BENEDICT ANDERSON

The City in Transgression

HUMAN MOBILITY AND RESISTANCE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The City in Transgression

The City in Transgression explores the unacknowledged, neglected, and ill-defined spaces of the built environment and their transition into places of resistance and residence by refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, the homeless, and the disadvantaged.

The book draws on urban and spatial theory, socio-economic factors, public space, and architecture to offer an intimate look at how urban sites and infrastructure are transformed into spaces for occupation. Anderson proposes that the varied innovations and adaptations of urban spaces enacted by such marginalized figures – for whom there are no other options – herald a radical new spatial programming of cities. The book explores cities and sites such as Mexico City and London, the Mexican/US border, the Calais Jungle, and Palestinian camps in Beirut and utilizes concepts associated with 'mobility' – such as anarchy, vagrancy, and transgression – alongside photography, 3D modelling, and 2D imagery. From this constellation of materials and analysis, a radical spatial picture of the city in transgression emerges.

By focusing on the 'underside of urbanism', *The City in Transgression* reveals the potential for new spatial networks that can cultivate the potential for self-organization so as to counter the existing dominant urban models of capital and property and to confront some of the major issues facing cities amid an age of global human mobility.

This book is valuable reading for those interested in architectural theory, modern history, human geography and mobility, climate change, urban design, and transformation.

Benedict Anderson is an independent scholar and practices in design, architecture, and public art. He has worked in many different universities, lectured extensively as an invited speaker, and exhibited in major exhibitions around the world. His previous books for Routledge are *Buried City, Unearthing Teufelsberg: Berlin and its Geography of Forgetting* (2017) and *The City in Geography: Renaturing the Built Environment* (2019).

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Human Mobility and Resistance
in the 21st Century

Benedict Anderson

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Preface

The university originated in the pursuit to understand all manner of phenomena, from the body, medicine, mathematics, and the sciences to broader inquiries into philosophy, humanity, Earth, and the cosmos. By contrast, the present-day university is consumed by the business of education and individual self-interest, much to the detriment of collective enquiry. This seemingly bipolar position has overtaken the core ethical role of the academy – an institution charged with the dissemination of knowledge and creation of an environment expressing thought and dissidence, risk and inspiration; where experimentation, critique, failure, and pleasure are valued as much as success. It might sound as if my disillusion with the university system has clouded my perception of the many great things that happen within and emerge from universities, which have a positive impact on the world at large. This is not the case. I remain hopeful. I always believed in the students I taught and trusted them implicitly, and I hope that the education I provided fed into and enhanced their practices in design and architecture. The transgression of the academy to form the modern-day university I later learnt is not too dissimilar to the transgression this book explores in examining city and human mobility in the 21st century.

In 2016, after more than 25 years and eight universities, I left the academic world that had consumed so much of my own. I could have stayed on in my final university post until retirement (god forbid!), protecting my small patch of ground, stemming the flow of new people with new ideas, but instead I chose to leave. Thick or thin skinned, it was not the fault of the skin – more the bruising on top of the bruising of working in the system of entrepreneurial education. Now an independent scholar, I am answerable to myself, to my ideas, and to the publisher. I am always fearful of what I write. Like a performer about to take the stage, I am nervous of my performance. I write in fear; not only of not knowing but also of how to express an idea on a theme to find answers – however flawed they might turn out to be. It is wonderful to be given the opportunity to write down ideas and to be reviewed and critiqued by peers, and by encountering differing views, I learn in the process.

This book grew out of two previous books investigating the urban built environment by drawing on the histories of settlement to city, destruction, and burial. The first book, *Buried City*, *Unearthing Teufelsberg: Berlin and its Geography of Forgetting*, looked at how a people came to bury their city Berlin following its destruction during WWII. Exploring various concepts of constructing forgetting (trauma, cultural, physical, natural), the book focuses on a vast rubble mountain known as *Teufelsberg* (Devil's Mountain) where the remnants of 16,000 buildings lay buried. The book proposes an unearthing of the rubble mountain as a way to counter the psychological effects of constructing forgetting in burying the destroyed city. The book concludes with an act of remembering, proposing an archeological dig and extraction of 25 core rubble columns *Graphiens*, symbolizing *Teufelsberg*'s construction and the women and men (*Trümmerfrauen* and *Trümmen-männner*) who worked to bury their city.

The second book, *The City in Geography: Renaturing the Built Environment*, presented the opportunity to further develop human/geography relations through historical and contemporary perspectives in the transition from the settlement to the city. The book charts the contestation of ground through the removal of terrain, as well as the role of topography, geography, and the will of human design in forging the city. I argue that formations, ruptures, and separations between humanity and geography are a result of the development of cities. With half of the world's population residing in dense urban centers, the book asks: what is the future of the city in the present epoch of the Anthropocene? I call for a reconnection between geography and the city by reintroducing physical terrain and uprooting the sealed surfaces that separate ground and human experience. The book concludes by proposing city 'rewilding' as much as human 'wilding', reconnecting both with geography. Such a reconnection would effectively expose city inhabitants to the Earth's turbulent weather patterns, reconfiguring the city and human survival as a single, interrelated entity.

The City in Transgression: Human Mobility and Resistance in the 21st Century is the third investigation of the city, urbanism, and humanity. Deploying concepts of transgression, vagrancy, indeterminacy, belonging, and anarchy within the context of urban space, the homeless, migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees, the book explores alternative spatial programming for cities by examining the interstitial, indeterminant, and hidden spaces of the built environment as potential for spatial transition. As with the previous books, I have again found myself writing part of this book in Mexico City, perhaps for the diverse stimuli and experiences that the city offers, in contrast to the quietness of my pine-lined room tucked away in the roof above my apartment in Berlin (which I pretentiously refer to as my own 'Heidegger's Hut' minus the Black Forest) and its vista of tiled roofs, chimneys, and sky.

Acknowledgments

elation come over me as I read through each page that I have done so many times already. Gloom as I ask myself 'How did I get to write back-flipping grammar?' and elation in how the prose moves forward, rhythmic and clear. I am very grateful to him.

This completes the trio of books for Routledge written over four years. It takes a bit of dedication. I work hard every day. I am unsure if it shows and unsure if I should continue. I have new ideas for new books. It is a lonely existence at times, being alone with one's thoughts day after day. But, of course, it is also a liberating one, and I remind myself of this each and every day.

Introduction

In 2019, I came across a story of a man who had left his family, his home, and his job to live in a niche under a highway overpass in Mexico City from September 2017 to August 2018. Not much is known about why he came to live there. I met a number of people who drove past his place of residence and, when caught in traffic, would hand him some money even though he would not ask for it. One driver who gave money to the man also offered the use of his bathroom to take a shower. When the man declined, the driver was struck by his eloquent voice and sincere thanks for the offer. His belongings were simple: a blue mattress (probably collected from a nearby gym that collapsed as a result of the 7.1 magnitude earthquake which struck Mexico City on September 19, 2017), a red plastic container in which to store his personal items, and some objects neatly placed on a small shelf in the niche. On Sundays, the man could often be seen eating in a nearby street market. What prompted this man to leave his home, his family, and his job? Speculatively, some told me that he might have been suffering from stress or a mental breakdown. Perhaps it was none of these but rather a self-initiated exploration of what it is to be homeless. In a city inhabited by 22 million people, his occupation of a piece of infrastructure in the middle of a very busy road is certainly not unusual where many homeless and migrants inhabit such sites. Just as he had appeared and started living in the niche, soon he disappeared from it without a trace. Where did he go? Back to his family? With him gone from the underpass niche, the people I talked to, who had grown accustomed to seeing him, found themselves looking at the niche as they drove past carrying the memory of the mysterious man who lived there for a year.

Right from the outset of writing this book, I was overwhelmed by the scope of the project I had set out for myself and by the fear of failing to produce a succinct account of human mobility and resistance in the 21st century. Confronting the global coverage of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants fleeing civil war, poverty, famine, cultural, gender, and religious persecution and the ever-increasing effects of climate change such as land degradation, drought, and water scarcity is akin to entering into a shattering dystopian account of human and physical geography of the present.

Crossing deserts, at the mercy of people smugglers, floating in rubber dinghies on deep blue seas, confronting discrimination and victimization from hostile immigration policies by countries in which they sought sanctuary and protection combined with their suffering from the loss of family, friends, and cultural identities left behind, human mobility and resistance in the 21st century has become a global crisis. ABC, BBC, Al Jazeera, CNN, FOX, and DW are some of the global news networks that report on the plight of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. Depending on where these networks position themselves politically, their coverage often reveals the extreme divide that separates the conservative right from the liberal left. Political parties espousing right-wing fears and threats about refugees and migrants have managed to manipulate, distort, denigrate, neglect, and violently subject refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants to untold suffering, harassment, and persecution. Instead of understanding their exodus, plight, and trauma as people, we instead use labels such as refugees and asylum seekers that fit their status of non-body, non-place, non-people – vestiges of oppression from much of the Western world. Nations overwhelmed and struggling with the sheer numbers of migrants do what they can, while other nations refuse to assist and turn a blind eye. While there are some nations, NGOs, and individuals who accept, as their moral responsibility, the duty to provide sanctuary to the refugees, there are other nations that spend their time strengthening their resistance by militarizing borders, building walls, and stoking racist and religious hatred right up to the level of state-sanctioned policies. The intractable, polarized positions of 'accepting and helping' or 'discriminating and rejecting' has resulted in an impasse that has inhibited any formulation of an effective global strategy to this modern evolution of human migration.

As soon as I had some sort of understanding of the complex issues concerning global human mobility, new sets of circumstances and conditions would come to the fore. The endless string of human catastrophes that highlight the lengths to which refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants would go – lives lost in deserts, at sea, in transit in refugee camps, in detention camps, suffocating in refrigeration trucks, enslaved, bought, sold, and sexually abused in conflict zones. These are just some of the harrowing experiences amid this unfolding human tragedy. My constant fear of writing about their plight from the perspective of the city forced me to question my own experience and wonder how I might comprehend their crisis. Days spent researching and writing would slowly pass in degrees of consternation and self-doubt. Other days would go faster with an enthusiasm to write about a world divided, the privileged and the unprivileged, the free and the constrained. The histories of human migration over tens of thousands of years that formulated the different cultures and languages of the world have now taken on a different passage in this present age, spiked by the turmoil of world politics and climate instability. Human migration is now viewed in terms of fear and threat, spun by a select few nations so as to deny the vast

Figure 0.1 Site of homeless man's niche residence under overpass, Mexico City
Source: photo by author, 2019

majority of the world's nations and their peoples their rights of mobility to freely access the world.

To imagine that this book might mean something to the millions of people trapped, detained, and encamped if they were to happen upon a copy of it somewhere in the world is wishful thinking. In the right conditions, this book could have an influence on planners and authorities insofar as it advances ideas about how cities can be transformed to accommodate mass human mobility by proposing concepts such as transitory urbanism, usurping capital and property, and the formation of self-governing communities. But this remains speculative at best in a world transfixed by capital, property, and protectionist policies. One hope emerges from what this book might mean to the young people and their anger in response to the overriding environmental and humanitarian issues facing them on the back of the excesses of previous generations. No doubt, the book's fate is likely to end up buried in some library somewhere. So, I suppose it comes down to what this book means to me, the author. What have I achieved in writing it? How do I think about its shortcomings, its experience, its reality? It would be easy to suggest that perhaps a second book might be the answer, but I doubt

this is so. If this account fails to address the crucial issues facing human mobility and resistance in the 21st century, there is nothing to suggest that a second one will succeed. With that said, this book does not present an endless array of anthropological statistics mapping human pathways across the globe. Instead the main focus is how cities might respond to global human mobility by rethinking the city as a way of resettlement to find out what becomes of the city in transgression. The book explores the unacknowledged, neglected, and ill-defined spaces of the built environment and their transition into places of resistance and residence by the homeless, migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Proposing that their invention, adaptation, and temporary occupations of urban spaces herald a radical new spatial programming of cities, the book regards them as explorers of a new frontier in urban transformation. A result of there being no other option, their occupation shows a readiness to test and transform space in crafting shelter and protection. Their adoption and adaptation of urban spaces, I will argue, illustrates the potential to confront the spatial issues facing cities in the age of global human mobility.

Human mobility cannot be halted. In nations still haunted by histories of colonial invasion, land dispossession, and scarce opportunities, people have little chance of obtaining and sustaining purposeful lives. War and famine stoked by internal and external destabilizing influences, as well as the plundering of resources by multinational corporations, have led to millions undertaking journeys to seek out better opportunities elsewhere. Worldwide telecommunications have collapsed space-time distances between peoples. Images beamed in microseconds across the screens of billions of phones held in the hands of billions of people provide virtual access to the world; one that clearly displays the vast inequity between people living in safer and more prosperous countries than their own. This free-flowing global communication has brought geography and world events, people and cultures, poverty and hardship, ecological disasters and devastation that now connects people across the world to a single yet increasingly unanchored entity. The forces of nation states and nationalism, greed and downright ignorance of the causes of global human mobility in the 21st century prevail. In the age of climate change, it is not only the predominately poorer nations that will feel the effects (although, of course, they will be affected sooner). Rich Western countries, too, will see the impact of climate catastrophe, as America and Europe's CO_2 emissions continue to ravage the earth, alongside more recent big polluters like China and India. Given there is seemingly no escape from this unfolding Earth–human catastrophe, one outcome we can be assured of is that human mobility and transitory migration will become a way of life for us all, and resistance to this reality will be futile.

This book sets out to explore the transition of the city into spaces of resistance and residence in creating present transgressions for the future city in mobility. The homeless, refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers' spatial occupations of urban sites are challenging city planning and urban

programming. Their clandestine occupations of urban infrastructures illustrate how the city can be led out of bonded protectionism of capital and property to a state of city transgression and spatial mobility. To lay down the groundwork, the book proposes a redefining of boundaries, forging crossovers and devising spatial infiltrations to arrive at a thesis that conceives of how the cities of today can respond to mass human mobility now. Deploying concepts, descriptions, and terminologies associated with transgression, indeterminacy, vagrancy, and anarchy in negotiating the social, spatial, political, cultural, architectural, urban, and human geographies, my hope is that this new framework can offer some glimpses of what the city in transgression might look like and how it might be lived.

The plan of the work is to follow lines and threads about how indeterminacy, transgression, vagrancy, and anarchy have been present, at various levels, in the evolution of the city and its environments. Indeterminacy counters determinacy via transgression; negotiating what appears as fixed and bounded. Jose V. Ciprut argues that determinacy is a restrictive and reductive dogma, for it 'confines chance, jettisons mystery, limits the inexplicable, and restricts doubt of total randomness'.[1] Bernard Tschumi suggests that transgression creates the opportunity 'to accelerate social change' so as 'to arrive at new social and urban structures'.[2] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, vagrancy is an 'action or fact of wandering or digressing in mind, opinion, thought',[3] that is, transgression through mental flexibility and physical mobility. Anarchy, according to the same dictionary, is 'a state of disorder due to absence or non-recognition of authority or other controlling systems'[4] that can give rise to alternative self-organizing communities, replacing the hierarchical structures, dominance of capital, and societal controls. Drawing on these terms and others to propose new spatial relationships can help to define a model for the city in transgression to the city in mobility.

The issues concerning human mobility outlined thus far are designed to set out the direction that the book will take and how spatial indeterminacy, vagrancy, and anarchy can help to characterize processes of societal action that are applicable to refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless occupations of urban sites in the city. The focus of each chapter is as follows: Chapter 1, 'Movement', reviews human mobility and the present condition of migrant flows, the roles of civil and civic enterprise from a Western perspective that forged city-human identities and social-institutional representations, and the histories of human migration that created the diversity of human cultures, languages, and race that form the world today. Chapter 2, 'Urban Mobility', reviews how *movement, surface*, and *indifference*, via the body, material, and detachment, are situated within the programming of spatial control. The chapter formulates how the combination of material and body co-produce our relations and mobilities in cities. Chapter 3, 'Indeterminant Occupation', reviews how *experience, space*, and *place* characterize our exchanges with the built environment. While they might appear to

be imminently solid, they are in fact fragile codifiers, which can modulate connectivity, identity, and behavior. The chapter explores indeterminacy by arguing that place territorializes space for ownership, whereas space elicits freedoms for interpretation.

Chapter 4, 'Ousted Vagrancy', explores *roaming, loitering*, and *the unhomely* as spatial opportunities via temporary occupations and inhabitations. Vagrancy connects to transgression through the freedom of movement across and beyond spatial boundaries. Loitering reestablishes temporary spatial occupation in contrast to the controls enforced on public and civic spaces in urban planning. The unhomely explores the embodiment of space – a fusing of vagrancy and inhabitancy by the homeless and refugees within the infrastructures of the urban environment. Chapter 5, 'Collective Anarchy', surveys urbanity as *off the wall, rogue sites*, and *out of space* spaces of insurgency as a means to establish alternative forms for living. Where *roaming, loitering*, and *the unhomely* are transient movements and temporary occupations of space, *off the wall, rogue sites*, and *out of space* set out the various adoptions and adaptations of space. By acknowledging that the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants are the new urban explorers of the city, one can identify a precedent for flexible social conditions to prevail and thrive. Their physical adaptations of urban spaces can set the agenda for a transformative mobility in the city.

Chapter 6, 'City in Transgression', points to the city in mobility. *Instability of order* and *the radical turn* take up the idea of transgression, previously circumvented by short durations of movement, for a new contravention of city space. *Instability of order* makes the argument that transgression causes a new order for the city based on spatial opportunity, invention, and adaptation of the urban plan rather than via capital and ownership. *The radical turn* is concerned with how to apply the formerly visible yet non-aligned spaces of the homeless, asylum seekers, and migrants as being an integral part of city urban planning. *Infrastructure edges* looks to how the lines of borders and boundaries can be broken to acquire inhabited space over neutral ground where neither property nor capital dominate.

The concluding Chapter 7, 'Unbounded Mobility', visualizes the city in transgression and mobility. Through design interventions, it advocates a city that is robust in generating new forms of inhabitation based on the adoption and invention of existing urban spaces via an economy of means. *Dwelling in mobility* returns the city to the idea of dwelling – an idea that is not concerned with forming a home or a place. *Least resistance* deals with an urban identity that is frictionless, deriving spatial occupation from the idea of minimal disruption while providing the greatest possibility for actioning an alternative urban and social model. Finally, *fabricating mobility* sets out a number of urban visualizations of the city in mobility amid a continual oscillation of people flowing through and with the city – a globally mobile humanity and a world in transgression.

Note: To write asylum seekers, migrants, and refugees, homeless is at times replaced with the collective description *unhomed*. Amnesty International declares that there is no singular, complete definition as to what constitutes a refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant. Naming them the *unhomed* is to create a counterpoint to the societal dominance and status quo of the *homed*. Of course, all such terms are flawed insofar as they can never adequately represent the diversity of people that fall within and indeed outside these descriptions.

Notes

1 See Jose V. Ciprut (ed.), *Indeterminacy: The Mapped, the Navigable and the Uncharted* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), p. 1.
2 Bernard Tschumi's chapter, 'Architecture and Transgression', in *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 7, 9.
3 *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Third Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 2447.
4 Ibid, p. 66.

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1 Movement

Interview

CR   Carola Rackete, Captain of Sea Watch III migrant sea rescue ship

SS   Stephen Sackur, Presenter of *Hardtalk*, BBC World Service, September 4, 2019

CR   When you talk to the refugees who come from Libya, a country at civil war and you understand what they have been through then risking a bit of your white privilege suddenly is very, very little. . . . There is a lack of solidarity within the European Union to distribute the people who arrive over the sea route and due to the Dublin III system, that burden is carried by the states of the southern border of Italy. . . . The European Union is building a border, they are doing an external organization of that border already far south of Libya, so they are already deterring people [from] entering into there, they are also pulling back via the Libyan coastguard.

SS   Arrivals by sea to Italy have dropped by 84% from 2018 figure, 97% down from the 2017 figure. So right now, as we speak today, Italy with its tough stand has ensured, let us be honest, that thousands of people who were going to attempt to make that crossing and would have put themselves at risk are no longer doing so. That should be celebrated, shouldn't it?

    Carola Rackete notes that there is no UN charter concerning the rights of climate change refugees.

CR   I think we have to see the fact that migration as such is just a fact of human life, I mean anyone outside Africa has come from Africa at some time, right. The point is that due to the whole, say history of colonialization, the large inequalities between the global poor and the global rich, there is a lot of reasons for people to migrate and there is a lot of injustice between people around the globe and as long as we don't resolve that, people will just migrate and particularly due to the climate breakdown.

SS   You would, and other NGOs would, recognize the obligation to help these what you call 'climate refugees' and there could be millions of

them, literally millions of them, seeking, over the next 10, 20, 30 years, to enter Europe. Are you saying that Europe has a legal as well as a moral obligation to take all of these migrants?

CR   Well, you have to look at the facts, which are first and foremost that most people, when they migrate, they go very, very short distances because especially the global poor just don't have the money to move very far. So when we are thinking of the effects of climate breakdown like changes in precipitation, crop failure, famine, most people will starve very close to their homes; they are not going to come here, you know. The percentage of people who cross a border is very low, most of them stay in neighboring countries, so really, we are talking about possibly a much likely higher number than we have now, but most of the people who will be displaced . . . are going short distances.

CR   [There exists] a lack of solidarity in Europe in rescuing these people.

SS   There is a solidarity of people who see themselves defending their interests.

The previous conversation is an excerpt of a transcript of an extended interview by BBC presenter Stephen Sackur and the Sea Rescue Captain of Sea Watch III Carola Rackete. I chose this exchange between Rackete and Sackur for the poignancy with which each is asking, defending, and answering. The program *Hardtalk*, hosted by Sackur, invites guests who include humanitarian, scientific, cultural, social, and political leaders in their field from around the world to ask what motivates them in doing what they do, praising some and provoking others to question the motives, actions, and ramifications of their decisions on people's lives, societies, nations, and Earth. For the September 4, 2019 *Hardtalk* presentation, Carola Rackete was in the chair highlighting and defending her decision as the Captain of the Sea Watch III rescue ship to dock at the port of Lampedusa without approval from the country's authorities. Captain Rackete's ship had rescued 53 refugees from a rubber dinghy whose outboard motor had run out of fuel. They had no food or water and were at the mercy of the vast deep blue expanse of the Mediterranean Sea. Exercising her duty as required by International Maritime Law to rescue seafarers whose lives are in danger, she took the step to take them aboard her ship, feeding, sheltering, and medically treating those in need. Captain Rackete, her crew, and their refugee passengers found themselves stranded on the high seas. After repeated requests to dock at the closest port – in this case the Italian island of Lampedusa – as required under International Maritime Law were rejected by the port authorities, her predicament grew increasingly urgent. The Deputy Prime Minister of Italy, Minister of the Interior at the time and leader of the far-right party Northern League, Matteo Salvini, had prohibited all rescue ships carrying refugees from docking in Italian ports. Running out of food and water and concerned for the safety of her crew and passengers in an increasingly fraught and dangerous situation, Captain Rackete decided she had no other

choice than to forcefully dock her ship at the port of Lampedusa so that her exhausted migrant passengers, some needing urgent medical attention, could disembark and be cared for. With accusations of intentionally colliding with a police coastguard boat while docking her ship in the middle of the night on June 29, a stand-off ensued, and following intense international pressure, her passengers were eventually allowed to disembark. For exercising her obligation under International Maritime Law, Captain Rackete was charged with intending to cause grievous harm, placed under house arrest and later tried. The Italian judge sided with Rackete's version of events. Rackete was subsequently acquitted, released, and was allowed to eventually return to her native country Germany.

Oceans, seas, and continents have both expanded and constrained human mobility. The fluidity of the endless depth and breadth of blue is demarcated by unseen undercurrents of friction and resistance. A boat floating on the surface without a sail or engine drifts to the navigation of these flows. The histories of human migration have partially rested on these hidden frictions and resistance flows as much as they have on land. Lost in the vast dimensions of blue water when landmass falls out of sight, only the best navigators find another landmass on which to plant their feet. Ground movement across geographies, topographies, and terrains preceded this fluid human mobility. Clans and tribes walked their way across ice flows, deserts, mountains, forests, valleys, and rivers. As the flows of the oceans and seas and the paths taken through topographies and terrains assisted the flows of human mobility, their evacuations and arrivals multiplied and populated across Earth over tens of thousands of years. Yet, modern-day human flows have not shared the same sense of exploration. Modern human flows are split into vastly disproportionate access between peoples and the world. While one small group is propelled across the skies, seamlessly traversing invisible borders aboard jets of compressed air, another group, far larger yet marginalized by enforced constraints, walk out of deserts, escaping war, famine, terror, multiple and unimaginable forms of persecution, to crowd onto rubber boats seeking refuge in foreign lands. These modern-day seafarers float into invisible borders defended by coastguards, the sanctuary of humanitarian rescue ships, and victimization and detention in the countries of their arrival.

The present political contestation unfolding between refugees and asylum seekers, the seas, sovereignty, humanitarian rights, and right-wing protectionist policies concerning the freedoms of human mobility across the world exposes the divisions and vulnerabilities of peoples, countries, and continents. Contestation between people, mobility, sovereignty, and countries has been marked by human migration. Conflicts between people and mobility, land and sea, marginalization and expulsion, digital technology, time, space, and world have not let up over tens of thousands of years of human migration and settlement across the globe. From early tribal

Figure 1.1 Deep blue sea
Source: photo by author 2019

conflicts over ground to the modern technology of electromagnetic waves first captured by radio and later the Cathay Tube to deliver live announcements and telecasts to the digital transponders and undersea cables that deliver the internet of all things as rotating satellites flow in the outer limits of location and displacement transmit real-time communications between humans and continents, a set of new human-ground conflicts are emerging. As mentioned in the Introduction, the rapid movements of digital technologies delivering news, information, and images that appear simultaneously on the screens of billions of smartphones and computers, people's rapid eye movements scrolling through the data is countered by the far slower analogue speed of human movement across the globe. Telecommunications have shrunk the world; collapsing oceans and seas, continents and countries, mountain ranges and deserts. The modern-day peril attached to human migration is not restricted to the asylum seeker, refugee, and migrant – it is a threat that inhabits everyone, for the evolution of human existence in mobility falls into scales of devastation as each image is captured, telecasted, and ruined from the screens of desire to the harshness of protectionism.

Being in transit – whether physical bodily presence or digital accessibility – has become a condition of being in the world, marking and demarcating the geo-spatial and geo-political divisions of continents, oceans, seas, atmospheres, and humans. The global consciousness of telecommunication flows contends with the global physical consciousness of place. Evenness and unevenness extend across the global routes of human mobility; restricting and forging friction between vast numbers of people. Human mobility in the 21st century is not a granted human right to move unhindered across the Earth. Human mobility is a privilege granted to the privileged. Dangerous journeys undertaken by refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants across the routes of land and sea often end in being out-of-space and in-between places, locations, and nations. This is most clearly evident to those people who are caught and then restrained in the non-places of transit zones, detention centers, and refugee camps. For the millions of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants fleeing wars, famines, climate change, and racial, religious, cultural, sexual, and gender persecution, this becomes their reality. Where the historical roots of humanity's diversity were founded on the routes of migration that shaped our world, creating our languages, cultures, and beliefs, modern-day human mobility is intersected and dissected in the spaces of the sovereignty of nation states playing on the threats and fears of people to sow internal and external discontent. Not everyone is caught in the political, racial, cultural, and religious subjugation of refugees and asylum seekers.

Captain Rackete and millions of others like her take steps to find a route, to give ground and create opportunities for people who need rescuing and shelter so that they may plant their feet on safe ground. Privileged

Figure 1.2 Zaatari Refugee Camp Jordan Kompsat-2 Satellite 5 June 2013
Source: image courtesy of KARI_ESA Esrin photos

mobility, which is in stark contrast to detained immobility, like the walls of division, will eventually be overcome. The once expansive, seemingly endless spaces of the world's oceans, seas, and continents are being ravaged and exploited. Once fertile lands are becoming infertile and barren due to the effects of climate change. As climate change continues to affect the Earth, human mobility will undoubtedly increase. Mobility will become a necessity for living on Earth. Transgressing the natural boundaries of the seas, oceans, and continents, as well as the constructed boundaries of the walls and fences of nation states, civil laws and city and urban design will enable and create new ways to adapt cities and nations in response to global human mobility. As the colonial invasions of the 14th to the 19th centuries and the Industrial Age of the 18th to the 20th centuries created the conditions for the global oppression of first nations, the rise of mass production and consumerism, atmospheric destruction, and digital communications, one can safely predict that the 21st century will be characterized by a new evolution of human migration across the globe, as a result of not just the ongoing effects of these histories but also environmental destruction.

The city, the socio-cultural configuration for collective human habitation, has, since settlement, existed on a whole host of destabilizing and inequitable systems of patriarchy, class, race, law and order, violence, corruption, depravity, gender inequality, sexual harassment, and much more. Cities, as much as the world, have become hyperactive spaces – spinning to the power of capital and property. Schizophrenic, sycophantic, and delusional, the hyper-city that connects to the hyper-world has become a bottomless chasm of spectacles and phantasmagorias that sit side-by-side with the mirages of desire and deprivation. Cities are the destinations for migrants who have left their place of origin. Cities are able to absorb and hide people. Cities grant the most resources and advocate the most private behavior between peoples. Cities are the places where homeless people inhabit the edges and verges of streets, pavements, underpasses, and abandoned spaces, while the majority of society are situated behind the closed confines of their homes, work and money, and endless entertainment. Refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless make their way in the liminal spaces of the world; each turning their skills in adapting non-spaces of urban infrastructure into residencies of occupation. Cities have always been places of welcoming and rejection. The laws of the city, the civil and civic codes of law covering individual identity, belonging, and public representation through architecture and building have codified the political, moral, and behavioral mores of government and citizenship. These codes and mores are deliberately elastic and porous; they are to be stretched out or tightened depending on the demands at hand – from quelling insurrection, threat, fear, invasion, war from within and outside, to celebrating cultural, social, and economic achievements.

Figure 1.3 Hyper-City, aerial view Mexico City

Source: photo by author 2019

Civil and civic

From settlement to city, spatial formations of civic identity have been founded on the construction of institutions and urban environments as a way of representing and defining societies. Cities have formulated the distributions of power, capital, and class between peoples, races, and genders. In the histories of Western societies, political governance, nationalist ideologies, and urban design, the physical and human side of civil and civic have been co-opted to form the arrangements of city and public spaces. Citizen and citizenship are bestowed upon those who acknowledge (but do not necessarily abide by) the political, social, and cultural features of their society. To know the rights of citizenship is to know what is at stake and to lose, as Hannah Arendt described them, 'those who have been forced out of all political communities'.[1] The formation of civil society that began with the creation of the ceremonial space and later led to the constructed spaces of assembly, such as the Greek Agora and the Roman Forum, institutionalized and culturally embedded civic formation. In *Flesh and Stone*, Richard Sennett notes that the

> evolution of Athenian democracy shaped the surfaces and the volume of the agora, for the movement possible in simultaneous space served participatory democracy well. By scrolling from group to group, a person could find out what was happening in the city and discuss it.[2]

Contemporary civic society, animated by national rituals, digital connectivity, and social networks, has adjusted the public's connection to democratic civil jurisprudence and stylized civic identity to modal public spectacle (both subtle and coercive) to forge certain societal behaviors and fulfill government expectations. 'Indeed, it is citizenship', Nicholas de Genova writes in *The Deportation Regime*, 'that remains for us the imaginary and purely deceptive flower dissimulating our subjection and adorning our objection'.[3] Spatial determinacy governing urban programming, boundary demarcation, and obedience have created citizenship as an elasticized thread stitching people together into a collective ideal form. Transgressing this form, casting oneself adrift, tends to place one in a transitory space of the non-citizen; falling into non-representations, as David Harvey puts it in *Rebel Cities*.

> The term 'city' has an iconic and symbolic history that is deeply embedded in the pursuit of political meanings. The city of God, the city on a hill, the relationship between city and citizenship – the city as an object of utopian desire, as a distinctive place of belonging within a perpetually shifting spatio-temporal order – all give it a political meaning that mobilizes a crucial political imaginary.[4]

Discrepancies regarding the 'rights of the public' in civil law are fraught with real and projected anxieties that are projected over the uses of civic

space. In another book by Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, the author declares: 'Today, public life has also become a matter of formal obligation. Most approach their dealings with the state in the spirit of resigned acquiescence. Manners and ritual interchanges with strangers are looked on as at best formal and dry, at worst as phony'.[5] Sennett's memetic 'resigned acquiescence', where society is captivated by capital forces and cyclical dreams rather than propelled by inventions and imaginations, is where society becomes the driverless car moving in one and all directions at the same time. This 'resigned acquiescence' could also be understood when applied to those who sit outside the defined obligations of civil behavior. An apt example of this is where loitering in a public space is met with suspicion and potential threat; homelessness is an unwelcome sight; sex workers are met with both voyeurism and judgment; non-white people are racially profiled or abused; the most vulnerable in society are subject to the lawlessness of domestic violence and sexual harassment underscored by patriarchal law. All of which chimes with how refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants are subjugated for their cultural, political, and religious customs and beliefs. While embodying the idea of cooperative living, the collective design of cities is far less democratic than anything that does not mirror the ideals of society. 'Ironically this psychological vision also inhibits the development of basic personality strengths', Sennett explains, 'like respect for the privacy of others, or the comprehension that, because every self is in some measure a cabinet of horrors, civilized relations between selves can only proceed to the extent that nasty little secrets of desire, greed, or envy are kept locked up'.[6] Capital and property are markers of the 'nasty little secrets of desire' that propel the city and its people to strive for speculative ideals and excessive achievements. 'Even the incoherent, bland and monotonous suburban tract development that continues to dominate in many areas now gets its antidote in a "new urbanism" movement that touts the sale of community and boutique lifestyles to fulfil urban dreams', Harvey observes in *The Right to the City*. 'This is a world in which the neoliberal ethic of intense possessive individualism, and its cognate of political withdrawal from collective forms of action, becomes the template for human socialization. The defense of property values becomes of such paramount political interest'.[7] A question arises as to what would become of the city in a post-civil society if citizenship were to be left to other devices besides coercion or enforcement. Michael Hardt points to a potential future situation in which governing citizenship becomes managed not by enforcing social justice but by managing social identity.

