, slowly, and by all parties together. Against the "mononaturalism" of peace, comments Bruno Latour on Cosmopolitics, he prefers war: "by war I mean a conflict for which there is no agreed-upon arbiter, a conflict in which what is at stake is precisely what is *common* in the common world to be built."[42] Against the presence of an expert and a "supreme authority" who may come from the outside as a detached spectator to negotiate things and

40. Stengers, "The Cosmopolitical Proposal."

41. Ibid., 1003.

42. Bruno Latour, "Whose Cosmos, Whose Cosmopolitics? Comments on the Peace Terms of Ulrich Beck," *Common Knowledge* 10, no. 3 (2004): 455, emphasis in original.

come up with a solution based on some form of a universal truth, Latour emphasises on the place of conflict as the starting point for a new, "same world" to be slowly composed. In Latour's constructivist approach, the realities that the humans bring forward carry within themselves their own mediations, so that realities and mediations together are made by diversified components and histories. These realities are always open to new interpretations and further mediations, extensions, and even failures,[43] and they become tools for the construction of the new world: "the common world must be free to emerge from the multiplicity of their disparate links, and the only reason for that emergence is the spokes that they constitute in one another's wheels."[44] Then against any form of simplification and any deductive differentiation about what may be important and what may not, the cosmopolitical proposal calls for complexity and for all difficulties to be maintained and to take part in the new construction, which brings us back to Haraway's call for "stories (and theories) that are just big enough to gather up the complexities and keep the edges open and greedy for surprising new and old connections."[45] This call for complexity stands against the simplistic and straightforward narratives promoted by Golden Dawn, and most generally perhaps, against the abstraction of our times. But perhaps the same videos that promote such perceptions can also become tools for the construction of the aforementioned new worlds. Extending Latour's line of thought, the videos promoting Golden Dawn convey yet another form of situatedness: they can situate us to the place of conflict, in this case to the much disputed public spaces which could form a new beginning for the city. The Agios Panteleimon plaza, Varvakeios market square, Attiki square, are some of Athens' most contested public spaces. They are at the same time, however, the spaces where many of these different realities are registered and performed on an everyday basis (and also filmed and digitally re-animated in many ways). It is perhaps upon these specific spaces that we should draw our attention. Between the transnational scale triggered by globalised processes (which often intensifies conditions of exclusion) and the smaller, local scale that often takes on site-specific ethnic and cultural characteristics, the urban scale arises as the most appropriate in defining the political community. Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's *Right to the City*, geographer Mark Purcell calls for the urban inhabitant as an agent in the making and living of the contemporary city and the urban scale as the site for the definition of citizenship.[46] For Lefebvre, the "right to the city" is the "right to urban life,"[47] which opens up the shaping of political life beyond nation-state citizenship and national

43. Ibid., 458-9.

44. Stengers, "The Cosmopolitical Proposal," 999.

45. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 101.

46. Mark Purcell, "Excavating Lefebvre".

47. Henri Lefebvre, "The Right to the City," in *Writings on Cities*, eds Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008): 147-159, 158.

identity.[48] It is instead to those who are active and present in the life of the city to participate in its making. Purcell argues that this process does not come without struggle and risk,[49] and the conflict illustrated through Golden Dawn's YouTube videos can clearly illustrate this. But although this process is one of contingency and indeterminacy, it is also one that involves greater participation and the opening of new possibilities. Then, how could we formulate a cosmopolitical citizenship in this context? Both Stengers and Haraway call for a "becoming with" and a "making with" in order to stay with the trouble, in times of trouble. This call is about letting the "old" and the "new" go—and with them the "temporary" and the "permanent"—and about making space acknowledging each other's presence and learning how to respond and to adapt in environments of symbiosis and sympoiesis.

Positioning the cosmopolitical proposal in the context of political ecology, Stengers calls for a political engagement of researchers with the things and towards the construction of an active memory.[50] This active memory becomes a key tool for new worldings but also for recording the failures, the deviations, and even the constraints of the process. It is also about processes that are based on the elaboration and the transformation of all fundamental differences in ways that may leave no one unaffected. And it is, finally, about looking closely into the spaces of symbiosis and sympoiesis, in this case into the urban space of Athens through a wide range of media in order to decode, deconstruct, and re-interpret every possible subjectivity and perspective.

48. Mark Purcell, "Excavating Lefebvre," 105.

49. Ibid.

50. Stengers, "The Cosmopolitical Proposal," 998, emphasis in original.

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PRACTICES

Temporary Permanence: the Intermittent City

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The permanent and the temporary in cities are not at odds—everything lasts at least until its own end, and nothing, as yet, has lasted through to the end of time itself. A measure of relative change, something can only exist in time at all, let alone throughout time (per-manent), by virtue of change either in its internal or external relations. Being temporary or permanent is therefore largely a function of initial intention—a way of speaking, rather than a fact about the world.

While changes to a city's spatial character can be cumbersome and controversial, tweaks to the temporal texture are often impactful and inexpensive. Below we example successful city practices in (§1) the temporary use of spaces, such as the revitalisation of dilapidated or abandoned buildings; (§2) permanent activities for temporary city dwellers, allowing a flow of visitors to become integral to urban landscapes; and (§3) permanent activities occupying temporary spaces, such as mobile artistic and cultural programmes.

Unpausing the city—temporary use of spaces

«The city is alive, the city is expanding / Living in the city can be demanding.»

Flight of the Conchords, *Inner City Pressure*

There is always scope within a city to create better Pareto efficiency, especially through abandoned or underutilised spaces which could be exploited to everybody's gain. Such spaces are, in this excellent article by Aurelie de Smet, referred to as *pauzelandschappen*.[1] One manner of unpausing the urban landscape is through the temporary adaptive reuse of these spaces[2]. Reuse is adaptive when it is rooted in the culture of the locality in which it arises, and sustainable when it generates new uses for already existing resources, embracing at once a continuity and cyclicality that are the respective hallmarks of the permanent and the temporary. Sustainable adaptive reuse can benefit local culture, while attracting new investments and inspiring innovation.

"Reportage after Recyclart," https://youtu.be/JNchXNhja3o.

Such temporary use of spaces can go much deeper than the pop-up shop.[3] In the best scenario, they can combine culture, commerce and public services in one pleasing package. Recyclart is a temporary space that occupied an abandoned train station in Brussels. This multidisciplinary arts centre organises musical concerts, performances, lectures and art exhibitions which are free and open to the public, with a special focus on fostering local talent and creating community engagement.

The bar and restaurant attached to this venue served a double function.

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1 Aurelie de Smet, "The role of temporary use in urban (re)development: examples from Brussels," *Brussels Studies* 72 (2013), DOI: 10.4000/brussels.1196.

2 See ROCK's forthcoming Guidelines on Sustainable Adaptive Reuse.

3 https://monocle.com/radio/shows/the-urbanist/299/mohamed-haouache-chief-executive-of-storefront/

Not only were they social spaces where community was kindled, they are also training centres where local people learned cooking and catering. In the artists' workshop, training was organised in woodwork and metalwork. Cultural vibrancy thus went hand in hand with vocational skills. Funding from Brussels municipality, as well as the Flemish and Walloon regional governments helped to make this project a reality, brining life to this formerly abandoned zone.

This institution begs the question of what it really means to be "temporary". Having inhabited the station on a temporary basis for two decades, Recyclart was recently asked to vacate the space due to fire regulations. After an enormous public outcry, the city found a new abandoned location, and old printing house in Molenbeek, to house the organisation—along with the promise to reinstate them in their initial location as soon as renovations are complete.

Temporary reuse of spaces is often an opportunity to display a vision of a city's future, a glance into the crystal ball. This is by no means limited to buildings. Indeed, it finds one of its most poignant and widespread displays in PARKing days,[4] days of the year in which people reclaim space that has been allocated to cars for the wider public domain. Through campaigns such as European Mobility Week, the practice, born in San Francisco, has taken root across Europe in cities from Berlin and Bologna to Tivat and Lindau.

Schools, youth clubs, sports clubs, NGOs and businesses, especially local merchants, join forces to find creative uses for the liberated plots. As much as activities, these are spaces for dialogue, where different sections of society learn to co-organise and cooperate, and where passers-by have the opportunity to enter new spheres. As a direct reaction to the colonisation of public space by the private car, these temporary actions are instrumental in creating a place-based vision of the city, a vision which has been gaining traction more permanently in recent years.