> Instead of disciplining the citizen as a fixed social identity, the new social regime seeks to control the citizen as a whatever identity, or rather as an infinitely flexible placeholder for identity. It tends to establish an autonomous plane of rule, a simulacrum of the social – separate from the terrain of conflictive social forces,

suggests Hardt in his article 'The Withering of Civil Society'.[8] Mobility is what shifts the rules governing society so that other characteristics can be adopted to form the civilian in the citizen. 'Mobility, speed, and flexibility are the qualities that characterize this separate plane of rule', Hardt writes. 'The infinitely programmable machine, the ideal of cybernetics gives us at least an approximation of the diagram of the new paradigm of rule'.[9]

Invoking the Indian capital New Delhi in his chapter 'Imaging Urban Breakdown: Delhi in the 1990s', from the book *Noir Urbanisms: Dystopic Images of the Modern City*, Ravi Sundaram looks at the city's population explosion from the 1970s onwards as gnawing at the controls of urban planning, where '[u]rban crisis emerges as a borderless zone of a permanent overflow'.[10] Sundaram refers to this crisis as 'pirate urbanism' epitomized in post-colonial cities such as 'Delhi and in many comparable urbanisms of Africa, Asia, and Latin America' and including Mexico City, Karachi, and Lagos, which 'tended to be post-utopian, even post-political in the traditional sense. When import-substitution regimes based on national geographies retreated under economic crisis in the 1970s and the 1980s, new forms of urban strategy were deployed with great effect by migrants, squatters, and homeless populations'.[11] Pirate cities are places 'where the older infrastructure was either poached upon or incrementally built up by urban populations long abandoned by urban planning'.[12] Given Sundaram's emphasis on African, Asian, and Latin American cities, it is more evident in establishing cities in North America, Great Britain, and Europe. Colonialism did not just affect the former colonial countries and their cities; it would also come to haunt the colonialists. The mass migrations of the late 20th century climaxing in 2015 with people from Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc. crossing the Mediterranean Sea and by land looking to better their lives in European cities are exemplary of this haunting and the return of their subjugation and repulsion. 'Cities increasingly failed to apply normative boundaries as had been hoped for by planning, and multiple circulations of commodities and money through unofficial channels further weakened civic authority, opening new channels for migrants to flow into peripheral neighborhoods'.[13] This new pressure on the city, due to an influx of people in mobility, was more than a contestation of space, capital, and property between formal and informal planning. Rather, it marked a new stage in cities reacting to mass human mobility. To stem the flow of human mobility of all peoples from around the world, border and boundaries will need to be increased and militarized. The one-way street of migrants going nowhere, in contrast to the denizens of rich Western countries, safe in their places and who are able to duck in and out of countries at will without being checked, searched, and detained at sea, on land, and at airport security only displays the extreme global imbalance that exists between the 'us and them and them and us'.

Like the strongarm exclusion zones of border controls, the city also falls prey to profiled exclusions of capital and social behavior. Yet, the restrictions

and limitations placed on urban programming can be disrupted, made variable and situational to spatial opportunity, as can any border and boundary. When space becomes a site of opportunity, it creates unique affordances for new urban conditions. Spatial transgressions of civic space – such as protests, riots, and vandalism – bring into sharp focus a profound dialogue concerning the rights of people and civic disobedience in contention with increased policing and governance. Any opposition to the controls on civic space is seen as morally bound to the accepted norms of civil conduct. Within the spaces of architecture, where commercial invitation and public rejection operate simultaneously, the entrance, foyer, lift-well, and reception area act like filters that guard, invite, and repel human activity. Civil conduct grants a person access to or rejection from buildings, public spaces, and government institutions. Overriding authorities' keenness to control urban spaces and eroding the ethical codes that govern civil society and freedoms of speech creates an air of mistrust. As a result, the public start to mistrust the authorities, just as the authorities mistrust the public. Within these swinging fortunes of the rights of authorities and the rights of the public, civil behavior and civic environment fall victim to directorial controls of the public and their mobility. Where glassy domed surveillance devices hang on the outstretched metal arms attached to the sides of buildings and where the ground is arranged into smoothed surfaces forming networks of conveyances in different speeds along boundaries, the public comes to embody the civil in the civic in a panopticon of securitized space.

Countering the spatial directives of urban planning are the incidental, leftover, and obscure spaces of the built environment. These spaces present new possibilities for alternative civil behavior and civic occupational codes in the city. The clandestine adoption of these incidental spaces by various disaffected and disadvantaged minorities challenges the mediocracy of urban planning. Urban fringes, edges, and verges of infrastructure co-opted and transformed by the disaffected and disadvantaged show their ability to test the governance of civic space – something that is not celebrated but instead derided as failing societal expectations. The civic spaces of ancient Athens and Rome were built on the idea of the public appearing in the freedoms supported by the Forum, a fusion of citizens, government institutional building, market, and commerce. Modern-day civic spaces are increasingly choreographed and dramaturgically conditioned to organize the public's mobility, eliminate multiplicity, and enhance vigilance by decreasing complexity so as to tie civic space down to the falsehoods of free expression and movement under authoritative control. As Sennett writes, '[t]oday, we experience an ease of motion unknown to any prior urban civilization, and yet motion has become the most anxiety-laden of daily activities. . . . The anxiety comes from the fact that we take unrestricted motion of the individual to be an absolute right'.[14]

The progressive and calamitous features of the 20th century – mass automated production, consumption, technology, global wars, human

displacement and migration – continue in the 21st century. Complex combi-
nations of racial persecution such as the Rohingya in Myanmar, civil war
in Syria, poverty, drought, and famine in Sub-Sahara Africa, gang violence
and systemic corruption in Latin America, worldwide political and corpo-
rate corruption, and religious, cultural, gender, and sexual persecution of
peoples have certainly shown no sign of abating. While oppressive civil and
civic codes are being broken down in some countries that tyrannize minori-
ties for example LGBTQI+ people, women, and girls, other codes are being
reinforced, policed, and militarized to tyrannize others in ever increasing
circulations across the world. The civil in civic is no longer restricted to the
historical ceremonial space, the Greek Agora or the Roman Forum in cities
across the world today. It now goes beyond the city and exceeds the nation
state to a worldwide distortion and interference of civil liberties and civic
freedoms. And at the center of this distorting maelstrom is the freedom of
human mobility.

The history of human settlement to the city has been tied to the domi-
nance of capital and free market development that has influenced civil laws,
civic identity, corruption, and economic, racial, social, and cultural division.
Such schizophrenic characteristics have not halted the growth of cities; in
fact, they have become an acceptable accompaniment to growth. Indeed,
half of the world's 7.7 billion people now reside in cities. The migration of
vast numbers of people from rural regions to the city during the Industrial
Revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries to work in factories served to
redraw the civil and civic laws to account for and manage this mass influx
of people. In the 20th and 21st centuries, this movement has increased expo-
nentially. Global corporate controls over finances, transport, and media are
what now manage civil and civic life of societies. The inequality of wealth
and living standards between people, cities, countries, and continents,
granting benefits to some and imposing hardship and suffering on others, is
maintained by civil and civic codes of unequal distribution.

In an increasingly unpredictable Earth of climate change, land degrada-
tion, famine, failed crops, and civil wars, modern human migration is not
the fault of people reeling from natural and humanmade catastrophic events;
it is the flaw of all humankind. Refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants are
the new citizens of the world in turmoil and without civil and civic protec-
tions. The emerging global pattern of human migration has the possibility
to counter civil and civic law, nation state territorial borders, and old-world
orders of protectionism and inequity that have blighted the lives of many
people while others live in relative freedom and luxury. World issues can
no longer be restricted to national agendas and solutions but require global
agendas alongside civil and civic laws to adjudicate them. As the histories
of human migration overcame geographical challenges and resistance to the
laws of nature in order to survive and expand, past civil and civic laws need
to be usurped and a new set of laws created so that modern-day migrants
can continue to do the same as our migrant ancestors of the past. Enacting

civil and civic codes that confer on one group of people the right to defend what they have should not be at the cost of denying another group their right to move across the world in order to create their own. Where land, seas, and oceans form natural barriers and formulize territories of nation states, it is cities that are vital to the job of redrawing civil and civic laws at a global level, for it is the cities that are at the nexus of human mobility.

The binaries of separation between peoples, nations, and continents can again be traced back to early human settlement. The founding of settlement territorialized ground and enforced reactionary measures to defend and repel other groups of people outside its walls. From inside settlement, the outside came to be feared as an untamed and unknown entity. Over thousands of years this fear of the unknown would also turn inwards, creating the passage of settlement to city paranoia. The collective innovation that led to the establishment of settlement resulted in a poorer conception that became the city. Complacency, inaction, and withdrawal to the ideals of collective urbanity ceased to have an impact on how urban life could be spatially experienced and lived. This need to tighten spatial controls on urban spaces stupefied the development of the city by emphasizing spatial demarcations, zoning, protection, and policing, rather than confronting local-societal and geo-political issues. Refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless do not fit into these laws, and therefore authorities do not make laws to protect them, and where they do exist, their enforcement is often flaunted. Vagrant by default, indeterminant by nature, and radical by physical interaction as they emerge from their journeys over land and seas to the site of the city, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants adopt and adapt urban sites for occupation, and in so doing they create a new visible urban condition for which no civil or civic law is yet accountable. Spatial indeterminacy, vagrancy, and anarchy express their occupation not as planned action but rather as necessity, since there is no other choice available. While their innovations have not been applauded and instead have become the site of projected fears and targeted bodies, their persistence will nevertheless create new spaces from which the civil in civic society can emerge.

Migratory fields

The evolution of Homo sapiens 200,000 years ago from the preceding H. heidelbergensis and before that Homo erectus 300,000–700,000 years ago, Homo sapiens began their migration out of Africa approximately 70,000 years ago. Crossing North Africa to the Middle East, passing through the Indian continent and Central Asia, they reached Australia approximately 40,000–60,000 years ago. Populating these areas, various groups moved in eastern, western, and northern directions into Europe at first co-existing with the Neanderthals who later became extinct. With the coming of the last Ice Age 25,000 years ago, Homo sapiens crossed the Bering Sea into North and South America. Accepted as much as challenged, these figures

can be viewed as fluid in their numerical approximations of human migration across Earth. For example, Homo sapiens' migration to the Australian continent was first deemed to have happened 40,000 years ago, but that has now been revised to 60,000 years ago following the discovery of new fossils. The exoduses of Homo sapiens out of Africa and migration across the globe would later be eclipsed by the migration of 2.6 million Europeans in the succeeding centuries following the 'discovery' of the Americas in 1492. The Age of Discovery stretching from the late 14th to 17th centuries that began European expansionism across the globe resulting in invasion, land dispossession, resource shedding, and the imposition of colonial rule on indigenous populations brutally subjected and enslaved millions of people. For example, European migration to the Americas was bound up with the capture and enslavement of approximately 8.8 million Africans from various regions of the African Continent. With the later transatlantic migration of Irish and European settlers to the Americas in the 1840s, the decimation of indigenous races, languages, and customs of North and South America led to the loss of entire cultures. European invasions and colonizations of indigenous populations (Africa, the Americas, Australia, India, Central Asia, Islander Peoples, Artic peoples, etc.) not only dislocated, enslaved, dispossessed, and killed indigenous peoples who had migrated to these continents, lands, and islands tens of thousands of years before; it also brought a new world order that would ultimately see the creation of new nation states drawn on maps and demarcated through borders and boundaries that would curtail the flows of human mobility through Western domination and restrictive land controls. This dominance, the world we know today, was accelerated in the 20th century where human mobility *en masse* spread across the globe – a state of mass exodus during, between, and after the World Wars that defined the century. Just as half a million people at any one time are crisscrossing the globe aboard airplanes, in the same breath tens of millions of people are demobilized in the transit zones of non-places such as refugee camps, detention centers, and peripheral settlements.

We might say, then, that human mobility is perpetually in motion and consistently resisted. As previously mentioned, while most people in developed nations have freedom of movement across the world, many more peoples across the world are denied movement. This reality becomes all the more stark in light of the movement of commodities circulating the globe on shipping containers, suggesting that commercial goods have more rights and freedom of passage than the vast majority of the Earth's population. In Europe, America, Australia, and the United Kingdom, fortress mentalities are being cultivated and reinforced to effectively repel human mobility. Journeys are taken through deserts by Sub-Saharan Africans to reach people smugglers in Libya only to drift in rubber boats amid the Mediterranean Sea, while others, journeying from Syria across Turkey, Eastern to Western Europe, are turned away at makeshift borders hastily erected with razor-wire, while in Central America, people band together to form

human caravans to reach the United States only to become ensnared at its border. Such experiences are becoming increasingly common. Broadcast to a global audience, the plight of refugees is manipulated – swinging between compassion and fear, discrimination and victimization. The most privileged are drawing up new lines of expulsion over land and sea at the expense of the most vulnerable, transgressing human mobility and self-determination for mobility.

The accepted evolution of human migration out of Africa and into the wider world has not gone unchallenged. Indeed, it has been reinterpreted to propose alternative forms of migrations not derived from anthropological accounts but rather through a geometrical dissection of the globe to explain how the continents were formed. The American futurist, engineer, architect, theorist, and inventor of the geodesic dome Buckminster Fuller proposed an alternative model of human migration through a complex 'unfolding' of the globe. Deploying geometry and mathematics, Fuller argued that human migration was multi-directional: east to west, west to east, north to south, and south to north. To make his case, Fuller created a 'four-dimensional unwrapping of the sphere' to provide evidence that would challenge standard theories of human migratory evolution.[15] His reconfigured globe of the world's continents, stretched and pulled in all directions to the methodologies of applied geometry, brought an entirely new perspective on human migration patterned with intersecting exchanges between routes and geographies. Identifying gaps in the accepted anthropological

Figure 1.4 Dymaxion World Map, Buckminster Fuller 1943

Source: image courtesy The Estate of Buckminster Fuller

account in answering the complex formation of race, cultures, languages, and settlements, Fuller's theory proposed that lineage as much as migration is spatially rhizomic. What is important about Fuller's map is the mobility it conveys – continents in motion and human migration over this movement. Fuller understood that the migratory patterns of early humans were in fact a far later step to the migratory movements of the Earth's continents over millions of years, and in this reconceptualized framework of Earth's geography, human migration moved in multi-point radiations rather than directions. The German philosopher and geographer Immanuel Kant likewise viewed the Earth and its continents in motion rather than as static. During his 40-year tenure at the University of Königsberg from 1756 to 1796, Kant created a new academic study known as Physical Geography (*Physische Geographie*).[16] Neither a trained geographer nor anthropologist, Kant's lectures conceptualized the world's geographical formation in theoretical as much as physical terms. He conceived of the world in terms of geographical mobility, and as the discoveries of new regions expanded the boundaries of the known physical world, so did mobility – a redrawing of the 'new' world over the old. Kant combined the visual apprehension of geography with the formation of oceans and currents, regions, the cosmos, and cultures – in other words, interrelated mobility across both vertical and horizontal planes. Fuller's and Kant's worldviews presented the separation of the world's continents and geographies as a single continuous movement where humans moved through and with the world. Kant applied his physical geography to commercial use to formulize the directions and connections between sea, land, and trade routes between continents, countries, and ports. Fuller's conception shed new light on early human migration as a complex swarm of interchange between cultures, land, and sea mass. Both Kant and Fuller radicalized the evolution of human migration and formations of physical geography by repositioning their origins and displacing many held geological and anthropological beliefs.

In *New Science*, the Italian historian and philosopher Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) records the ancient uprisings by the oppressed in their fight against the tyranny of the ruling noble classes. 'Fleeing from oppression and seeking safety and survival, the leaders of these uprisings and their followers committed their fortunes to the sea, and sailed in search of vacant lands on the shores of the western Mediterranean, whose coasts were then still uninhabited'.[17] These fleeing refugees would resettle in new lands in the hope of forming new egalitarian societies. Vico recounts that in pagan antiquity, cities were 'called *arae*, altars, since they were the first altars of the pagan nations'. Likened to the form of the plough, where the curved part is called the *urbs*, the altar would stand not only as the central site for ceremonial gathering and cultivation but also the site for departure. 'To the left of the altar we see a rudder', Vico writes, 'which signifies that the migration of peoples originated with seafaring. By seeming to bend before the altar, the rudder represents the suppliant ancestors of those who later

led these migrations'.[18] Vico's reference to the implements that cultivate the ground and steer the boat connects the origins of human migration to the forming of cultures and settlements. It could be suggested that crafted from the similar plough, the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants are cultivating the new *urbs* of the city in their image of modern-day settlement.

In *Planet of Slums*, Mike Davis investigates the systemic dysfunction facing many cities around the world with some, he suggests, on the verge of social and economic collapse. Overwhelmed by inequity, poverty, and limited work opportunities Davis paints a picture of dystopic failures and ideological gaps in societies caring for its people from the richest to the poorest. He takes Los Angeles as an example that is known for exporting everything from glamor to superheroes, but its celluloid images belie the reality.

> Los Angeles is the First World capital of homelessness, with an estimated 100,000 homeless people, including an increasing number of families, camped on downtown streets or living furtively in parks and amongst freeway landscaping. The biggest population of pavement-dwellers in the Third World is probably in Mumbai, where 1995 research estimated one million living on the sidewalks.[19]

Davis points to the creation of slum enclaves, gated communities, and swathes of urban spaces given over to the elite that forges a 'fundamental reorganization of metropolitan space, involving a drastic diminution of the intersections between the lives of the rich and the poor, which transcends traditional social segregation and urban fragmentation'.[20] Capital, corruption, and greed point to a dilution of shared civic life in Los Angeles and a lack of urgency to create social change and address the city's homeless, which has increased substantially since Davis released his book in 2008. Throughout the book Davis constructs graphs and supplies mindboggling numbers to illustrate the pervasive mass urban conditions of tens of millions of people living in slum districts around the world. 'There are probably more than 200,000 slums on earth, ranging in population from a few hundred to more than a million people. The five great metropolises of South Asia (Karachi, Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, and Dhaka) alone contain about 15,000 district slum communities whose total population exceeds 20 million'.[21] Slums become the first and last destinations of internal migration (rural to city) in many developing and underdeveloped countries around the world. A social phenomenon that grew exponentially in the latter half of the 20th century, slum living is the only way for hundreds of millions of people to live in cities. Slums have become an accepted part of the urban fabric; a refugee camp for the internally displaced living in a permanent state of transitory mobility over unstable ground.

In *Cruel Modernity*, Jean Franco offers a disturbing account of economic hardship, violence, and terror, which have become ubiquitous in Central American societies. Franco charts how the cruelty of men is bound to the

Figure 1.5 El Alto, La Paz Bolivia
Source: photo Joseph Morris 2018

subjugation of men and especially women and girls. The migratory movements of women looking for work in factories in northern Mexican cities such as Ciudad Juárez means living in fear of gang culture, perverse misogyny, and male sexual desire where 'the female body is once again icon and annex of territorial domain'. What has become well-known and deeply disturbing is the violence against women, which results in the murder of ten women and the assault of hundreds more women and girls every day throughout Mexico.[22]

> Border culture has long idealized the macho and the outlaw, reinforcing a sense of male omnipotence. In singling out women workers, some of whom were immigrants to the city, the killers took advantage of the terrain, the dusty deserted roads leading to poorly lit streets on which women walking home were a convenient prey of the bitter and resentful male. And then there is the silence.[23]

Patriarchal dominant societies, Franco suggests, are everywhere, and every male – whether directly or indirectly – is implicated in the subjection of women. 'What is all the more extraordinary is that while Ciudad Juárez and the state of Chihuahua have all the scaffolding of government – state assembly, governor, judges, and police – it is a colossal trompe l'oeil'.[24] While

common in Central/Latin American countries where male masochism and cruelty toward women is horrifically evident, it is also engrained in North American, European, African, Eurasian, Australian, Indian, and Middle Eastern societies. Violence toward women creeps into every part of their lives, inhibits their mobility, and makes a mockery of the civil and civic rights and laws of protection. While the sexual subjugation of women and girls by men is a criminal offence, many perpetrators escape conviction. Mobility has been and remains today an unequal and divided right between the sexes. It is important to recognize that this inequity has given men unrestricted mobility in the city while denying women the same freedom due to the fears and threats posed by men. Socially educating as much as convicting violent men will give women greater confidence in being able to fully exercise their right to move freely whenever and wherever they want.

The international human rights organization Amnesty International describes itself as 'a global movement of more than seven million people who take injustice personally' and is 'independent of any political ideology, economic interest or religion'. It campaigns for the rights of refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and all peoples suffering persecution, prejudice, and inequality.[25] Launched in 1961 by British lawyer Peter Benenson, Amnesty International asks what 'exactly is a refugee, an asylum-seeker and a migrant?' It describes a refugee as 'a person who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations and persecution there'. It describes an asylum seeker as 'a person who has left their country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations in another country, but who hasn't yet been legally recognized as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim'. It describes a migrant as follows: 'There is no internationally accepted legal definition of a migrant. Like most agencies and organizations, we at Amnesty International understand migrants to be people staying outside their country of origin, who are not asylum-seekers or refugees'. Amnesty International does not always adhere to these descriptions, stating: 'Each human being has more than one identity. "Refugee", "migrant" and "asylum-seeker" are only temporary terms; they do not reflect the whole identity of women, children and men who have left their homes behind to start a new life in a new country'.[26] Returning to Hannah Arendt, in her article 'We Refugees' she proclaims: 'IN THE FIRST PLACE, we don't like to be called "refugees". We ourselves and other "newcomers" or "immigrants"'.[27] Writing from America where she had sought refuge from Nazi Germany during World War II, Arendt is not just writing from the perspective of someone seeking refuge in a foreign country sympathetic to her and many other Jewish Europeans fleeing Nazi Germany and the horror of the Holocaust. She is also writing from the perspective of being Jewish. 'A refugee', Arendt explains, 'used to be a person given to seek refuge because of some act committed or some political opinion held'. The uncertainty of refugees – stateless, homeless – is also history-less; they are deprived of the past. 'Even among ourselves we

don't speak about the past. Instead, we have found our way of mastering an uncertain future'.[28]

According to the migration think tank Pew Research Centre, the global number of international migrants stands at approximately 3.3% of the world's 7.7 billion population.[29] The number of internal migrants stands at approximately 750 million.[30] The worldwide population of homeless and displaced people is estimated to be 150 million with 1.6 billion living in inadequate shelters.[31] Amnesty International places the global refugee population at 25.9 million with those needing immediate resettlement at 1.4 million and with 84% of refugees hosted by developed countries. According to the UNHCR 2018 Global Refugee Report, there are 70.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, 29.9 million of whom are refugees, 41.3 million internally displaced, and 3.5 million asylum seekers.[32] There is a host of other research centers, NGOs, and government organizations releasing refugee statistics, but the overall consensus is that a global crisis of people displaced and detained and in encampments is rising exponentially year on year. Migration from poorer regions such as Sub-Sahara Africa to richer European countries such as Italy, Germany, Sweden, France, and so on, will not stem the flow of people seeking to flee from war, terror, famine, economic hardship, poverty, domestic violence, gang violence, sexual slavery, a lack of opportunities, and climate change to seek better lives in more affluent countries. Regardless of how much law enforcement is targeted at reducing their mobility through militarized borders, expulsion, and exclusion, migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees will continue to pressurize governments across the world to find solutions to this global problem.

The impact of global human upheaval on cities, governments, and societies is significant, especially in terms of their readiness to cope with the unfolding crisis. Cities are no longer contained within the countries where they are located; they are globally situated. The intersections between global human mobility and global cities require urgent spatial policies in urban design and planning to rethink how sites, boundaries, surfaces, buildings, laws, capital, economy, and class can be transgressed to create and support human mobility for the future city in mobility. Human mobility in the 21st century has been weaponized by some nations to stir up fear and hostility, breaking the ties between contemporary and historical forms of migration. Modern-day migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers have a far greater knowledge of the world than previous migratory epochs. Global communications, mobile technologies, and Google search can no longer conceal the world's economic divisions from those who 'have' and those who 'have not'. The right to a shared world is presently being rejected through the suppression of human mobility. Human mobility languishes at the junction between accessibility and inaccessibility, between cultures and lands that, in reality, can no longer be separated.

Conclusion

The theme of exodus is a powerful one. Consider the biblical book of Exodus, which summarily recounts the Israelites' fleeing from Egypt and placing its leader Moses at the center of redemption through his parting of the Red Sea to allow them to escape. Yet, exodus cannot be the fantasy of this project. Like earlier ideas, such as the earth being flat, which suited religious ideology placing God and Earth at the center of the universe, science and astrology soon put an end to the belief in such myths. And yet, new mythical beliefs have emerged, such as the belief that technology can solve or rectify the Earth's turbulence. The present agenda concerning contemporary human mobility and its causes demands a radical mobilization of global will to reform the economic and political systems that control the world and plague its health. The question we have to ask ourselves is: how does a new human evolution interface with the exodus of huge populations?

How to develop the city in transgression in response to global human mobility? To begin to think through such questions entails reconceptualizing the present controls and ideology of the city forged by capital and constructed in permanency and imagining them as more fluid, transitory, and self-organizing. Though this might sound idealistic, the realities of global human mobility will shift the world in much greater proportions than ever before. The unjust divisions and inequalities of wealth and poverty, opportunity and repression of opportunity that have prevailed over centuries between peoples and that persist to this day are not sustainable in a globally changing climate. In the light of tens of millions of refugees in transit or stuck in non-place zones and camps, asylum seekers in detention centers, hidden migrants in cities, the wealthiest societies are responding not with compassion but instead are hardening the anxieties that have given rise to far-right politics. In counterpoint, left-liberals are heightening their ethical standpoint to reach out for and bring about global adjustment. Caught in the middle are tens of millions of people falling victim to world problems – the vast majority of which are not of their own making.

Notes

1 Arendt notes that losing or being denied citizenship is not just a matter of belonging to a society, losing one's voice or being listened to; it is the treatment and repression of belonging. 'Regardless of treatment, independent of liberties or oppression, justice or injustice, they have lost all those those parts of the world and all those aspects of human existence which are the result of our common labor, the outcome of the human artifice'. Arendt writes that being 'not allowed to partake in the human artifice' of citizenship formulates the 'paradox' in finding one's individualism. 'The paradox involved in the loss of human rights is that such a loss coincides with the instant a person becomes a human in general – without a profession, without citizenship, without opinion, without a deed by which to identify himself – *and* difference in general, representing nothing but his own

absolutely unique individuality which, deprived of expression within and action upon the common world, loses all significance'. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958), pp. 300, 302.

2   Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), p. 55.

3   Nicholas de Genova, 'Part One', in *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement*, eds. Nicholas de Genova and Nathalie Peutz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), p. 45.

4   David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2012), pp. xvi–xvii.

5   Sennett's remark concerning the 'phoney' human interchange in the city is no more acute than that given to the stranger. 'The stranger himself is a threatening figure, and few people can take great pleasure in that world of strangers, the cosmopolitan city. A *res publica* stands in general for those bonds of association and mutual commitment which exist between people who are not joined together by ties of family or intimate association; it is the bond of a crowd, of a "people," of a polity, rather than the bonds of family or friends. As in Roman times, participation in the *res publica* today is most often a matter of going along, and the forums for this public life, like the city, are in a state of decay'. Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Penguin, 1976), p. 3.

6   The psychological vision Sennett sets out is an inert condition that inhibits relationships between individuals and those between people and society. 'Western societies are moving from something like an other-directed condition to an inner-directed condition – except that in the midst of self-absorption no one can say what is inside. As a result, confusion has arisen between public and intimate life; people are working out in terms of personal feelings public matters which properly can be dealt with only through codes of impersonal meaning'. Ibid, pp. 4–5.

7   David Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *New Left Review*, Vol. 53 (2008), p. 32.

8   Michael Hardt, 'The Withering of Civil Society', *Social Text*, Vol. 45 (1995), p. 40.

9   Ibid, p. 41.

10 See Ravi Sundaram's chapter, 'Imaging Urban Breakdown', in *Noir Urbanisms: Dystopic Images of the Modern City*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 245.

11 Ibid, p. 250.

12 Sundaram points out that the pirate city is a direct result of globalization networks and the forces behind that maintain as much as weaken national sovereignty. 'Globalization increases the possibilities of this pirate urbanism by allowing the growth of low-cost (non-legal) networks to spread across regions, and generally weakening national sovereignty'. Ibid, pp. 250–51.

13 Ibid, p. 251.

14 Sennett's observation that movement in the city is designed around 'unrestricted motion of the individual to be an absolute right' is no more evident than in the capsule of automation – the car. 'The private motorcar is the logical instrument for exercising that right, and the effect on public space, especially the space of the urban street, is that the space becomes meaningless or even maddening unless it can be subordinated to free movement. The technology of modern motion replaces being in the street with a desire to erase the constraints of geography'. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, p. 14.

15 Called the Dymaxion World Map or the Fuller Projection Map, Fuller's complex geometrical subdivision process 'to unpeel the globe continuously in all directions' reconfigured the world from a set of relative, fixed-point positions, visually transforming the Earth's 29% land and 71% water mass so that the

continents and oceans illustrated his theory of early human migration patterns over the Earth's geography. Fuller understood that human mobility was tied to the mobility of continents and their geographies and vice versa. See R. Buckminster Fuller, *Your Private Sky: The Art of Design Science*, eds. J. Krausse and C. Lichtenstein (Baden: Lars Müller Publishers, 1999). *Fluid Geography* was first published as an article in *American Neptune* magazine in Apr. 1944.

16 Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology, History and Education*, eds. Günter Zöller and Robert B. Louden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 97.

17 Vico's rendition of human migration is Euro-centric along classicist cultural lines denoted by dominant cultures and empires before modern methods of carbon dating, archaeological unearthing, and anthropological projections. Vico writes: 'Thus originated the migrations of peoples whom religion had already humanized. From the Near East and Egypt, such migrations first occurred among the Near Eastern peoples, particularly the Phoenicians; later, for the same reasons, we find them among the Greeks. Now, such migrations were not caused by waves of invading populations, who cannot travel by sea. Nor were they caused by the zeal of nations competing to protect their distant possessions by establishing colonies: for we have no record of the Near Eastern peoples, Egyptians, or Greeks extending their empires to the west. Nor were they caused by trade interests, since the western Mediterranean coast was not yet inhabited'. Giambattista Vico, *New Science* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), p. 14.

18 Again, Vico displays his classicist perception, which characterizes his Euro-centric worldview in relation to early human migrations and their cultures through subjective descriptions: 'Now, these ancestors were at first impious people, since they recognized no divinity. They were abominable, since without marriages they could not distinguish kinships: sons often slept with mothers, and fathers with daughters. And they were solitary, since their infamous sharing of all things made them like wild beasts ignorant of society. This made them weak, and hence miserable and unhappy: for they lacked all the goods which are necessary for making life secure. At length, they sought to flee the hardships they suffered as a result of quarrels provoked by their brutish sharing. Seeking safety and survival, they took refuge in the lands cultivated by the people who were pious, chaste, strong, and even powerful, because they had already united in families'. Ibid, p. 11.

19 The one million living on the streets of Mumbai, to whom Davis refers, may be characterized as homeless though not necessarily workless. 'The traditional stereotype of the Indian pavement- dweller is a destitute peasant, newly arrived from the countryside, who survives by parasitic begging, but as research in Mumbai has revealed, almost all (97 percent) have at least one breadwinner, 70 percent have been in the city at least six years, and one third had been evicted from a slum or a *chawl*'. This is also the case in some Western countries (including in Davis' example of the city of Los Angeles). The idea of the worker having a home is not the case for everyone and the relatively recent phenomenon of the homeless worker sleeping in cars or trailers on the street is born out of necessity, for they cannot afford the market-driven rents charged by housing agents. The situation is replicated in many other American cities (e.g. San Francisco and Seattle). Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso, 2008), p. 36.

20 Ibid, p. 119.

21 'Megaslums', Davis suggests, 'arise when shantytowns and squatter communities merge in continuous belts of informal housing and poverty, usually on the urban periphery'. Ibid, p. 26. See also Sundaram, 'Imaging Urban Breakdown'.

22 See Alicia Pereda Martínez's report in El Universal, 2 July 2019: www.eluniversal.com.mx/english/10-women-are-murdered-mexico-every-day.

23 It should not be forgotten that migration, immigration, and human mobility are experienced differently by men and women. The extreme levels of femicide are not restricted to, in this case, Mexico; they can be seen throughout the world. Franco points to the militarization of societies, genocide, and war. 'The degree of cruelty recalls the massive genocides of the 1980s, and many scholars have remarked on the links between the militarized societies of the 1980s and 1990s and present-day atrocities. The dirty wars turned the degradation of women into a routine occurrence. The men who committed crimes under army orders were released into societies that did nothing to protect women and had a history of domestic violence and marital infidelity. Added to this is the erotic thrill experienced not only by the participants but also spectators, including distant spectators like ourselves'. Jean Franco, *Cruel Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), pp. 223–24.

24 Ibid, p. 217.

25 See the Amnesty International website to read their full mission statement: www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/.

26 Ibid.

27 Arendt's forced experience (aren't all refugees forced into becoming refugees?) of fleeing Nazi Germany and heading to America is not to forfeit her sense of identity but rather what was given up in the process: 'Our optimism, indeed, is admirable, even if we say so ourselves. The story of our struggle has finally become known. We lost our home, which means the familiarity of daily life. We lost our occupation, which means the confidence that we are of some use in this world. We lost our language, which means the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, the unaffected expression of feelings. We left our relatives in the Polish ghettos and our best friends have been killed in concentration camps, and that means the rupture of our private lives'. Hannah Arendt, 'We Refugees', in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, ed. Marc Robinson (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), p. 110.

28 Ibid, p. 111.

29 Pew Research Centre: www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/12/15/international-migration-key-findings-from-the-u-s-europe-and-the-world/.

30 'Migration: Are More People on the Move Than Ever Before?', BBC report by Paul Adams, 28 May 2015. Adams reports that in '2013, there were 232 million "international migrants" in the world (defined by the UN as people who have lived a year or longer outside their country of birth)', which includes 'refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants': www.bbc.com/news/world-32912867.

31 See Joseph Chamie's article in Yale University's YaleGlobal Online, 13 July 2017: https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/cities-grow-worldwide-so-do-numbers-homeless

32 See UNHCR 2018 Global Refugee Report 2018, www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/.

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2 Urban mobility

Movement to mobility

At the center of the city in transgression is movement: unrestrained, unbounded, circumventing territories and urban planning. Movement crosses the limits, laws, boundaries, cultural practices, social, spatial, and material divisions of place, space, and authority. Moving across boundaries challenges the territorialized limitations of spatial authorization. Urban mobility is eased through various forms of speed over smooth level surfaces carved from the erasure of uneven terrain. This first movement – the flattening and straightening of topography for the ease of human mobility – exerted humanity's control over the natural environment. Leveling the ground enabled the second movement: evenness allowed for planning, design, and building to be uniformly apportioned; infrastructure, capital, commercial, property, social and cultural demarcations were established throughout the city. Through the coercive submission of ground to human design, the city was able to extrude vertically and spread horizontally in all directions and materials: wood, brick, concrete, bitumen, steel, aluminum, glass, and composites. This urban archetype captivated governments, architects, developers, and urban planners to spread a formulaic world-planning modernist styling of the city throughout the world, most notably in the 20th century. This archetypical city had its critics, including Mike Davis (*City of Quartz*), Kenneth Frampton (*Modern Architecture: A Critical History*), Rem Koolhaas (*Delirious New York*), Richard Sennett (*Flesh and Stone*), and Léon Krier (*Atlantis*), who challenged the overriding dominance and exertion of planning and capital over the urban built environment and societal conditioning.[1] Human awareness and interaction with ground ceded to the technological city, forming the third movement: loss of connection between human and nature. The flattening of topography to make way for smooth, sealed surfaces excluded any natural interruptions, allowing for seamless human automation. Forfeiting natural undulations to planes of concealment, blanketed urban spaces into programmatic staged activities arranged via straight lines, right angles, and squared formulations gave rise to the fourth movement: linear mobility. To move about and through the

city is to move in a denaturalized way. The consistency of smooth hard surfaces in level planes means that human mobility is no longer responsive to abrupt or unexpected changes.

We touch surfaces on a daily basis. We are always in contact with surfaces; between one surface and the next, 'imposing spatial order, on a grand scale', as B.W. Higman asserts in his book *Flatness*.[2] Constructed surfaces reorganize and reshape topography to fit the human imagination, to choreograph mobility through an amalgamation with flatness. Cities are extended through flatness, forming interior and exterior ribbons of highways that cut through cities and landscapes. In *The Lost Dimension*, Paul Virilio talks of the 'mnemotechnic merits of Euclidean geometry' that came to dominate spatial perceptions of the world that were later applied to the city and human mobility. Virilio attributes this geometry 'of regular plane surfaces regulated by a system of dimensions that dissects a universe in which the measure of superficies dominated the geographic, the urban and rural cadastral, and the architectonic partitioning of constructed elements'.[3] The collapsing of time and space via speeds of deteriorated human experience made cities more efficient, reduced the possibility of collision, and assisted in the city's spatial reproduction *ad infinitum*. The promotion of smooth movement can be seen in buildings, streets, pedestrian pathways, verges, parks, bridges, and highways through to workplaces, office towers, and even into the home. Visible and invisible, the designing of public plazas and parks follows in the same linear pathways and dissecting angles; straightened arcs if not straight lines. Human mobility in the city is possible without the need to activate the body. Like the passenger in a car, the shopper on an escalator, the office worker in a lift; we move in 45-, 90- and 180-degree suspensions without exhausting the body.

In his introduction to *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*, Brian Massumi asks: 'Can we think a body without this: an intrinsic connection between movement and sensation whereby each immediately summons the other?'[4] His interest in movement is how sensation is felt where movement 'beckons a feeling'. Massumi understands movement as the displacement of sensations in constant change, minute inner sensations in the larger anatomical body. The motivation for mobility – an intrinsic human condition and sensorial intermingling of sensation and feeling – is cut off and deactivated when spatial controls over physical expanses of space are enforced. If we are to believe that the city is, by its material construction, in stasis, then a rupture or, as Masumi prefers to call it, 'displacement' occurs between physical entities and human bodies. 'Of course, a body occupying one position on the grid might succeed in making a move to occupy another position'.[5] Across the grids, boundaries, and divisions of modern cities, nations, and continents, movement has established alternative spatial perception where '[t]he space of the crossing, the gaps between positions on the grid, falls into a theoretical no-body's land'.[6] Continuity in movement is animated through objects – cars, trains, trucks, buses, scooters, and

bikes on surfaces in ground, on ground, and above ground, elevated infra-structure joins the city from place to place. Trafficked on the surface planes of the city, human movement has become decoupled from human mobil-ity; prescribed venture has smoothed out the adventure of uneven terrain. Continuous motion is defined by the systems of stasis that stop and restart human mobility in the city. Massumi asserts that 'Change is movement. It is rendered invisible'.[7] This being so, change is increasingly being made invisi-ble to the omnipresent smooth planes of automation. Movement never stops inside the body even when physical movement does. Limitations placed on human mobility in the city are becoming enforced across the world. Human movement has taken on a political dimension; perforated by protection-ism from governments, populous nationalist law enforcement that stretches outwards across land and seas to resist human mobility. Human mobility might be constant, but this is not granted to everybody. The global mobil-ity of refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers is constantly confronted by the demobilization of human movement. Increasingly politicized, racially motivated, and militarily defended, it can be argued that human mobility has always faced confrontation since the establishment of settlement and the formation of nation states.

Mobility, city planning, architecture, and building have been a preoc-cupation of modernist avant-garde conceptions in projecting the city of the future. Le Corbusier's 1922 concept for *A Contemporary City* for three million inhabitants begins with his mantra '*The existing congestion in the centre must be eliminated*' and ends with '*A city made for speed is made for success*'. Le Corbusier's urban narrative of mass linearized high-rise blocks divided by a multiple-lane highway sets the city amid a monstrosity of verti-cal densities in his 1925 *Plan Voisin* for Paris. It is urban planning and architecture at its most prescriptive, damaging, and some might say most evolutionary. His plan called for the demolition of 300 acres on the Right Bank of Paris, something that had not been proposed since Baron Hauss-mann's 17-year (1853–70 under Napoleon III) erasure of Paris's slums to make way for grand boulevards following the 1848 socialist 'red' repub-lican revolution that lead to the Second Republic 1848–51. Le Corbusier argued that the modern city should be planned independent from the geog-raphy of location:

> a modern city lives by the straight line, inevitably; for the construction
> of buildings, sewers and tunnels, highways, pavements. The circulation
> of traffic demands the straight line; it is the proper thing for the heart
> of a city. The curve is ruinous, difficult and dangerous; it is a paralyzing
> thing.[8]

Approximately ten years later, Frank Lloyd Wright would propose an antith-esis to Le Corbusier's brutal urban model with his 1932 Broadacre City to forge an urban utopian model of the future city; a vast rhizomatic suburban

concept of intersecting road infrastructure, with commercial and industrial sectors stretching infinitely across the American landscape.[9]

The explorations of the 1960s and 1970s imagined cities of the future in fantastical, super-utopian structures spanning geographies, and, though unrealizable, they nevertheless served to unsettle the static entity of the city. The montaged imagery produced by Italian futurists Superstudio and Archizoom and their British counterparts Archigram saw the city in continual traversal mobilities on seamless surfaces over the Earth's geography that not only passed through but avoided it completely. Archigram's Peter Cook, whose *Plug-in City* of 1966 envisioned a city composed of expansive and retractable plug-in units, declared that '[t]he nature of the "place" will be transient in the definition of its parts'.[10] Cook's colleague Ron Heron radicalized the static city in his proposed *Walking Cities*; vagabond structures of walking pods roaming over terrain on mechanical legs without fixed location or settlement. Superstudio's collages of architectural superhighways stretched-out in multitudinous flat plateaus crossing deserts and dissecting mountains and valleys, inhabited by roaming naked family types, conceived of human mobility as exceedingly expansive and yet isolated and subject to geographical undulations. Superstudio member Gian Piero Frassinelli dreamt up an entirely abstract cogitation for a 2,000-ton city as '[e]ven and perfect, the city lies amid green lawns, sunny hills and wooded mountains; slim, tall sheets of continuous buildings intersect in a rigorous, square mesh, one league apart'.[11] The collective ideological futural schema of Archigram, Archizoom, and Superstudio jettisoned notions of static place and home to be replaced by rhizomic spatial and non-placed inhabitations forging modern-day refugees, roamers, and vagabonds. The diaspora of traversing roamers across the world belied a shared common ground – transforming boundaries of separation into a false sense of plane-surface and movement-liquid unity. Their way of evolving human mobility over terrain and in the city via fanciful and strict structures circumvented the earth, as humans of no fixed abode traverse it.

Urban mobility trades along the lines of surfaces and assisted pathways. Commercialized movement transports goods and services between static sites of capital. In *The Urban Revolution*, Henri Lefebvre makes the point that the city is woven to form an urban drapery:

> The *urban fabric* grows, extends its borders, corrodes the residue of agrarian life. This expression, 'urban fabric', does not narrowly define the built world of cities but all manifestations of the dominance of the city over the country. In this sense, a vacation home, a highway, a supermarket in the countryside are all part of the urban fabric.[12]

Lefebvre describes the rise of this urban blanket as follows:

> It was populated with signs of the urban within the dissolution of urbanity; it became stipulative, repressive, marked by signals summary codes

for circulation (routes), and signage. It read as a rough draft, some-
times as an authoritarian message: it was imperious. [T]he tremendous
concentration (of people, activities, wealth, goods, objects, instruments,
means, and thought) of urban reality and the immense explosion, the
projection of numerous, disjunct fragments (peripheries, suburbs; vaca-
tion homes, satellite towns) into space.[13]

Movement is designed in and around buildings and along the threads of
infrastructure that dissect the city. Towering and weaving, counteracting
and dominating, these threads cast a shadow on human mobility in even
spaces. As Lefebvre puts it, the street 'is more than just a place for move-
ment and circulation. The invasion of the automobile and the pressure of
the automobile lobby have turned the car into a key object, parking into
an obsession, traffic into a priority, harmful to urban and social life'.[14]
Capital, economy, and property have taken this obsession and moved it
into private hands, where the public domain of the city becomes subject to
these values. A constructed stage for the collective ideal, the built environ-
ment is a coordinated system of connections and disconnections, ruptures
and repetitions in variations of movement. Routes between home and
work are parceled in states of consciousness and partial numbness. In *The
Fall of Public Man* Richard Sennett suggests: 'the technology of modern
motion replaces being in the street with a desire to erase the constraints of
geography'.[15]

   Both Lefebvre and Sennett speak to the problem of flattened surfaces and
automated mobility in urban planning and living. In the hermetic journey-
ing around the city, focus is perceptually sharpened to the frontal vision
where all-around space is glazed over. Visual connectivity to the surfaces
we encounter daily swings between non-active and participatory, as if we
are nonchalant bystanders where the city propels us into motion. In *Flesh
and Stone*, Sennett writes: '[t]he triumph of individualized movement in the
formation of the great cities of the nineteenth century led to the particular
dilemma with which we now live, in which the freely moving individual
body lacks physical awareness of other human beings'.[16] Lefebvre asks
whether the street is a 'meeting place? Maybe, but such meetings are super-
ficial. In the street, we merely brush shoulders with others, we don't interact
with them. It's the "we" that is important'.[17] Again, Lefebvre and Sennett
concur in their critique of our lack of awareness of our surroundings as we
move about the city. The blinkers that cover the eyes of the racehorse to
hamper its peripheral vision and to compel it to focus on the track ahead
find their corollary in the blinkered relationships that humans have with
their surroundings in favor of the frontal vision of the city. Visual satura-
tion may be one factor in the overtaking of our ability to interact with our
surroundings while in movement. Habitually, we do not 'see' the spaces we
move through, and we are often unable to discern or remember the spatial
features of any particular space.

The reduced capacity to experience and comprehend what is around us comes at the loss of imagining and forming new variations for human interaction and situations for urban living. Lefebvre refers to this restrictive experience as an urban 'blind field'. 'How many people perceive "perspective," angles and contours, volumes, straight and curved lines, but are unable to perceive or conceive multiple paths, complex spaces?'[18] Movement and the apparatuses of mobility that support it are designed for the least resistance and interaction, thereby ensuring maximum connectivity between humans and objects. How can movement and vision be recaptured in experiencing the city? In visibility terms, urban spaces in the city are clear physical entities governed by programming. Carriageways, streets, plazas, shopping malls, commercial and institutional buildings form a multivariant urbanity dominated by circulation flows, where human access is both assured and yet repudiated. As we are able to depict visible spaces but have blurred memories in recalling their characteristics, it is also safe to assume that there are undepicted invisible spaces where memory ceases to exist. Imminently forgettable, invisible spaces are the ill-defined, indeterminant, vagrant spaces of programmed space. Such spaces are no different from any other materialized spatial program and only come into vision when adopted as sites for urban life. The temporary residential domains of the homeless, the refugee, the asylum seeker, and the migrant, these invisible spaces of urban infrastructure – verges, underpasses, streets, vacant lots – come into vision via their occupation. For their seeing, it is not awareness that comes into vision but an extension of the 'blind field' of visual anxiety that persists in modern-day society. The spatial recapturing of urban sites that previously went unnoticed and that are now taken by people with the least economy of means available to them expresses the 'blind field' that has crept into automatized vision. Within the hardships of their transitory lives, the homeless and refugees form a relatedness to these invisible, urban non-spaces to places of residence. The appearance of temporary shelters sandwiched under bridges, lanes, parks, and niches of buildings brings mobility to light – doubling these spaces of mobility (the homeless and refugees, and the spaces they inhabit) by shifting the ground on which they are fixed. Out of these spaces of the urban ordinary, the occupations by the homeless, refugees, and migrants create a new visibility through a unique reforming of the city's mobility structures from stasis to movement.

Moving through urban spaces can either appeal to our sensibilities or mean very little to us, depending on the situational relatedness between ourselves and the spaces we cross. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau ascertained that pleasure and desire, attraction and rejection field our relations to spaces we encounter. As such, space appears to us as we appear to it. 'The desire to see the city preceded the means of satisfying it. Medieval or Renaissance painters represented the city as seen in a perspective that no eye had yet enjoyed. This fiction already made the medieval

Figure 2.1 Homeless habitat under bridge, Treptow District, Berlin

Source: photo by author 2018

spectator into the celestial eye. It created Gods'.[19] The celestial Gods were replaced by the towers of capital as the Renaissance painters before replaced the urban realities to idealistic, uniform perspectives in diminishing dimensions. As movement mediates our situational ties to the city in continuous frictionless experiences, freedoms to experience something other become more difficult to detect as they dissolve in our continuous passing.

In *The Deportation Regime*, Nicholas de Genova notes that

> [i]f the freedom of movement is truly 'elementary' and 'prototypical' – and, furthermore, if it is fundamental – for any serious reflection on or practice of liberty, it is revealing that such a basic freedom has been relegated to an ominous political neglect as well as an astounding theoretical silence.[20]

Global human mobility persists to the point where the liberty of movement is repulsed at walls and borders and the crossings of deserts and seas. Refugees and migrants attempt to cross these spaces of exclusion, risking their

lives in the process, which speaks of the fundamental freedom of human mobility. Genova analyzes the restrictions placed on human mobility beginning with the risk of life faced by asylum seekers and migrants in journeying to a country of refuge and to the sites of their deportation. Nation states' use and abuse of international human rights has replaced the freedom of global human mobility, removing the sovereign right of free access to the world. Genova challenges the nation's sovereign rights as expressed through enhanced border protection, asking: 'What, in the end, is movement – and therefore the freedom of movement – if not a figure par excellence of life, indeed, life in its barest essential condition?'[21] The troublesome history of citizenship and the sovereign state, while granting exclusive rights of movement to its citizens, makes those same rights elusive to any non-citizens. Genova emphasizes that 'freedom (to move in the world) and also that power (to transform the world) are grounded in a process whereby human life purposefully mediates its own embeddedness within nature'.[22] Replicating surfaces of border protection and spreading them across thousands of kilometers of land and sea does not transform countries or the world; it only limits and debilitates new possibilities for sovereignty and citizenship. Any attempt to wear down the barriers that restrain human mobility faces severe opposition when sovereignty and citizenship are mobilized. A polarizing political agenda has emerged globally, Genova notes, wherein sovereignty of national space is countered with the freedom of human movement:

> Thus the freedom of movement supplies a defiant reminder that the creative powers of human life, and the sheer vitality of its productive potential, must always exceed every political regime. The deportation regime, then, reveals itself to be a feckless and frenetic machinery, its rigid and convulsive movements doomed to always present but a tawdry caricature of the human freedom that always preceded it and ever surpasses it.[23]

Genova's deportation regime concerning human mobility is bound to the 'feckless' sovereignty rights carried out by nation states to militarize its borders as a means of resisting human mobility. To remove human mobility is to de-space and dislocate the rights of free sovereignty in movement. Controlling the exterior boundaries of a nation state and erecting surfaces of repulsion are ways of minimizing the impact of human mobility. The invisibility, overexposure, and erasure of sovereign rights are critical to a nation state's machinery in fulfilling the aims of the deportation regime. The nonbinding status of migrant bodies in mobility has been a tool for governments and societies to sow division via nationalistic and patriotic ideologies. Aggravated media coverage, fear and threat are all too pervasive in supporting this regime. Political, social, cultural, religious, and racial victimization are being set against universal sovereign rights and the rights and freedoms of global human mobility. Human mobility has always been

a part of the varied histories of human evolution and migration, and for the city in transgression to be realized these histories of human evolution and migration have to be continued. The smooth surfaces that pervade the city and automatize motion have become pervasive. Selecting who is able to join this mobility and who is deported from it has become prevalent in ordering a tiered system of exclusion zones between peoples, nations, and continents.

Conclusion

The English-American photographer Eadweard Muybridge spent most of his life documenting the anatomical motion of the human body and animals. Muybridge instructed his models to perform various tasks such as: '"Man. Heaving a 75 Pound Boulder" photographed synchronously from three points of view, time-intervals: 489 second'; 'Woman. Crossing on "Step-Stones" photographed synchronously from three points of view, time-intervals: 118 second'; '"Woman. Pouring a Basin of Water Over Her Head' photographed synchronously from three points of view, time-intervals: 244 second'; 'Woman. Kicking (a hat)'; 'Pugilists. Boxing photographed synchronously from two points of view time-intervals: 115 second', and so on. Multiple photographs were taken of the models performing these tasks, and they were then pieced together in trick-frame-like animations of time sequences as their motion unfolded from start to finish. Muybridge's capturing of the body in sets of time-lapse interactive still-movements in black and white photography makes for compelling viewing of anatomical human mobility. His earlier work on animal motion such as *The Horse in Motion* (1878), 200 photographs of 'horses, dogs and other animals' (1881), and his 11-folio volumes collectively titled *Animal Locomotion* (1884–87) consisting of 'twenty thousand acts of motion by animals, birds and human beings' utilizing the 'zoöpraxiscope' technique 'for the purpose of demonstrating the persistency of vision' remain groundbreaking even after the invention of the moving image.[24] In viewing his photography, one stares into his images; seeing the whole apparatus of the body in movement via still pictures. Muybridge describes the speed of the camera in capturing the human figure in motion through 'intervals of time between the successive phases'. His technical supremacy in recording the moving body in still-life pictures created sequences of movement as close to real-time as photographically possible. 'If it is required to ascertain the time in which the complete movement, or any portion of movement was effected it will be merely necessary to multiply the number of thousandths of a second by the number of intervals'.[25] To grasp the complexity of the movement from one image to the next, Muybridge suggests that the viewer rapidly blink, causing light and dark retina excitations of animated mobility. His self-deprecating manner informs the viewer that his photographs 'are not intended for use as a substitute for personal observation' for 'anyone with a hand camera could do equally as well'. He asks that his images be viewed not as set

photographic recordings, 'but as seriates of phases, demonstrating the various changes which take place in the deposition of the limbs and body during the evolution of some act of motion from its inception to its completion'.[26]

Similarly, the mobility of Muybridge's images can also be grasped when viewing the dancer in motion, falling-in and falling-out of space. Composed in XYZ coordinates that realize physical space, the spatial appearance of the dancer migrates across the performance space, not separate from the space but in unison, giving the impression that the space is moving with the dancer in an interchange of walls, floor, and ceiling. Orientation collapses and reforms in the dancer's positioning in the performance space, while space itself is abstracted in viewing the dance and from the spectator's seated body in the auditorium. As the dancer's movements unfold in all directions, the performance space likewise unfolds in tandem for both dancer and spectator. It is a synchronized moving-viewing of body and space in sequenced oscillations and turbulences of spatial transformation that allows the dance to appear spectrally and the space spectacularly. Muybridge's models animate a similar connection but where the formation of movement is set against a gridded backdrop in uniform sections that tell of the scientific work in measuring human motion. Yet, even in this monochrome gridded space, the human figure in motion spectacularizes the background; unifying the grid with the model. Refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants likewise can be said to move with the environments they cross; the sites of their departure are brought with them to the sites of their arrival. An acute example of this unified movement between journey, space, and body is illustrated in the habitations of the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants who occupy urban sites, making visible urban spaces that had previously held no spectral visibility. Streets, pavements, verges, edges, and vacant lots become spectacularized spaces of mobility, departure and arrival seamlessly threaded and transitorily sited.

Surface wearing

Cities are composed through a trajectory of lines demarcating spaces with defined territories of surfaces. Hardened surfaces of concrete and bitumen not only smooth out human movement but also reduce the trace impressions of movement. Through a compilation of reveals and disappearances, human movement in the city motions our trajectories between present and past, tracing and retracing over the same ground. By contrast, human motion in the natural environment indelibly leaves traces and impressions on the ground as evidence of the journey taken. Not all human markings are invisible in the city. Cities are made up of vestigial traces of worn-out surfaces. The mass weight of bodies, the friction of interaction bearing down on the surfaces leave lasting traces. Worn surfaces comprise the archaeological timelines of cities, human mobility, and occupation. The ruins of the Roman Forum not only depict history in the decaying marble, brick, and stone; they

also symbolize the ruination or wearing-out of Empire. Smooth indentations in stone and wood found in the staircases of apartments, palaces, and museums mark the traces of human presence in a present-past, where steps taken wear-out the preceding ones. Brass strips that line the edges of steps such as those in the London Underground show their wear in the rubbing-out of the indented grip. History is present and evident in ancient cities such as Rome, Athens, Damascus, Jericho, Jerusalem, Byblos, Babylon, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Thebes, Memphis, and Djenné as well as the ephemeral presence of nomadic tribes people, while modern cities, by contrast, place a premium on removing human presence by designing-out the wearing-out of surfaces. Not to be confused with the preservation of a city's history, modern surfaces of concrete, glass, paving, tiles, plastics, and composite materials create a perpetual newness.[27] Newness is impressed upon the city's inhabitants and reinforced in thousand-fold increases of material inventions with which we come into contact over the course of our lifetime. No longer do we impress our presence on the city by our mobility in wearing-out surfaces; instead, we walk in cycles of absence and presence on the surfaces of erased time.

In *Surfaces: A History*, Joseph A. Amato defines our contact with surfaces through our interactions with the materials and products we use. 'Surfaces – as always, but especially now – enwrap humans. They house us

Figure 2.2 Horizontal Surface, Millennial Bridge, Foster + Partners
Source: photo by author, 2018

Figure 2.3 Vertical Surface, Freedom Tower, New York
Source: photo by author, 2015

in ongoing systems of constant revision and sought perfection'.[28] Human-made surfaces are ubiquitous; defining the city, objects, and ourselves. Surfaces calibrate the urban environment in movements of speed and still-ness in continuity. We no longer walk on ground or mark objects; instead, we glide over surfaces and slide our hands over unimpressionable surfaces. Textured zones denote the differences of spatial usage, characterizing human movement. As topography was transgressed first by leveling and then by the evenness of applied surfaces, it threw human interaction into micro disturbances that passed between them without trace. In the city, it is possible to live a life on smoothed surfaces without ever touching original ground. 'The history of smooth, even, level, and predictably, yet attrac-tively contoured, surfaces and colors', Amato states, is 'played out in the design of urban landscapes'. 'Broken walkways, pitted roads, open cesspits, rickety and precarious stairs – all had to be repaired, for foot and wheel had to advance efficiently and fashionably. Society could not progress in a dirty, uneven, and tripping world'.[29]

Surface and spatial transgression becomes acutely present in the city through occupations of urban sites by the homeless and migrants. Their habitation of surfaces of infrastructure reform the function of the urban plan in contestation with city planning and the status quo of society – the homed – who see themselves conforming to the surfaces that pattern the urban environment. The homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants' inhabitations of urban spaces serve to disrupt the smoothness of which Amato speaks. Their temporary shelters contest the smooth aesthetics of the city through rupture and breakage. Tenuous in their hold on space, the homeless and migrants destabilize the solid spaces of infrastructure in contrast to the citizens of the homed who pride themselves in living with the least resistance, for the aim of the smooth is to avoid rupture and distur-bance to others and oneself. In *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Material-ity, and Media*, Giuliana Bruno invokes Le Corbusier's metaphor that the surfaces of architecture are the clothes of the city's aesthetic appearances, for 'the history of modern architecture is, in many ways, bound to surface'. Bruno's interests lie in the projections of cinematic and architecture aesthet-ics. 'Cinema, like modern architecture, is an expression of plastic luminos-ity, an art of projection of multiple, mutable planes. It joins architecture as a space that is built and transformed by light, which is itself a form of archi-tecture'.[30] The visual aesthetics of the homeless and migrants' inhabitations of urban sites are an affront to the aesthetics valued by society. Judgment, distaste, repulsion, and indifference toward the homeless and migrants are the same judgments that incriminated the Medieval and Victorian vagrant. What so enrages government and urban planners is that the homeless and migrants need neither support nor capital to create their sites of habitation in the city. Transitory by design, their occupations are not a substitute for permanent inhabitation. Like the Victorian vagrant, they are subjected to enforced mobility, moving from one site to the next.

Government programs designed to address migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers opt for establishing short-term remedies rather than long-term solutions. The makeshift migrant camp in the French port city of Calais, known as Tent City or the Calais Jungle, is an example of swapping one temporary residence for another. In October 2016, French authorities forcibly cleared the haphazard transitory space of tents and plastic sheeting that made up Tent City. Those migrants who had become disillusioned with the hope of making it to the UK by stowing themselves in the back of lorries entering the Eurotunnel, exhausted by their scant and unsanitary living conditions, were rehoused in stacks of old shipping containers adapted for accommodation and surrounded by a high perimeter wire fence topped with surveillance cameras. With the clearing of Tent City, migrants could now be controlled and contained in the metal surfaces of the shipping containers and razor wire. A symbol of mobility, the shipping container betrayed this mobility in stasis, taking on the status of its occupants. Docked on dry land and painted in gleaming white, this container city created an aesthetics of order out of the desperation of people seeking to improve their lives. While the accommodation offered some basic comforts such as beds, toilets, showers, and food, it also meant coming under the control of the authorities. Many chose not to move into the shipping containers and instead opted to re-site themselves away from Calais further north to the port city of Dunkirk to try their luck there in stowing away on the Dunkirk to Dover ferry lines. The white shipping containers were not constructed out of empathy for the hardship of the migrants of Tent City; rather, they were erected to restrict their mobility and to counter the social and aesthetic disruptions of their presence beside the Eurotunnel. Bruno suggests that aesthetics and empathy join 'the very fabrication of architectural expression as it gives shape to the surface of things'.[31] The idea of the shipping containers was to serve exactly that idea: to shape the presence of migrants into an ordered appearance inside the surfaces of steel containers and under the control of authorities.

The construction of controls – such as those placed on the migrants in Calais – have been an inherent part of the planning of urban environments, shaping the aspirations and expectations of the model society in their own image. Succeeding in meeting this image comes at a price, often spiraling out of control and creating disaffection and resentment. Amato lists the insecurities and reassurances to which societies subject themselves in order to achieve their aspirations. But, of course, the latter are never met, for they are forever being upgraded:

> Our world, so to speak, has become superficial. It is composed of made, invented, and artificial surfaces. They form our walls, our house of mirrors – or simply our artificial, fabricated, composite, specialized, integrated, controlled, and manipulated environments. They establish mind and body, home and work, street and landscape; they offer exterior signs and identities of self and other; they become signs and symbols for what

we are and what is around us. They represent, decorate, and advertise who and what we are and what we want and would have ourselves be. We have become, to materialize this idea, our flooring, walls, ceilings, windows – the face of the materials of which they are made – and also the streets and lawns we look out on.[32]

Formulating alternative aspirations and expectations can foster new potential for interrupting urban spatial programming. Space changes when space is interrupted, when the aspiration for change is born of desire rather than necessity. Such changes are not solely reliant on physical changes, for space does not morph into something else – it remains materially, spatially intact. Change comes to the city and its urban environments when its spaces are interrupted. Moving through programmed spaces such as public squares where space is 'relaxed' via flat surfaces and ceases at the boundaries of streets, footprint margins of buildings and the thoroughfares of arcades, new surfaces take over to dominate new spatial controls. Flat thinking in urban planning became a way of ensuring human movement throughout the city whilst also maintaining differences in accessibility. Flat surfaces create less friction and negotiation; flatness removes obstacles. Shifting between

Figure 2.4 Martin Place, Sydney

Source: photo by Thomas Cole, 2020

civic, privatized, and commercial spaces invariably means shifting without adjusting to different behavioral codes.

Interrupting the codes of public behavior across the spaces of the city only occurs when flatness and surface are reinterpreted. Determining the degree of interruption through the degree of disruption to the surface either increases or derails social interaction – a risk that is constantly monitored by authorities. An example can be illustrated whereby the distancing of public bench seating is spatially arranged not for people to gather collectively but rather to guarantee their physical separation. This separation is spread across the city in various formations with the intention of separating and dislocating unity. Public space is no longer a site for civil assemblies; even in national day celebrations, togetherness appears only as an idea, for while we claim our spot to watch the fireworks, we do not necessarily collectively identify with each other in the same celebration. The refugee, migrant, and the homeless watch such separations from afar; from the distance society grants them to reside in the city. Invariably, their limits of separation and dislocation from society are what connect them with one another and their interactions and occupations with surfaces. One way to shift the public's gliding movements across the city's surfaces is to *un*flatten mobility, to formulate disruption, reinstate interaction, and reform the civic in civil society. Unflattening the planes of surfaces that wrap the city would allow for interruption and connections between people and surfaces. It would also disrupt the smoothness of mobility and lend a new aesthetical character to the habitation of surfaces. Finally, it would encourage and enable a greater connectivity to the habitations of the homeless and refugees, recognizing their valid presence in society.

The non-placed homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants' interaction with urban sites of infrastructure construct new spatial appearances out of necessity where neither desire nor expectations preside. The changes they exert on existing spaces give rise to new potential in the uses of infrastructure that are far more radical than they appear at first. Amato's bleak critique of the superficial idealism that maintains the mirages of consumerist society – containment and desire – are not within the realm or grasp of refugees and the homeless. This is not to say that they do not desire such ideals, to grip the surfaces and wear them out as a trace of their presence; rather, their enforced mobility denies them the opportunity to do so. Another way in which surfaces may be reconsidered is how their occupation uncovers the potential for other places in the city that have remained unknown. In *Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge*, Tim Ingold suggests that 'places are delineated by movement, not by the outer limits to movement'.[33] He suggests that the spatial occupations of space are locational or place-sited as a result of movement, noting 'occupation is areal, whereas habitation is lineal'. Ingold demonstrates his ideas of movement through a set of lines, dashes, and dots to denote pauses, stops, and accelerations of spatial occupation and movement. 'The lines linking these

destinations, like those of an air or rail traffic map, are not traces of movements but point-to-point connectors'. In making these diagrams Ingold aims to illustrate the momentary occupations of the 'terrestrial being' – the wayfarer who 'must perforce travel over the land'. 'The surfaces of the land', he indicates, 'are in the world, not of it. And woven into the very texture of these surfaces are the lines of growth and movement of its inhabitants'.[34] Interactions and negations of surfaces are programmed to the determinacy of the urban plan. The availability of spatial transgression is the ability to interrupt surfaces. While society engages in the avoidance of disruption, the homeless, migrant, and refugee do not follow this flow; instead, they deploy connectivity to create their temporary settlements in the city. Spatial avoidance and the avoidance of others have become a way of *being* in the city. The demands on space have led to a loss of freedom in terms of how civic spaces can be occupied. The radical exception to this standard is where the loitering, situating, and occupying of urban surfaces by the homeless and refugees suggest another way of *being* in the city. Interrupting surfaces is a fundamental part of *being* in the city, and as the city is organized around traffic, people flow, stoppage, connection and disconnection between surfaces, the interruption of surfaces is imperative to the evolution of the city in transgression.

On a global level, some surfaces have aided human mobility across the geographies of countries and continents, while others have resisted human flow. The US President's recent call to 'build the wall' along the US/Mexican border is an example of resisting human flow. Aimed at halting Central American refugees and asylum seekers fleeing gang violence and poverty, the proposed wall extends the horizontal surface plane to vertical dimensions of interruption. In Europe, Hungary's erecting of a perforated surface of razor wire fencing to reimpose its borders and repel the flow of Syrian refugees taking the Turkey – Greece – Macedonia – Serbia – Hungary route to Eastern and Western European countries is likewise a surface dimension of interruption. In Australia, the surface of water and island combine to create a border of deterrence, and when penetrated by refugees' crossings in boats, they are detained and incarcerated in detention camps located hundreds of kilometers from Australian shores on the islands of Manus and Nauru. Surfaces are also deployed over the trafficking routes of Sub-Saharan Africans' journeys across the deserts of Mali, Niger, and Chad to Libya and across the sea to Italy – Greece – Northern Europe on the surface of rubber boats over the surface of deep blue water. These surfaces of deterrence – sharp and brutal, both natural and man-made – penetrate the surfaces of human bodies to curtail the hopes of tens of thousands of people seeking better lives. Unlike the city in history where surfaces wear out, and unlike the city in present time where surfaces are designed not to wear out and are renewed if they show such signs of wear, refugees' interactions with surfaces are hardened. Surfaces become deterrents by locking down land and sea borders in order to stifle human mobility.

From settlement to city, the arrangement of urban space has seen an incremental increase in applying surfaces over natural terrain and surfaces demarcating spatial separations. Ancient cities such as: the Egyptian city of Thebes; the Phoenician city of Carthage; Meroë in the Kingdom of Kush; the Mesopotamian city of Babylon; the Chinese city Chengzhou (Luoyang); the Greek and Roman cities of Athens and Rome; the Tenochtitlán and Mayan city of Tikal – all were planned through the deployment of surfaces, with defensive, ceremonial, and institutional spaces and buildings to emphasize their imperial and republic formations of the city and nation-state. Surfacing ground and vertical surface building played an integral and identifiable role in the relation between the city and its inhabitants. New forms of urban planning built over the ancient regime of the imperial city reformed the striated layers of a city's history. Baron Haussmann's removal of the maze of lanes and alleys of inner Paris slum districts after the Parisian uprising of 1848 brought new controls over urban space in lineated perspectives of surfaced thoroughfares that enabled physical surveillance and rapid military responses to any public insurrection. Colonial desires saw similar changes in occupied countries, as the occupiers sought to impose linear surface planes such as the French remodeling of Damascus, which inserted grand boulevards disrupting the ancient layout of one of the world's oldest and continuously lived cities. Similarly, the British insertion of the Victorian planning model on Delhi's urban plan, such as Connaught Place built at the turn of the 20th century, stamped a ringed colonnaded surface of imperial architecture at the heart of the city. The last century witnessed an explosion and rhizomic spread of cities, as countries across the world brought city planning to fruition through the use of continuous linear surfaces. Deploying geometry to formulate surface planes and linear perspectives, cities extended in formulized grids over large areas, erasing topographies and surfacing ground along the way. From the cities to the highways' flat stretched ribbons of tar that connected them, flatness asserted its hold on the city and over geography, enforcing human dominance over the natural environment.

The binding connection between layering surfaces over ground, the planning of urban environments, the production of objects, and connections to the human body have deployed the use of geometry in structuring the points, lines, and planes that shape our interaction with and relation to buildings, streets, highways, and even ourselves. Exploring the Euclidean Plane, John Stillwell in his book *Geometry of Surfaces* notes that the Greek mathematician Euclid's (c. 300 BC) *Geometry Theorem* was 'based on the conviction that geometry describes actual space and, in particular, that the theory of lines and circles describes what one can do with ruler and compass'.[35] The far earlier Pythagorean Theorem from the Greek mathematician Pythagoras (c. 570–495 BC), who developed the formula where a 90-degree angle of the triangle is equal to the opposite side of the right angle (hypotenuse) to two sides perfecting a square, had a profound influence in the structural development of urban spaces and building. Euclid and Pythagoras were not

alone but rather were part of the larger exploration of points, lines, and circle planes undertaken by the ancient Sumerian, Mesopotamian, Indian, and Chinese mathematicians, as well as many indigenous people who formulated earth and cosmos connectivity via geometrical surface planes.