The act of celebration can temporarily highlight a permanent cultural domain, renewing and invigorating aspects of a city's character. Creative, cultural arts and events such as Dutch Design Week in Eindhoven, and the Light Festival in Lyon, open for a brief moment a window through which the local cultural identity and cultural heritage can burst. The heritage of the two cities is embedded in the genesis of these cultural events. When new and old design innovations are put on display, in the former case, or the whole city explodes with light in the latter, a temporary excitation gives a fresh relevance to a permanent element of the cities' cultural foundations. The temporary use does not admonish the disuse of space. Just as some people need a moment of silence before they can add to a conversation, so these paused spaces offer opportunities for ventures of a character not suited to the regular dynamics of ownership and organisation.

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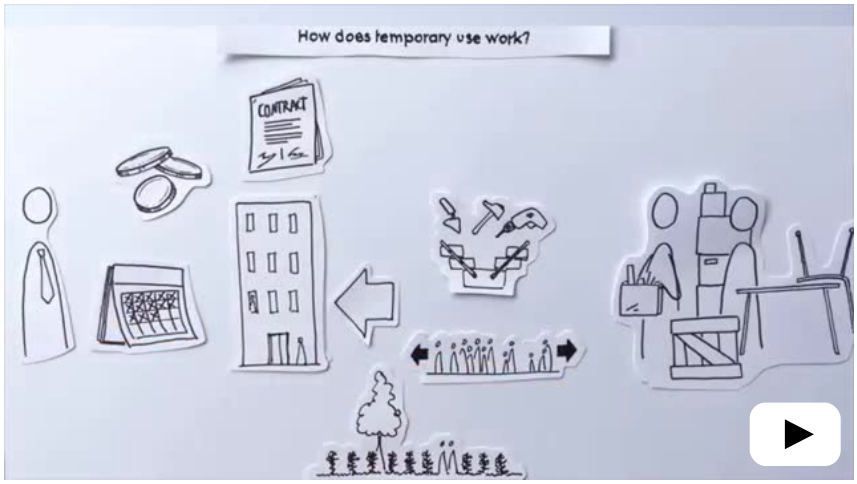
4 https://www.citylab.com/life/2017/09/from-parking-to-parklet/539952/

Fostering temporary use



"REFILL—temporary use for dummies", https://youtu.be/Z8L2rOccJsU.

While temporary use is at is best as a bottom-up process, cities can take some initiative to foster such activities. Regulation, for example, can be formulated to allow less strict treatment of temporary spaces. Standards for health and safety restrictions, licences to trade, and permission to hold events can all be flexibly applied in the context of a temporary manifestation. Cluj-Napoca encourages temporary reuse through TEAM (Technology, Evolution, Entrepreneurship and Microenterprises) and CREIC (Regional Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries). These start-up incubator/hubs see the city supplying temporary spaces in empty city buildings to enthusiastic entrepreneurs.[5] Dedicated groups negotiate with fire safety officials etc. to assess real risks and reach a compromise about how strictly legislation must be enforced.

Cities can set aside funds to encourage adaptive reuse, often in the form of seed funding that helps projects to kick off. Such projects have the potential to generate their own micro-economies, through manageable rents, tickets for events, sales and crowdfunding. EU grants and tenders for innovation can also be combined with ongoing developments.[6] It is important to remember that cultural projects are not just a spend, but also an investment. The £170m Liverpool spent on being capital of culture (much of it on temporary manifestations and events) is estimated to have brought in a return of £750m over the following decade.[7]

Finally, the enforcement of often existent penalties for disused space can encourage owners to be more receptive to those offering to put a space to use where it might otherwise lie idle. Strict fines placed on buildings that

5 See *Refil Magazine* 1 (November 2016), [https://refillthecity.files.wordpress.com/2017/04/refill-magazine-11.pdf].

6 See ROCKs forthcoming Guidelines on Sustainable Adaptive Reuse.

7 Beatriz Garcia, Ruth Melville, Tamsin Cox, *Creating an Impact: Liverpool's experience as European Capital of Culture* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 2010), http://iccliverpool.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/GarciaEtal2010Creating_an_Impact-Impacts08.pdf.

FIG. 1 Zollverein park. Photo Wikimedia Commons

stay empty or are allowed to decay while awaiting redevelopment or sale can allow mutually beneficial relationships to open up between owners and innovators.

One-trip-stands – achieving intimacy with temporary populations

«Use of cultural heritage tourism [...] can contribute to a positive sense of multicultural identity when the distinctiveness of a people and place are recognized by powerful actors that include government, foreign tourists, and local society.»

A, K. Soper[8]

Just as cities are working to counter the underutilisation of spaces, so too they are building synaptic structures to maximally exploit the tourism and through-migration that have become permanent features of our cosmetropolis. There are many ways of engineering a cross-pollination that enriches both temporary and permanent city residents.

8 Anne K. Soper, "Mauritian Landscapes of Culture, Identity, and Tourism", in *Landscape, Tourism, and Meaning*, ed. Michelle M. Metro-Roland, Daniel C. Knudsen, Charles E. Greer (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), 51ff.

Tourism creates a permanent flow of temporary visitors who can, if their presence is properly harnessed, have major positive impacts on local cultural heritage. As well as creating jobs and direct financial injections in local economies, tourists encourage and reward local government for the rejuvenation, preservation, and increased accessibility of cultural sites. This in turn can encourage pride within local community, as they see that their cultural practices and institutions provide value and engagement for outsiders. As well as physical spaces, tourism can encourage the preservation and documentation of local crafts and traditions.

The recognition of Zollverein Park[9] in the Ruhr region as a UNESCO world heritage site spurred a €14,500,000 project to turn this 800,000 m2 area into a major local and tourist attraction. Now a permanent turnover of 1.5 million temporary visitors has helped to fuel the creation of 1,000 new jobs and 170 enterprises (70% of which are in the creative sector) and generates €68.4 million annually including approximately €11 million of VAT and €1.5 million in other taxes. As well as fuelling the local economy, and sustaining local jobs and innovation, the flow of temporary guests has allowed the area to guarantee the permanence of its own industrial cultural heritage.

Most pronouncedly in southern states, migrant and refugee populations are an increasingly permanent feature, often made up of temporarily present individuals. Migrants, and especially refugees, arriving in Athens live in a climate of uncertainty. Many do not know how long they will remain in Athens, where unemployment is very high, or whether they will be able to continue their journey through Europe or suffer ejection. In reaction to this difficult situation, Athens is creating channels for symbiotic relationships to develop between its permanent and temporary communities.

The project "Curing the limbo," funded by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, offers temporary housing and a cash allowance to refugees in return for their participation in citizen initiatives, such as urban roof-top farming and ethnic cuisine labs. It also offers them the chance to combine temporary employment with on-the-job language courses and soft skills training. In this way, the temporary residents can enrich the host culture while themselves benefiting from local support.[10]

As outlined in detail in EUROCITIES guidelines[11] for cities on the role of culture in the integration of migrants and newcomers, cities can take concrete action to create opportunities for mutual learning and intercultural dialogue. For example, by providing shared public participative spaces. The impact of such places is greatest when established civic institutions such as libraries or museums are involved as this encourages public par-

9 http://nws.eurocities.eu/MediaShell/media/Ruhr_Zollverein_Park_04112015.pdf.

10 https://www.uia-initiative.eu/en/uia-cities/athens.

11 http://nws.eurocities.eu/MediaShell/media/EUROCITIES Guidelines for cities on the role of culture in the integration of refugees, migrants and asylum seekers Sept 2016.pdf.

FIG. 2 Photo Musée passager

FIG. 3 Photo Musée passager

ticipation. Intercultural activities can and should strengthen the self-esteem of the participants by allowing them to share their skills and experience instead of drawing attention to issues such as their lack of language skills.

Mobile culture

Public art can transfer power to people and invite active discussion rather than just passing observation. It can increase the vital-

ity of public space and work with the surrounding environment; temporary time sensitive projects can make the art even more precious. Birmingham, Public Art Strategy[12]

Try as cities might, there are some people that all the free drinks and *hors-d'oeuvres* in China wouldn't lure into a museum or cultural centre. To those of us who can walk in without a second thought, the barriers to entry that many people feel are difficult to detect. Such barriers can and should be removed, but in the meantime, what's to stop the cultural offer leaping through them, and whizzing out into the city?

Museums and institutions need to reinvent themselves and go seek contact with the audience. Either by bringing them in and co-designing cultural programmes, or by going out themselves and engage with citizens in a different way.

Ile-de-France's *Musée passager* does just that. A mobile, temporary and open museum, it travels through suburban cities in the region, showcasing local and international artists. This 150 square-metre pavilion does not just host inspiring works of contemporary art, it also functions as a venue for cultural events, including performances, concerts, conferences and workshops. While the region 100% finances the museum itself, private partners lend support for additional cultural activities, but without the chance to influence the specially curated programme.