Creating surfaces has been one of the key evolutionary characteristics of human development. Geometry fed directly into the construction of buildings. Making sure a building was square could be proved by measuring the angle across the surface area. This could also be applied to surveying sites, to cartography and planning of infrastructure – directing connective points and linear plane surfaces of avenues and roads along the north-south and east-west axes. Stillwell informs us that Euclidian geometry models humanmade ' "flat" surfaces in the real world; yet all physical flat surfaces are of infinite extent and have boundaries'.[36] Bounded and unbounded to their movements, the society of the homed and the un-sited societies of the homeless and refugees are nevertheless connected, for they share the same surfaces. What separates them is how they use these surfaces, accept their limitations, and abide by the codes of mobility that such surfaces enforce. These physical, societal, and psychological surfaces of separation are fortified by capital, property, and societal expectations. Given that the homeless or asylum seeker has no property to display or capital to expend, their connection to any space is one of spatial transience. As such, their space of inhabitation can only be described as infinite in relation to the availability of surfaces with which they interact. Where the homed move through the city while the city around them remains in stasis, the homeless and refugee move with the city, and the city moves within them. In this way, the unhomed do not glide over the surfaces of urban spaces; each of their connections is a datum point of disruption, dashes and lines on surfaces tracing their shelters and occupations within the city. Socrates declared that space lies buried inside the body. It can be argued that refugees carry such space within them; the spaces of their homeland, the spaces of their departure, the spaces of their occupation and, for others, the spaces of their encampment and deportation.

Conclusion

Grids, lines, datum points of geometry and disruptions played an integral role in Peter Eisenman's *National Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*.[37] Constructed between 2003–05 and covering 1.9 hectares in central Berlin, the Memorial comprises 2,711 Stalae (gravestone-like concrete blocks) arranged in a systematic grid in an undulating topography. At their lowest, around the periphery of the Memorial, the Stalae increase in height toward the middle as the depth of the inverted topography increases. The unease of each Stalae as it leans over the body and the unevenness and depth of the pathway immerse visitors in an enclosure of oppressive surfaces, actions,

interruptions, and occurrences, accidents, and vagrancies between seen and unseen bodies crossing. Eisenman's Memorial is experienced through physical motion: running, playing, losing, and finding. The undulating topography coupled with the angularity of the Stalae submerges the body, giving a sense of entrapment through spatial disorientation, which is reinforced by the loss of the horizon. This haunting, experiential oppression evokes in one a sense of what Jewish people faced as their bodies were desecrated in the horror of the Holocaust.

Another site where a high degree of surface control prompts a bodily, experiential form of remembrance is the Shrine of Remembrance War Memorial in Melbourne. Sited on a north-south axis through the city, the Memorial connects to another point of reference: namely the city's Anglican Cathedral. Enshrined in law, these two institutional forms – one dedicated to war, the other to religion – cannot be obstructed by any building along the line of sight that connects them. The approach to the Memorial is staged to a set of dramaturgically sequenced movements over the same surface. Beginning with a long, subtle incline of paving, the visitors' approach is gradually slowed via insertions of steps between intervals of flatness that shorten with the insertion of more steps and diminishing planes of flatness as they approach the Shrine. This slowing of the visitor's walking pace via flatness, restrained incline, and steps is designed to pay homage, absorb and reflect the monumentality of Australian lives lost in the wars of the 20th century. The Shrine of Remembrance illustrates how surfaces become planes of sentiment out of the pragmatic surfacing of ground, choreographing mobility, emotion, and subjectivity.

Eisenman's Memorial reforms the space of history in contention with the presence of remembrance. The Memorial seeks to destabilize the body so as to recognize the unimaginable terror of Jewish persecution by the Nazis. The Memorial writes German and Jewish histories through an interior and exterior dialectic of surfaces as a catalyst for conveying meaning onto and through the visitors' bodies. Material, form, and program interact with history, echoing the enormity and impossibility of ever adequately portraying that history – that is, the history of the Holocaust. The Memorial immerses the public via separation – peeling people away from one another and yet simultaneously uniting them through surfaces of solitude and reflection. The public is granted the freedom of the wanderer, but like the vagrant of no fixed abode, the refugee and asylum seeker with no place, there is a need to be in a constant state of awareness and on the move. Through the Stalae's mass form and repetition, the Memorial succeeds in placing a blanket surface across the whole space, turning visitors into the embodied witnesses of what is beyond expression. The Shrine of Remembrance, on the other hand, is confident in building memory and reflection. It expresses the idea that building sites of remembrance is appropriate to the memorialization of human lives lost in war, reflecting the mantra 'Lest We Forget'.

Indifferent non-selves

John Berger claimed that we look without seeing. In *About Looking*, Berger begins his investigation into how we look at something, arguing that how we look does not necessarily involve how we see. He uses the example of looking at animals where our human distinction and separation from animals creates our ability to look at them. Berger suggests that how we try to understand humanity through restrictions employed by looking is also tied to avoiding our individual human selves and animals. To look at animals in zoos is to witness their indifference: 'Their dependence and isolation have so conditioned their responses that they treat any event which takes place around them – usually it is in front of them, where the public is – as marginal. (Hence their assumption of an otherwise exclusively human attitude – indifference.)'[38] Berger understood this indifference through a form of intentional blindness in looking – inattentive as the act of looking and intentional as the act of separating humans from animals. Thinking of how Berger's application of looking at animals denies the animal in the human is to look at how people view other people who might appear foreign to and outside of the perception in terms of how they understand themselves. It is not animal but rather the difference between human and animal that allows for the move from seeing to looking and casting aspersions on what is being looked at as different. Exemplary of such looking of

Figure 2.5 Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin

Source: photo by author, 2020

indifference is how the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants are looked at or understood. The intention here is not to equate looking at the homeless or refugees to looking at animals in zoos. Rather, the aim is to illustrate how indifference emerges when looking without seeing.

In *Hidden in Plain Sight: The Social Structure of Irrelevance*, Eviatar Zerubavel notes how irrelevance is socially structured and how sight is socially blind. Zerubavel's interest in irrelevance is driven by how selective attention is enacted. 'The fact that we actually notice only a few out of many potential perceptual stimuli underscores attention's inherently exclusionary nature. As a process of selection', he explains, 'it also implies exclusion'.[39] Visibility and invisibility operate simultaneously, each selective and often consciously underscored in apprehending what lies in the pathway of our sight. Zerubavel discusses the filters deployed in vision, ranging from shifting, straining, and generally ignoring or denying sight – in other words, making sight difficult by rendering it an exclusive sensorial experience. Keying these remarks back to how space is perceived and experienced is to understand how selective sight undertaken by one group over another – for example, the homed and the homeless – enables the displacement of sight by ignoring what is being seen. 'Studying how we notice things', Zerubavel writes, 'also presupposes studying how we effectively ignore others', and how we ignore others is to understand 'the phenomenon of denial'.[40] Selective seeing has characterized how the homed and the homeless have become entirely separate entities within the same spaces of the city. Turning this

Figure 2.6 Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne
Source: photo by Andrew Hazewinkel, 2020

notion to refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants is to acknowledge that these separate entities form the basis of their rejection and subjugation in societies across the world. Perceptions of the homeless form the antithesis to societal ideals – subjecting them to a lower status – making their presence irrelevant. Both un-sighted and un-sited, the homeless are left to merge within the shadows of the city's infrastructure – visible as much as hidden.

Exploring the artist in the capturing of her/himself in self-portraiture as a simultaneous ruining of the image, Jacques Derrida, in *Memoirs of the Blind*, declares: 'The two will cross paths, but without ever confirming each other, without the least bit of certainty, in a conjecture that is at once singular and general, the *hypothesis of sight*, and nothing less'.[41] 'The blind can be a seer', Derrida asserts, which might also mean the seer can be blind. Derrida points out that blindness and seeing are not contradictory; like Berger, there are acute differences at play between seeing and looking, blindness and the self. Derrida stages his idea in the following way: 'By accident, and sometimes on the brink of an accident, I find myself writing without seeing'.[42] Berger's and Derrida's looking without seeing point to the indifference, disregard, and dissociation of automated blindness. Associating looking without seeing suggests that blindness toward one leads to blindness toward another – resulting in a shared blindness. Looking at the homeless and the urban sites they occupy is mostly met with indifference toward both them and their site of residence. Their habitation of urban infrastructure sites reinforces societal blindness for their seeing through states of constant disappearance.

Inattention toward the homeless transfers to how we look at the encampment and detention of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. As looking is selective in respect of what appears in sight, so selective sight makes looking transparent without depth, making absent that which can be avoided. From this viewpoint, the presence of the homeless and refugees in public sight and from the televised images of refugee camps moves from indifference to sight rejection, a rubbing out of the image seen and screened. In *Living with Indifference*, Charles E. Scott argues that 'indifference is not something with a point. It doesn't take place like a culmination of many things. The problem is that the happening of sheer neutrality is not a thing at all'. Scott's critique of indifference is not that it is a default neutrality; it 'is at best preparatory for another kind of perceptiveness'.[43] Arguably, neutrality is indifference by disavowing perception of any other kind. The chasm of contact that separates the homed from the migrant and the homeless revolves around principles, ethics, and values. Each is addressed differently to form the social divide. We need, then, a kind of looking that informs and directs our sight toward the homeless and refugees by addressing the conditions that created the separation in the first place. What is required is a global perspective to understanding the natural causes behind people fleeing their countries. Derrida suggests that we sometimes see with a 'wounded gaze' in looking at pictures, yet '[t]he blind man can always become a seer or visionary'.[44] This

being true, the human dimension of seeing refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants undertaking perilous journeys in the hope of finding security is to look at them as a homogenous group of desperate people, rather than seeing them as individuals. The 'wounded gaze' that inflicts the seer becomes the acceptable gaze of the public, society, and governments toward refugees, the homeless, and migrants. To look and be 'wounded' is to be haunted by seeing. 'The blindness that opens the eye is not the one that darkens vision', Derrida retorts. It 'neither sees nor does not see: it is indifferent to its blurred vision'.[45] Looking includes the option of looking away and doing nothing. Seeing connects and confronts what lies in the field of sight, which may prompt one to do something.

Indifference creates the option for looking without seeing. Blurred vision has become the modus operandi of *being* in the city in negotiating others across smooth surfaces. Indifference is a construction of distance between the self and others. Spatial distance between people was something the German playwright Bertolt Brecht instilled in his plays and conveyed to his audience in what he called the *distancing effect*. Brecht sought to distance the actor's portrayal of a character as separate from the socio-political message in the viewing of his plays. He understood that indifference emerged when the audience identified with the actor and not the character played by the actor, which risked undermining the meaning and intention of the play. To achieve the *distancing effect*, Brecht conveyed his political message to the audience with the actor as animator. The *distancing effect* tells us something about how viewing the homeless and refugees in the city is restricted by the comfort of social distance, much like the comfort enjoyed by the spectator in the auditorium whom Brecht sought to challenge through an active disunity rather than a passive unity.

Looking without seeing is worked in and out of indifference. In *Moral Blindness*, Zygmunt Bauman and Leonidas Donskis point to the social erasure and failure in apprehending social consciousness. In his introduction, Donskis notes that moral blindness is 'self-chosen, self-imposed, or fatalistically accepted – in an epoch that more than anything needs quickness and acuteness of apprehension and feeling'. Donskis fuses sight and connectivity to speed and apprehension.

> In order that we regain our perceptiveness in dark times, it is necessary to give back dignity as well as the idea of the essential unfathomability of human beings, not only to the world's greats but also to the crowd extras, the statistical individual, the statistical units, the crowd, the electorate, the man in the street.[46]

Bauman cites Günther Anders who coined the term ' "apocalypse blindness" to denote that probably incurable ailment of humanity', asking 'isn't that aliment an inalienable feature of the human mode of being-in-the-world?'[47] The 'inalienable feature' of humanity is the rejection of each other all the

time. This echoes Richard Sennett's disillusion with contemporary civic society where 'public life has also become a matter of formal obligation', in which 'manners and ritual interchanges with strangers are looked on as at best formal and dry, at worst phony'.[48] Being in the city – a domain designed to be shared with others – has fallen into the exact opposite state. Removing sensorial connectivity toward other and replacing it with selective blindness reveals the incompetence entailed in the act of looking. Paul de Man, in *Blindness and Insight*, suggests that seeing does not necessarily mean a lack of perception: 'maximum blindness' creates 'the area of greatest lucidity' but also 'the theory of rhetoric and its inevitable consequences'.[49] Blindness toward others no doubt colors one's insight – foreclosing any apprehension for the empathy toward others. If we understand the majority of the society – the homed – as engaging in selective blindness, then this goes a long way toward explaining the continuing failure to acknowledge, help, and accommodate the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants into our countries, societies, and homes.

Indifference as negative human portrayal is something that the Algerian novelist Albert Camus explored throughout his writing. In 'The Tender Indifference of the World: Camus' Theory of the Flesh', Jean-Phillippe Deranty suggests that Camus' use of the indifference of the world 'is not rebuking, or challenging; it is the exact opposite: it is a *tender* indifference'. The indifference of the world, as Deranty explains, 'is not tender in and of itself'; rather, it only becomes tender in form 'once the human being has acknowledged that indifference, and acknowledged it in a very specific sense: namely, by "opening himself to it"'.[50] Camus' novel *L'Étranger* (*The Stranger*), written in 1942, tells the story of a Frenchman called Mersault living in French colonial Algeria who is indifferent to his surroundings, his life, his past, and the present. He is incapable of remembering significant events and struggles to identify with anyone, even himself. 'Mother died today. Or maybe it was yesterday, I don't know', Meursault recounts to a friend. He struggles to understand his presence when he visits his mother's open coffin in the funeral parlor. The scene is of a person painfully devoid of feeling, indifferent to his mother's death and showing no signs of distress.

Indifference is pervasive in perpetuating the socio-economic divide between the transitory lives of asylum seekers and migrants and the security of nations, governments, and their social orders. Indifference avoids physical and emotional empathy, replacing it instead with the emotional distance afforded by sympathy and pity. This is especially acute in developed and developing societies, where socio-economic divides are clearly visible – spatially, socially, and culturally. In cities such as London, New York, and Paris, this spatial difference is hidden (albeit often in plain sight), whereas elsewhere, such as Delhi, Mexico City, and Lagos, the differences are unavoidable and out in the open. When the sight of destitute people is clearly visible, indifference takes hold; managing relationships and forming distances between the privileged and the destitute. Marginalization occurs

in most societies today, wherein the selective blindness and dominance of one group over another has become an accepted part of life. Walking through certain districts in downtown Los Angeles or San Francisco, the sight of the homeless sleeping in tents lined along pavements is part and parcel of accepting the city's divide and the indifference that has come to characterize them. These spaces of homelessness have become the accepted norm where approximately 48,000 people fill the inner-city sites of these otherwise hugely affluent cities.

Indifference can also be understood as a form of spatial amnesia; the inability to recollect location and time that constitutes an act of forgetting. In *Camera Lucida*, Roland Barthes suggests that looking at pictures induces memory by the situation of the image or subject represented in a photograph, but this process also involves the ability to locate one's feelings in the act of viewing. Barthes deploys the word *studium* (to study) to denote how, when viewing an image, a photograph is more than just the action of looking at it; it is to see the image in its entirety and how it came into being. 'To recognise the *studium* is inevitably to encounter the photographer's intentions'. By contrast, in reading the image of the photograph, Barthes refers to '*the notion of punctuation*', which he defines as the '*punctum* which will disturb the *studium*'. 'A photograph's *punctum* is that accident which pricks (but also bruises me, is poignant to me)'.[51] Looking at pictures, paintings, or photographs has the capacity to relegate the images to the background of viewing; this is what Berger was referring to when humans look at animals – a certain yet carefully managed disconnectedness. Barthes' obligatory action of viewing images into felt sensation informs his *punctum* of seeing beyond the subject in the photograph. It is to see the whole of the photograph beyond the image. The obliviousness and absence of the *punctum* is how society manages to look at the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants, whether in the reality of their makeshift shelters in the city or in the virtual reality of the images of refugees in camps or rubber dinghies. Opposed to Barthes' *studium* of studying the whole of an image, mediatized images instill an ordinariness to what becomes of others. The journeys that refugees make and their plight become non-sensed. Mourning the death of his mother, the *punctum* Barthes felt in viewing images offers a deeper understanding of how an image pricks the viewer, something that Camus' character Meursault was incapable of feeling toward his dead mother, toward others, and indeed toward the world in general. Indifference produces an accepted cruelty.

As global human mobility increases and the sustained efforts of governments to repel human migration will inevitably fail at borders and detention camps, indifference will no longer be an option for privileged societies to fall back on. Indifference to the homeless in cities and to refugees and asylum seekers held in camps perpetuates the evasion of seeing, understanding, and feeling from governments, societies, and individuals alike, absolving them from any responsibility. Likewise, this option will no longer be

possible when humans fleeing wars, violence, poverty, persecution, and climate catastrophe affects all societies, nations, and continents across the world. An evasive, connective humanity has been a major part of modernity's psychological condition: schizophrenic attitudes of induced fear and paranoia that began with human settlement. Where humanitarian responsibility falls to NGOs such as Doctors Without Borders, Refugees International, Karam Foundation, Save the Children, World Vision, CATO, and Oxfam and their efforts fall to the political polarization that besets institutions such as UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration, the fate of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants will continue to fall on hapless media saturation and exhausted NGOs. We – the people – have become witnesses to world events. Empathy is at the center of change, but at present it remains surrounded by an ever-enclosing field of indifference.

The majority of societies who declare a place in the world and who reside in secure workplaces and homes set the standards by which all other groups are judged. The nonchalant emotion of indifference has often transposed into violent rejection. Think of the histories of indigenous peoples at the hands of colonial invasion or the victimization of LGBTQI+ people not just in homophobic societies where civil rights are flagrantly ignored but also in apparently vibrant civil societies where the Christian Right claims moral ascendency. Racial persecution is a daily occurrence for many people, as is communicated by Black Lives Matter, while domestic violence and the harassment of women remain culturally legitimate in many societies. The histories of slavery, gender inequality, land dispossession, resource plundering, and racial oppression are still fraught with indifference – it is the overwhelming fear of these histories that inhibits the ability to fully address these issues. Historical amnesia takes hold where acceptance of the destitute lives of the homeless, refugees, and asylum seekers is met with the least amount of resistance. Indifference formulates distance between looking and seeing; where numbness creeps in and feelings are suppressed. Indifference marks a disaffection with experience. Indifference comes at a loss – not just to the lives of refugees in camps desensitized to images of reportage but also to our collective ability to grasp a new evolution of human connectivity, to reshape the global indifference to the present turbulent condition facing human mobility across the world.

Conclusion

In the last year of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's leadership in 1990, I attended a reputable school of art and design in London. Britain at the time was under siege; an economic downturn, high unemployment, and a steep rise in the number of homeless people epitomized in their occupation of the pedestrian underpass of the Bullring Roundabout near Waterloo Station known as 'Cardboard City'. Discarded refrigerators, washing machines, cardboard packaging, prized for their thickness,

ensuring better insulation and comfort from the cold and concrete floor was the staple building material that formed the shelters in the underground tunnel. Inside these box houses were the bare essentials for the homeless to keep warm; a roll-up foam mattress, sleeping bag, and blankets. 'Cardboard City' consisted of around 200 homeless people, mostly men. Many of central London's underground pedestrian tunnels, small alleyways, and pavements showed signs of temporary shelters of the homeless. Walking along one underground passage near Regent's Park, I remember watching a member of the public who, when approaching a cardboard shelter, hurried as they walked past – trepidation and fear toward the boxes as much as to the person inside. Constant pleas for spare change for a sandwich, a hot cup of tea or a spare cigarette were common between the homeless and passersby. Happy to provide cigarettes and money, I gave when I could, trying to distribute what I had as evenly as possible.

Studying at the fashionable and culturally vibrant art and design school, I was to fall into a farcical sense of identification with the homeless. It had become cool among a small band of students to emulate homelessness.

Figure 2.7 Homeless shelter, underground passageway, Regents Park, Central London

Source: photo by author, 1990

Relativity short-lived, as trends go, going to a party also entailed rock-ing up with a flat-packed stack of cardboard boxes under your arm and masking tape, along with cans of Guinness. After drinking, smoking, and indulging in hedonistic pleasures until the early hours, those who had come with their boxes would then head off to find a park and setup temporary homes to sleep the night off. This make-believe homeless performance by students who came from mostly well-off backgrounds achieved very little, if anything, in identifying with the everyday harshness endured by the home-less. The main 'achievement' would be to claim some sort of street credibil-ity back at the art school on Monday. The idea of 'sleeping rough' was seen as some sign of *being* an artist, rejecting authority and a form of political protest against the social and economic policies and divisions embodied in Thatcherism. The facsimile reproduction of self-styled homelessness only deepened the divide via the ability to falsely appropriate human destitution. What really governed our reality was the ability to return to the comfort of our shared flats, parental financial support, and education. Notwithstanding (nor excusing) my age at the time, these temporary orchestrated displace-ments only asserted indifference rather than connection. There was no sign of Camus' 'tender' indifference, or Bauman's 'incurable ailment of human-ity', or Barthes' *punctum* – the 'accident which pricks (but also bruises)'; instead, it most conformed to Sennett's 'phony manners and ritual inter-changes'. It was indifference enacted. I am aware that in writing this book I no longer confine myself to looking but instead strive to *see* in its entirety. The next chapter surveys how spatial indeterminacy – the urban accompani-ment to human indifference – constitutes the experience of urban sites and how interactions in traversing the city can be reconsidered and reconfigured for the city in transgression.

Notes

1 See Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Léon Krier, *Atlantis* (Bruxelles: Aux Archives d'architecture moderne, 1988); Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (New York: Verso, 1990); Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).
2 B.W. Higman, *Flatness* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017), p. 107.
3 On the idea of human and Euclidean geometry, Virilio notes that the 'world-view based on orthogonal orthodoxy has given way to a new perception, in which the very concept of physical dimension has progres-sively lost its meaning and analytical power as a form of dissecting or dismounting perceptive reality'. See Paul Virilio, *The Lost Dimension* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1991), p. 30.
4 Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), p. 1.
5 Ibid, p. 3.
6 Massumi informs us that the sensation of experience of movement comes into play '[w]hen a body is in motion, it does not coincide with itself. It coincides with

its own transition: its own variation'. It is from sensation that change becomes evident as affect, and affect is the continuity of change. Ibid, p. 4.

7 Ibid, p. 48.

8 Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning*, trans. Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1987 [1929]), p. 58.

9 C.E. Comas, 'Monumentalizing Modern Mobility', paper for Le Corbusier, 50 Years Later, International Congress (Valencia: Universitat Politecnica de Valencia, 2015), p. 11.

10 Peter Cook, 'Archigram: A Supplement', *Perspecta*, Vol. 11 (New York: Yale School of Architecture, 1967), pp. 131–54.

11 Superstudio [Gian Piero Frassinelli], 'Twelve Cautionary Tales for Christmas, (12 Ideal Cities), *Architectural Design* (Dec. 1971), pp. 737–42.

12 Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, trans. Robert Bononno (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 3–4.

13 Lefebvre's urban critique is based on the loss of collectivism that preceded the city. 'How can we build cities or "something" that replaces what was formerly the City? How can we reconceptualize the urban phenomenon? How can we formulate, classify, and order the innumerable questions that arise, questions that move, although not without considerable resistance, to the forefront of our awareness?' His life's work was dedicated to teasing out the complexities that arise from these questions, most notably but by no means exclusively in his formative project. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 14–15.

14 Ibid, p. 18.

15 The automated moving of people via the automobile, Sennett argues, is far more damaging to the urban experience than the highways that enhance its speed. 'The idea of space as derivative from motion parallels exactly the relations of space to motion produced by the private automobile', he explains. The blame is not to be placed on the car itself – it is after all an object to assist movement; rather, the problem is what it does to the drivers and passengers it contains, as it stifles the promises of interaction between peoples. Sennett suggests that 'one can isolate oneself, in a private automobile, for freedom of movement, one ceases to believe one's surroundings have any meaning save as a means toward the end of one's own motion'. Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (London: Penguin, 1976), pp. 14–15.

16 In *Flesh and Stone*, Sennett reviews the '*res publica*' visibility of the human body that is equally body-politico and physical embodiment. He notes that there is no single body but an array of bodies with each drawing distinctive relationships with the city. To propose that the human experience of the city is shared would only amount to 'generic images of "the human body." Master images of "the body" tend to repress mutual, sensate awareness, especially among those whose bodies dif-fer. When a society or political order speaks generically about "the body," it can deny the needs of bodies which do not fit the master plan'. Sennett, *Flesh and Stone*, p. 23.

17 Given the disappearance of the awareness of others and surroundings, Lefebvre is happy to point out that '[r]evolutionary events generally take place in the street'. Doesn't this show that the disorder of the street engenders another kind of order? Lefebvre pins down what the streets are and do other than curating human movement, that is, the street is a 'place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become "savage" and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls'. Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, p. 19.

18 Lefebvre writes: 'Between fields, which are regions of force and conflict, there are *blind fields*. These are not merely dark and uncertain – poorly explored – but

blind in the sense that there is a blind spot on the retina, the center – and negation – of vision. A paradox. The eye doesn't see; it needs a mirror'. Ibid, p. 29. This recalls Derrida's *Memoirs of the Blind* where he associates self-portraiture with self-ruining to his own memoir of writing. 'But when, in addition, I write without seeing . . . in the night or with my eyes glued elsewhere, a schema already comes to life in my memory. At once virtual, potential, and dynamic, this graphic crosses all the borders separating the senses, its being-in-potential at once visual and auditory, motile and tactile'. I understand Derrida's experience of blind writing as essentially an urban writing of the city that instinctively connects to Lefebvre's urban 'blind field'. See Jacques Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*, trans. Pascale-Ann Brault and Michel Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). I will return to this later in the chapter.

19 In concert with both Lefebvre's 'blind field' and Sennett's politico-body and Derrida's writing without seeing, Certeau considers the city in lost configurations of the visible: 'The ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below", below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandersmänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without able to read it'. See Michel de Certeau, 'Walking the City', in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 92–93.

20 Nicholas de Genova, 'Part One', in *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement*, eds. Nicholas de Genova and Nathalie Peutz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), p. 33.

21 Ibid, p. 39.

22 Genova argues that mobility is naturally human, and to control it is naturally unhuman 'whereby human life purposefully mediates its own embeddedness within nature'. Ibid, p. 40.

23 Freedom of movement, Genova tells us, is a human right 'of life itself, not merely the mundane necessity to make a living but the freedom to truly live'. Deportation, on the other hand, is not; it is a 'more or less juridical, more of less arbitrary, exercise of state power' and as such is 'an exquisitely concentrated abnegation of that freedom, one more by the state of the sovereign power of human itself'. Ibid, pp. 58–59.

24 Eadweard Muybridge, *The Human Figure in Motion* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1907), p. 5.

25 Muybridge's meticulous table of illustrations is broken into series, model, action, number of figures (laterals, front, rear, foreshortenings), total number of images, and page number. For the gridded background Muybridge spaced them '5 centimetres, or about 2 inches, apart, with broader lines 50 centimetres or about 20 inches, apart'. Concerning the position of the camera in relation to the model, the former was set at 'approximately 15 metres, or nearly 50 feet'. The consistency of proximity Muybridge placed on the camera, figure, task, and grid ensured a scientific documentation and accuracy of the human figure in motion. Ibid, pp. 11–13.

26 Ibid, p. 9.

27 It is estimated that from 1900–99, the US poured 4.2 billion tons of concrete. From 2014–16, China poured 7.2 billion tons, or 1.5 times more concrete than the US during the whole of the 20th century. In the US this amounts to 0.25 tons per person; in China, taking into account its far larger population, this amounts to one ton per person.

28 Joseph A. Amato, *Surfaces: A History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p. 12.

29 Advances in urban planning in Europe's industrial cities such as Birmingham and Manchester and Germany's Ruhr Region and capitals such as London, Paris, and Berlin in the latter half of the 19th century ushered in the smooth surface of sealing-out ground. 'Paved roads, accompanied by sidewalks, declared advancing, safe, and dignified democratic equality', Amato points out. 'Open and passable surfaces, roads, and sidewalks fulfilled some rights and wants. They gave democratic access to work, shopping, leisure, and travel'. Ibid, p. 180.

30 Giuliana Bruno's interest is the shared materiality 'that pertains to the fabric of the relationship between architecture and cinema as it is knit together on the modern screen. There the surface is considered a generative and defining aspect of the aesthetics of modernity'. Giuliana Bruno, *Surface: Matters of Aesthetics, Materiality, and Media* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), p. 55.

31 Bruno considers the role that empathy plays in the museum between the viewer and the art on display: 'If empathy is activated as a mimicry or transfer between the subject and her surroundings, the boundaries between the two can blur in close aesthetic encounter'. Ibid, p. 194.

32 Amato's reference to the smooth surfacing of the city that ensures ease of movement, as well as the loss of trace, can be essentially put down to the loss of friction between humans and their urban environment. Removing friction by flattening terrain removes any challenge to the natural environment. Un-naturing the city has become standard practice for city planners. Removing any obstacles to human mobility in the city removes the connectivity to nature. Outside the city, highways cut through the landscape in smooth ribbons extending the city and connecting it to the next. Modern-day life in the city is disrupted when the unhomed break into the smooth, roughing up the surface to the disgruntled judgments of the homed and the authorities alike. See Amato, *Surfaces*, pp. 11–12.

33 Tim Ingold, 'Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge', in *Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement*, ed. Peter Kirby (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), p. 34.

34 Ibid, p. 37.

35 John Stillwell, *Geometry of Surfaces* (New York: Springer Verlag, 1992), p. 1.

36 Ibid, p. 21.

37 The original competition for Germany's *National Holocaust Memorial* has a long history. After winning the competition (Eisenman with then collaborator Richard Serra), the design was for many years debated in the German *Bundestag* (Parliament). There was concern over its aesthetic form and its capacity to embody the 'right aesthetics' expected for Germany's National Holocaust Memorial. This debate kept the project in a state of limbo until finally a decision was announced accepting the design with some changes.

38 John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). Accompanying Berger's analysis of seeing, perception, and representation in *About Looking*, see also his *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin Books, 1972) and *Art and Revolution* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969).

39 Eviatar Zerubavel, *Hidden in Plain Sight: The Social Structure of Irrelevance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 2–3.

40 Ibid, p. 6.

41 Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*, p. 2.

42 Derrida continues with an explanation of writing without seeing, claiming that it is 'not with my eyes closed, to be sure, but open and disoriented in the night; or else during the day, my eyes fixed on *something else*, while looking elsewhere, in front of me, for example, when at the wheel'. Ibid, p. 3.

43 Charles E. Scott, *Living with Indifference* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), p. 2.
44 Derrida's note that a 'blind man can always become a seer or visionary' is because the 'blind man is, first of all, subject to be mistaken', that is to say, he becomes '*the subject of mistake*'. Derrida, *Memoirs of the Blind*, p. 94.
45 'One can see with a single eye, at a single glance, whether one has one eye or two', Derrida writes. 'One can lose or gouge out an eye without ceasing to see, and one can still wink with a single eye'. Ibid, pp. 126–27.
46 Donskis follows up his phrase about regaining 'our perceptiveness in dark times' by stating: 'Robbing humans of their faces and individuality is no less a form of evil than diminishing their dignity or looking for threats primarily among those who have immigrated or harbour different religious beliefs. This evil is overcome neither by political correctness nor by a bureaucratized, compulsory "tolerance" (often turned into a caricature of the real thing), nor, finally, by multicultural-ism, which is nothing other than just leaving humanity alone with all its injustices and degradations taking the form of new caste systems, contrasts of wealth and prestige, modern slavery, social apartheid and hierarchies – all justified by appealing to cultural diversity and cultural "uniqueness". This is cynical deceit; or naive self-deception and a palliative, at best'. Zygmunt Bauman and Leonidas Donskis, *Moral Blindness and the Loss of Sensitivity in Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), p. 11.
47 Ibid, p. 181.
48 Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, p. 3.
49 Paul de Man, *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), p. 136.
50 Jean-Phillippe Deranty, 'The Tender Indifference of the World: Camus' Theory of the Flesh', *Sophia*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (2011), pp. 513–25.
51 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage Books, 1981), p. 27.

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3　Indeterminant occupation

Determinacy of experience

The first two sections in the previous chapter explored how the design and implantation of surfaces in the city served human mobility. It sought to construct how the variances in surfaces smooth mobility and define spatial characteristics between spaces and urban programming. It also sought to suggest that the modern city is in continuous renewal where surface wearing does not yield to the physical impression of human contact and trace. Having acknowledged how material surfaces form seamless and unimpressionable interactions between body and urban spaces, the third section of the previous chapter showed how this process enabled an ideology of indifference to what lies in the field of vision. That section surveyed how the act of looking at the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants and their encampments, occupations of urban sites, and imagery in the media is shaped by indifference. Indifference, apathetic, nonchalant disregard toward them has permeated contemporary civil society where this way of looking maintains the division between people. This chapter follows a similar vein of enquiry by exploring the spatial connections through the discursive conception of indeterminacy to unfold programmed spaces of the city and reveal an emergent vision of how the city in transgression can be formed.

One question to ask is: how does indeterminacy appear in the city? Spatially indecisive, indeterminacy occurs without restrictions or awareness. This could be one answer. Another concerns the difficulty of being aware of experiencing indeterminacy. Experiencing the city is generated through a complex combination of tasks within the everyday journeys between work, home, stores, sites of entertainment, and so on. We move through determinate spaces that unknowingly give shape to our lives. Combinations of awareness, interest, and desire, alongside unconscious awareness, smooth mobility, and the avoidance of others, are typical of many of our interactions in cities. They are often automatic connections, which can be turned on or off. The discursive nature of spatial indeterminacy implicates our perception of space as comprised of indeterminant territories. Over the course of millennia, urban planning has reworked terrain into parcels of determinate

spaces, evolving the spatial histories of cities through conscious programming procedures, a process that has been explored by Lewis Mumford in *The City in History*. Spatial determinacy has accompanied the planning of collective habitation from settlement to the large-scale modern city. The 17th-century Italian historian Giambattista Vico observed that spatial determinacy began at the very beginning of human settlement with the placement of the ceremonial altar at its center with people gathering around it. No doubt, spatial indeterminacy also existed at the onset of settlement, but it evolved to become perceptively defined and permanently determinant. To be aware of spatial indeterminacy is to realize that space moves; it evolves and changes as we move through it.

Held to spatial separations and set to material surfacing for appearances, the city relies on the precondition that it functions best with a formal ordering of space, deploying geometry and linear spatial sequencing. As a result, being in the city is organized by the plan and endowed to capital, which narrates its development. Martin Heidegger ascertained that experience is 'simply the pure *apprehension* of what exists in and for itself',[1] which might be taken to suggest that the city exists for itself and apart from its inhabitants. From what we know so far, it could be safe to assume that experiencing the city is markedly different in terms of how space appears and is apprehended by ourselves and with others. In *Hegel's Concept of Experience*, Heidegger sets out to discuss Hegel's (as much as his own) ideas on the subject of experience, adding 'consciousness is for itself its own *Concept*, it immediately transcends what is limited, and, because this limitedness is its own, it transcends its self'.[2] As the previous chapter showed, indifference colors our vision in how we view the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants; experience is another key factor in how we determine their presence in the city.

Denial, that is, to falsely repudiate the reality of something or someone's presence, grants the possibility of erasing them from sight, mind, and as such experience. Denial allows for the repression of recognition; an act toward something viewed as irrelevant. Irrelevance is part of the spatial and emotional divide that separates people. Irrelevance brings neither disruption nor interruption, dissent nor acceptance; instead, it instils neutrality. Irrelevance can help us to understand how indeterminacy counters determinacy not in the knowledge of disruption or interruption, dissent, or acceptance but in terms of its solicitation of space of the city that underpins the physical and emotional uncertainties when moving through it. Even when consciously placed within the conventions of determinant space, indeterminacy is not knowingly transgressed, for space is in a constant state of flux. Opportunities for spatial indeterminacy are elusive in traversing the governances of space. Countering determinacy presents new possibilities for spatial encounters, appearances, and transformations of urban sites. Jose V. Ciprut, in his edited book *Indeterminacy: The Mapped, the Navigable, and the Uncharted*, positions indeterminacy by highlighting its

counterpoint. 'Determinism is the philosophical conception and claim that every physical event and every instance of human cognition, volition, and action is causally determined by a continual, uninterrupted sequence of prior events'. Ciprut's definition of determinacy 'confines chance, jettisons mystery, limits the inexplicable, and restricts doubt of total randomness'.[3] The limitations of determinacy are clear to see, and in *One Place After Another*, Miwon Kwon suggests that it is characteristic of site-specific art practice, for it is '[s]ite-determined, site-orientated, site-referenced, site-conscious, site-related';[4] in other words, it is bounded by what is perceived and not imagined.

Pamela Shaw and Joanne Hudson, in their article 'The Qualities of Informal Space: (Re)appropriation within the Informal, Interstitial Spaces of the City', highlight the rise of indeterminacy in the marginalized spaces of the urban environment. 'Interstitial, dilapidated, dis-used and marginal sites punctuate the staged and controlled official public spaces and the everyday, ubiquitous spaces of the contemporary city'.[5] Indeterminacy evolves the determinacy of space, establishing a duality within the built environment outside of city planners and architectural spatial programming controls. Taking up Ciprut's supposition that determinism 'confines chance, jettisons mystery', indeterminacy can be understood as multiplicities in spatial dimension and apprehension. Indeterminacy unfolds programmed space to spaces of interpretation, providing new opportunities for alternative spatial exchanges. Indeterminacy does not pull apart determinant spatial programming, for it cannot be designed; it can only be enacted as part of the design. To create determinant spaces – such as shopping arcades, entertainment spectacles, national celebrations, public spaces, the street, the highway, the workplace, the home – is to concede to the indeterminacy of their programming. Walking along the street, you may be aware of your pace but unaware that each step is indeterminate to the steps taken by those in front of you as much as those behind you. Indeterminacy can exist in the highly programmed space of the road, where driving a car is to conform to the rules of the road, but at any moment the interpretation of these rules is individually randomized. Defined by their program and the rules of the program and demarcated by surfaces and boundaries, urban spaces adjudicate and regulate our mobility, which at any stage can be reinterpreted, thereby blurring their spatial determinacy.

Indeterminacy exists in all spaces, for no space is complete or completely determined. To apprehend the spatial incompleteness of space is to become aware of its transgression – alternative crossings and connections within the freedom of the mind as much as the physical comprehension of the city through body and movement. Returning to the work of Eviatar Zerubavel, cited in Chapter 2, he discusses the early 20th-century American magician Harry Houdini. Renowned for his physical feats of escaping from chains, shackles, and tanks of water, he, like the card trickster, depended for his

Figure 3.1 New York Highline – determinacy of plan and indeterminacy of
programming, James Corner, Diller Scofidio + Renfro and Piet Oudolf

Source: image by author, 2015

success on manipulating the audience's vision and understanding. Para-
phrasing Houdini's own words, Zerubavel explains how

> conjuring is 'the art of *making people look somewhere else*,' thereby
> getting them to focus their attention on one point while 'the action'
> is actually taking place at another. Stage magicians thus try to create
> 'areas of high interest' that capture the spectators' attention while the
> trick is in fact carried out in an 'area of low interest'.[6]

The trick to understanding Houdini's masterful sleight-of-body locked in
chains is a similar one that society conjures for itself by orchestrating what
to look at, when to look at it, and what to be affected by. For if this were
not the case, then societies across the world would be radically different
from what they are now. Houdini takes the indeterminant nature of the
trick and transforms it into the determinant spectacle by releasing his body
as the penultimate conclusion. Writing in *Walter Benjamin's Philosophy of
Destruction and Experience*, Howard Caygill suggests that modernity has

perpetuated a constant state of forming relations between time, devices, and people. 'The abolition of distance and uniqueness through technology requires the perpetual redrawing of boundaries between human beings and the world, and with each other'.[7] Modernity placed determinacy within the threshold of the home and swimming pool, tying people to their objects. Even when the homeless figure is in the foreground, their occupation of space remains indeterminant, for they remain mostly irrelevant to the vast majority of society. Having slipped through society's net, having escaped war, terror, persecution, and famine, having traversed inhospitable terrains, escaped enslavement, and domestic violence, having lost jobs and homes, having been separated from friends and family, and now residing in the indeterminant sites within camps and cities, the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants have come to constitute society's lost consciousness. What can be concluded by this lost consciousness is that both become irrelevant: what was indeterminant becomes determinant – one by choice, the other by happenstance.

Conclusion

Russian filmmaker, screenwriter, and producer Andrei Tarkovsky's 1979 film *Stalker* brings together time-space-experience indeterminacy in an unspecified location called the Zone.[8] Tarkovsky suspends formal notions associated with filmic conventions of time-space relativity by placing the film within an indeterminable wasteland created as a result of a meteorite impact. More likelihood of a nuclear accident, the prohibited nature of the Zone is transformed with the rubrics of mystical characteristics. The Stalker, a guide, whose unique knowledge of the Zone is sought by those who seek the preternatural place known to grant the wishes of men and referred to as the Room, charges for his services to take them there. He is contracted by two men: a writer (referred to as the Writer) who has lost inspiration and a scientist (referred to as the Professor) who feels it is his duty to reach the Zone to understand what happened there. These two characters seek to have their individual desires and questions answered. After giving assurances of secrecy and the men's ability to undertake the perilous journey – for access to the Zone is prohibited by the authorities and the entry point is heavily defended by police empowered to shoot anyone who tries to cross – the Stalker agrees to take them.

The film opens in a grainy black and white scene of a dimly lit bedroom. It is early morning and moisture seeps from the decaying walls; it is cold, grim, harsh, and primitive. The camera closes in on three people in bed: the Stalker who is looking at his daughter beside him, and his wife who is lying with her back turned on the other side of the bed, her face in a self-absorbed, expressionless gaze. The Stalker gets out of bed, pulls on his trousers, washes his face and hands, dries, and gets dressed. Knowing what he is about to do, his wife confronts him in the kitchen, pleading him not to

go on account of the dangers that the journey holds. She falls to the floor in anguish, cursing him as he leaves. The rendezvous point for the Writer and the Professor, who are unknown to one another, is a bar. After the Professor and the Writer introduce themselves, the conversation centers on the Stalker explaining the journey. As requested by the Stalker, the Professor has organized an old army jeep that will take them through a maze of abandoned buildings to the crossing point into the Zone. Timing is imperative, for it is scheduled to coincide with a locomotive passing through the heavily guarded gates. After dodging a policeman on his motorbike who patrols the abandoned buildings, the Stalker drives the jeep onto the railway tracks directly behind the locomotive as it passes through the gates. Guards fire at them, but no one is hit. Once through, they abandon the jeep for a motorized rail cart that will take them along an old railway line, and upon reaching the Zone the film switches from grainy black and white to vibrant color. Green and lush, the Zone is strewn with rusting industrial debris, destroyed tanks, and other military equipment.

The Stalker asks the Professor to tie metal nuts and bolts to pieces of white bandage in preparation for their journey through the Zone to reach the Room. After a long period of walking in a seemingly random route, both the Professor and the Writer become agitated. But then the Room comes within sight. The Stalker utilizes the weighted bandages as a sort of directional guide and to do this he throws the bandages in different directions across a tall, grassy field that separates them from the Room. The exercise seems arbitrary rather than planned, as the Stalker gauges their falling and interprets the path to cross the field. The field is a *terrain vague*, a 'no man's land' requiring complex negotiation to ensure safe passage. 'The zone is a very complicated system of traps and they are all deadly', the Stalker informs his companions. This is the Stalker's way of explaining the bandages, where he throws them, and the direction they take. 'There is no short-cut to get to the Room', he explains, as the Writer and the Professor grow impatient with his ill-explained mysticism. Even with the Room in sight, the Stalker insists that they have to go around to reach it rather than straight ahead. We are given no discernible reason as to why one direction is favored over another. Little is revealed about the Stalker's logic, and no more information is given to the viewer than to the Professor and the Writer. We all join together to go along with the story.

In *Ecologies of the Moving Image: Cinema, Affect, Nature*, Adrian Ivakhiv suggests that the Zone 'may be extraterrestrial in origin, supernatural, or simply natural'.[9] Regardless of what the Zone actually is or what happened to it for it become a prohibited area, Tarkovsky's complex mix of symbolism, mysticism, and the unknown throws up questions as to what is real and what we are told in order to understand something to be true. Tarkovsky's revolving-door interchange between the real and what passes for the real, the Zone becomes an all and nothing non-place. It is empty and full, arcane and divine, complex and naïve nature. 'It is *biomorphic* in that

Figure 3.2 Still image from Andrei Tarkovsky's 1979 film *Stalker*
Source: image courtesy of Mosfilm Moscow

the film is about the dynamics of seeing and of animate interperceptivity', Ivakhiv explains.

> The bodily movement of the characters across the landscape, first as they pass through the military barricades and later as they encounter the rather amphibious and somehow mysteriously inhabited landscape of the Zone, suggests a certain kind of animatedness of the space in which they move.[10]

Tarkovsky's location for the film, 'an abandoned power plant outside Tallinn, Estonia', is no doubt strategic in symbolizing a bygone era of USSR industrialization. Ivakhiv informs us that Tarkovsky's film has been interpreted by film critics and commentators alike as subtly invoking the economic, political, and social condition of Soviet society. The Stalker's appearance – cropped hair and shabby clothes – has been associated with the detention centers, the Gulags, set up as part of Stalin's purges of political dissidents, while the holy grail of miracle happenings, The Room, can be seen to symbolize lost desire, the chance for something else, even if it means belief in the occult as a way of escaping from the realities of Soviet life. The symbolism and possible allegories that Tarkovsky deploys throughout the film remain elusive, yet they suggest that where things seem to be placid on the surface, danger lurks.

   Moving through darkened tunnels and water-filled crossings, the Writer and the Professor are but blind walkers, moving indeterminately in ways that not even the Stalker can guarantee the outcome. Their arduous journey appears as some sort of symbolic test of their worthiness in seeking the miracle gifts that the Room will bestow upon them. Exhausted, the men pause to rest; each lying on moist beds of moss in uncomfortable yet painterly posed positions near a stream. Each is destitute and subservient to the surroundings of which they have no comprehension. A dream sequence plays out in the Stalker's mind as he sleeps. It is religious in its overtones and supplemented by an archaeology of images including Christ, a gun, a spring. In this scene, Tarkovsky purposely pits the Stalker against the indeterminant spatial and mental nature of the Zone. 'As *Stalker*'s cinematic surface suggests, it mixes opacity with a certain semi-transparency and mirror-like diffraction of the world outside. It captures images and sounds from the material and social worlds, but then it rearranges them, assembling them into new configurations to produce new or different meanings'.[11] Having rested, the men follow the final indeterminant pathway to reach the Room. It is a voluminous space covered with an undulating terrain of smooth white sand. The mystical nature of the Room is overridden by the bickering that ensues between the Writer and the Professor who attempt to outdo one another in a spiraling spat about ideological freedom and the dangers of scientific progress. The Metaphysical and philosophical reasoning goes nowhere and perhaps this is Tarkovsky's point of reflection of soviet society – for their bickering

is framed by the uselessness of their quarrel. The argument ends when the Professor reveals he is carrying a nuclear device, which he intends to detonate 'in order to destroy it so as to prevent malicious men from gaining the means to carry out evil deeds'.[12]

The analogy to be drawn between *Stalker* and indeterminacy can be highlighted by taking the Zone and the Room as allegorical sites (physical and mental) of the homed and the homeless, the refugee in the refugee camp, the asylum seekers in the detention center, and the migrant caught on a rubber raft in the indeterminacy of the deep vast blue of the Mediterranean Sea. The Room creates the identity of the homed as having managed to fulfill their desires in procuring property and capital. The Zone represents the interpretation of space that the homeless engage with to adapt what appears known and yet unfamiliar in occupying urban spaces of infrastructure. In their journeying through the Zone, the Writer and the Professor seek to make determinate what cannot be made so. Where the Stalker finds indeterminacy and spatial opportunity in the forming of alternative pathways, the Writer and the Professor see only the determinacy of their own pathways: a parable for the homed, the homeless, the migrant, the refugee, and the asylum seeker.

Opportunities in space

Space for migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and the homeless is not defined by location. For the homed, space is locational and defined as place. Where an opportunity for adaptation permits spatial potential, place is demarcated through ownership and conformity. Whether the domestic home or the city, place is multiplied through private and public appropriations of space. Differences between space and place are defined through varying forms of measurement. Place can be measured in definite calculations and locations such as the home, the office, the arcade. Space, by contrast, is undefined and boundless, an expression of a volume, a region, or the cosmos. Both place and space are contested in their meaning. 'The grid of analytical geometry becomes the gridlock of physical space itself', Edward Casey writes in *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. 'Thrust into the limbo of a purely passive space regarded as impassive but not impassable, place is rendered vacuous (of) itself, freeing the field for the building of sites – themselves evacuated of any significant content'.[13] Similarly, in *Writing the City Spatially*, spatialist Edward Soja defends the use of space rather than place 'to recognize the extraordinary power and insight of foregrounding space as a primary mode for interpreting the world'.[14] Space and identity take on multiple forms and complexities. The ethical and moral concepts promoted by Plato in the *Republic* to formulate his philosophical, political, and cultural ideas of spatial representation, spatial justice, and civilian space; to the cognitive logic of relational space promoted by Hegel, Kant, Leibniz, Marx, and Althusser; to the finite dimensions forwarded by Bachelard and

Lefebvre; to the universality of space introduced by mathematicians such as Pythagoras, Galileo, Newton, and the ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Chinese, Mayan, and indigenous astrologers whose predictions, studies, and calculations extended relational space between Earth and the cosmos – space has been at the center of human enquiry. The philosophical, scientific, ontological, and metaphysical readings and calculations of space, as much as the poetics and aesthetics ascribed to it, can be endlessly drawn to prize open the multifarious definitions in contrast to the defined notions ascribed to place. That which surrounds us and is in everything, space has slowly ceded its dominance to the manifestations of place, bought and sold in the modern era.

In *Space, Place and Gender*, Doreen Massey points to the overwhelming capitulation of space to place, writing: 'Since the late 1980s the world has seen the recrudescence of exclusivist claims to places – nationalist, regionalist and localist'. 'All of them have been attempts to fix the meaning of particular spaces, to enclose them, endow them with fixed identities and to claim them for one's own'.[15] Massey argues that the debate between space and place has simply served to the polarize the discourse rather than offer variations. 'It is a view of place as bounded', she writes, 'as in various ways a site of an authenticity, as singular, fixed and unproblematic in its identity. It is a conceptualization of place which rests in part on the view of space as stasis'.[16] In architectural design and urban planning, space is focused on securing connectivity to place-making. The building program is designed to fulfill spatial requirements determined by this function. Likewise, urban planning is designed to facilitate multiple layering of mobility via the zoning of commercial, industrial, residential, parks, and public amenities determined by their function and connectivity. The capitalization of space from settlement to city created the division of land and its subsumption to a system of value. Within the demarcations of spatial value, freedom of movement across regions was subjugated to the private and public realm delineated into divisions and separations. Space became indefensible over constructions for place. Urban design, government control, policy, and capital realized place as the new dominant entity in the city. In the Brazilian capital of Rio de Janeiro, spatial segregation between the wealthy and middle classes and those who reside in the city's *favelas* are worked through topographical separations to formulate the city's economic segregation. The space of the city's separation is permeated to topographical formation. Place, on the other hand, is made impregnable to design and building. Mexico City's spatial segregations of cities within the metropolis dividing the poor from the gated residential precincts of the rich have become an acceptable way of securing place by denying access to others. The *favela* and the gated community in this way have a lot in common.

Besides planned urban spaces such as city centers and unplanned urban spaces such as *favelas*, there are other spaces that are indecisive and indeterminant. Public space, for instance, is aligned to the bounded yet unwritten
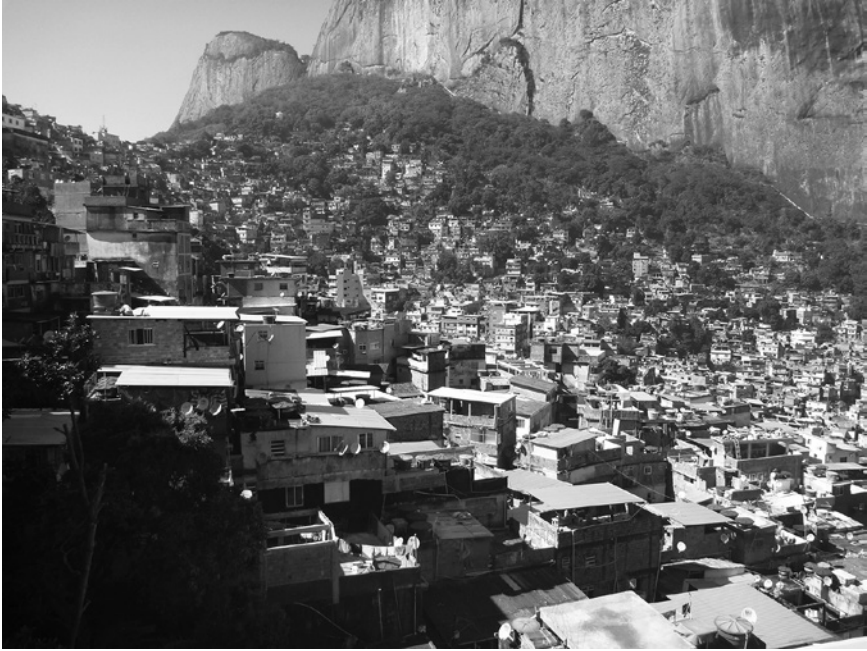
Figure 3.3 Slum Bario, Rochina, Rio De Janeiro
Source: photo by Joseph Morris, 2018

codes of expected public behavior. Public spaces are controlled through demarcations attributed to place thereby limiting their capacity for indeterminacy or evolution. While place leads to protection, space invokes inclusion without the need for protection. The place of the home becomes a form of defense for the occupier, not just from the weather but also as a defense of capital, identity, and security. In his theories about the production of space, Henri Lefebvre notes: 'To speak of "producing space" sounds bizarre, so great is the sway still held by the idea that empty space is prior to whatever ends up filling it'.[17] The crux of this proposition might lie not in finding an answer but rather in asking: what would it mean to reproduce space? Lefebvre settles on the idea 'that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things'.[18] Refugees and the homeless manage their production of space by exploring the readymade urban sites of the city. Their production tests space not through building but by utilizing structures and surfaces. Bound by neither place nor property, they exist amid spatial instability; precarious and subject to the whims of authoritative spatial control that necessitate regular evasion and mobility. They recreate the city not as place but as camp. Given their making of shelters in the urban sites of infrastructure, the homeless and the refugee do not equate belonging

to the spaces they occupy, for their space of occupation remains mobile. The homed see belonging as a stasis of place. 'How does a body "occupy" space?', Lefebvre asks. 'The metaphorical term "occupy" is borrowed from an everyday experience of space as already specific, already "occupied" '.[19] Lefebvre puts forward a set of principles as to how space and its (re)production are powered by social orders. It is not enough, he argues, to overturn the capitalized spaces of the city, society, and its people; rather, this has to be guided by principles of spatial production that remake and refashion relations between people and space. From the invisible, ill-defined, and unacknowledged spaces of the urban environment, the homeless and the migrant deploy new collectives, creating new spaces – however fragile they may be. In the spatial occupations of the homeless and the refugee, shelter and protection are constructed with, on, and around 'relations between things'. Their engagement with the city happens via a reproduction of space, rather than a transforming of it into place. By repurposing infrastructure, the homeless form new spatial relations and new social connections between themselves, too. The predominant project of urban programming has been to limit space, to enclose and subsume it to the priority of place-making. Opening up spaces in the city turns spatial planning on its head.

Michel de Certeau decried the impact of modernity in city planning and noted with regret how urban life had been plagued by the 20th century's supposed discontinuity with history. 'Cut loose from the traditional communities that circumscribed their functioning, they have begun to wander everywhere in a space which is becoming at once more homogeneous and more extensive', he writes. 'Consumers are transformed into immigrants. The system in which they move is too vast to be able to fix them in one place, but too constraining for them to ever be able to escape from it and go into exile elsewhere'.[20] Implying that the modern city's inhabitants are compelled to be habitually mobile rather than static, Certeau argues that '*space is a practiced place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers'. At any given injunction, the formation of place is as controversial as it is dictatorial; for it habitually selects, invites, and excludes those who cross its domains. Space, on the other hand, is inclusive, and it is the homeless and migrants who maintain its inclusive relationship to the city, not just by their adoption of urban sites but also through their mobility.

> A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities.[21]

In *Thinking Space*, Mike Crang responds to Certeau's space/place binary, pointing out that 'he is interested in the relationships of place as a fixed

position and space as a realm of practices – counterposing the fixity of the map to the practice of travelling'.[22] Certeau refined his ideas about mobility and the experience of the city in his essay 'Walking the City', where city and walker are unified yet limited through encountering place(s) from point to point. What guides the city's spatial separations is how to live under the rules of spatial censorship. At odds with the spatial character of space that Bachelard engaged with in *The Poetics of Space*, Certeau formulized spaces as wholly connected to place or the idea of it at least – from miniature space between objects, drawers, and rooms to the greater space of the home and the vastness of space and nature: ground, sky, stone, tree, hill, etc. In spatial-location terms, place, property, and ownership define the site of the homed, whereas space, boundary, and transitory zones define the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants whether in the sites of urban infrastructure or the camp and detention center. For the city in transgression to be realized, the dominance of place needs to be recomposed, forming a unitary urbanism of common ground and shared mobility.

Conclusion

When Joseph Beuys entered New York's René Block Gallery on May 21, 1974, to co-habit with a wild coyote over three days, he did so blindfolded. Titled *Coyote: I Like America and America Likes Me*, the work began with Beuys being flown from Frankfurt to John F. Kennedy Airport. Upon arrival, Beuys, who had covered himself from head to toe in a felt blanket, was stretchered from the plane to an awaiting ambulance and transported to the gallery at 409 West Broadway, Manhattan. Beuys' choreographed transfer created a virtual experience of the place of the city and the space of the country. Beuys had not set foot on American soil, nor had he witnessed the journey. Distancing himself from the time-space travel of flight, New York City, and wider America would only be brokered when he set foot in the gallery when he unwrapped the felt blanket from his body and viewed for the first time the space and the coyote. The gallery consisted of white walls with windows that faced onto the street, power outlets, loose straw piled in a corner, and some newspapers. Beuys possessed the felt blanket, cane, gloves, and his usual attire of jeans, boots, trilby hat, white shirt, multi-pocket hunting vest, triangle, tape recorder, and cigarettes. Beuys and the coyote, each foreign to the space and to one another, had, we might assume, a number of choices at their disposal. They could adopt, adapt, and accept each other's presence, run the risk of conflict, or ignore each other entirely. The question of the animal and the human in the work and whose culture is on display would surface throughout the period of the performance. An artwork by virtue of its placement in a gallery, it was nevertheless inconsequential to the space, Beuys, and the coyote.

In *Shamans/Neo-shamans: Ecstasy, Alternative Archaeologies and Contemporary Pagans*, Robert J. Wallis writes: 'Beuys spent three days in a

Figure 3.4 Joseph Beuys, *I like America and America Likes Me* 1974 René Block
Gallery New York

Source: photo courtesy of VG Bild-Kunst

room caged with a live coyote, accompanied by a tape-recording of chaotic
turbine sounds. The question was "who was caged?", and in performance
dialogue with the animal, the coyote took over, urinating and defecating
on the *Wall Street Journal* – which Beuys deployed as a statement against
capitalism'.[23] Staged dramaturgy and improvisation, Beuys conceived his
shamanistic performance with the wild coyote as a way of challenging the
historical fault lines of wild American folklore and myths, the trauma-
tized cultures of the First Nations and their presence within contemporary
culture. A persecuted native species, the coyote was not just an animal but
a representative of the natural and geographical reconciliation of American
history. In front of gallery visitors, Beuys crafted the dramaturgy between
him and the coyote, yet he was not wholly in control. Given the perfor-
mance belonged to both of them, the coyote – which was neither on show
nor exhibited – came to ritualize and, to a point, exorcize the mythic Ameri-
can West at the heart of American capitalism. Claudia Mesch in her book
Joseph Beuys suggests that Beuys may have thought that 'the recovery from
"the whole American trauma" he wished for could be influenced by reason
of his close encounter with the coyote-body'.[24] Beuys sought in himself a

primitive self, so as to coexist with the wild nature of the coyote. After the work, Beuys declared: 'I wanted to isolate myself, insulate myself, see nothing of America other than the coyote'.[25]

Images of Beuys lying on the gallery floor in close proximity to the coyote – both of them looking out of the gallery window to passers-by on the street – instill a shared sense of their caged isolation from the outside and exhibits on the inside to the throng of gallery visitors. In another image from the performance, Beuys has wrapped the felt blanket to cover his body except for the cane which he holds up high. This large misshapen figure is imposing, but the coyote does not retreat in fear but instead acts out of its primal instinct to attack and defend, pulling and tearing the felt with its canine teeth. Clearly the provocateur for this mise-en-scène, Beuys also subjects the coyote to the loud pre-recorded industrial turbine sounds that would cause discomfort to a creature with such sensitive hearing. Having no choice but to participate in Beuys' own mythical spectacle, the coyote becomes the artist's muse. The superficiality of their relationship becomes clear over time. Mutually foreign and alien, Beuys and the coyote succeed in a combination of indifference in adapting to each other's presence and animal–human boundaries, forfeiting space and place to conjure a spatial mythology of their own.

Discontent with place

In *Conceptions of Space and Place in Strategic Spatial Planning*, Simin Davoudi and Ian Strange examine the influence of the 1930s German location theorist Walter Christaller's concept of central place theory in conceptualizing new spatial forms in urban design.

> The assumption was that the messy dynamics of urban growth could be ordered in a nested hierarchy of settlement patterns based on uniform distribution of service centres in hexagonal arrangements. This was an attractive proposition which would enable planners to inject certainty, predictability and order into the disorderly reality of social and spatial relationships.[26]

Christaller's urban beehive-inspired concept illustrated the connectivity of his central place theory in hexagonal spatial forms as a metaphor for building the strongest society. Constructing place in urban planning became a 'key element of expressing identity and belonging. Spatial strategies would suggest that places were subject to multiple interpretations and that places were always in the process of being made'.[27] Constructing and creating place creates belonging, and belonging is fundamental to joining humanity in a collective location. The making of settlement that formulized the collective place created the early formation of belonging – bonding humans to their surroundings. Fast forward to the city, where place enabled the formation

of civil and civic institutions, national identity, and centralization. The city became the supreme place of recognition of the nation state, equal to if not surpassing its geographical characteristics. Returning to Massey, she observes that 'there have been attempts to fix the meaning of places, to enclose and defend them: they construct singular, fixed and static identities for places, and they interpret places as bounded enclosed spaces defined through counterposition against the Other who is outside'.[28]

Being in the wrong place at the wrong time can lead to one being penalized for something not of one's making. You can feel not right or comfortable in a place. In her article 'The Wrong Place', Miwon Kwon suggests that 'places can feel wrong not because they do not correspond to our self-perception and world view but rather because our self-perception and world view are out of synch, too outmoded, to make sense of the new spatial and economic organization that confronts us'.[29] Kwon's 'wrong place' suggests a right place. Considering this idea in relation to how the homeless and refugees occupy urban spaces, it could mean that the places in which they appear are in fact wrong places that lead to their victimization.

> Often we are comforted by the thought that a place is ours, that we belong to it, perhaps even come from it, and therefore are tied to it in some fundamental way. Such places ('right' places) are thought to reaffirm our sense of self, reflecting back to us an unthreatening picture of a grounded identity. This kind of continuous relationship between a place and a person is what is deemed lost, and needed, in contemporary society. In contrast, the wrong place is generally thought of a place where one feels one does not belong – unfamiliar, disorientating, destabilizing, even threatening.[30]

The wrong place of the homeless and refugees is informed by the right place that the homed occupy. By settling in the non-place spaces of the city – the street, the verge, under bridges, vacant blocks, etc. – the homeless and refugees destabilize the notion of place, becoming a threat to it. In *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, Marc Augé argues that the problem with place 'is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places . . . and do not integrate the earlier places'.[31] Augé describes the supermodernity of non-places as follows: 'If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place'.[32] This is pertinent to understanding the 'place' of the refugee in the camp, the asylum seeker in the detention center, and the homeless on the street, for they are non-placed in the non-spaces of their locations. What unravels when applying Augé's concept of non-place to the occupied spaces of the homeless is not the concern with place but rather the appearance of spaces previously unacknowledged.

The 'real non-places of supermodernity', Augé maintains, are 'the ones we inhabit when we are 'driving down the motorway, wandering through the supermarket or sitting in an airport lounge waiting for the next flight'.[33] These non-places of transit and commercialism aptly describe the point to point references in which the homed partake. These non-places of the homed are not the places of the homeless. For the homeless, the city's infrastructure is not about moving them around; *they* move around *it*, finding spaces to adopt and inhabit. As Augé continues, 'the user of a non-place is in contractual relations with it (or with the powers that govern it)'. 'One element in this is the way the non-place is to be used: the ticket he has brought, the card he will have to show at the tollbooth, even the trolley he trundles around the supermarket, are all more or less clear signs of it'. Augé is critical of those who uncritically engage in the non-places of supermodernity: 'a person entering the space of the non-place is relieved of his usual determinants. He becomes no more than what he does or experiences in the role of passenger, customer or driver'. For Augé, the non-place of the citizen is someone 'who is possessed', surrendering to 'the passive joys of identity-loss, and the more active pleasure of role-playing'. Augé's rejection of the role-playing citizen – wherein '[t]he space of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude, and similitude'[34] – chimes with Jean Baudrillard's understanding of modernism and human-societal simulation and simulacra. Tied to the expectations of society and capital, the homed fill the city with a multitude of simulated characters when they retreat to their homes. 'The character is at home when he is at ease', Augé writes, 'in the rhetoric of the people with whom he shares life. The sign of being at home is the ability to make oneself understood without too much difficulty, and to follow the reasoning of others without any need for long explanations'.[35] Relations between the homed and the homeless can be understood in this manner where the insecurity of the former is projected onto the latter. The homed reside in the places of least resistance marked by their place of the home. The homeless, by contrast, are confronted with resistance as a way of being in the city. Sitting on opposite poles, the gap between the homed and homeless, the refugee, the asylum seeker, and the migrant could hardly be further apart. The non-place transit zone of the refugee camp needs to secure non-place status for it to receive international aid. It is mandatory for the refugee camp to never become a place and the refugees in the camp to be permanently in transit and yet at the same time permanently contained.

Twentieth-century urbanists, like the Scottish urban planner Patrick Geddes, sought to make the construction of place imperative to the city's development and identity. Counter to Geddes' place-making as central to the city, the Swiss architectural historian and critic Siegfried Giedion understood that the planning of architecture was to produce space, not place, through building interior and exterior connections with the city's urban environments. Their differing positions to space and place in forming a city's features nevertheless gave rise to the nascent conception of space as a

generative design principle for city planning. Returning to Casey's *The Fate of Place*, the author opens the book as follows: 'Whatever is true for space and time, this much is true for place: we are immersed in it and could not do without it. To be at all – to exist in any way – is to be somewhere, and to be somewhere is to be in some kind of place'.[36] A sentence later, he asserts: 'Nothing we do is unplaced'. Casey's concern with place is the overriding identity that it exerts over space where demarcating ground for habitation guarantees the territorialization of place. A Western conception, the over-writing of space by place is decidedly different from that of Giedion and indeed from the production of space as theorized by Lefebvre. Place assures the right to the city and the right to secure and defend it. Space, on the other hand, requires a continual working and reworking of what surrounds it, its culture, and in relation with others. One is exclusive; the other is inclusive. Casey refers to the security of place in contemporary society, noting that 'place is not so controversial or so intrusive or embarrassing as to require repression'.[37] The suppression of space is concerned not with human and spatial dimensions but rather with their displacement or avoidance in the service of constructing place.

It is space that becomes visible and identifiable, rather than place, via the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants who occupy indeterminant sites in the city. Through their transgression of these sites, space is brought back to space itself, heralding the future of the city in mobility. In *Shelter Blues*, Robert Desjarlais describes how the experience of place by the homeless is one of continuous vacuity: 'Homelessness and poverty have a way of throwing into relief aspects of life many take for granted, such as a narrative structure. They also throw into question the idea of experience, for life in the shelter often had no experience'.[38] Desjarlais points out that the social support systems for the homeless – such as city managed temporary shelters – places more restrictions on their freedoms, keeping them off the streets in exchange for a shower, meal, and bed for the night. Removing the homeless from the streets, Desjarlais suggests, removes their mobility. 'The idea of journeying is an important one for shelter residents, for movements through varied spaces inhabited and traversed by others appear to be integral to experience', and this is erased in the shelter. 'To experience is to move through a landscape at once physical and metaphoric. In the shelter such movements were opposed to the repetitive ambulations of pacing, which ideally took a person through as smooth and unhindered a space as possible'.[39] The restrictions placed on the homeless can be likened to those placed on refugees. The formation of refugee camps and detention centers is designed to enclose mobility and replace it with food security, shelter, and medical support. As with the homeless shelter, the camp and the detention center break up refugees' journeys, acting as a wall against migration. Enclosure, as Desjarlais points out, leads to '[p]acing or sitting in the same spot for several hours each day', which 'has its consequences'.[40] Institutionalized shelters for the homeless and refugees solicit conformity to the

transitory non-places of the camp and detention center, where 'pacing or sitting' over the same ground in an endless absence of mobility is the norm.