Traveling from city to city, the museum welcomes about 10% of the region's population annually, providing a safe space to become more familiar with art, and to interface with one's own community. In the future, the museum hopes to develop even stronger ties with local schools and regional cultural centres. You can learn more about this highly replicable practice in this Culture for Cities and Regions case study.[13]

The city of Birmingham has gone one step further by developing an official Public Art Strategy which recognises the public value of, and seeks to encourage, temporary art: "It is important to remember the rich legacy of temporary projects and events which have affected the experience of residents of and visitors to the city […] Such projects have had a lasting effect on individuals' and communities' perception of and relationship with the city."[14]

The very first point of the action plan included in this strategy is to identify sites where discussions could be opened with developers to have temporary artworks put in place in the lead up to new developments. The EUROCITIES study of the state of public art in European cities[15] provides

12 Birmingham City Council, *Collaborations in Place-based Creative Practice: Birmingham Public Art Strategy 2015-2019* (Birmingham: Birmingham City Council, 2015), 14.

13 http://nws.eurocities.eu/MediaShell/media/IDF_Musee passager_30062015.pdf.

14 Birmingham City Council, *Collaborations*, 14.

15 http://nws.eurocities.eu/MediaShell/media/State_of_the_public_art_in_European_cities_-_A_EUROCITIES_study.pdf.

an outline not only of the strategies and priorities that cities are putting in place to develop their public art offer, but also a number of examples of participatory practices and policy recommendations.

Power of the unpredicted

> «The bud disappears when the blossom breaks through, and we might say that the former is refuted by the latter […] The ceaseless activity of their own inherent nature makes these stages moments of an organic unity, where they not merely do not contradict one another, but where one is as necessary as the other; and constitutes thereby the life of the whole.»
>
> G. W. F. Hegel, *Preface to the Phenomenology of Mind*[16]

When a city becomes a hatchery for many temporary events, when the regulatory climate and wider vision of the politicians are clement to multiple and successful fledgling flights, what begins to develop is a permanent infrastructure for temporary events. People on the margins realise that there is an opportunity for them to bring their cultural offer to the public. They can slip into a space just as a hermit crab slips into an empty shell, and out again as soon as it's outgrown.

Beyond temporary spaces, the recognition of the importance of temporary city dwellers allows structures to form around them through which a cultural osmosis can occur. With these membranes in place—heritage sites, cultural events, participatory spaces—value can pass between the permanent residents and the tourists, migrants and refugees that flow ceaselessly through.

Finally, there is the nomadic event that is permanent within its own trajectory, but temporary from the dominant perspective of settled life and infrastructure. These travelling cultural offers can invigorate a city with the momentum of their journey. As a function of their "instability", they can attract those alienated by more firmly planted institutions, and therefore create new dialogues with more diverse audiences.

In these ways and many more, the temporary can get a permanent foothold in a city, and serve as a catalyst for new visions of, and paths towards, our shared urban future.

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16 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Preface to the *Phenomenology of Mind* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910).

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Practices of Citizenship and Real Estate Dynamics: Roberto Falanga and Chiara Pussetti in conversation with Vando Borghi and Davide Olori

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If you had to briefly describe the main transformations of the urban centers observed in your research sites, what would you highlight?

If 1998, with the inauguration of the Expo, was possibly a unique opportunity for an international promotion of the city of Lisbon, with the 2007 economic crisis we have witnessed the most intense and rapid transformation of the Portuguese Capital. The austerity policies implemented by the center-right government as a response to the Troika between 2011 and 2014 had promoted a vertical growth of the real estate market and, at the same time, strong tax cuts for tourism, restaurants and hotel operators. In these years Easyjet and Ryanair started operating in the Lisbon airport (2009), transforming a city so far peripheral and expensive to reach in a low-cost tourist destination. In the same period, policies to attract foreign capitals were implemented through a series of agreements with third countries. These agreements include that retirees from several European

FIG. 1 Marvila. Photo Vitor Barros.

countries settling in Portugal—even temporarily—can receive tax-free pensions for ten years. The intense flow of tourists in the low-cost regime was rapidly created in Lisbon by the attractiveness of its extreme economic accessibility compared to other European capitals—at least, until recently. The city became also a trendy destination because of the international publicity linked to the presence as residents of several movie stars and public figures in the Portuguese capital—such as Madonna, but also Monica Bellucci, Christian Louboutin, Michael Fassbender and John Malkovich who chose Lisbon as their place of residence. So in a few years many new foreign residents with a large real-estate purchase capacity settled in the city. The Golden Visa programme operated by Portugal—a residence permit for those who do not belong to the European Union or the Schengen area and decide to invest at least €500,000 in the Portuguese property, or to transfer at least €1 million, or to create jobs—has attracted many investors from different countries, in particular China, Brazil, South Africa, Russia and Turkey. Investors do not even need to be residents. The only condition is that investors must spend at least 2 weeks in Portugal every 2 years. From 2012 to date, according to SEF data from 2018 (Serviço Estrangeiros and Fronteira), Portugal has already issued 5,876 Golden Visa for foreign investors and 9,861 for their family members.

Alongside these new "golden" residents and retirees of the bilateral agreements, the foreign population has intensified due to the presence of call centers that since the years of the crisis have mushroomed in the Portuguese territory because of the reduced cost of wages. These very rapid

and intense changes had an impact not only on the lower availability of houses and on the exponential increase in rental and purchase prices, but also on the increase in transport, restaurant and supermarket prices without significant changes in the minimum Portuguese salary, which is around 580 euros. This also meant an intense redevelopment of the historic center and of all the urban territories that may have some kind of interest or tourist attraction. We have thus witnessed the "hipsterization" of the downtown districts, which are now the theater of theme restaurants, fado sell-out shows for tourists, endless rows of colored *tuktuks* (the picturesque three-wheeled taxis originally used in Southeast Asia, based on a Piaggio Vespa), *hotels de charme*—often in buildings of high patrimonial value—and "boutique" houses, often not taking into account the actual needs of the local population.

The renewal of the port area between Santa Apolónia and Terreiro do Paço, has allowed the landing of cruise ships directly in the city center, changing the skyline of the Tagus river and intensifying coastal tourism activities. The main negative effects have to do with the proliferation of tourist leases, the sale of public assets, the absurd increase in rents and the sale value of houses, the Airbnb-ification of the center and the precarization of the right to housing. These phenomena are linked to the massive purchase of properties by investment funds, the eviction of the resident population, the aggravation of previous socio-economic differences and existing forms of structural violence, the removal of disadvantaged sectors of the population, the proliferation of precarious working contracts in the tourism sector. The years of the so-called post-crisis period are

FIG. 2 Marvila. Photo Vitor Barros.

marked by a massive investment in the regeneration and redevelopment of neighborhoods and structures for residential or commercial use.

How does these complex and multi-layered transformation manifest themselves in concrete forms in the physical structure of the city?

Lisbon is undoubtedly different today. It is difficult to define whether it was better back then or now. Some loved its past nostalgic tones of decadence, others like its shiny current version. Undoubtedly, these modifications have transformed squares and neighborhoods that used to have a bad reputation because of the population that lived and frequented them—associated to illegal actions, such as trafficking and prostitution—and previously characterised by the deteriorate conditions of houses and buildings. Since Lisbon has become within a few years a destination of international investment in real estate, as we have said previously, the rental and sale prices of restored properties are definitely out of reach for the average Portuguese.

The rehabilitation of the working-class neighborhoods of the center, of the areas alongside the river Tagus and of the neighborhoods linked to tourism has privileged the expansion of a recreational consumer market (souvenir and art shops) and luxury restaurants (gourmet hamburgerie, creatively revisited traditional cuisine, etc.), tourist accommodation or short-term rent apartments. This happened at the expense of permanent rental houses and traditional local proximity shops (butchers, bakeries, fruit and vegetables stores, haberdashery, etc., run by local residents), in some cases replaced by new merchants coming mainly from India, Pakistan and China. Together with the tendency of a residential segregation in the suburbs, we are witnessing the direct or indirect removal of the original residents from the center, denying access to housing to the more economically vulnerable groups. In recent years, this process started affecting also the middle classes.

Other physical alterations are linked to the "brand" that Lisbon has constructed of itself to attract new touristic flows. There are countless concrete examples of branding through art and street performances. Lisbon is no longer just the city of light, but today it is defined as the city of arts, an open-air museum, through a process led by the municipality. In particular, the urban art gallery (GAU) manages and regulates every street performance and event organised by cultural or artistic associations, influencing their contents, artistic forms and languages through a system of awards or fines. At the same time, strong investments were made in the production of branding strategies linked to the cultural and symbolic specificities of the city: *azulejos*, fado and sardines, for instance, or the various patterns of the *calçada portuguesa*, Lisbon's traditional street paving made by a mosaic of black and white stone tiles.

FIG. 3 Marvila. Photo Vitor Barros.

Branding campaigns often correspond to the transformations of the local commercial activities directed more to tourists rather than the local population. In the case of Lisbon, did private investments led the municipality to develop the city branding campaigns, or, on the contrary, it was the public action that planned the ideal conditions for the proliferation of private initiatives?

In the case of Lisbon, as we said earlier, during the so-called "post-crisis era," private investments boomed and increased constantly. The increase of tourism, the Golden Visa program, negative Euribor taxes, tax easing and the opening of bank credits have contributed to attract foreign investments and to strongly boost the real-estate market. Portuguese government has and continue to strongly invest in the creation of an attractive image of the country and its main attraction poles (Lisbon, Porto, Nazaré and Algarve). Recently, it has extended this branding strategy to the countryside of AlenTagus, where agricultural tourism residences are multiplying, in order to capture foreign investments. In the beginning, public bodies strongly invested in media visibility. The government contracted experts in the optimisation of search engines, whose only mission was to ensure that Portuguese beaches, golf courts, cathedrals, Douro wineyards, the giant waves of Nazaré or the mild hills of AlenTagus appeared on top of every search, any time a tourist was looking for travel destinations.

Place branding was an important strategy to capture foreign investments. During the three years of the presidency of João Cotrim de Figueiredo

(2013-2016), more than half of the whole budget of Turismo de Portugal was given to Google, in particular to buy keywords to guarantee the priority to national websites. During those years, a particular image of Lisbon and Portugal was created as privileged touristic destinations, an ideal place to live, invest, spend holidays or even to enjoy retirement.

Luís Araújo, who succeeded Contim in his office, opted for targeting advertisement to countries with high investment capacity, for example China, Brazil and Turkey, betting on Portugal's pristine beaches, elegant palaces and castles, high cuisine, football and golf. One of the most successful example was Revive, a joint program of the Economy, Finance and Culture ministries, in which the state, together with the municipalities, allowed private investors to exploit public historical buildings in exchange for their physical regeneration and economical valorization. The idea of the program is to sell to private companies important heritage buildings—not only for their high patrimonial value, but also for the historical, cultural and social identity of the country—to be regenerated and transformed in *hotel de charme* or in other profitable touristic activities.

The Câmara Municipal de Lisboa proudly leads a strategic plan to invest on projects and events in the creative and entrepreneurial sector, with a strong attention in freelance work and innovation. The promotion of the city of Lisbon and of the Portuguese territory in general was made, on the one hand, through the exploitation of the themes of well being, quality of life, natural beauties, good weather, light and the sea. On the other hand, branding the territory meant also valorizing cultural heritage—material and

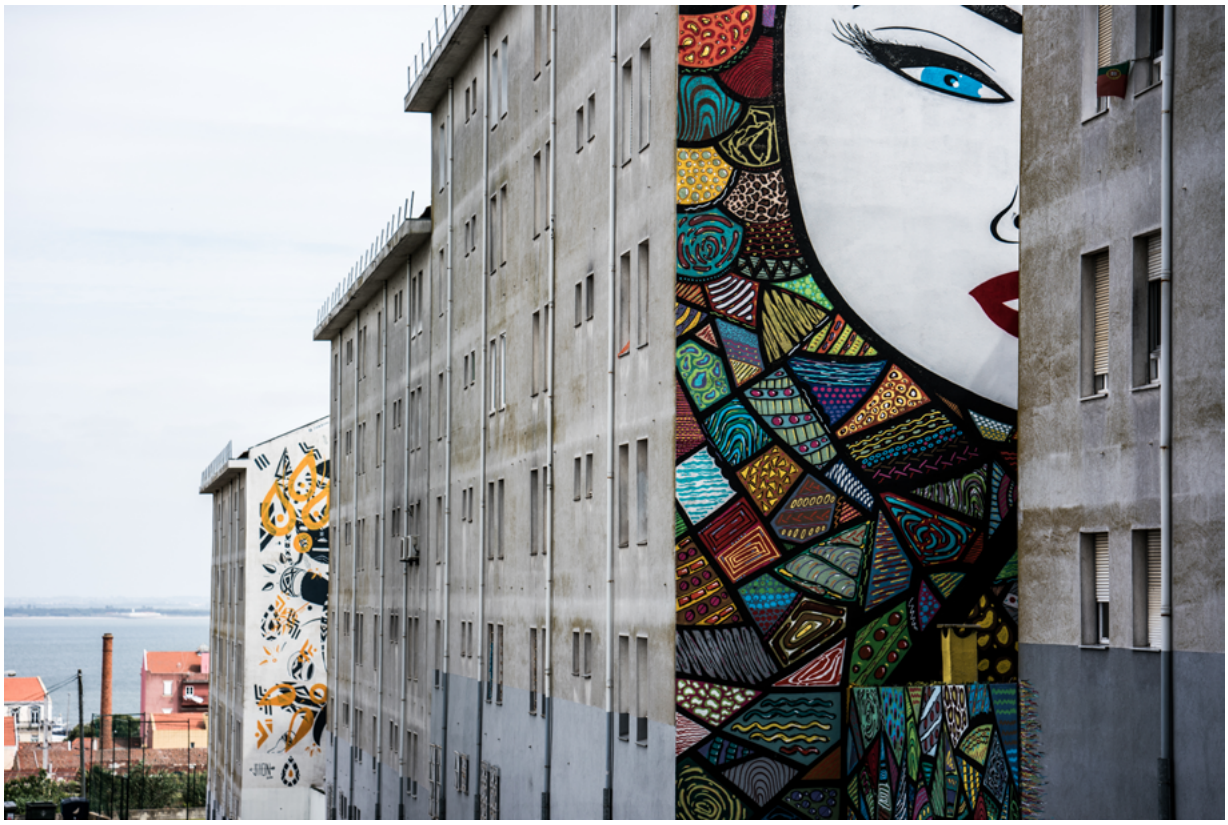

FIG. 4 Marvila. Photo Vitor Barros.

immaterial—and the realisation of artistic events, festivals and open-air exhibitions, in order to create the image of Lisbon as a new Berlin: the city of creative people, of artists, startups, co-working spaces, Fab Labs, according to a well-known narrative of creativity, innovation and technology.

What is the role in these processes of culture, seen not only as traditional cultural institutions such as museums, libraries, etc., but also the universe of everyday life experience and immaterial culture?

Cultural heritage is for sure an element for the attraction of "educated" tourists interested in visiting museums, monuments, palaces, monasteries and other historical buildings. The involvement of the department of heritage of the city council in the definition of tourism strategies testifies the interest of public authorities in the promotion of this kind of tourism. However, the main element of interest for tourists or investors are the climatic conditions and the proximity to natural amenities and seaside destinations (Cascais, Sintra). The cultural universe linked to the everyday life of Lisbon also plays a key role: cafés, *tascas* (small, family-led restaurants), food and typical products (*bacalhau*, *ginginha, pastel de belem*, to name a few), the small, really vintage trams running up and down the urban hills, gourmet markets and the Feira da Ladra (the hyper-touristic flea market), *azulejos*-clad palaces, the pervasive presence of urban art, the many *miradouros* (belvederes), fado, and the vibrant nightlife that thanks to the weather invests great part of the historic city centre and the Tagus riverfronts.

The strategy of extracting value from the "marks of distinction" and identity of places often produces a paradoxical homologation of the commercial and service landscape of cities. Often, urban transformation processes occur in those areas of the city in which the identity of the place is more marked, especially in terms of the presence of a working-class or alternative history. However, these transformations threaten the already fragile ecosystem in which they insist, and in some case they ultimately destroying it. Do you think that the destruction of the cognitive basis upon which these processes proliferate will eventually compromise their economical viability, or do you think that they will be able to trigger a self-generative process that will develop new opportunities?

The transformations, which in some areas of the center of Lisbon can be defined as radical, raise some doubts about the sustainability of the commercial operation that you just have described. Alfama is a good example of the social and demographic changes that are currently taking place. Afama is a historical neighborhood in the heart of Lisbon. Until recently,

FIG. 5 Marvila. Photo Vitor Barros.

it did not have a good reputation because of the precarious living condition of the residents, mostly with low level of education and low rates of employment. In Alfama many of the phenomena that we have described earlier can be observed: small, family-led shops—*tascas* and small groceries stores—have been substituted by small shops managed by the members of the Pakistani community and new gourmet franchises. This substitution has been thought and realized by playing with the most typical elements of the Portuguese tradition, sometimes through the construction of a faux vintage atmosphere able to disorient the average tourists, unable to tell whether a place they visit to eat or to shop is original or not. The success of this operation is also based on one of the main element of Lisbon's rebranding, with the multiplication of *casas do fado*, restaurants and bars offering live music. The regeneration of buildings and their transformation into Aribnbs and tourist houses, as well as the transformation of the internal mobility of neighbourhoods, where the cumbersome presence of *tuktuks* turns the narrow streets into a theme-park amusement ride, complete the picture of the transformations that occurred in Alfama in the recent years.