The right of human mobility that enables refugees to seek refuge in a country, society, and city is the right of free access to the world. The debate on the freedom of movement for refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants becomes empty rhetoric when protection functions to exclude them. In the face of the realities affecting all humanity across the globe, place is increasingly becoming an outmoded spatial transaction to defend. The contractual agreements undertaken by societies, governments, financial institutions, and corporations and their protections of place will become unmanageable. Suppressing global human mobility ensures the continuity of inequality. How the cities and societies of rich countries intend to keep controls on property and capital in the face of global human mobility will increasingly require conflict rather than resolution. A 'global war on human mobility' will only result in a battle of attrition. Refugees stopped at the Macedonian/Hungarian and Croatian/Bosnian borders and gateways such as the ferry terminal of Dunkirk and Euro Tunnel in Calais, Latin Americans caught at the Mexican/US border, and Sub-Saharan Africans journeying across the Mediterranean Sea – to continue to prevent such human movement will call for an even greater militarization of defense forces and strengthening of anti-immigration rhetoric. The chants of 'Build the wall' and 'Make America Great Again' have become synonymous with a reinforced American nationalism. Similar trends are present elsewhere too. Whether it is Israel's Barrier Wall segregating Jews from Arabs or the 140km of razor wire that stretches across the Serbian/Hungary border, such heavily militarized borders are zones of trauma, suffering, and division. War-torn countries like Yemen, Iraq, Syria, South Sudan, Mali, Somalia, Northern Nigeria, Afghanistan, the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya from Myanmar, and the enforced detention of a million Uyghurs in 'reeducation centers' in China all speak to the far-reaching and increasingly violent crackdown on freedoms and mobility. The horrific history of religious and racial persecution throughout the 20th century also shows how human mobility has often been used as a means of control and eradication. Nazi Germany's murder of six million Jews; the exodus of 700,000 Palestinians in the aftermath of the Israeli/Arab war following the establishment of Israel; Stalin's purges, murder, and starvation of 20 million Russians; Chairman Mao's starvation of 40 million mostly rural Chinese during the Great Leap Forward; Pol Pot's murder of two million people, mostly educated and intellectuals, in Cambodia. These are just some of the last century's most brutal examples of human mobility being utilized to eliminate people.

As Casey confirms, 'it is place that introduces spatial order into the world'.[41] This being so, the countries, societies, and people who claim place as their own and protect it by force convey the continuing potential for violence against human mobility. Casey draws attention to the limitations of place alongside the expanse of space: '[w]hile place solicits questions

of limit and boundary, and of location and surrounding, space sets these questions aside in favor of a concern with the absolute and the infinite, the immense and the indefinitely extended'. The fate of place, Casey argues, is its inability to transform, and what awaits it is an 'unequal battle' where 'spacing-out triumphs over placing-in'.[42] Discontent with place is a mark of the traumatic histories of dominance over space. The city in transgression will not depend on further restricting spatial possibilities in order to fix yet more place(s), properties, and securities; rather, it will seek new alliances between cities and global human mobility. Casey suggests that 'the less material place is, the more powerful it becomes'.[43] Stripping place of its material form altogether returns us to space. In *Place and Placelessness*, Edward Relph argues that 'however we feel or know or explain space, there is nearly always some associated sense or concept of place'.[44] It could be argued that any attempt to return place back to space is doomed to failure, such is the ingrained dominance of place in every part of society and capital. Yet, if we consider the histories of the world's indigenous tribes, space is 'Country', and different parts of 'Country' are not defined through artificial boundaries but rather through natural characteristics. Indigenous peoples denoted regions shaped by geographical and topographical landmarks, the sites of interment of their dead and ceremonial grounds. Colonial invaders dismissed these formations and imposed lines that covered vast spaces, thereby formulizing separations and claims of ownership between colonial countries. Is it possible to apply topographical and geographical concepts of place and belonging to the city?

Violently carved through oppression, dispossession, and expulsion of native peoples from their lands, monetary value was attached to space that could be bought and sold and demarcated on maps and deeds. The histories of European colonial invasion and occupation in countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the Americas, Canada, Africa, India, Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, and countless Islander peoples forced assimilation to the European concept of place, backed up by military might. Colonial place was secured by taking foreign ground to build settlement and at the same time placing controls over native peoples and their natural resources. Constructing place demanded the suppression of everything else that was formerly identified with the land and with its traditional owners. Global forms of place today are on the rise. Deforestation brings new ground from which soya crops, grazing sheep and cattle, and new towns emerge to supply these unsustainable land practices. The global attack on nature continues, and the global dimensions of place come to the fore by way of environmental degradation. Where does this leave the refugee, the asylum seeker, and the migrant in terms of their connections to place? The places of their origins, where they were forced to leave, will not be reinstated in the non-places they occupy – the site of refugee camps and urban infrastructure. For this reason, they return to space, and such a return demands unrestricted mobility.

The confidence that took hold of groups of people to walk over vast distances and found settlements, cultures, inventions, and technologies has both strengthened the connections between peoples of the world as well as formulized separations. Science fiction stories envision the future of human civilization as one of catastrophic breakdown. The films that most vividly imagine these apocalyptic scenarios are entertaining while also offering predictions of the Earth and humankind in turmoil. Films such as *The Road* (2009), *The Book of Eli* (2010), *The Colony* (2013), and *World War Z* (2013), to list some recent titles, visualize a world in decline where no-place exists and space is lawless. As global wars, plagues and alien invasions are the subject of science fiction and future human reality, it is worth noting that few films tackle the subject of climate change. The most notable exception is Director Roland Emmerich's 2004 film *The Day After Tomorrow* where the consequences of environmental degradation create catastrophic weather turbulence and destruction caused by tsunamis, tornados, and freezing temperatures resulting in the world entering a new ice age. Liquefied societies, destitute cities, industrial and technological decay, lands stripped of life and human life stripped of ethics, the scenario is one of bare survival. Such dystopian imaginings are becoming less entertaining and far-fetched and instead seem to be all-too-credible extrapolations from the present state of affairs. With civil society and the idea of place lost, each film offers two endings: human extinction or some hopeful restitution.

Conclusion

Cormac McCarthy's 2006 novel *The Road* is a harrowing read. The book was adapted for film by Joe Penhall and directed by John Hillcoat. Released in 2010, the film adaptation charts the lives of a man (played by Viggo Mortensen) and his son (Kodi McPhee) and their journey of survival. The film opens with a flash of light, and it soon becomes apparent that the world does not recover from this event. Cities are no longer inhabited, the sky is blanketed in a murky grey that permanently shadows the sun, highways are strewn with derelict trucks and cars, the countryside bears no sign of animal life, and where land remains uncultivated and nothing grows, cannibalism and lawlessness reign. Having burnt the last of their furniture for warmth and with minimal supplies remaining, Mortensen's on-screen wife (Charlize Theron) argues that he and their son stand a better chance of surviving without her, before walking out of the house into the night and to her inevitable death. The man and his son pack up whatever supplies they still have onto a cart and desert their home to embark upon their journey on the road. The father keeps a pistol with two bullets remaining – one for him and one for his son should they face the prospect of being captured by gangs of marauding cannibal hunters that patrol the highways in the few remaining working trucks and cars. The father and son are forced into a life of continuous mobility in constant search of food and shelter, where the

road offers a hopeful lifeline of finding help but is also a deathtrap with the constant threat of being captured and killed.

Place, any place, once identified with security and protection, has become a liability, for the fear of being attacked by marauding gangs means that the father and son decide that they are better off camping out in the open at night. Space is also non-compliant in this devastated landscape where all natural features have been reduced to a spatial nothingness. Their survival takes a turn when they discover a hatch that leads to a nuclear fallout bunker. Descending the ladder, they see lines of shelves stacked with all sorts of canned foods. For a short while, they live in their adopted underground burrow, content with the supply of food, but also smothered by the claustrophobic atmosphere of the hideout where no natural light or air can enter. Even though the road carries with it the high risk of being attacked and cannibalized, they know that they cannot stay in their hideout forever. Stacking their cart with cans of beans, soups, and fruit, they once again take to the road as their only hope for salvation. Their goal is to reach the coast in the hope that there is life or the possibility to travel across the ocean to some distant place that has not been ravished by the catastrophic event. There are harrowing events in between, including an encounter with a hysterical family locked up in the cellar of a house who are harvested for food by the owners, and a moment when their cart is stolen and they manage to catch up with the thief, whereupon the father draws his pistol and makes the man strip off his clothes in the bitter cold and, against his son's protests, abandons him to his inevitable death. Reaching the coast, they see the sea and sky in a uniform grey of nothingness with no sign of life. Suffering from exhaustion and hunger, the father tries to kill his son first and then himself with the two remaining bullets, but he cannot go through with it and soon dies. The son is eventually rescued by a family on the beach and the film ends with a glimmer of hope that he might survive after all.

The Road is a medieval story of unbridled brutality that is transported to the near present. There are many scenes in the film that are hard to stomach; depictions of cruelty and evil are a matter of fact when civil society no longer exists. In this absence of civil society, tribal allegiances form, and nomadic roaming becomes a way of life. McCarthy's bleak portrayal of a world in freefall has some resonance with how people around the world are living various versions of it right now. The lives of refugees who have lost everything, political dissidents who have endured torture, women and children who have experienced male violence, war, rape, and abuse, people forced from their land, land that is no longer fertile due to climate change, the brutal reality of people smugglers, the constant risk and fear of violent authorities, exposure to the roads, pavements, camps, bridges, parks, abandoned buildings for shelter – all tell us something of the present that is not science fiction but a reality for millions of people throughout the world. When science fiction writers and films continually present a bleak future in which the home does not exist, place does not exist, where mobility has become a

way of life, and death overshadows life – they point to the return of human vagrancy. The idea of vagrancy informs McCarthy's novel and Hillcoat's filmic adaptation; it is also present Tarkovsky's *Stalker*. In each scenario, place collapses as a result of humanity's destructive capacities, while space retreats to a nondescript form, with perpetual mobility the only fate.

Notes

1 Apprehending the experience of what is present before you constitute the phenomenological experiencing of what appears, unfolds, and manifests; 'what we see emerging', Heidegger assures us, 'exists *for it*, and we comprehend only the formal aspect of what emerges or its pure emerging. *For consciousness,* what has emerged exists only as an object; *for us,* it exists at once as movement and becoming'. Following in the same vein, the city appears as we appear to it and we make of it what we will. In my mind, this is particularly relevant to the inhabitable spaces of appearances that the unhomed create in the city. Martin Heidegger, *Hegel's Concept of Experience*, trans. Kenley Royce Dove (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 24, 25.

2 Ibid, p. 17.

3 Jose V. Ciprut (ed.), *Indeterminacy: The Mapped, The Navigable, and the Uncharted* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), p. 1.

4 Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), p. 1.

5 Pamela Shaw and Joanne Hudson, 'The Qualities of Informal Space: (Re)appropriation Within the Informal, Interstitial Spaces of the City', Proceedings from the Occupation: Negotiations with Constructed Space conference, University of Brighton, 2–4 July 2009, p. 2.

6 Eviatar Zerubavel, *Hidden in Plain Sight: The Social Structure of Irrelevance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 46.

7 Howard Caygill, 'Benjamin, Heidegger and the Destruction of Tradition', in *Walter Benjamin's Philosophy: Destruction and Experience*, eds. Andrew Benjamin and Peter Osborne (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 28.

8 Tarkovsky's *Stalker* is a loose adaptation of Arkady and Boris Strugatsky's science fiction novel *Roadside Picnic* published in 1972.

9 Adrian J. Ivakhiv, *Ecologies of the Moving Image: Cinema, Affect, Nature* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), p. 22.

10 The nature of the Zone, Ivakhiv suggests, is not the nature that has been tamed by man; it is something completely other and inexplicable. 'In the Zone, what at first appears as simple "nature," we are told (by the Stalker) is not at all simple, and appears to be alive in some sense'. Ibid, p. 17.

11 Ivakhiv's reference to '*Stalker*'s cinematic surface' invokes the ability of cinema to portray real and unreal worlds according to its own rules and seamless fluidity of the moving image. 'As in *Stalker*, however, what cinema shows us is real objects, artifacts from the material world: landscapes and places, mortal bodies and organisms, all caught in the grip of the cycle of living, dying, and decomposition'. Ibid, p. 22.

12 Ivakhiv notes that the Professor's willingness to detonate the nuclear device is counterargued when other things have no purpose. 'In any case, he reasons, if the Room does not actually make dreams come true, it serves little purpose'. Ibid, p. 15.

13 Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 201.

14 Soja coins the term 'spatialist' to describe his theory in connecting the city with space. 'Here my identity as a postmodern urbanist simultaneously narrows and widens', Soja writes, 'for I write about cities spatially. More specifically, I am an avowed spatialist, a determined advocate for the critical power of the spatial or geographical imagination'. Edward Soja, 'Writing the City Spatially', *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2003), pp. 269–80.

15 Massey objects to the subordination that has seen place dominate how we view space. This view has been supported by the preference for viewing it as essentially capital's potential to construct place. 'It is a view of space opposed to that which sees it as a flat, immobilized surface, as stasis', Massey writes, 'even as no more than threatening chaos – the opposite of stasis – which is to see space as the opposite of History'. Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 4–5.

16 'The identities of place are always unfixed, contested and multiple', Massey suggests. 'And the particularity of any place is, in these terms, constructed not by placing boundaries around it and defining its identity through counter-position to the other which lies beyond but precisely (in part) through the specificity of the mix of links and interconnections *to* that "beyond". Places viewed this way are open and porous'. In other words, place makes a return to space unbounded and open. Ibid, p. 5.

17 Lefebvre argues for the idea of retrieving space through Hegel's 'concrete universal', the 'concept of *production* and the act of *producing*', in defining the particularity of spaces whether it be political, social, natural, historical, etc. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 15.

18 Ibid, p. 83.

19 Lefebvre further suggests: 'The connec-tion between space as "available" and space as "occupied", however, has nothing simple or obvious about it', and this goes some way toward understanding the complexity of the unhomed occupations of urban sites. The unhomed identify those spaces in the city that become available to them and wherein their inhabitation becomes a production of space in mobility. Ibid, p. 170.

20 Further on in the text, Certeau refers to movement in the city as 'an *opaque and blind* mobility char-acteristic of the bustling city. A migrational, or metaphorical, city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city', which ultimately reduces its possibilities for becoming something else but not for the unhomed spatial interpretations to reproduce the city. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. S. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 40, 93.

21 Following on from Certeau's description and encounter of space, he makes a distinction whereby 'in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a "proper" rules of place'. Ibid, p. 117.

22 Crang points out that in the essay 'Walking the City' Certeau 'becomes the champion of the common folk and street level social theory'. Mike Crang, 'Relics, Places and Unwritten Geographies in the Work of Michel de Certeau (1925–86)', in *Thinking Space*, eds. Mike Crang and Nigel Thrift (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 136, 138.

23 Robert J. Wallis, *Shamans/Neo-Shamans: Ecstasy, Alternative Archaeologies and Contemporary Pagans* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 27–28.

24 Claudia Mesch, *Joseph Beuys* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017), p. 90.

25 Roselee Goldberg, *Performance Art: From Futurism to the Present* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001 [1979]), p. 97.

26 Simin Davoudi and Ian Strange, *Conceptions of Space and Place in Strategic Spatial Planning* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 22.

27 Ibid, p. 38.

28 As Massey writes, '[t]he most common formulations of the concept of geographical place in current debate associate it with stasis and nostalgia, and with an enclosed security'. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp. 167–68.

29 Miwon Kwon notes 'that a place that instigates a sense of instability and uncertainty, lacking in comfort, a place unfamiliar and foreign, might be deemed "wrong." And by extension, a place that feels like "home" might be deemed "right." But *this* is wrong. The determination of right and wrong is never derived from an innate quality of the object in question, even if some moral absolutes might seem to preside over the object. Rather, right and wrong are qualities that an object has *in relation* to something outside itself. In the case of place, it indicates a subject's relation to it and does not indicate an autonomous, objective condition of the place itself'. Miwon Kwon, 'The Wrong Place', *Art Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2000), pp. 32–43.

30 Ibid, p. 42.

31 Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London: Verso, 1995), p. 78.

32 Augé's hypothesis is that 'supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places', which is a problem of classification whereby they are 'promoted to the status of "place of memory", and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position'. Ibid, pp. 77–78.

33 Ibid, p. 96.

34 'There is no room there for history', Augé suggests, 'unless it has been transformed into an element of spectacle. What reigns there is actuality, the urgency of the present moment. Since non-places are there to be passed through, they are measured in units of time'. Ibid, pp. 103–4.

35 The 'rhetoric of the people' that Augé is invoking is 'defined by the rhetorical acts: plea, accusation, eulogy, censure, recommendation, warning, and so on'. Ibid, p. 108.

36 Casey, *The Fate of Place*, p. ix.

37 In the 'Preface', Casey states that place is not 'so intrusive or embarrassing as to require repression', which seems odd given the absolute control that place exerts over space. Casey defends this by affirming that 'just because place is so much with us, and we with it, it has been taken for granted, deemed not worthy of separate treatment. Also taken for granted is the fact that we are implaced beings to begin with, that place is an a priori of our existence on earth'. Ibid, p. x.

38 Robert Desjarlais, *Shelter Blues: Sanity and Selfhood Among the Homeless* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 23.

39 Ibid, p. 20.

40 Desjarlais tells of the stagnant mind and body of the homeless housed in shelters as captives to the institutional system of the well-intentioned civic society. 'For shelter residents, the distracting sights and sounds of the building often prompted an acutely sensorial mode of awareness, which left little room or need for introspection or contemplation'. Ibid, p. 22.

41 Casey connects the orders of place as the defining of territories that are associated with and guided by the cosmos. The projection of cosmological space on Earth is drawn into datum points of place such as the ceremonial altar, camp, and settlement. Spatial order, Casey contends, 'shows that in its formative phases

the world is already on the way to order. In this way place provides the primary bridge in the movement from cosmogony to cosmology'. Casey, *The Fate of Place*, p. 5.

42 Prior to Casey's claim that 'spacing-out triumphs over placing-in', he insinuates that '[w]hile place solicits questions of limit and boundary, and of location and surrounding, space sets these ques-tions aside in favor of a concern with the absolute and the infinite, the im-mense and the indefinitely extended'. Ibid, p. 77.

43 The idea that the 'less material place is, the more powerful it becomes' expresses the power of place in the human psyche. Casey also tells us what space seems unable to provide in the absoluteness that place creates: 'Through place, reality is reached. Through real-ity, place is maintained'. There is an obvious emphasis on constructing and defining the boundaries of place. It is this hold on space that humans create, elusive borderless space, and it is also what confines them. Ibid, p. 90.

44 Relph is happy to admit that 'space provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places'. This somewhat rhetorical explanation becomes more clear when he deposits space into different categories: 'Pragmatic or Primitive Space' – 'associated with the movement of the body and with the senses'; 'Perceptual Space' – 'space of action centred on immediate needs and practices'; 'Existential Space' – 'lived-space', 'the inner structure of space'; 'Sacred Space'; 'Geographical Space'; 'Architectural Space and Planning Space', citing Siegfried Giedion's concept of three distinct aspects, namely, first, the 'interplay between volume', second, 'the hollowed out interior space', and third, the 'treatment of space from several perspectives simultaneously'. Edward Relph, *Place and Place-lessness* (London: Pion Limited, 1976), pp. 8–22.

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4　Ousted vagrancy

Roaming where

The 1929 Wall Street financial collapse and the Great Depression that followed left America and many other countries tied to the stock market bankrupt. In America, tens of thousands of farmers suffering from years of drought that had turned their farms into dust bowls – such as in the state of Oklahoma – and unable to service their loans as a result were foreclosed on by the banks and evicted. Millions of factory and office workers, shop assistants, and social services employees lost their jobs, their homes, and their way of life. Fortified with basic belongings, destitute families and individuals loaded up their trucks and cars and took to the highways, while others walked or rode freight trains in search for work. Besides the poverty and the worthless value of money that characterized the Depression, the mass displacement of people was not unprecedented as was the case following the end of WWI in 1918 that saw empires fall and millions of people across Europe displaced and on the move. In America, long lines of cars and trucks filled the highways with people moving from east to west to pick fruit in the Californian valley and north to south to work in the cotton fields of Virginia and Louisiana. Immortalized in John Steinbeck's harrowing tale of capitalism, greed, victimization, and persecution *The Grapes of Wrath*, vagrancy became a way of life that persisted until the onset of WWII and indeed after the end of that war, which saw the mass displacement of millions of people and a truly global human mobility emerge.

Discriminated against and victimized by societies throughout history, vagrants have lived a forced state of perpetual mobility; moving from place to place without direction or certainty. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, vagrancy is '[t]he action or fact of wandering or digressing in mind, opinion, thought, etc. . . . . Idle wandering with no settled habitation, occupation, or obvious means of support'.[1] The description suggests a rambler whose cognizance, outlook, prospect, and responsibility suggest a dissociation with societal civil codes. In *Vagrancy: Some New Perspectives*, Tim Cook informs us that the 'literature on vagrancy, though at first glance voluminous, is in fact quite remarkably limited in the range of perspectives

it offers – far too many accounts are in the Victorian tradition of descending into an abyss'.[2] In his contribution to Cook's volume, entitled 'Vagrancy and the Criminal Law', Leonard Leigh cites the English Vagrancy Act of 1824, which 'declares a rogue and vagabond to be any person wandering abroad and lodging in any barn or outhouse or in any deserted or unoccupied building, or in the open air, or in any tent or wagon and not giving a good account of himself or herself'.[3] You could be forgiven for thinking that such a person is being resourceful by taking shelter in animal sheds and abandoned buildings when offered no alternative. But this was not the view shared by the majority of society who saw to it to stigmatize 'able-bodied vagrants and itinerant persons' as 'rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars'.[4] The vagrant's 'digression in mind, opinion, thought' sees the farm barn not as a descent 'into the abyss' but rather as a practical place for temporary shelter and protection.

Mathew Beaumont, in his book *Nightwalking: A Nocturnal History of London*, notes how the accepted definition of the vagrant-vagabond as a 'wandering unsettled condition' was often given to the roaming nightwalker of the city. Navigating the city at night, the wanderer deploys 'noctivagation', which Beaumont describes as

> the activity of the homeless and indigent, of those who seek a social or spiritual refuge in the streets of the city at night. Noctambulation is the activity of the relatively privileged. It implies a more leisurely and at the same time more purposeful sort of movement. . . . It intimates a sense of entitlement in the streets,

resonating with Walter Benjamin's *flâneur*. 'Noctivagation', Beaumont asserts, 'is instead furtive, defensive. As its semantic and historical associations with the roguishness and idleness of the itinerant poor imply, it was from the point of view of the authorities morally and politically aberrant'.[5] The nightwalker does not escape the prejudices associated with the vagrant, for from a distance they are indiscernible figures at night until, up close, they are separable by the quality of their clothing. A self-confessed nightwalker and insomniac, the 19th-century author and chronicler of English society Charles Dickens stated that he often found inspiration in the solace of the night, which is evident in his novel *The Uncommercial Traveller*. When his insomnia waned and his body tired, depending on where he was staying, Dickens would turn to his compass to ensure that he slept facing north, for the sleep he sought as much as the vivid dreams would inspire him. Unlike night wanderers such as Dickens, or those who drew from the night, as in Goethe's poem 'Wanderer's Nightsong' for instance, the vagrant with no home to return to and no poem to recite would wander aimlessly before his or her body became fatigued to collapse in the shadows of a laneway, park, and bridge.

Stigmatized, the vagrant becomes the enemy of the people at night and a burden by day. As in Medieval and Victorian societies, the vagrant was viewed as the antithesis to the moral civilian. In *The Figure of the Migrant*, Thomas Nail suggests that the vagrant is poorly understood in how they compete with the city and counter society. He dismisses the view of the vagabond as unduly harangued. 'Instead of expanding through the tensional force of expulsion', he asks that vagabonds be 'defined by their force of pressure'. For Nail, the history of the vagabond as an outcast and defiled as a rogue are not merely victims of persecution from landowners and city authorities but rebels in a 'continuous oscillation' of upheaval and revolution.

> Vagabondage is a continuous oscillation insofar as it is a wandering movement without origin or final destination. It is not the curvilinear movement toward a center of power, nor a radial movement outward toward a subordinate periphery, nor even spatial movement of multiple linked centers in the tension of land contracts and waged labor. Rather, vagabondage is continually disjoined from land, labor, and law. It emerges from all the wretched of feudal society: serfs, peasants, beggars, the sick, prostitutes, defrocked priests, witches, urban and rural day laborers, and migrants and refugees of all kinds. 'Vagabond' is the legal name for this oscillatory or wandering group of disjoined migrants under juridical kinopower.[6]

Nail refers to the 'heretical rebellions' such as 'Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk in 1549' where vagabonds joined the peasants' revolt to overthrow the land closure laws that shut out peasants from their lands through the erecting of fences amounting to a forced land grab by the landed gentry. Not simply a peripheral figure who is destitute and without aim or liability, Nail places the wandering vagabond at the core of feudal uprisings. The history of heretic vagabonds joining forces with the peasants to regain their property appears something of an unlikely alliance given that vagabonds had no property to gain from this alliance. Instead, the vagabonds became conscious objectors and mercenaries for the oppressed peasants. What the vagabonds gained from their alliance with the peasants was a moral obligation to a poverty-stricken rural class unable to provide any compensation for the risks they took for their defense. The vagabonds' heretical associations and outlaw life brought them into contact with their conscious sensibility.

> [V]agabond heresy is the practice of egalitarianism: an undivided distribution of people. Although vagabond egalitarianism is not without its flaws, it does express a distinctly different ethos from that of social expulsion. Instead of regulating the movement of bodies from one cell to another based on the linked tensions of hierarchical laws, vagabonds

created, through popular assemblies, rebellions, and heretical ideology, a significantly more egalitarian form of movement.[7]

Nail cites three types of vagabond maneuvers that he calls pedetic tactics: first is their 'continual oscillation'; second is 'their undivided wave distribution of property and people'; and third is 'the force of social pressure'. This third tactic, Nail suggests, may have been the reason for their egalitarianism and cause for revolutionary societal realignment, for the 'vagabond heretic wanted a personal transformation, a release of his or her spirit from confinement'.[8] In his chapter 'The Vagrant/Vagabond from Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects', Tim Creswell outlines how the vagrant's life of incrimination as a rule of thumb can be put down to her/his mobility. It was their mobility that resulted in their discrimination, a 'figure who by definition is shunned, excluded and expelled due to his combination of poverty and mobility'. Creswell clearly demonstrates that while mobility 'lies at the centre of the vagrant's career', it is also the yoke that bounds him to continuous expulsion from one town and city to the next. 'It was his mobility that necessitated new laws, regulations and forms of surveillance'. The key to the discrimination and victimization of the vagrants, Creswell argues, is that the 'vagabond presents us with an alternative spatiality'.

> It was his mobility that proved so powerful as a critique of established moral geographies. And it is his mobility that makes him a powerful metaphor of a theoretical diagnosis of a mobile world marked by globalization, temporality and transience, the career of the vagrant/vagabond is thus underlined by a vivid geographical imagination – a set of knowledges and imaginings about mobility and what mobility might mean in a modern world.[9]

Creswell's positive invocation of the vagrant's radical capabilities in transforming society offers us a useful way of thinking about how asylum seekers, refugees, migrants, and the homeless can be viewed not solely in terms of victimization and incrimination but rather by their ability to adopt and adapt the sites they inhabit. The radicalized vagrant's social cause in feudal society has not continued to the present day where authorities have put paid to their ability to influence class struggle. The mobility of millions of people seeking better lives and fleeing political, cultural, religious, and gender discrimination; famine; and war, and where the ongoing effects of colonialism are still being felt, there might well be a need for the return of the mercenary vagrant. Yet, the modern-day vagrants of refugees and asylum seekers are forced into a mobility of persecution that ends in the refugee camp or in the shadows of the societies in which they seek refuge. Epic in proportion and global in dimension, the struggle of their plight limits their ability to adequately form a mercenary force. The forces of incrimination being adopted by many Western countries in repelling the flow of migrants, refugees, and

asylum seekers into their countries exposes the fear that these societies have that their comfortable way of life will be altered and the social, cultural, and religious identity of their societies will be changed. Modern-day human migration is entering a new evolutionary epoch where its formation is being determined by the forces of discrimination rather than exploration for a reordered world centered around mobility. Forced into mobility and ousted from society, the vagrant is also identified with the loiterer who roams public spaces of the city without fixed intentions or purpose. Both the vagrant and the loiterer are typecast as a threat to societal stability and as such are ousted from one place and space to another. Their mobility – moving across landscapes, into and out of towns, cities, and public spaces – has become the modern-day exilic life of the refugee, the asylum seeker, the migrant, and the homeless. Where the nightwalker first appeared as a threat but was simply walking off their waking hours in the night, likewise the refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant embody a concocted figure of fear. Up close, their appearance is marked by the trauma of war and persecution, not threat.

Conclusion

Mother Courage is a story of family, capitalism, survival, and above all mobility. Written in 1939 by the German playwright Bertolt Brecht, the play is set during Europe's 30-year war in 1618–48 between Catholics and Protestants, where exhaustion and confusion mean that the numerous sides engaged in the fighting have forgotten their original cause. Centered on a trader of military supplies, Mother Courage and her children, Kattrin, Eilif, and Swiss Cheese tread the roads of war pulling their wagon of military supplies that they sell to both sides fighting in the war.

> They call me mother courage 'cause
> I was afraid I'd be ruined, so I drove through the
> bombardment of Riga like a mad woman, with fifty
> loaves of bread in my cart. They were going moldy,
> what else could I do?[10]

Bent on turning over her stock and maximizing profits from the exorbitant prices she charges, Mother Courage is both guard and prisoner to her brand of capitalism. Her 'courage' is her ability to be as close to the front lines as possible to get the best prices for her wares to provide for her three children. Moving from one battleground and army camp to the next, their itinerant vagrant lifestyle intersects with the forces of war, which has terrible consequences on the lives of her children. Her two sons Eilif and Swiss Cheese fall victim to war recruiters and meet their deaths not on the battlefield but through dishonor and misdeed. First Eilif, applauded by his general for killing peasants and stealing their cattle to feed the regiment, is killed by firing squad when he makes the mistake of raiding another peasant village to

steal their cattle during a truce in the fighting. Swiss Cheese, whose talent in working out large sums on the calculus is much-admired, is recruited as the regiment paymaster. In a fit of panic during a Catholic attack on his regiment, Swiss Cheese hides the regiment's cash box for safekeeping but is shot for suspected theft as his mother haggles over the price of selling her wagon to the regiment's prostitute Yvette to raise the money to secure his release. Her deaf and mute daughter Kattrin meets her fateful end when she climbs onto the roof of a barn to sound an alarm to the Protestant town of Halle to warn them of an imminent Catholic attack. Beating a drum, Kattrin saves the town and in doing so is shot by Catholic soldiers. After 18 years of a war and with no children left to help her, Mother Courage is left to pull the wagon through the battlefields on her own.

Mother Courage is not what you would call a wandering vagrant. She is instead a traveling salesperson, apt at turning a deal to sell her stock. Mother Courage could be seen as a person without a moral bone in her body; yet, even with the death of her children, this would not be a true indictment – for morality has no place in war. When war has descended into unrivaled butchery on all sides, Mother Courage's brand of capitalism appears as a practical means for survival. The consummate war profiteer is capable of sacrificing her trade in order to save her children but is nevertheless governed by the pursuit of a good deal, as is made clear when her haggling over the price of her wagon to raise money comes too late to avoid her son Swiss Cheese being executed. Mother Courage's morality is further stretched when soldiers bring his body to her to identify. She claims not to recognize her son, since this would implicate her as an accomplice to his crime resulting in certain punishment for her. During a truce believed to bring about an end to the war, Mother Courage buys back her wagon from Yvette at a knock-down price, rightly predicting that just as previous truces have failed, so too will this one. After paying some peasants to give Kattrin a proper burial, Mother Courage harnesses herself to her wagon. 'I hope I can pull the wagon by myself. Yes, I'll manage, there's not much in it now. I must get back into business', and as a regiment of soldiers march past, she yells 'Hey! Take me with you!'[11]

Mother Courage is a complex merging of two opposites: vagabond and capitalist rogue. Following the path of profit, the war directs her mobility and livelihood and her children's death. In *Brecht and Method*, Fredric Jameson points to the lesson to be learnt, noting that 'in Brecht what is fatal is always the failure to learn: as witness the alleged tragedy of Mother Courage, for Brecht a fundamental illustration of the deadliness of the idea you can't give up (the little nest-egg, the capital of the wagon that cannot be lost, hanging on to your investment no matter what happens)'.[12] Supplying both sides with the same gunshot and powder with which to kill one another, Mother Courage is careful not to take sides, for to do so would damage her sales. With her course set to the principle of profit, her mercenary life does not share the life of the mercenary heretic vagrant dedicated to the peasant

uprisings in 16th-century England, France, and Spain, who gained no profit to himself. Constrained by capitalism, Mother Courage is not an example of the free-spirited vagrant of independent means and mobility but a victim of it. This is something the American playwright Arthur Miller sought to illustrate in his human tragedy of the traveling salesman trapped on the road of sales in his 1948 play *Death of a Salesman*. Like Miller's Salesman, Brecht's Mother Courage is not in charge of her destiny, and failure means certain poverty. In this way, their situation merely reflects that of the majority of society, who, it could be argued, are also engaged in their own entanglements with property and capital. Migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and the homeless are criminalized precisely because their presence might pose a threat to this entanglement with capital wherein people sacrifice themselves in the hope of obtaining the dreams of capital. So it is not their criminalization and ousting that poses the threat to capital; quite the opposite it is because they live outside it. Flip a coin, and on one side we see the embossed figure of the wanderer, the wagon, war, and capital. Flip the coin again, and on the other side we see embossed the rebellious outcast, free mover, anti-establishment, heretic vagrant. Rising and then falling through the air, the spinning coin creates a Fantascope image of the vagrant and society – outcast and rejection in contrast to acceptance and profit.

Loitering how

Determinant spaces such as public squares are prone to becoming situationally indeterminant when populated. Forms of occupying public space vary depending on the occupants' intentions: relaxation, contemplation, looking at others, and transient passing. None of these would appear to provoke any threat or fear of being in public space and with others. Yet, loitering in public space insinuates an indeterminant cause and thereby comprises the opposite side to the right of lingering in public. Sometimes rendered on signs but more often unwritten, codes of behavior in public space prescribe how to be and how to behave in public. Policed and arbitrarily determined, flouting the codes of accepted and expected behavior is seen as discordant with being in public and with the public in public space. Loitering or lingering in public space without a clear motive attracts attention and judgment, usually prompting a perception of someone threatening or disturbing. By association, perceptions and judgments attributed to loiterers in public space also frame the judgments about, perceived threats of, and resistance to the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in their global mobility and occupation of urban spaces.

In *Behavior in Public Places*, Erving Goffman attaches public crime to the loiterer as part of the breakdown of public order. He argues that 'when we find that places such as parks can become the scene of robbery, refuse dumping, sexual solicitations, loitering (on the part of drunks, bums, and ambulatory psychotics), we must understand this collapse of public order

not merely in terms of the fact that it may be possible to avoid the police in these places'. The ability of the loiterer to avoid authorities and maximize opportunities is a necessary part of loitering, for a 'park may be the place that maximizes the acceptability of these acts and hence minimizes the price of being caught performing them'.[13] Writing on 'today's temporal crisis' and the 'atomization of identity', Byung-Chul Han suggests in *The Scent of Time: A Philosophical Essay on the Art of Lingering* that 'lingering is nothing but a standstill that needs to be overcome as soon as possible'.[14] Associating loitering with static mobility, Han could be suggesting that a loiterer can be anyone who can stand still but who is able to overcome their presence in public space. While loitering infers undisclosed intentions, lingering is the allowance to remain in a space. Lingering happens when, for instance, looking at art objects or waiting for the bus or train – each a different enactment of lingering. Lingering as static movement shifts between association and disassociation with spatial occupation, where contemplation, curiosity or dreamlike gazes, connections and disconnections between others and the surroundings occur.

The art of loitering in public space is to not draw attention from the public. Heidegger notes how lingering (*Verweilen*) 'which comes about when busyness is abandoned can acquire the quality of a more precise kind of circumspection, such as "inspecting," checking what has been attained, as looking over the "operations" just now "at a standstill" '.[15] In lingering, you can lose yourself to your thoughts, to the presence of others. Whereas to loiter involves a constant state of awareness for opportunities to present themselves through a surveillance of vacant stares onto others. The vacant stare of the loiterer is intensely captured by the actor Martin LaSalle in Robert Bresson's 1959 film *Pickpocket*. LaSalle's character hones his loitering in public spaces as if in the abyss of space and yet he remains intensely focused on his surroundings and people within it. Detailed at the end of this section, *Pickpocket* brings the art of lingering deployed by the professional pickpocket who trains himself to avoid being detected in public space. Loitering in public space has long been associated with criminal activity. In the Victorian era, loiterers were associated with petty thieves – pickpockets who discreetly observed the garments of their victims where the fog watch or wallet lay concealed. Dickens' *Oliver Twist* details the dexterity and deftness of the child pickpockets who loiter on London street corners and squares as they relieve victims of their silk handkerchiefs, wallets, watches, or jewelry before scurrying home to their lice-infested lodgings to hand over their booty to the depraved father figure that pedals them. Dickens' tales of the squalor of the poor and the society of the rich bookend his critique of Victorian England recounted in *Oliver Twist*, *David Copperfield*, and *The Pickwick Papers*, which together provide political as much as social commentary on the period.

Writing on the rights of women in public spaces in Mumbai, Shilpa Phadke, Shilpa Ranade, and Sameera Khan suggest that a prerequisite for

women to claim public space is to 'reclaim loitering as an act of the most basic citizenship'. 'So long as women's presence in public space continues to be framed within the binary of public/private and within the complexity layered hierarchies of class, community and gender, an unconditional right to public space will remain a fantasy'.[16] In their chapter 'Why Loiter? Radical Possibilities for Gendered Dissent', Phadke, Ranade, and Khan write of their intention to reclaim the right to loiter, especially women's right in public space: 'As educated, employed, middle-class, urban Indian women in our thirties, when we express a desire to seek pleasure in the city by loitering it might seem problematic to some'. 'For loitering, the lack of demonstration of a visible purpose, is usually perceived as a marginal, sometimes downright anti-social, even extra-legal, act of being in public city space'.[17] As with the vagrant, loitering has a troubling past as much as a troubled present. Loitering in public space, looking suspicious, the presence of somebody with no real intention has taken on more menacing undertones in modern-day society. Speculative reasoning directed toward the intentions of the loiterer can imagine the latter as a potential terrorist. Formed from the attentive gaze of looking suspicious, this speculative reasoning views the loiterer as having the potential to harm society. The problem with loitering is the absence of a clear act of doing something. Loitering in shopping malls can be the same as loitering in public space. For example, if you are in a shopping mall and have not bought anything and are simply hanging around, then you can be perceived as having criminal intent. It is not enough to simply be in public; you have to be in public doing something or buying something and with the least resistance to any other body. Phadke, Ranade, and Khan note that 'not only *do* we desire to loiter, we in fact believe that this act of pleasure-seeking holds the possibility of not just expanding women's access to public space but also of transforming women's relationship with the city and re-envisioning citizenship in more inclusive terms'. They go on to argue that 'within the women's movement, the desire for pleasure has never been as legitimate as the struggle against violence'. Yet, without this connection to pleasure, the struggle against violence is exclusionary and 'tends to divide people into "us" and "them", and actually sanctions violence against "them" in order to protect "us"'.[18]

Phadke, Ranade, and Khan are claiming the right to loiter in public space as the right of women to *do* in the pleasure of doing *so*. The right to loiter, they believe, 'has the potential to undermine public space hierarchies'. They suggest that 'loitering is a politics of publicly visible dissent that offers possibilities to envision a radically altered city'.[19] With good reason, the protections placed on public space have sought to secure public safety for women and children, but gender, body, political, and spatial divides have not assisted women's occupation of public space for the pleasure of being in public space. The controlling governance of public space has been to monitor men who 'loiter with intent' perceived as threatening the public – especially women and children. Phadke, Ranade, and Khan's

argument is that women's right to access public space cannot be framed by the threat of men in public space. 'A group of young men regularly loitering at a particular street corner or tea stall immediately marks that space as being unsafe for women'.[20] They take issue with the Mumbai *tapori* 'a lower-class vagrant male' whose occupation of a street corner – maybe as a stooge for a 'politician or don' – 'shores up his bravado as a figure of fear and awe' but which is likely more 'about performance of an attitude'. 'You are a loiterer only while you are loitering', they claim. The loitering they advocate is for 'pure self-gratification; it's not forced and has no visible productivity'.[21] Their political message and spatial dissent in public space, securing women's right to loiter at their pleasure, challenges the overt protectionism of women through increasing controls on public space. Their argument is both simple and complex. Do not use the status of women as the precursor to manage public space, which further places women in a position where laws of public space are aimed at women's protection. Some forms of loitering may territorialize space unlawfully for the purposes of petty crime, yet the importance of loitering is fundamental to being in public. Women who loiter are not only rejecting the 'approved' public image of women in public space; they are also transgressing it 'without purpose – strolling, roaming, wandering, straying, rambling', which allows them 'to re-imagine the gendered experience of city spaces'.[22] The presence of groups of men loitering in public spaces not only increases women's anxiety but also restricts their freedom of movement that habitually leads to inequality in access to public space. 'It is only when the city belongs to everyone that it can ever belong to all women'.[23] Women are being left to organize their public selves, raise awareness, and create dissent to the attitudes that suppress women's right to loiter in public space. 'With the coming of "modernity" the cities of veiled women have ceded to cities of spectacle and voyeurism', Elizabeth Wilson explains, 'in which women, while seeking and sometimes finding the freedom of anonymity, are often all too visible'.[24]

Loitering in space with no clear purpose draws associations with the criminality of the wanderer-vagrant of no fixed address. Where the vagrant roams from place to place, the loiterer occupies the square, plaza, street corner, or park. The policing of public space often results in the loiterer being compelled to 'move on' and supposedly move to another (public) space in the same way the homeless are asked to. Just as the loiterer is tainted with the potential for petty crime, so too is the refugee, the asylum seeker, and the migrant portrayed as criminally minded as is evident in US President Donald Trump's descriptions of Hispanic migrants and the European right-wing party's descriptions of Syrian, African, and Middle Eastern refugees entering their country. The loiterer inadvertently becomes the thieving vagabond-vagrant. The loiterer breaks with the conventions of public appearances by challenging the restrictions on acceptable presence and purpose in public

space. The pleasure of loitering that Phadke, Ranade, and Khan call for is not the same as Dickens' apt descriptions of the loiterer-rogue in *Oliver Twist*. Robert Bresson's *Pickpocket* takes the view of the loiterer-rogue as a victim of society's inability to provide opportunities for work and a decent day's pay. These same failures haunt the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants who cannot loiter, whose mobility is constantly blocked and their identity fabricated as a scheming rogue.

Conclusion

Loitering and petty criminality are brought together in the 1959 black and white French film *Pickpocket* written and directed by Robert Bresson. Adapted from Fyodor Dostoevsky's novel *Crime and Punishment* with music by the 16th-century composer Jean-Baptiste Lully, the story follows a small-time criminal called Michel, played by the untrained Algerian actor Martin LaSalle. The film opens with Michel writing into his notebook; the scene then dissolves to Paris's Longchamp racecourse. Michel is standing behind a man and woman who are fixated on the horserace. Michel likewise looks straight ahead as if also immersed in the horserace while also gazing down, focusing on the woman's handbag hanging from her arm. Bresson's screenplay gives detailed directions as to how he wants Michel to move his eyes and create a vacant stare to achieve an interplay of intense focus and vagrancy. 'His wandering gaze momentarily meets the other man's as he goes past, then drops again to the handbag hanging from the woman's arm'.[25] Prizing open the clasp and taking the bills out of the woman's purse, he turns and follows the crowd after the end of the race. Michel exits through the racecourse turnstiles and begins walking only to be followed and arrested a moment later by plainclothes police. Michel goes to prison, and with no prospect of work upon his release, he teams up with other petty criminals to learn the sleight of hand of the pickpocket trade. He soon realizes the benefits of teamwork in shielding each member from being caught through an elaborate system of passing on wallets and purses to colleagues who disappear among the crowd. We see Michel at the train station, in the subway, on the Champs-Élysées with a mixture of indifference to his surroundings and yet an intense concentration in choosing his next victim. 'Expressive face of the actor on which the slightest crease, controlled by him and magnified by the lens, suggests the exaggerations of the *kabuki*', Bresson writes, referring to the Japanese theater style, in his book *Notes on Cinematography*.[26] In a scene at a train station ticket booth, we see a woman purchasing tickets. After paying for them, she places her purse under her arm while she waits for the tickets from the teller. Behind her stands Michel who slips the purse away and replaces it with newspapers folded to a similar size. In another scene, we see a man hailing a cab on the Champs-Élysées where Michel attempts to take the same cab, but allows the man to enter

and, as he steps away, reaches for the wallet from his jacket in a beautifully balanced arabesque. Bresson's direction for that scene read as follows:

> Pickpocket gets there first, opens door, puts one foot in car. Man puts his hand on his shoulder and pulls him back. Man's hand swings Pickpocket around; Pickpocket turns toward him as he does so, slips his hand into man's jacket-pocket. Pickpocket steps aside to let man get into cab, and as he does so, his left hand catches the wallet below the jacket.[27]

Bresson's film exquisitely portrays the act of loitering through the negation of attention through to intense concentration in close-ups, the combination of cinematography and dramaturgical timing amplifying each scene and location, expanding the limits of the cinematic frame. Writing for The Criterion Collection, Gary Indiana, in his essay 'Pickpocket: Robert Bresson: Hidden in Plain Sight', states that for all of Michel's skill, his 'crimes never rise above the level of common, small-time transgression'.[28] Michel's crimes are no more than that of a petty thief, and Bresson's close-ups capture Michel's facial expressions in innocent, angelic-like portraits. As Indiana notes, '[i]t isn't monstrous to steal. Often it is necessary, and its drastic punishment is more wicked than the crime'.[29]

Pickpocket is a film about hands working in unison: sensitivity, dexterity, and strength. In her chapter 'On Not Showing Dostoevskii's Work: Robert Bresson's *Pickpocket*', Olga Peters Hasty suggests that Michel suffers from his inability to connect with others and pickpocketing creates an inverse of attraction and repulsion to this condition. She describes Michel's pickpocketing 'as both a cause and a consequence of his extreme alienation and as a manifestation of an underlying need to connect with others. The quandary is that the very pickpocketing that brings Michel into close physical proximity with others also forces him to flee from them'.[30] Michel's temporary attraction and repulsion to his victims speak to the loiterer's fear. Bresson attends to this same fear in the viewing of *Pickpocket* but as if in a spell of attraction toward Michel, to understand why he does what he does, how unharmful it appears to be, and the expert choreography of his and his colleagues' covert movements. At the end of the film, we return to the scene of Michel writing into his notebook, but the scene this time reveals more details about where he is: sitting on a bed in a cell. The film has been composed as a flashback of Michel's misdemeanors as he relives, via his memoir, his pickpocketing successes. Michel's loitering tactics, composed of intense stares and blank gazes, serve to disarm his acts of theft, but they do not escape the act of criminalization. The aimless wandering of the homeless becomes entangled with the loiterer's propensity for crime, on top of their already perceived crime of societal failure – the fate that so inflicted the Medieval and Victorian vagrants, vagabonds, and rogues. The centuries-old victimization of the vagrant has been transferred to the draconian view that

says 'incriminate first, ask questions later', a view that influences the perception of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in many countries and cities around the world. As more women exercise their rights to loiter, the general perception of loitering as a threat may well fall into the spaces of imagination and dissolve the excessive paranoia that haunts public spaces. This dissolution of paranoia might also signal a more hopeful future in terms of how we perceive refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants, for the crime of their appearance is not theirs.

Unhomely as

In *Beggars of Life: A Hobo Autobiography*, published in 1924, Jim Tully gives a record of his vagrant life on the move from place to place; riding trains, begging for food and clothing, dossing wherever he can, and recounting the people he met along the way across America. Tully's first-hand account reveals the freedom, hardship, and oppression of a life on the move.

> Cords were tied about the bottoms of my trouser legs to keep the wind out. The wheels pounded over the steel rails in an endless rhythm, and the monotony of sound all but lulled me to sleep, in spite of the bumpy road, the flying train, and the volley of stones and sand. I crawled from underneath with aching muscles when the train stopped at R – – –. [31]

Tully writes proudly of his hobo life, his mobility, lending his hand to unloading cargo as payment for rides and riding black when there is no cargo to unload. Tully is not interested in exchanging his hobo life for the settled life of a home and regular work, even if they were to come his way. 'It was too early for breakfast, as the smoke was just rising from the cottages of the poor. I remember looking at the unpainted houses, the withered lawns, and the ugly streets, and feeling glad that I was a hobo on a long free trail'.[32] Tully lives his life on his own terms, but this comes at a cost. He is often met with rejection, discrimination, punishment, and banishment. Around a decade after Tully's memoir, George Orwell published his autobiographical work *Down and Out in Paris and London*. In the book, Orwell charts his early years living in poverty in Paris and London, working in restaurant kitchens, washing dishes, and living in cheap hotels. He has few friends and none with money. At the very end of the book, he complains about the lack of choice of shelters in London to doss for a night and the money charged in exchange for no more than a bench. 'A word about the sleeping accommodation open to a homeless person in London. At present it is impossible to get a BED in any non-charitable institution in London for less than sevenpence a night. If you cannot afford sevenpence for a bed, you must put up with one of the following substitutes', which he lists as 'The Embankment', 'The Twopenny Hangover', and 'The Coffin' where for fourpence 'you sleep in a wooden box'.[33] As with Tully, Orwell describes the realities

of the vagrant wherein the law objectifies the homeless, the church plays its serving role, and society fears the 'tramp-monster'.

> A tramp tramps, not because he likes it, but for the same reason as a car keeps to the left; because there happens to be a law compelling him to do so. A destitute man, if he is not supported by the parish, can only get relief at the casual wards, and as each casual ward will only admit him for one night, he is automatically kept moving. He is a vagrant because, in the state of the law, it is that or starve. But people have been brought up to believe in the tramp-monster, and so they prefer to think that there must be some more or less villainous motive for tramping.[34]

Society's fear of tramps, Orwell explains, is unfounded: 'very few tramps are dangerous, because if they were dangerous they would be treated accordingly'. Yet this does not stop the derogatory descriptions and incriminations 'that the tramp is an atavism, a throw-back to the nomadic stage of humanity'.[35] Unknown fears and threats are attached to the figures of the homeless, the tramp, the vagabond, and the loiterer, from which they cannot escape. The same characterizations are placed on refugees, asylum seekers,

Figure 4.1 Homeless person riding subway, New York City
Source: photo by author, 2015

and migrants who, displaced and traumatized by their experiences, also contend with discrimination on the basis of their race, skin color, religious beliefs, and customs. Fear toward the homeless or the refugee is maintained through the separation, as Tully points out, between 'us and them' – the discriminated tramp and the abiding citizens of civil society and the homed.

In his book *Exiled in America: Life on the Margins in a Residential Motel*, Christopher P. Dum asserts that the semi-homeless – such as those living in motels – have the stigma of the vagabond pressed upon them by society on account of their supposed failures. Dum focuses on a group of people housed by the social services at the Boardwalk Motel in Dutchland in upstate New York. Dum moved into the motel for a year in order to get to know the residents of the motel and record his experiences with them as part of his doctoral research. Dum refers to the motel as a form of institutionalized disappearance of the semi-homeless, hiding them away in this small-town motel. This process established a ghetto: '[T]he Boardwalk Motel was symbolic of the larger social issue of homelessness and the cyclical ways in which homelessness creates a new underclass while also exacerbating conditions among the existing underclass'.[36] Housing the homeless in run-down motels such as the Boardwalk was not just a case of finding them a place to live; it was also motivated by the desire to remove them from the street. This way of dealing with the homeless and people unable to afford regular accommodation by isolating them to the peripheral zones of transitory accommodation on the outskirts of town is socially unacceptable to Dum. 'It is a call for action', he says, 'and for a new way of looking at the many forms of marginalization, not just of homelessness but of class and social structure, wielded by powerful groups in attempts to "sanitize" their social space'.[37] Housed in one of the symbols of mobility, the highway motel, this contemporary situation of dealing with the semi-homeless has also been the subject of films including Alexandra Pelosi's TV film *The Motel Kids of Orange County* (2010) and Sean Baker's *The Florida Project* (2017). Both films take issue with America's hidden homeless, where dilapidated motels are seconded by government social housing agencies for cheap relocation housing for families and individuals in crisis. Cramped one-room units with very little services, wherein the motel manager becomes a substitute social worker, represent government agencies' preferred method of dealing with families and individuals on social welfare.

Institutional indifference, disappearance, and isolation toward the homeless are also the subject of Alice Goffman's book *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Goffman focuses on the lives of mostly young Black Americans living on the marginalized 6th Street in Philadelphia. As with Dum, Goffman gets to know the residents of 6th Street, where some are either on the brink of homelessness, on parole, or evading police having committed crimes such as drug dealing and robbery. Often raided by social security, family protection agents, and the police, many residents of 6th Street live in fear due to racial profiling, abuse, interrogation, and imprisonment. In her

preface, Goffman lists a number of astounding but seemingly all-too-familiar figures such as the ratio of Black prison inmates compared to that of the rest of the population. Goffman's research on Black America exposes the deep chasm dividing the nation, where Black Americans make up '13 percent of the US population' but young Black men 'account for 37 percent of the prison population'.[38] The history of slavery and social injustice committed over centuries by white America over the Black population has amounted to them becoming foreigners and alien to a society that rejects them in their country of their birth. 'It's not enough', Goffman writes, 'to run and hide when the police approach. A man intent on staying out of jail cannot call the police when harmed, or make use of the courts'. Of course, white people's subjugation of Black people is not isolated to America. Consider Australia's Aboriginal prison population, Brazil's native and West Papuan prison populations as well as many other countries with histories of racial subjugation.

In *Out of Place: Homeless Mobilizations, Subcities, and Contested Landscapes*, Talmadge Wright examines the seamless and unhindered passage of consumers through commercial and civic spaces. 'For privileged consumers, the social and physical quality of the spaces through which they move – the shopping mall, the city park, the freeway, the office and restaurant complexes – present little challenge to their established identities insofar as such spaces are rendered consistent with previously established notions of a privileged identity'.[39] Wright points to the spatial positions between the privileged and the underprivileged where subcities are formed and contrasted to the sub-classes in society. 'The refusal to be served, the sideways glance, the distance the privileged put between themselves and the homeless clearly communicate the informal meanings of such spaces and the worth of those homeless compelled to move through them'.[40] Wright explains that this refusal by the privileged to accept, let alone connect with, the homeless diminishes social empathy and transforms the public realm.

The German psychiatrist Ernst Jentsch (1867–1919) developed a theory of the uncanny, which he published over two editions of the *Psychiatric Neurological Weekly* (*Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift*) in 1906. The theory would have a profound effect on the psychology of home.[41] Not yet conceived of in the psychoanalyst's field of enquiry, Jentsch's concept of the uncanny would later influence Sigmund Freud's exploration of the feeling of unhomely (*unheimliche*). Jentsch's theory of the uncanny – an uncertainty of feeling toward 'something one does not know one's way about in', a feeling that is strangely familiar yet not known – entered into Freud's unhomely concept of the 'strangely familiar sense or feeling towards the idea of home through the feeling of unhomely'.[42] 'The subject of the "uncanny" is a province of this kind', he writes. 'It is undoubtedly related to what is frightening – to what arouses dread and horror; equally certainly, too, the word is not always used in a clearly definable sense, so that it tends to coincide with what excites fear in general'.[43] As the uncanny infers dread in response to what appears familiar, invoking distress, unhomely infers a

sense of rejection invoking a strange and discordant spatial relationship. In his essay 'The Uncanny' ('Das Unheimliche') published in 1919, Freud describes his experience of the strange and familiar feeling by his attempts to avoid the 'painted women' in a 'small Italian town'.

> As I was walking, one hot summer afternoon, through the deserted streets of a provincial town in Italy which was unknown to me, I found myself in a quarter of whose character I could not long remain in doubt. Nothing but painted women were to be seen at the windows of the small houses, and I hastened to leave the narrow street at the next turning. But after having wandered about for a time without enquiring my way, I suddenly found myself back in the same street, where my presence was now beginning to excite attention. I hurried away once more, only to arrive by another *detour* at the same place yet a third time. Now, however, a felling overcame me which I can only describe as uncanny, and I was glad enough to find myself back at the piazza I had left a short while before, without any further voyages of discovery.[44]

Freud's experiencing of his own uncanny return to painted women, 'which has become alienated from it only though the process of repression', speaks to the unhomely hauntedness of 'something that has remained hidden but has come to light'.[45] Framed by this repression and haunted by the sense for what 'may be true', Freud notes 'that the uncanny [*unheimlich*] is something which may be familiar [*heimlich-heimisch*], which has undergone repression and then returned from it, and that everything that is uncanny fulfills this condition'.[46]

   To take the unhomely beyond the strange and familiar connections of the home is to rethink the conception of home to the spatial occupations by the homeless and refugees in the city. Through no other choice, homelessness transgresses the conditions that frame the idea of home, just as the refugees and asylum seekers transgress the borders of expulsion. Referring to the Roma people, Barbara Bender in her introduction to *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place* claims that home is mobility: 'Whether on the move or within this alien space, home and the centre of the world is the caravan'.[47] Europe's ten million Roma reside in semi-permanent peripheral settlements across regions, towns, and cities in Eastern and Central Europe; their vagrancy is met by a constant state of spatial contention, discrimination, and expulsion by countries, societies, and communities. 'There is also a tendency to create an opposition between a rooted sense of belonging and the alienating forces of modernity', Bender explains. 'Often it may be so, but sometimes, just as settled landscape can be both familiar *and* unfamiliar it may also be both rooted and undergoing rapid change'.[48] Belonging for Europe's Roma population, as Bender suggests, rests where the caravan is parked, and that is mostly in places of least resistance. Cast out from society and from one country to the next, the Roma live in perpetual mobility in

the face of discrimination and the reinforcement of their criminal reputation that has plagued them for centuries. The culture of mobility and roaming – whether it be the Roma, the Victorian vagabond, the homeless, or the migrations of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants – expresses the victimization encountered by people in mobility. Where the histories of human migration once guided by geographical characteristics linked to the cosmos and mythic narratives of the world's creation, the present unfolding of mass global human mobility no longer shares this imagination. As the world's indigenous peoples, nomadic hunters, gatherers, and herders lived with acute and detailed knowledge of geography formed over tens of thousands of years, within 100 years we are now living with an acute destruction of geography, forcibly creating a new migratory world in exodus.[49]

Reimagining the city calls for the creation of new narratives about how the city can evolve, becoming more nomadic rather than the set piece map that dominates the urban built environment. 'Like a nomadic grazer, the exploratory mapper detours around the obvious so as to engage what remains hidden', James Corner remarks in *The Agency of Mapping*.[50] As the movements of commodities are mapped in real-time across oceans and lands and as the hidden communications of circulating satellites transform us into cosmic drifters that propel the world in nanoseconds of beaming images, the attempts of refugees and asylum seekers to access the world are halted and reset to the static confines of the camp and detention center. Opening the city and more broadly the world to the movement of people would start the next phase of human migratory evolution. As Corner notes, '[m]aps present only one version of the earth's surface, an eidetic fiction constructed from factual observation'.[51] Global human mobility, it could be argued, presents a new factual reality that will require a redrawing of the present world's map of division systematized through borders and realized through flagrant inequality. In *Creating Regenerative Cities*, Herbert Girardet writes '[w]e must face up to the fact that cities are *dependent systems* whose reliance on external inputs for their sustenance is likely to become ever more precarious'.[52] To develop this new city in transgression, mobility is at the heart of the transformation and transgression of the present, systematized world of border protections and restrictions on movement.

As the homed retreat to their homes, the homeless recreate the city in their image. The spaces of refuge are not where refugees reside in camps; refuge is beyond the camp in the spaces of self-determination. The more the homeless engage the spaces of the city, the more the city is transformed and new spatial opportunities are opened up. The more the refugee and asylum seeker engage outside of the camp and detention center, the more the fences that seek to contain them weaken. As the homed withdraw to the safety of their homes and security of their capital, the greater the possibility that the city becomes unhomely toward them. 'We return home', Bender suggests, 'but not to the same place'. Vagrancy in the city becomes the unhomely, yet it is the homed who remain haunted. Transforming strange environments

of the city to a familiar accompaniment in the city, the homeless suggest a freedom for the homed to adopt.

Investigating the legalities of space and its use, Sarah Keenan in *Subversive Property: Law and the Production of Spaces of Belonging* suggests that the 'practical connection to place is jeopardised by law's imposition of its own conception of who belongs where'.[53] Those 'who are homeless', she tells us, 'are made "criminals" when they attempt to live in public space; the Bedouin are made "uncivilised nomads" when they attempt to continue living in the Negev as they have done for generations'.[54] Encroaching on their freedom to roam, the Bedouin of the Negev desert have become unhomely by outside forces. Keenan points out that mobility creates a perceived threat to the normality of space and spatial behavior: 'mobility is often conceptually associated with resistance and transgression, the assumption being that the crossing of boundaries threatens normality'.[55] The Bedouin have been subjected to stasis over their rightful jurisdiction to roam over the ancestral terrains of their people. The example of the Bedouin of the Negev forced into an unhomely existence speaks to when oppression from an outside force repudiates a people's claim over ground by subjugating and dismissing their nomadic life. In this case, the State of Israel's non-recognition of the traditional owners of the land. Non-recognition of nomadic existence is further exemplified by the English explorer Capitan Cook and his claims on Australia as *Terra nullius*. With no signs of permanent occupation – that is, building that would grant some recognition, negotiation, and co-existence with the indigenous peoples – Cook saw a vacated land that would translate into genocide and enslavement by the colonial invaders. When laws governing human rights and jurisprudence are turned against people, dispossession and expulsion become the new law of the land. When indigenous peoples are subjected to the dispossession of their lands, their belonging remains in spite of the forced unhomeliness they endure. Colonial invaders and the generations that have followed became unwitting members of the unhomely, for the land on which they reside, even when the exchange of money and deeds to property has been made, can only be strangely familiar. A similar tactic is presently being used against the global movement of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. The nomadic currency of the Bedouin is not that of space that can be demarcated on a map but rather the characteristics of geography where their herds graze and where water is found. Metaphorically, migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are pursuing the same freedom of movement and interpretation of the world's geography to reside and prosper. When one's belonging to a country, land, city, and place is taken away and laws concerning civil society do not govern the laws of the land and when psychosis of fear haunts the familiar, then there remains oppression, victimization, and persecution.

Manifested as a state of mind and the sensation of fear to the strange yet familiar place of the home, the unhomely is not a mental accompaniment to the homeless, refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant. It is not home that haunts

Figure 4.2 Homeless sites, compilation image: Paris, Berlin, Madrid, London,
New York, Mexico City, Merida, Sydney, Melbourne

Source: photos by author, 2000–2019

them but the circumstances of fleeing from their home. Their state of mind is the physical state of mobility to pass through hardship and seek refuge and security. The 'no man's land' sites of the camp and the non-spaces of their city occupations haunt their mobility, not their mind. For the refugee in the camp, time is no longer a pause in their mobility but the sentence of permanent stasis. The ongoing extension of refugees' lives without settlement and the homeless vagabond roaming from place to place has become an acceptable script from the city to the world. Without status, without nation, without protection, the homeless who doss on a cardboard box or in a tent on the street or the refugee housed in UNHCR tents laid out in perfectly pitched lines that stretch to inconceivable distances, the unhomely of the strange and familiar is now a global condition of humans living in fear and threat of other humans. Mobility does not manifest the strangely familiar, for it carries with it the determinacy of movement and the freedom to choose spaces for habitation without special attention to the identity or the place of others.

Conclusion

The homeless become visible by how they live the city differently. This difference is often viewed as personal tragedy, failure, and a problem for society. Similarly, refugees' misfortune at having been through war, religious, cultural, and sexual persecution, as well as being the victims of climate change, drought, water scarcity, and famine become visible by their forced mobility and subjected to victimization of what is invariably viewed as 'their' failure. The presence of dome shaped tents, lines hanging between lampposts holding up sheets of plastic as an awning for protection from sun and rain, are some of the visible signs of their difference from the suburban home and apartment block. Less visible signs – such as discarded mattresses tucked away behind electricity sub-boxes or under bridges and carboard boxes neatly stacked on the pavement during the day, which when night falls are unfolded to form a covering of floor, walls, and a roof – are there for all to see (at least those who are open to seeing). The rubbish collector who begins work in the early morning knows not to remove these items, for they have come to know the homeless of their city. Along the River Tiber, in proximity to the Tivoli Fountain and the Colosseum in Rome and above in the park covering Nero's Golden House (*Domus Aurea*), tourists do not see the signs of the homeless and the illegal migrants' rudimentary dwellings beyond the spectacle of the ruins. In Paris, Madrid, and New York, the homeless are visible, but any sign of their homelessness is kept hidden from the authorities who will remove any belongings if found. In the routine raids carried by the French Police (*Gendarmerie nationale*) on illegal migrants' camp sites in the fringes of Calais and Dunkirk that result in the confiscation of tents, sleeping bags, and blankets, refugees return to set up the tents they managed to keep until the next raid the next morning repeats the cycle.

To remove unwanted signs of societal failure, the authorities see their task as cleaning up and ridding the city of the homeless, refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers and flout their obligations in respect of the international protection of human rights.

The invisible presence of the homeless in cities such as Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai become visible when spaces of occupation are censored by authorities. This happens in indented spaces and the entrances to buildings, flower beds, benches, and medium strips, which are spiked with metal and concrete barriers that prohibit sitting or sleeping. In one-party autocracies such as China, Vietnam, and North Korea, homeless and rural displaced migrants in cities such as Beijing, Saigon, and Pyongyang are routinely expelled from the streets, detained, and imprisoned. In vastly unequal societies such as Mumbai, Kolkata, New Delhi, Mexico City, Lagos, Rio de Janeiro, Los Angeles, New York, London, and Sydney, signs of homelessness are an inescapable part of daily life. Having visited many of these cities, one can clearly discern the homeless in how they reveal urban environments through their occupation. In backing up my experiences and recording their presence, I have to rely on my social conscience, the situation at hand, and at times the danger involved. Mostly, I avoid photographing people and instead concentrate on the traces or remnants of their presence.

Notes

1 *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Third Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 2447.
2 Tim Cook (ed.), *Vagrancy: Some New Perspectives* (London: Academic Press, 1979), p. vii.
3 The 1824 English Vagrancy Act was not upgraded until the 1935 Vagrancy Act, which reviewed vagrancy not as criminal but as a lack of responsibility on behalf of the vagrant to find homeless shelter accommodation. Thus, a vagrant could be criminalized only when he/she 'failed to apply for or had been refused accommodation' or 'appears likely to cause damage to property, infection with vermin or other offensive consequence'. In short, the vagrant was responsible for improving and removing themselves from their state of vagrancy. Ibid, p. 99.
4 See Leonard Leigh's chapter 'Vagrancy and the Criminal Law', in *Vagrancy: Some New Perspectives*, ed. Tim Cook (London: Academic Press, 1979), p. 95.
5 Beaumont makes the link between vagrancy and vagueness: 'For "vagueness" is etymologically linked to vagrancy'. Furthermore, he says that '[n]ightwalkers, according to this etymology, are those who wander purposelessly, illegitimately, at night. Their peregrinations are not migrant but vagrant'. Where the migrant has due purpose, following Beaumont's distinction, it would appear that the vagrant is devoid of purpose except for her/his presence. Mathew Beaumont, *Nightwalking: A Nocturnal History of London, from Chaucer to Dickens* (London: Verso, 2015), p. 6.
6 'The vagabond's oscillation' can be understood as the vagabond's flexibility for un-sited-ness, a moving target and hit-and-run outfit haranguing King and tyrants alike. Nail tells us that the vagabond's oscillation 'is first attested to in the peasant defections, evictions, and roaming bands of fighters in the fifth through twelfth centuries. Feudal society is often incorrectly depicted as static (contracts

tie everyone to the land), but during this period the mobility and rebellion of vagabond peasants were constant. Peasants were always running away from work or military service'. Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 147–48.

7 Ibid, p. 152.

8 The idea of the vagabond as heretic draws on the revolutionary meaning of the word rather than its relation to the religious usurper. 'Heretical ideology thus expresses these transformations', Nail informs us. 'Many heretical sects taught that since Christ had no property, the church and the people should relinquish theirs'. This would seem petulant yet right amid a world becoming more and more unequal and one whose ideology rests on capital, property, and the plundering of resources from vulnerable countries. Ibid, p. 154.

9 Tim Creswell and Peter Merriman (eds.), *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 251.

10 Bertolt Brecht, *Mother Courage and Her Children*, trans. Eric Bentley (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1966), p. 25.

11 In the notes on the play, Brecht gives an idea of how he sees the play as much as the audience to view the play, writing: 'So long as the masses are the object of politics they cannot regard what happens to them as an experiment but only as a fate. They learn little from catastrophe as a scientist's rabbit learns form biology. It is not incumbent on the playwright to give Mother Courage insight at the end – she sees something, around the middle of the play, at the close of the sixth scene, then loses again what she has seen – his concern is that the spectator should see'. Ibid, p. 111, scene twelve and p. 120.

12 Mother Courage's relation to her wagon is not only based on the money it provides, for money comes and goes; rather, it is based on what Jameson describes as 'the prudent husbandry of her little capital' that the wagon represents and which is far harder to replace. Jameson points out that Brecht's Marxist method entails defining the differences between money and capitalism, which he also applies to his other plays including: *The Good Person of Szechuan*, another business woman; *St. Joan of the Stockyards*, the liberator of capital oppression; and *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, the fable of greed and revolt between peasants and ruling classes. The tragedy of Mother Courage is her tie to capitalism, her wagon, that which in the end is all she has left. Fredric Jameson, *Brecht and Method* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 91.

13 Erving Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places* (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 215.

14 Byung-Chul Han, *The Scent of Time: A Philosophical Essay on the Art of Lingering*, trans. Daniel Steuer (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017), p. 161.

15 Heidegger suggests that lingering does not betray attention but simply places it into another realm. 'Curiosity, however, does not make present what is objectively present in order to *understand* it by lingering with it, but it seeks to see *only* in order to see and have seen'. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (New York: State University of New York Press, 2010), pp. 341, 347.