Other places such as the central Mouraria and the neighbouring Largo do Intendente are experiencing these transformations with the same intensity and rapidity. In these areas the urban regeneration initiatives led by the city council are paralleled by a strong injection of foreign capitals, which have eradicated some important cultural and social inclusion experiences with local communities, pushing cultural animators and residents out

of the neighbourhood to make space for a kind of tourism increasingly concerned with "traditions." Looking at the capillary transformation of the social, economic, territorial and demographic fabric in these neighbourhoods, we cannot help but doubting about the sustainability of such a massive and somehow aggressive operation on the city and its residents. What will remain of the Lisbon sought after by the tourists, if only tourists will be left in the city?

Especially in the Iberian peninsula movements of citizens and associations oppose these tourism-led processes of transformation. They demand the imposition of limits to the tourism industry, the de-touristification of the economy of cities, and the de-growth of tourism, accompanied by policies stimulating more socially and environmentally equitable forms of industry. What do you think is the role of academic institutions vis-á-vis these dynamics? Can academics contribute to the ongoing processes of political recomposition despite their ambiguous position, or on the contrary they have to openly act as a mediator and a filter between urban planners and social demands, trying to balance the strong power asymmetries that occur between them?

One of the most pressing themes in which the political debate is unfolding now is housing. The multiplication of tourist houses in the historic center has compromised the balance between tenants and owners that lasted for decades. It is worth stressing the fact that this balance allowed people with different economic capacities to live in the city. Besides the houses inhabited by those who, after the revolution, signed regulated rental agreements, which allowed access to affordable housing especially to the older part of the population, it was possible to find houses rented at market prices that were accessible for the average salary in Portugal. The boom of the tourism industry in the last years has turned this situation upside town, putting pressure on those people living on a pension or an average salary. In other words, the expulsion of the residents from the historic centre has affected not only the most economically vulnerable part of the population, but has also alarmed the middle classes. This phenomenon, which occurred more recently than the social marginalisation and segregation processes in the peripheries, has triggered self-organised groups, platforms and mobilizations to claim the right to housing against commodification and financialisation.

There are today various groups mobilizing in this direction, which are receiving an international interest thanks to their determination to publicly expose the precarity in which great part of the local population lives. Take, for instance, the group Habita, one of the strongest in this scenario, based in Lisbon and Porto. Habita has a key role in the recently-constituted platform "Stop Despejos" (stop evictions), putting together the various groups

that were self-organizing in the last months. In this groups, it is important to point out that the presence of several researchers has contributed to the problematization and the dissemination in the academic community of the issues at stake. One of the results of the recent mobilization was the creation in 2017 of an underministry of housing, which worked on the definition of a new national strategy which should grant new protections to tenants and increase the offer of public houses. It is an ongoing process whose effects cannot be predicted, although the government cuts in the budget for the implementation of the strategy in 2018 and 2019 has raised perplexity in those who hoped for a positive role of the state in these process.

Staring from a conception of the cultural dimension as a terrain for the elaboration of critical and emancipatory processes in urban contexts, would you like to suggest initiatives such as projects, activities or places that are worth knowing and monitoring?

Since the mid-2000s the Câmara Municipal (the city council) of Lisbon has developed a series of instruments to get the population involved in the making some decisions of public interest. One of the instruments which we think is particularly interesting in the context of this interview is an urban regeneration project providing a yearly budget €2 million to local association and other groups working as non-for-profit organizations proposing intervention strategies in urban territories that are defined as "prior-

FIG. 6 Marvila. Photo Vitor Barros.

itary" for the action of the local government. The program is called BipZip, which is active since 2011 in 67 areas of the city. The issues identified in these areas are very diverse, cutting across the infrastructural, planning, environmental, social and cultural dimensions. Similarly, the proposals that the local partnerships present to the city council and that hope to be financed through a public competition, can relate to the most diverse topics and address various targets. One of the pillars of this program is for sure the active participation of local communities for the realisation of the proposals, granting their sustainability. As a matter of fact, this program has allowed many associations to realize important activities with local communities, reinforcing their social capital as well as creating new social initiatives in the city. We still have to see how these actions—so rooted in their territories—relate to what is happening in the city, as we have described earlier. To what extent the involvement of local actors in the regeneration of fragile areas will not become an instrument which external actors will appropriate to carry on their aggressive action on the city? And how could one measure the "priority" and the need for action of areas located in a territory which is radically transforming its morphology and its social composition?

FIG. 7 Marvila. Photo Vitor Barros.

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The Open Architecture To Come: an Interview with Esra Akcan

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Open Architecture: Migration, Citizenship, and the Urban Renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg by IBA-1984/87 is a unique book in its genre, dealing with a unique case in the history of European cities.1 Written by Esra Akcan, associate professor of architectural history at Cornell University, it sheds light on some of the neglected aspects around the celebrated Internationale Bauaustellung Berlin (IBA), the last and largest urban regeneration process in Europe through public housing, which gathered in the same neighbourhood the works of some of the most famous architects of the time. While the general strategy of the "critical reconstruction" of Berlin's 19th-century fabric and the single architect's buildings are well known, the political context in which the architects were called is often overlooked. IBA operated on the area of Kreuzberg, a district of West Berlin, where great part of its inhabitants were foreigners, in particular Turkish guest workers who started arriving after 1961 and refugees from the 1980 coup, living segregated in torn-down buildings in poor hygienic and structural conditions.

1 Esra Akcan, *Open Architecture: Migration, Citizenship, and the Urban Renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg by IBA-1984/87* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2018).

FIG. 1 Cover of *Open Architecture*, with the collage *Freedom of information*, artwork by Esra Akcan.

The book reconstructs the discriminatory policies that were adopted by the Federal government and the Berlin Senate as well. As part of these, the limit that set, with the excuse of avoiding the creation of "ghettos," the amount of foreign inhabitants for newly constructed buildings in Kreuzberg to 10 percent. Akcan reconstructs the ways in which architects and planners faced these policies, which ranged to pure indifference to strategies of open resistance, shedding a completely new light on well-known buildings and their architects.

Akcan does this by mixing the traditional methods of the historian's archival research with an onsite exploration that lasted many years, in which the historian met activists and the inhabitants which took possession of the apartments after their construction. In this way, Akcan elaborates the methods for writing a history of Open Architecture as a tendency—something that has never been and that cannot be defined once for all, but which nevertheless has always been latently present in the work of many architects.

We had the opportunity to have an exchange with Esra Akcan on the issues of citizenship and hospitality in European cities, and the role of architects, researchers and educators vis-à-vis the phenomenon of global migrations.

Authorial architectural dismisses the voice of inhabitants, politics and conflicts, giving all the agency in the transformation of urban spaces to architects as the depositaries of architectural knowledge. On the other hand the so-called "activist architecture" refuses a strict control over architectural

objecthood, focusing more on the subjects and processes that traverse and produce the built environment. Despite the good intentions of both authorial and participative approaches, exemplified in your book by IBA Neubau and IBA Altbau, you showed that neither have had the power to radically criticize the discriminatory policies of the West German Government and the Berlin Senate.

At best, architecture seems to work as a palliative, to improve the dwelling conditions of inhabitants, or as a critical testimony without the capacity to affect reality. Wasn't perhaps O. M. Ungers—the protagonist of the most emotional of your chapters—right in saying that after all architecture does not have the power to change things, that architecture should not be messing with politics but only with its own internal problems? Or, in the words of Rem Koolhaas praising the paradoxical architectural qualities of the Berlin Wall, that "were not division, enclosure (i.e., imprisonment) and exclusion—which defined the wall's performance and explained its efficiency—the essential strategies of *any* architecture?" In other words, isn't it "open architecture" a contradiction in terms?

Let me rephrase some of the arguments in the book, because this is not the conclusion I draw from the historical evidences pertaining to the urban renewal of the immigrant neighborhood Kreuzberg. For example, I posit the IBA-Altbau (the section that practiced participatory urban renewal without displacement) as one of the most successful examples in history. It had many limits, as I discuss in the book, especially pertaining to the noncitizen population. Nonetheless, after the process, the resulting "percentage [of immigrant population] was well above the Senate's 10 percent threshold".[2] Namely, the Senate's discriminatory regulations about the immigrants were indeed subverted through the work of the IBA-Altbau team, who were employed by the Senate itself. Here we see an example where architects achieve to overcome their own employer/client's discriminatory rules. This entire chapter is about "IBA-Altbau's success in empowering inhabitants vis-à-vis the state."[3]

We can speak of a similar structure throughout the book. All of the chapters both define forms of latent open architecture in history and expose their limits, in order to make a call for the future open architecture. "The book asks what would have happened if the architectural discipline and profession were shaped by a new ethics of hospitality toward the immigrant, and calls this open architecture."[4] For this reason, the book exposes the contradictions in the way latent open architecture has been practiced *in the past*, but open architecture is not at all a contradiction in terms itself.

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2 Ibid., 240.

3 Ibid., 242.

4 Ibid., 6.

It is an incomplete process with unresolved aspects.

I think your question reflects a common habit in architectural criticism today, but one that I try to distance myself from. Namely, the role of scholarship needs to be creating nuanced understandings of past practices, not identifying heroes or villains in an operative way. The book does not turn a blind eye to the contradictions of some of the best practices, but after analyzing the incomplete and unresolved aspects of past practices, I do not reach the conclusion—like you have done in the question—that "architecture cannot change anything." Or after seeing the impotency of this position, I do not shift to the opposite end of the spectrum and naively say "architecture alone can change everything." We need a much more nuanced and realistic understanding of what architecture *can* do, and how. And there is a lot architecture can do, especially if architects collaborate with others, and cultivate themselves about matters in addition to form and client requirements.

FIG. 2 5 June 2012, Memorial in Oswald Mathias Ungers's Block 1 for IBA-1984/87, photographed by Esra Akcan, Berlin, 2012,

A particular place in your book is occupied by the figure of John Hejduk. John Hejduk's architecture is neither "participative" in the classic sense of the word, neither politically critical in content. In his designs the presence of the architect as a creator of form is still very clear. However, as you show in the book, these forms are neither tied with specific uses, nor relate with any historically or culturally defined typology, leaving these forms open for appropriation by anyone. Can we see Hejduk's architectural adventure games, as you call them, as a third way or a line of flight to the deadlock of the debate between autonomy and participation?

Yes, I argue in the book that Hejduk's practice constituted one of the best positions to set an alternative to the opposition between conventional autonomy and participation; but his is not the only one. Actually, there are many other practices analyzed in the book that illustrate viable positions, albeit with unresolved aspects, contradictions, or negligence, including those of Alvaro Siza, Hardt-Waltherr Hämer, Heide Moldenhauer, Cihan Arın, Bohigas/Mackay/Martorell, even Aldo Rossi and Rem Koolhaas and many others with varying degrees of openness to the immigrant. Let me quote from the Preface: Even though this is a story of discrimination and negligence, "this book is also a chronicle of hope. It reports inspiring stories against all odds of immigrants who rightfully take credit of making Berlin's Kreuzberg one of the most exciting places to live in the world. In cases of the lack of hospitality reflected in architecture, it records examples where individual residents triumphed over these non-open spaces. It also brings out solidarities between ex-migrants and citizens, despite the overwhelming discriminations. Additionally, it records one of the most successful chapters of public housing in world history, a program that has since then almost disappeared from the purview of architectural publications and discussions."[5] We need to learn from these practices how architecture could be open, but also observe their contradictions and unresolved aspects to make a call for the future of open architecture. Moreover, I do not think Hejduk's Berlin projects are short of being "politically critical in content" as you say. On the contrary, the "Victims" project proposed for the site of the former Nazi headquarters, which then turned into his Berlin Tower Housing, is very political.

In which ways is architecture open today? Can we find new instances of such a condition for architecture after the 1980s and the IBA debate?

In the book, I define the architectural (formal, programmatic, design process oriented) tactics of open architecture as flexibility and adaptability of form, unfinished and unfinalizabile design, collectivity and collaboration

5 Ibid., 8.

in the design thinking process, participation and democracy in decision making, multiplicity of form's meaning, and open-sourceable design. Any practice that moves toward the expansion of human rights and social citizenship, and toward transnational solidarity can be defined as one type of open architecture. It is true that the sociopolitical and economic conditions of the world we live in today discourage such practices, but they do exist and even get facilitated with the new communication technologies. It is true that the more dominant voices coming out of the architectural discourse today trivialize, dismiss or even oppose such practices, but as far as I can tell by observing my students, there is a growing consciousness about these issues among the new generation. I see that my students are very disappointed with the uncritical, opportunistic, even sometimes anti-intellectual stances that they observe in the recent state of the profession.

Certain manifestations of today's architectural practice can be ascribed to the logic of humanitarianism. Cooperation and development projects often imply migrants or poor populations as "victims" (not in Hejduk's sense) in need for help, without seeing them as active agents of their own choices, and eventually reinforcing the stereotypes and power relations that govern their life. Despite acknowledging the role of humanitarian support, especially in the present political conjuncture dominated by openly racist policies which are threatening the life of many people moving from one country to the other, can we think of open architecture as a critique of humanitarian architecture?

I think you are right about the paternalistic undertones of some of the humanitarian practices, which rely on ages old Orientalist stereotypes. Open architecture anticipates and encourages resident agency, and in that way, it differs from practices that constitute the habitant as a passive and helpless subject. Thank you for noticing this distinction. Yet, this also depends on who in particular we are talking about, because I cannot imagine those dedicated to humanitarianism have not heard of recent ideas in postcolonial theory and critical race studies to overcome this aspect, and move their practice to one that admits and allows more agency to all.

What seems perhaps a crucial aspect of architectural knowledge is its openness to potentiality, with what is already but not yet there. Architecture, as the art of the project, feels somehow more at home with virtuality rather than actuality. You seem to develop a methodology for writing the history of something that has never been, but which has somehow always latently existed; open architecture has sometimes resurfaced into official history, in incomplete and frag-

mented form, but never becoming hegemonic. Is this a history of a concept in its becoming? Contrary to Hegelian history, in which the "not yet" is "already there", open history situates itself in the time frame between "the no longer and the not yet". You define it "a history written in the past perfect tense": "the book asks what would have happened if the architectural discipline and profession were shaped by a new ethics of hospitality toward the immigrant, and calls this open architecture." At the same time, open history is neither a history of Utopia, nor a Utopian history. What we find very interesting about this approach is that open architecture and open history respond to very urgent and very practical needs concerning the reality of the work of architects and researchers alike, looking for an ethics of intervention in the politics of city, without necessarily incurring in what Manfredo Tafuri had censored as "operative history". Do you see open history as the possibility of a militant history?

I agree with everything you said until the word "militant history". Yes, the chapter "Stop VI: Open History in the Past Subjunctive Tense," where you quote these sentences, more explicitly discusses what I call the history of possibility, (against Hegelian notions of actuality and possibility), but there is a general intention in the entire book to posit open history as an alternative to both operative history and unengaged history. But I would not call this "militant". As a matter of fact, my previous books and articles are about perpetual peace, which I see as the opposite of militancy. So, I would not associate open history with this word, but I would use words such as engaged, geopolitical, committed to design practice.

Both *Architecture in Translation* and *Open Architecture* call for the definition of a new ethics of architectural work and research, which mutually complete each other. For example, your performance *Adding a layer Under the Mercator Grid*, which was presented at the Istanbul Design Biennial in 2012, extends and problematises the research that you were conducting in Berlin for *Open Architecture* at the same time. How do you see the relation between research and your own practice, as an architect, artist and educator, both within and outside the academic environment?

Thank you for asking this question that points to something I wish I could have more time for. I also wish museums and galleries trusted me more so that I could continue this practice. As you say, during the course of my research for *Open Architecture*, I tried to find ways to exhibit several aspects of the process. *Adding a Layer Under the Mercator Grid* was exhibited in the 2012 Istanbul Design Biennial. It was the result of the need to create some "fictional" work, where documents of true facts were inaccessible, such as the direct voice of the women who were subject to domestic violence. *Adding a Layer Under the Mercator Grid* staged six scenes to

FIG. 2 Günser Çetiner, interviewed by Esra Akcan, Berlin 2012.

comment on the murder that took place during my research in Ungers' building (that is mentioned in the related chapter) and some other real cases of domestic violence. It was an additional conversation with Peter Eisenman's project—which is the topic of another chapter. It was meant to remind that the concept of the victim is not a synonym of the concept of the good. Being a target of discrimination or violence is not a guarantee of not imposing violence against others. As the staged cases of this work illustrate, immigrant men who were victims of racism in the workplace could well victimize their wives in the domestic sphere **[Fig. 2]**.

Other works produced for *Open Architecture* were exhibited in the Biennial as well. "Freedom of Information" became the cover of the book. After a Turkish immigrant family won its appeal to the German Federal Constitutional Court in 1993, the residents gained legal permission to install satellite dishes as part of their constitutional right to freedom of information. Germany hence started being populated with satellite dishes all around. Visual cacophony according to some people but symbols of demands for freedom of information according to others, the dishes are testimony to the lived forms of IBA buildings. While extending immigrant rights, they simultaneously stamp their houses as territories of the stateless. "Freedom of Information" at the Biennale printed—on an actual satellite dish—a collage of photographs of IBA buildings with copious satellite dishes **[Fig. 1]**.

Still another work was titled "Couplings," which exhibited the oral history aspect of the research process. Unlike conventional architectural histories,

the topic of *Open Architecture* requires giving voice not only to architects and policymakers but also to noncitizen residents. Methodologically, the book extends its theme to its format and explores an open form of writing, through a genre inspired by oral history and storytelling. I propose to configure the individual noncitizen voices as an oral historian who does not have claims to representability, but may rely on one witness, who admits the necessarily partial and contingent nature of oral history; and as a storyteller who acknowledges that the fabric of everyday life unfolding in an individual's experience of a space is also part of a building's history. Architectural history does not end when the building leaves the hand of the architect. I exhibited this aspect in the Biennale in the form a 12-screen video installation that included selections from my oral histories with architects and residents that were done separately but montaged as a conversation on two screens across from each other. When the screen of the resident was active, the screen of the architect froze and vice versa, to expose the dialogue or the lack thereof between them when their ideas about the same space was concerned. This video installation collectively lasted for about 7 hours—which nonetheless constituted only a tiny fraction of the total amount of interviews that were done for the book [Figg. 3-4].

In *Architecture in Translation* you seem to reject the concept of cosmopolitanism in architecture, as an instance of Enlightened universalism. Cosmopolitan ethics, as it was envisioned by Kant, was based on the general acceptation of universal truths that were supposed as inherently rational. Eventually, these universal truths have demonstrated themselves to be actually very culturally, gender-, class- and race-specific: their application did not result in global peace, but in a global bloodshed. In other words, hospitality in cosmopolitanism is a conditional one, based on the acceptation of the host's principles. It seems that you have introduced the concept of open architecture as an antidote for cosmopolitan architecture. However, do you see any possibility to redefine cosmopolitanism *from below*, as Arjun Appadurai has described it, a cosmopolitanism without a universal idea of what humanity is, but which rather develops from the life of the city and the struggles of the urban poor?

Architecture in Translation exposes the contradictions in the dominant, Kantian cosmopolitanism, but, rather than rejecting it as a whole, the book makes a call for a new cosmopolitan ethic for global justice and perpetual peace (to repeat a phrase in the pages, on the book cover and several announcements).[6] "Universalism" is also a concept that we need to be more careful about, before jumping into complete, *a priori* refusal or acceptance. And it is not a value posited in Germany or Europe alone: sev-

6 Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

FIG. 4 from Uzun's balcony in Block 28 for IBA-1984/87, photographed by Esra Akcan, Berlin, 2012

eral teachings across the planet cultivate a universal understanding, and what might be seen as a synonym/translation of the word cosmopolitan ethics. This discussion is picked up in *Open Architecture*. For your readers who might not have read the book, let me quote the paragraph that I think explains this the best in the Preface of *Open Architecture*. "The migrations between Germany and Turkey during the first half of the twentieth century, of not only people but also images, ideas, objects, technologies, and information, was the topic of my book *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House*. There, I also commented on the insufficiencies of the dominant ethics of hospitality, by discussing the unresolved points in Kantian cosmopolitanism. While some might argue that Kant's notion of hospitality falls outside the realm of individual moral judgements, because it is concerned strictly with laws and regulations between states, I instead followed the thinkers who discuss this hospitality within the general framework of the philosopher's ethics. Commenting on, first, the potential Eurocentrism and second, the paradoxes of conditional hospitality in Kantian ethics where unconditional good will is the highest order, I argued that this hospitality does not annihilate the perception of the"guest" as a possible threat. A conditional hospitality that comes with an "if" clause, one that gives migrant individuals cosmopolitan rights only if they comply with the predefined norms of the "host", and therefore one that still construes them as the "other" and constructs a hierarchy, is not true hospitality. I think this is still the dominant mode of hospitality today, and hence constitutes the ethical backdrop of the ongoing human rights

regime, even though the current international laws are, strictly speaking, products of more recent times. This book picks up these two debates in *Architecture in Translation*, namely, both the history of migrations between Europe and West Asia, and the discussion on the unresolved nature of the dominant notion of hospitality, "by making a plea for a new ethics of welcoming that would inform open architecture to come."[7] This may indeed have similarities with "cosmopolitanism from below," which is theorized as "translation from below" in *Architecture in Translation*.

Thank you very much for reading my books carefully and for your questions.

7 Akcan, *Open Architecture*, 7.

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Rethinking the Smart City

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review by
Saveria O. M. Boulanger

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What is today a Smart City?

When the word appeared at the end of last century as an innovative concept, the world looked at technological innovation inside urban contexts with significant expectations. Innovation was, in fact, seen as the path for the improvement of citizens' life in cities.

Since there and within a time frame of around twenty years, several experiences took place in Europe and in the world seeing a more or less consistent digital implementation or actions around the idea of *smart city*.

Frequently, cities installed sensors, collected data, boosted the implementation of WiFi and broadband: in other world cities promoted digital technologies as enablers of change.

What are the outcomes of these processes today? Is it already possible to draw conclusions and to verify the progress of these experiences?

Eugeny Morozov and Francesca Bria addressed these questions with a highly critical analysis in their recent book *Ripensare la smart city* published in Italy for Codice Edizioni.[1]

The essay is structured in two distinct sections, respectively written by Morozov and Bria following different objectives, although with a single shared thesis: the Smart City, as it is carried out today, is the result of a neoliberal economical society based on a new digital capitalism allowing, i.e. through the privatization of data, the central role of big private technological companies - among all those under the name of GAFA (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon). This central role produces a direct dependence of cities in respect with these big companies who, according to the authors, built a monopolistic market meeting several consequences: first of all, the complete unavailability of data, produced and collected inside cities, but not easily accessible from local administrations and, in the authors' thesis perhaps above all, from citizens.[2] Secondly, according to the authors, such a system distorts urban actions impacts analysis, producing on the contrary a race to rankings, which assess administrations performances in respect to services provided. Although a careful assessment of actions' impacts can be in itself an element of interest, today it is carried out by using the enormous amount of data that cities produce but not publicly own. This generate an "economy of results".[3]

Eugeny Morozov's section is, therefore, a lucid and critical analysis of the smart phenomenon. The author, known for his punctual and pungent readings of digital implementation in the contemporary world, retraces some of the most peculiar practices related to the theme, including the birth of the phenomenon, attributed to companies like IBM, who firstly produced and sold new technologies for the city, creating new market strips; the creation of surveillance communities, for which smart technologies have produced new generations of robots; up to the so-called greenfields or "new foundation cities" that, pushing to extreme the author's ideas, seem to almost constitute supermarkets or showcases for the latest generation of products. The advent of companies such as Uber and Airbnb is therefore seen as a foregone conclusion of this process of urban privatization, to which austerity has given additional power. It is clear that, in such an urban reality, the few resources available and the "desire to make things work"[4] facilitated the use of private technological suppliers, as well as the presence of unconventional operators who contributed to increase the impoverishment of urban values towards more gentrified systems.

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1 Francesca Bria, Evgeny Morozov, *Ripensare la smart city* (Turin: Codice Edizioni, 2018). An English text from the same authors was published as Francesca Bria, Evgeny Morozov, *Rethinking the Smart City: Democratizing Urban Technology* (New York: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2018), available at http://www.rosalux-nyc.org/wp-content/files_mf/morozovandbria_eng_final55.pdf.

2 Bria, Morozov, *Ripensare la Smart City*, 88-90.

3 Ibid., 34.

4 Ibid., 62.

The second part written by Francesca Bria, currently Commissioner for Digital Technology and Innovation in the city of Barcelona with a background on the Innovation Agency NESTA, deals more closely with the identification of the strategies that the so-called "rebel cities"[5] can adopt to reverse the current trends of privatization. Firstly, it is proposed to implement alternative data management policies, through the creation of public and open source platforms; then to promote a transition towards the management of data as *common goods*, shared by the population and public administrations; to take-back as public all services and infrastructures essential to urban life; the establishment of a "universal basic income aimed at fighting poverty, social exclusion and work automation;"[6] finally the promotion of cooperative organizations with priority over the central state and market solutions.

It is also proposed to proceed with these changes through pilot projects and small-scale experiments with the direct involvement of citizens. In this perspective, the author describes several best practices such as those carried out in Barcelona by the Mayor Ada Colau; the projects on data management in Helsinki and Amsterdam; the Health Knowledge Commons of Great Britain.

Overall, the analysis carried out within this essay is precise and innovative in highlighting the criticalities and contradictions of this approach. Bria and Morozov are in line with other authors who were also critical to Smart City, including Robert Hollands,[7] who showed the vagueness of the concept and its criticalities, in being a variation of the *entrepreneurial city*.

The theoretical and case studies research underlying the book starts, however, from considering the Smart City only in its correlation to digital implementation. The definition of the Smart City, in fact, is:

The word smart refers to any digital technology used in a specific urban context produce new or optimize already existing resources, to modify the user's behaviour or to guarantee other prospective improvements in terms of flexibility, security and sustainability[8].

According to their own statement, it seems that the adjective *smart* is predominant in respect to the noun *city*, even if the combination of the two words holds together an expression that links the city to the promotion of "specific neoliberal interventions" promoting the "superiority of the mer-

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5 Ibid., 85.

6 Ibid., 94.

7 See Robert G. Hollands, "Will the Real Smart City Please Stand Up? Intelligent, Progressive or Entrepreneurial?" *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 12, 3 (2008): 303-320.

8 "La parola smart, o il termine intelligente, si riferisce a ogni tecnologia digitale impiegata in un determinato contesto urbano con l'intento di produrre nuove risorse, di ottimizzare quelle esistenti, di modificare il comportamento dell'utente o di garantire altri miglioramenti prospettici in termini di flessibilità, sicurezza e sostenibilità." Bria, Morozov, *Ripensare la Smart City*, 11, author's translation.

cantilist model over all the others."[9]

This definition, although original and particularly attentive to the sometimes less known dynamics of the contemporary society, seems not to take into account the other possible forms of technology that a city can implement to improve itself or the underlying complexity of urban spaces. Technologies may or may not rely on the digital frame. As an example, technologies related to energy, renewable energy sources, electricity grids, technologies for improving the performance of buildings, etc., can be used to improve the efficiency of the energy system.

Moreover, in order to allow intelligent management, urban complexity can require not only the use of data and their correct management, even if this is an important aspect, but also intelligent governance models that regulate relations between private companies, public administrations, citizens and data by finding the most effective balances and equilibrium.

Finally, the need to make data available to citizens and public administrations requires some considerations toward their different roles: as also mentioned in the essay, data accessibility can encourage the production of new innovative entrepreneurship such as start-ups and university spin-offs and, above all, can make cities more aware of their limitations and priority axes of intervention. The increase of urban knowledge, based on science, can boost the application of place-based strategies which must not be generalized and functional to each place, but specific on the singularities of the different urban contexts.

In conclusion, it is considered that the greatest merit of the essay is to highlight the contradictions of the subject, while proposing practical guidelines for the improvement of urban development, also taking into account the aspects of ethics and protection and proper management of data produced in urban realities, even if the aspect of urban complexity and multi-stakeholders approach seems to be left in the background.

9 Ibid., 12.

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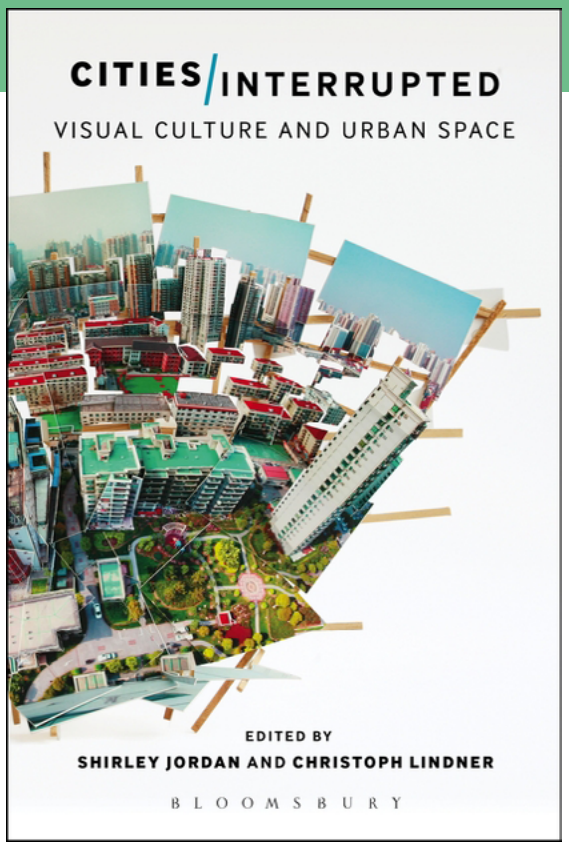

Cities Interrupted: Visual Culture and Urban Space

Edited by Shirley Jordan and Christopher Lindner
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235 pages, 50 b/w illustrations
ISBN 978-1-4742-2442-0

review by
Federico Camerin

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The work edited by Shirley Jordan and Christoph Lindner is valuable to be reviewed in this special issue the *European Journal of Creative Practices in Cities and Landscapes* as it directly links discourses on globalization and cities, especially from the point of view of the visual culture of the global city. Most importantly, the book reflects on a set of issues based on the concept of "interruption" that can help us to think the role of *cosmopolitan citizenship* in our society, understood as the recognition of the active participation of temporary city dwellers in the social, cultural and political community. Even if the book is not directly conceptualizing cosmopolitan citizenship, I believe that the book allows us to make a connection between visual culture and cosmopolitan citizenship through the concept of *interruption*.

This book understands interruption as a break in the consolidated historical balance of urban spaces and their life with new cultures, unexpected citizens' practices, and different ways to experience and transform pub-

lic spaces, such as monuments (Chapter 11), museums (Chapter 3), and streets (Chapter 12). Specifically, the concept of interruption is intended as a wide range of temporal interventions. These include the idea of spatial interruption in the built environment that calls attention to issues of ongoing urban development and restructuring. In other words, interruption entails breaking in upon an action, bringing about a temporal rupture, creating an interval that draws attentions to itself as a deliberate counter. Temporary public spaces can also be conceived as interruptions, as they enable temporary uses and new urban cultural practices, allowing users to constitute themselves as citizens. However, the book does not only analyze interruption as a form of liberation and empowerment, but also as a functional element for the reproduction of neoliberal globalization. Visual culture is the tool through which the book interprets the potential of interruption in current society, and how visual culture can be used as a tool to respond and to act in contemporary cities. From our point of view, the method outlined in the book can help us in creating a link between visual culture and cosmopolitan citizenship.

Visual culture and interruption can be seen as *traits d'union* that allow cosmopolitan citizens to use and produce urban space, beyond the multiple identities and belongings governing various scales ranging from the individual to the family, from neighborhood to the city, from nation to the global level.

Interruption can be conceptualised in two contrasting ways. On the one hand, interruption can be essentially conceived as a ruined space, as a failure of the capitalistic system, located typically in the inner areas of established cities. On the other hand, interruptions are not only failures, as these abandoned spaces can be the fertile ground for the experimentation of new modes of urban speculation which could help the reproduction of the capitalist mode of production (Chapter 2).

If we take into consideration some of the study cases of the book, we can see how these ruins, these abandoned spaces, are now transformed in—often gentrified—public spaces, as situated devices of cosmopolitanism. We can observe this status on the specific case of the High Line, the very famous linear park on Manhattan's West Side involving the creative greening of former elevated railway tracks. Its mobility represents a double interruption, both as a transit path of slow urbanism, and simultaneously as a contribution to the acceleration of the urbanism of globalization (Chapter 4). Here we can see how visual culture, by the management of interruption, can help to the redevelopment of a specific abandoned space. In the case of the Canal de l'Ourcq in Paris, street art is snagged between protest culture and capitalistic spectacle, as demonstrated by the absorption of graffiti into the mainstream global art world. graffitis on derelict buildings allowed this zone to become progressively a key visual cultural center for the city of Paris (Chapter 6).

Can the production of urban spaces through magazines, posters, photographs, films and monumental art works affect and empower the life of cosmopolitan citizens (Chapter 8)? Conversely, how are these tools used in order to create consensus and pacify conflict? How can visual culture reinforce or restructure cosmopolitan citizenship within the centre-periphery relations of the global city? Visual culture, either as a consensual device for conflict management or as a trigger for urban interruption is a powerful tool to address to these questions through the immediate givens of perception, intuition and affection.