16 Shilpa Phadke, Shilpa Ranade, and Sameera Khan, 'Why Loiter? Radical Possibilities for Gendered Dissent', in *Dissent and Cultural Resistance in Asia's Cities*, eds. Melissa Butcher and Selvaraj Velayutham (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), p. 186.

17 Ibid, p. 185.

18 Ibid, p. 186.

19 Besides the patriarchal oppression, class, and education, to name a few outstanding problems holding back women in public spaces, the undermining of public hierarchies remains omnipotent to the development of Indian women in public: 'So long as women's presence in public space continues to be framed within the binary of public/private and within the complexly layered hierarchies of class',

Phadke, Ranade, and Khan claim, 'community and gender, an unconditional right to public space, will remain a fantasy'. Ibid, p. 186.

20 Ibid, p. 188.
21 The self-gratifying pleasure of loitering that Phadke, Ranade, and Khan advocate is not the type of loitering that happens in the safe confines of, for example, the shopping mall. 'Pleasure which is not linked to consumption has the power to challenge the unspoken notion that only those who can afford it are entitled to pleasure, thus ensuring that marginal citizens are kept in their place'. Ibid, p. 192.
22 Phadke, Ranade, and Khan take issue with the subjugation of women in public space, declaring that loitering 'is an embodied practice that seeks to transform the everyday acts of walking and looking in the city from acts that are means to an end to acts that are meaningful in themselves'. 'Women have often sought to access the pleasures of public city spaces by slipping into the city, merging with the crowd and not drawing attention to themselves'. Ibid, p. 195.
23 Ibid, p. 198.
24 Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*: *Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (London: Virago Press, 1992), p. 16.
25 Robert Bresson, *Three Screenplays*, Vol. II, trans. Leon Burch (New York: Urizen Books, Inc., 1981), p. 5.
26 Robert Bresson, *Notes on Cinematography*, trans. Jonathan Griffin (New York: Urizen Books, 1950–58), p. 9.
27 Ibid, p. 52.
28 See Gary Indiana's essay 'Pickpocket: Robert Bresson: Hidden in Plain Sight', On Film / Essays, 15 July 2014, The Criterion Collection: www.criterion.com/current/posts/400-pickpocket-robert-bresson-hidden-in-plain-sight.
29 Ibid.
30 Olga Peters Hasty, 'On Not Showing Dostoevskii's Work: Robert Bresson's *Pickpocket*', in *Border Crossing*, eds. Alexander Burry and Frederick H. White (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), p. 76.
31 Jim Tully, *Beggars of Life: A Hobo Autobiography* (Edinburgh: AK Press, Nabat, 2004 [1934]), p. 153.
32 Ibid.
33 George Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (London: Harcourt Inc., 1961 [1933]), pp. 208–9.
34 In Orwell's observation that a tramp tramps 'because there happens to be a law compelling him to do so', he further highlights where he has read that the tramp is an anthropological throwback to the primitive nomad: 'I have even read in a book of criminology that the tramp is an atavism, a throw-back to the nomadic stage of humanity. And meanwhile the quite obvious cause of vagrancy is staring one in the face. Of course a tramp is not a nomadic atavism – one might as well say that a commercial traveller is an atavism'. Ibid, p. 201.
35 Ibid, p. 202.
36 Ibid, pp. 10–11.
37 Christopher P. Dum, *Exiled in America: Life on the Margins in a Residential Motel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), p. vx.
38 Further to Goffman's statistics, the Black prison population, one can assume, is also fueled by the fact that 'approximately 60 percent of those who did not finish high school will go to prison by their midthirties'. She also notes that such trends are also part of histories associated with autocratic societies. Citing Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*, she continues: 'In modern history, only the forced labor camps of the former USSR under Stalin approached these levels of penal confinement'. Alice Goffman, *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), p. xi.
39 Talmadge Wright, *Out of Place: Homeless Mobilizations, Subcities, and Contested Landscapes* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), p. 5.

40 Ibid.
41 Ernst Jentsch's essay 'Zur Psychologie des Unheimlichen' was first published in *Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift* over two editions: 25 Aug. 1906, Vol. 8, No. 22, pp. 195–98 and 1 Sept. 1906, Vol. 8, No. 23, pp. 203–5.
42 See also Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).
43 See Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 17 (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), p. 219.
44 Ibid, p. 237.
45 Freud makes mention of the German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), who defined *unheimlich* as 'the name for everything that ought to have remained . . . secret and hidden but has come to light'. Ibid, pp. 224, 241.
46 Ibid, p. 245.
47 See Barbara Bender's introduction to Barbara Bender and Margot Winer (eds.), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 24.
48 Ibid, p. 10.
49 Western anthropology defines hunter/gatherers as distinct from pastoral nomadic peoples who are defined as herdsman cultivating livestock and peripatetic nomadic people who trade along nomadic routes and settlements. Ground moves as much as they dwell, indwell, and move over it. Theirs is a nomadic dwelling of habitat in continuous movement.
50 To further highlight Corner's concept of both map and mapper, he informs us: 'Mapping is neither secondary nor representational but doubly operative: digging, finding and exposing on the one hand, and relating, connecting and structuring on the other'. James Corner, 'The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention', in *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), pp. 213–52, 225.
51 Ibid, p. 215.
52 Herbert Girardet, *Regenerative Cities* (Hamburg: World Future Council and Hafen City University, 2010), p. 6.
53 Sarah Keenan, *Subversive Property: Law and the Production of Spaces of Belonging* (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), p. 31.
54 Regarding the Bedouin dispelled from the Negev Desert, Keenan writes: 'Negev is conceived as an empty space yet to be cultivated and the Bedouin as a defeated, nomadic culture with no "real" or productive connection to the land. The result is a conceptual, social and physical space in which nomadic cultures do not belong'. Ibid, pp. 28, 30.
55 Ibid, p. 32.

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5   Collective anarchy

Off the wall

> *How is it that the least fortunate with the least amount of resources are perhaps the most inspired spatial innovators?*

Across the world, social and economic inequality, persecution on the basis of religion, gender, race, and culture, and restrictions on freedom of speech are increasingly becoming contentious human rights issues. Authoritative controls by the political establishment tied to enriching corporations, corruption and subordination through injustice, oppression, and imprisonment of dissident opposition and climate change denial are some of the issues that prompt individuals and groups to take to the streets in opposition, civil disobedience, and dissent. In struggling against state power, protesters have placed their bodies at risk alongside voices and signs to speak up for social justice and to seek economic, political, and environmental change.

The histories of human revolts opposing the tyranny of oppressive rulers and empires have been met with violent subordination. The slave revolts of the Servile Wars 135–132 BC 104–100 BC, 73–71 BC during the Roman Republic; Egyptian Nubian revolts against Ptolemy IV 205–186 BC; multiple Chinese rebellions against the Han, Sui, and Tang dynasties 154 BC – AD 184; European peasant revolts over millennia in Bavaria, Saxony, England, the Netherlands, and Switzerland; the Tây Sơn rebellion of 1769–88 in Vietnam; colonial rebellions such as the American Revolution; the nine Xhosa Wars 1779–1879 in South Africa; the Mau Mau uprising in 1952–60 in Kenya; Vietnamese independence from French rule in the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954; the 1789 French Revolution; the 1917 Russian Revolution; and the multiple wars of independence such as Dutch Indonesia, Angola, Guinea, and political movements such as Indian independence from British colonial rule in 1947 and across the rest of the African continent that saw the birth of independent countries from French, British, Italian, Spanish, Belgian, and German colonial rule. These are some of a very long list of revolts in human history. The histories of protest and rebellions have shaped human history as much as empires and the histories of colonialism have

oppressed the other peoples and reshaped their societies and cultures in their own image. Insurrections against foreign colonial and tyrannical monarchical regimes began with recouping self-determination and the fight for political independence. Many movements failed; many others were successful. Often a new tyrannical regime replaced the foreign colonial regime, and a new fight for freedoms for political democracy and free speech would arise. We see this today in events such as the 2010 Arab Spring in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria where repression and war quell democratic freedoms. Then there are the fights for justice, the environment, and against corruption such as the 2011 Occupy Wall Street, 2018 Extinction Rebellion, 2018 Fridays for Future, and 2019 Hong Kong protests to bring about change. Anarchy and disruption have been at the foundation for instigating this change. And anarchy and disruption are at the forefront of global human mobility.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, anarchy is 'a state of disorder due to absence or non-recognition of authority or other controlling systems. Absence of government and absolute freedom of the individual, regarded as a political ideal'.[1] The origins of anarchy can be traced to the ancient Greek language (ἀναρχία) meaning without authority. The symbol of a circle with an A in the middle Ⓐ has become synonymous with anarchy. In the 1970s, punk bands such as The Clash and the Sex Pistols brought anarchy into the mainstream culture, with the latter's single *Anarchy in the UK* famously containing the lines: 'I am an anti-Christ, I am an anarchist, I don't know what I want, But I know how to get it, I want to destroy the passerby Cause I want to be anarchy, No dogs body'. They brought to the streets of Western cities punk clothing and culture, inspiring a whole generation to don their Doc Martins, safety pins, piercings, and mohawks. The Sex Pistols made the idea of revolution fashionable, if no longer revolutionary. The 1789 French Revolution temporarily ended monarchical rule and the aristocratic classes mostly by beheading them. The French Republic that replaced it soon became embroiled in paranoia, corruption, and despotic leadership. Monarchy returned with the Napoleonic Era, and the last remnants of that era ended with the abdication of King Louis Phillippe I following the 1848 French Revolution and the beginning of the Second Republic. While anarchical in formulation, this republic was erased with the killing and imprisonment of the usurpers and replaced by Napoleon III who ruled from 1853–70. Following the capture of Napoleon III at the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, the short-lived Paris Commune (March 18 to May 28, 1871) was born and came the closest to the idea of anarchy in the absence of a working government. Known as the Communards, this anarchist movement, based on a system of collective communes throughout the country, failed to establish a working model or military guard for their revolution and, as a result, were crushed by the Versailles government with more than 20,000 people killed. One of three essays by the Russian anarchist, philosopher, and scientist Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin (1842–1921),

who coined the term 'anarcho-communism', begins: 'On March 18, 1871, the people of Paris rose against a despised and detested government, and proclaimed the city independent, free, belonging to itself'.[2] The Communards' system of self-governing societies did not have the necessary means to translate such a system to work at a national level. Kropotkin, along with Paul Reclus (1858–1941) and Mikhail Bakunin (1814–76), viewed as the founders of modern anarchist doctrine, regarded anarchy as a way to reform societies oppressed either by democracies governed by capital or despotic self-serving autocrats. Yet, the concept as much as the application of anarchy has mostly become an elusive dream in the face of the overriding power of capital. Kropotkin noted that in the Paris Commune, the people proclaimed 'an essentially anarchist principle' yet it was a failure by design. 'There is no more reason for a government to be inside a commune than for a government to be above the commune'.[3] The failure of anarchy that Reclus, Kropotkin, and Bakunin ascribed to the Paris Commune was a result of its nascent conception and displacement in practice. Yet, there have been highly successful attempts in creating self-organizing communities such as the occupation of unused buildings. The abandoned, unfinished office tower named the Tower of David in the Venezuelan capital Caracas is an example of how anarchy succeeds as a self-organizing force where hundreds of families unable to find affordable housing in the city have converted the tower's 45 floors into living spaces without any authorization from above.

Slave and peasant revolts and uprisings such as the 1789 French Revolution led by Sieyès, Robespierre, and Lafayette and the 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky, replaced monarchical rule with republicanism and communism. As such, they are not anarchical, for one system is merely replaced by another. Contemporary forms of anarchy illustrating social and political commentary – such as graffiti art, which has become one of the most visible signs of defiance – is also by definition not anarchy though it may be anarchic. Sex in public toilets and parks is anarchic as much as it is naturalized, by being taken out of the security of the bedroom and into public realm. Likewise, public protests that place bodies in opposition to authorities in physical acts of defiance are not anarchy but anarchical, for they are self-organizing, utilizing social media platforms. The occupation of urban spaces by refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless is neither a political nor a social demonstration against authority. Yet, such acts come closer to the definition of anarchy for they supplant non-aligned, non-centralized, non-identifiable, and non-capital-aligned self-organizing under constant threat from government enforcers and intervention. The homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants can be seen as the new frontier explorers of the city through their adoption and adaptation of urban spaces. This associates them with the ideology of anarchy, for their existence – however fragile and under constant regulation and rejection – lies outside the ruling establishment.

In his article 'Anarchism and Geography: A Brief Genealogy of Anarchist Geographies', Simon Springer catalogues where forms of anarchism have

prevailed. His catalogue includes the Arab Spring, the Occupy Wall Street movement, tree sitting, rooftop occupation, and squatting, among others. All these movements, he insists, have spatial implications and 'stand to benefit from analyses that employ an explicitly anarcho-geographical perspective'.

> [S]tate theory and sovereignty; capital accumulation, land rights, and property relations; gentrification, homelessness, and housing; environmental justice and sustainability; industrial restructuring and labor geographies; policing, fear of crime, and critical legal geographies; agrarian transformation and landlessness; urban design and aesthetics; critical geopolitics and anti-geopolitics; more-than-human geographies and non-representational theory; activism and social justice; geographies of debt and economic crisis; community, belonging and the politics of place; geographies of war and peace; community planning and participation; informal economy, livelihoods, and vulnerability; cultural imperialism and identity politics; biopolitics and governmentality; postcolonial and post development geographies; situated knowledges and alternative epistemologies; and the manifold implications of society-space relations.[4]

It would be too much of a stretch to address or relate Springer's listings to the spatial occupations undertaken by the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. The spatial implications of adapting urban infrastructure for informal occupation, in contrast to the dominant status quo of capital and property ownership, nevertheless sets them apart from and outside of the spatial control that society enforces.

In *Against Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, John Asimakopoulos questions the dominance of capital over the rights of individuals for the betterment of society.

> In the twentieth century, states did not even come close to solving the problems of capital or inequality, although many tried. To sharpen this point, we observe that today racism flourishes and flares up everywhere in response to immigrants, refugees, and uprisings of black and brown people around the world.[5]

Containing an extended critique of Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the 21st Century*, Asimakopoulos focuses on the power that corporations exert over the free capitalist market, ultimately with the support of governments, that leads to social disparity and economic inequality. 'In short, *capital* is a governing power, a purchasing power, a power that governs both the governed and the governors themselves'.[6] Where capital moves freely and indiscriminately throughout the world, human mobility, Asimakopoulos suggests, becomes more restricted. 'There is no political will among power holders to reassert sovereignty over the new post-Fordist economy of finance capital. While many states in the post-9/11 era are attempting to limit the movement of

people, including immigrants and refugees, capital has eliminated any reregulation of its own movement'.[7]

   In *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, Robert Nozick summarizes the violation of rights within society between those who govern and those who seek to establish their own as the prime dislocation between the individual and the state. 'When a group of persons constitute themselves as the state and begin to punish, *and forbid others from doing likewise*, is there some right these others would violate that they themselves do not?'[8] The binary of enforced controls for the submission of rights by one group over another is adversely displayed in how the homeless, refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers are persecuted by nation states and right-wing groups in the name of protectionism, not just in economic terms but also from racial and cultural difference. 'By what right, then, can the state and its officials', Nozick asks, 'claim a unique right (a privilege) with regard to force and enforce this monopoly?' Self-proclaimed committed anarchist Colin Ward designates anarchists as 'people who make a social and political philosophy out of the natural and spontaneous tendency of humans to associate together for their mutual benefit'. Ward explains: '[a]narchism is in fact the name given to the idea that it is possible and desirable for society to organise itself without government'.[9] In his book *Anarchy in Action*, he points out that 'town planning had its origins in the sanitary reform and public health movements of the

Figure 5.1 Asylum seekers camp, Oranienplatz, Kreuzberg, Berlin
Source: photo by author, 2014

nineteenth century, overlaid by architectural notions about civic design, economic notions about the location of industry, and above all by engineering notions about highway planning'.[10] The origins of town planning grew out of the provision of civil services in tandem with economic growth:

> [I]n a society where urban land and its development are in the hands of speculative entrepreneurs and where the powers of urban initiative are in the hands of local and national government, it was inevitable that the processes of change and innovation should be controlled by bureaucracies and speculators or by an alliance between the two.[11]

Ward suggests that societies may be better off being released from these constrictions placed on urban planning tied to capital investment and profit from private entrepreneurs. 'Planning, the essential grid of an ordered society which, it is said, makes anarchy "an impossible dream", turns out to be yet another way in which the rich and powerful oppress and harass the weak and poor'. 'The disillusionment with planning as a plausible activity has led to quite serious suggestions that we would be better off without it'.[12]

The unhomed migrants', asylum seekers', and refugees' disregard for controls on space benefit from the existing urban plan without the exchange of
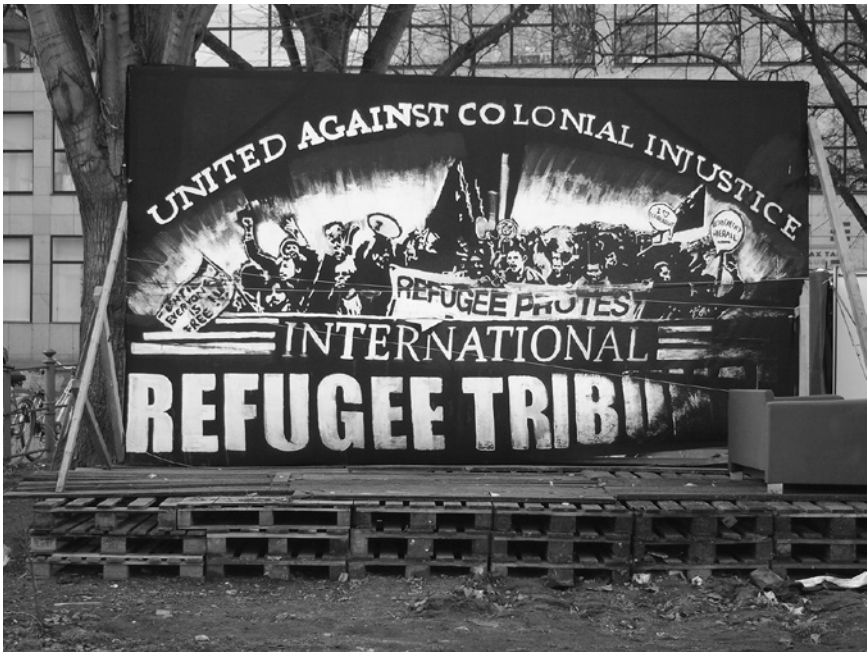
Figure 5.2 Banner, asylum seekers camp, Oranienplatz, Kreuzberg, Berlin
Source: photo by author, 2014

capital. Their adoption and adaptation of urban spaces for their use without approval constitute a connection with anarchy outside the laws of urban enforcement. 'Any standard definition of the concepts of law, crime, and law-enforcement will indicate that they are incompatible with the idea of anarchy'.[13] Ward notes that 'the enormous movement of population into the big cities' in Asian, African, and Latin American cities in the 1970s and 1980s 'has resulted in the growth of huge peripheral squatter settlements around the existing cities, inhabited by the "invisible" people who have no official urban existence'.[14] Cities such as Lagos in Nigeria, São Paolo in Brazil, Mexico City, and La Paz in Bolivia are examples where, in the absence of urban planning and consent, urban proliferation is given over to the poor to structure their living spaces. Yet, it is not just in the cities of poor and developing countries where peripheral living and urban sprawl can be found. It is also present in rich countries and cities such as Tokyo, Los Angeles, London, Paris, Atlanta, and Melbourne suburbia. The break-neck speed of the last 100 or so years in constructing tens of thousands of identikit homes and high-rise apartment blocks to house millions of the new middle-class, white-collar workers and working-class factory laborers that spread across American, European, and Australian cities is nowhere more visible than in the relatively new commercialized centers in China and India. Yet, this speed of growth also speaks to an anxious future of invisible communities caught in a jungle of concrete and glass, manicured lawns and driveways.

Political systems such as socialism and communism may have started out with anarchist ideals, but when leadership fails to form shared governance, corruption and paranoia sweep in and governance moves to authorized dictatorships from the single ruling party. In his short essay titled 'Arranging Our Own Lives', from his book *The Slavery of Our Times*, Leo Tolstoy asked: 'Why think that non-official people could not arrange their life for themselves, as well as Government people can arrange it not for themselves but for others?'[15] Tolstoy talks of 'landed property' and the 'violence' that protects it, 'workmen who have been defrauded' in factories 'to things produced by labour' for profit to the 'Cossacks of the Oural – who have lived with acknowledging private property in land'. Tolstoy probably would not have described himself as an anarchist, but perhaps as an equalist and denigrator of capital. Tolstoy is convinced that the system of government is a license to carry out violence on the people for control. 'It is said, "How can people live without Governments, i.e. without violence?"', he asks. 'But it should, on the contrary, be asked, "How can rational people live, acknowledging the vital bond of their social life to be violence, and not reasonable agreement?"'.[16]

Anarchy has long been devalued and opposed mostly through misrepresentation and mischaracterization. Anarchy in the very least denotes the reassignment of the existing structures of governance to an indeterminant and self-organizing system. Attempts to formulate societies of self-governance,

as we saw in the example of the French Communards, did not find a way to co-achieve non-hierarchical systems. In *New Science*, Vico pointed to the same problem where anarchy and equality – initially seemingly inseparable – become separated.

> At first, people desire to throw off oppression and seek equality: witness the plebeians living in aristocracies, which eventually become democracies. Next, they strive to surpass their peers: witness the plebeians in democracies which are corrupted and become oligarchies. Finally, they seek to place themselves above the laws: witness the anarchy of uncontrolled democracies. These are in fact the worst form of tyranny, since there are as many tyrants as there are bold and dissolute persons in the cities.[17]

In the midst of his vast historical project – beginning with the Homeric world to the laws of the forest, the origins of the universe, the genealogy of the gods, the creation and jurisprudence of institutions, the course of nations and morality of humankind – Vico is certainly not a believer in the anarchical message, but his distrust of democratic institutions that allow inequality is evident. In *People Without Government*, Harold Barclay looks at the historical pathways of anarchy from nomadic peoples to nation states. The rise of the nation state curtailed anarchical formations of collective living to the ideals and conformities of the ruling authorities, whether monarchic or democratic. Nomadic peoples, on the other hand, are not defined through role classifications or by the domain of bounded territories. Instead, they are formulated with geographical characteristics and role substitution that benefits the survival of the wider clan. The nomadic group is not a collective of anarchists; instead, it is anarchical collectivism by practice. This stands opposed to the dominant roles afforded to certain people that decide, determine, and control the course of the nation state and its adherents. Barclay points out that nomadism does not mean 'aimless wandering'. 'Rather there is a periodic movement according to some rational plan from one encampment site to another. Nomadism, and especially pedestrian nomadism, inhibits the accumulation of material goods'.[18] Barclay cites examples from the hunter-gatherer-forager societies who 'invariably have a band type organisation' such as the Eskimo, Indigenous Australia, Northwest Coast Indians, the Yurok of California, and the Bushmen of Southern Africa. Barclay notes that there is 'minimal social differentiation and specialisation of tasks. The social roles are limited to those of kinship and to the roles based on sex and on relative age'.[19] From Barclay's interpretations of nomadic societal structure, we can see the possible connection between nomadic mobility over terrain that is premeditated and designed and the migrant and homeless temporary adoption and adaptation of urban sites for shelter. Both groups use their mobility as spatial opportunity, to the affordances of new ground and new urban sites for their livelihood, protection, and survival.

The core connections between the two is the limitation of material goods to do so. Barclay also examines various indigenous societies of Sub-Saharan Africa such as Anuak and Ibo of South Sudan, the Plateau Tonga of Zambia, the Tiv of central Nigeria to the Ifugao in the Philippines, the Land Dayaks of Malaysia and Borneo, and mentions South American Indian peoples as 'anarchist gardeners' of self-organizing horticulturalist collectives.

There are some parallels between the roaming hunter-gatherer, the ground-cultivating horticulturalist, and the migrant-asylum seeker-homeless cultivation of urban sites for occupation. Though each unique in their way, the social and anarchical connections shed light on the self-organizing ability of the nomadic refugee migrant who, for better or worse, carves out their ground to reauthorize and destabilize the urban plan, remodeling it to their own needs. First comes occupation, second comes inhabitation, and third comes organization for the new spatial program where each stage is unsolicited. Anarchy is the clandestine confiscation of the spaces and services associated with capital and autocratic governance that controls it. In terms of urban planning and architecture, anarchy forms a model for a self-creating society. Those who come closest to that model – who are not anarchists by intention but anarchists by default – are the homeless, refugees, and asylum seekers who are reforming global controls of authority on space and the urban controls of spaces in the city. Fleeing wars, poverty, and destitution, their only choice is to reorient their lives in foreign countries and cities. Their presence expresses and showcases the productive forces of anarchy that challenge the controls on space, creating freedoms for new communities to emerge where self-organizing takes over from existing forms of governance and fosters new communities of resistance.

Conclusion

The environmental movement Extinction Rebellion, a loosely aligned non-hierarchical structure of people, began on April 15, 2019, in London to raise awareness of climate change. By April 19, 530 people had been arrested during protests in various locations around London. Fundamental to their task was the radical intervention in and disruption to the everyday workings of the city of London. Coordinated through social media, this collective uprising of people from all walks of life and especially young people, who see themselves inheriting the environmental devastation of the earth wrought by previous generations, was peaceful yet forceful. Groups of protesters either glued or chained themselves to the light-rail train at London's Docklands, outside politicians' residencies, public institutions, entrances to banks and fossil fuel corporations such as BP. Their campaign is to raise public awareness of the effects of climate change: global warming, CO_2 emissions, more frequent extreme weather patterns, fossil fuel burning, ocean acidification, sea level rise, floods, droughts, the lack of coordinated international action, and ultimately the survival of humanity.

Their protest methods were marked by collective anarchy, seeking to call out and move beyond governmental inaction and break the links between governments and multinationals in the oil and coal industries. Not surprisingly, the authorities framed the group's call for urgent action on climate change as socially irresponsible, a message reinforced by conservative media outlets, with many Londoners expressing their dissatisfaction at the interruptions to their daily commute. The descriptions applied to them by right-wing politicians, commentators, and the media for the disturbance and minor damage to state property fell short of them being branded as terrorists, instead calling them an extremist organization.[20] Furthermore, their campaign was highlighted as having a negative impact on the economy and the tax-paying public for the extra policing required to manage the disruption. Made up of women, men, teenagers, and young children, the activists were denigrated as radical environmentalists and demonized by the authorities yet less so by the police who were cautious in their handling of them. Placing themselves at risk of harm, arrest, and imprisonment gave a sense of urgency in addressing climate change in contrast to the unwillingness of authorities to act. Their message was clear: end fossil fuel dependency and introduce radical measures for carbon neutral sustainable energy production. The authorities' response was to instead sidestep the issues and simply flout their public duty.

The freedom to protest and voice one's opposition is a core component of democratic civil society. From the 1960s Black American Freedom Marches culminating in Washington Avenue and the famous speech by Rev Dr Martin Luther King Jr. 'I Have A Dream', to Malcolm X's calls for a Back to Africa Movement, to the eloquence and intellectual power of James Baldwin when interviewed on *The Dick Cavett Show* in 1968 proclaimed to the mostly all white studio audience: 'When a white person picks up a weapon and demands freedom white people are quick to applaud him. When a black person does the same white people don't hesitate to criminalize him'.[21] All speak to the disparity and oppression that leading orators like Baldwin, King, and Malcolm X had to contend with in struggling for equality within the dominant culture of white America. The histories of protest have sought to liberate one group of people from another, to prevent one nation's invasion by another, the enslavement of people by another, the destruction of indigenous rights to territory, to fight for freedom and self-determination by another, the freedoms of speech, gender equality, same-sex partnerships, fair economic distribution, and legal representation by another. There are cases in which the rights of all people are met with approval by governments seemingly keen to be seen to represent the people but that then authorize brutal crackdowns. For example, in totalitarian states such as Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Belarus, Bahrain, Central African Republic, and one party states such as China, Vietnam, and North Korea to democratic states in Latin America, North America, Australia, France, the UK, Turkey – an endless list can be drawn up where protests, uprisings, and challenges to existing

power structures are caricatured as anarchic and 'against the good of the people and the state'. Anarchy entails the creation of new relations between people, enabling self-determining and self-organizing, equal and collective harmony.

The Arab Spring, Extinction Rebellion, and the Occupy Movement brought people from all sectors of society onto the streets to bring about change. This is what connects them all to the long history of uprisings and revolutions. As the protester risks her life and possible life imprisonment in countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran to bring about women's equality and freedom for self-determination, women's rights activists in other parts of the world are constantly under attack, threatened, and legally misrepresented when activating their rights over their own bodies and lives. The child bride escaping a marriage to a man old enough to be her father or the young girl or boy trapped by people smuggling gangs forced into working as sex slaves in European towns and cities. Women's rights activists draw on anarchy as the organizing force for self-empowerment and setting the foundation for the equal status of women and the subversion of patriarchy. Anarchy calls for a dismantling of repressive governing systems – sexual, cultural, religious, political, racial, financial, etc. People's right to overthrow despotic governments and rulers, to place their bodies against batons, their clothes against shields, is to reclaim the body as the site of anarchy and the voice as the whistleblower against oppression. Many of those who profit from environmental devastation are not just the barons of industry, mining companies, banks, and ultimately politicians; they also include the millions of shareholders throughout the world who live in the same apartment blocks and walk the same streets as the protesters. These profiteers have yet to place their bodies on the line for the sake of humanity.

What is the connection, then, between the anarchy of revolutions, uprisings, and protests and the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants fleeing war, famine, and persecution? Humanmade events, such as wars and so-called natural disasters that continue to shape a world in turmoil, have forced these people to rebel, to move, to resist. Global human mobility has become the anarchy of the refugee, the asylum seeker, and the migrant. The freedom to seek refuge, to live and work in secure, sustainable environments, is a right that is increasingly being retracted and anarchy is increasingly being deployed to mobilize and defend human rights. Of course, whether it is refugees housed in camps or the homeless and asylum seekers occupying urban sites, these situations emerge out of necessity first and foremost, not anarchy. Yet, their presence, survival, and urban dissidence are the visual embodiment of anarchy and this in turn becomes vital for their survival. Global human mobility is the new ecological condition that will reshape the concept of nation states. At the center is the self-organization of human mobility, which draws from the roots of anarchy to create new and egalitarian communities.

Rogue sites

Rogue sites are those spaces within the built environment that sit outside normative existing controls. The bandwidth of rogue sites can be extremely broad, from slum districts to gated communities that by default segregate people and divide cities. Applied to human characteristics, rogue is often associated with vagrancy and criminality. A rogue act might be to swindle someone out of their money in a business exchange, committing fraud or imposing oneself as a beneficiary to a financial claim. Rogue can also be applied to the urban environment. For example, architecture and the built environment can be defrauded of their original intention when their purpose for a particular function is overridden by another, such as the selling off of public spaces to private investors. A rogue site may be identified as delinquent, vandalized, and sprayed with graffiti – there are many such sites in most cities around the world where neighborhoods and infrastructure suffer from the abandonment of welfare and social services, as well as a rise in poverty. Besides their appearance, rogue sites sit outside the determinacy of the urban plan that manages human-cultural, society-capital spatial exchange. The way in which rogue sites become visible is not always attributable to a particular feature – such as homeless occupations of urban sites, graffiti, abandoned or derelict property. They can exist as a result of unintentional urban failure, and left alone these sites take on their own fraudulent identity. The marginalized spaces of housing estates where planning, architecture, and construction are reduced to the bare necessities and base economies defraud the equality of civic responsibility of providing adequate and sustainable housing. Often the density of housing estates causes it to fall into ruin and neglect, as in, for example, the vast Pruitt-Igoe housing project in the American city of St. Louis, Missouri and the Le Vele di Scampia housing project in Naples. Diminished in their responsibility and abandoned, these rogue sites become isolated from other parts of the urban built environment and society, oscillating between unauthorized self-controls by individuals and gangs and social-racial upheaval, memorably portrayed in the film *Gomorrah*.[22]

In *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason*, Jacques Derrida reviews the idea of the rogue state in relation to American foreign policy toward a country not aligned with US interests or principles. 'Rogue state', Derrida notes, is 'a state that respects neither its obligations as a state before the law of the world community nor the requirements of international law, a state that flouts the law and scoffs at the constitutional state or state of law'.[23] By that description, it is safe to assume that the world is full of rogue states and institutions who flout not only their own national laws but also their obligations to international law. The term rogue state was bandied around by former US President George W. Bush about countries whose actions endangered international security and as such American foreign interests that led to the 2001 US invasion of Afghanistan and 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Far earlier, the American transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau (1817–62) called for a rogue uprising of the people in his essay 'Resistance to Civil Government', also known by its other title 'Civil Disobedience', published in 1849. First outlined in a lecture given at the Concord Lyceum in January 1848,[24] Thoreau's aim was to press upon his audience the ideals of free expression and individual providence in the face of a system of laws controlling citizens' lives. His message called for the scrapping of governance systems to be replaced with another form of societal organization and determination. Thoreau's anarchic seed in forging his concept of civil disobedience was sown when he decided to spend a night in jail rather than pay the compulsory Poll Tax in protest against African slavery mostly in the American cotton fields of the South and the American-Mexican War.

> I heartily accept the motto, – 'That government is best which governs least'; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe, – 'That government is best which governs not at all'; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have.[25]

Thoreau's advocated individual, self-guided jurisprudence, 'to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but *at once* a better government'. It is not enough to vote, he argues, for '[e]ven voting *for the right* is *doing* nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail'.[26] Thoreau's lecture was a brave move in an America divided by the brutal regime of African enslavement by the Southern states in conflict with the morally guided Northern states. The bloody American Civil War from 1861–65 would see Union armies of the North defeat the Southern Confederate armies and subsequently the abolition of slavery, but it would not see an end to racism, which still pervades American society to this day. Thoreau's call for political insurgency and a breakaway rogue society based on the liberties of individual providence in a free society answerable to itself and no other, would be a hard task to undertake in a country built on the American Dream of self-interest, greed, and capital.

   The picture of the rogue state or the unscrupulous con artist is not the same in respect of refugees' and the homeless' occupations of urban sites. As with the vagrant, the breakaway individual forming her/his own statehood is not to assume that refugees and the homeless have a disregard for the law, for it can be said they are bounded by and live in fear of its rules and repercussions more than anyone. The vulnerability of the asylum seeker, refugee, and the homeless is balanced by their reinterpretation of urban spaces for their shelter and protection. The rogue in the asylum seeker, refugee, and the homeless comes by way of resisting existing controls on urban space. Their rogue occupations embody, on the one hand, a flouting of the urban plan and, on the other, its rewriting. Their occupation of urban sites

may be considered as civil disobedience to the laws concerning occupying urban environments, participating in precisely what Thoreau and Tolstoy advocated: namely the formation of new laws for public independence and self-autonomy. As such, the refugees' urban occupations elasticize existing laws – bending their meaning – transforming spaces of rejection into ones of incorporation. If we say that the formation of democracy was a rogue act to begin with – insofar as it started out with inequality, prejudice, and its citizens complying with laws in the name of democracy, while flouting civil, social, and humanitarian laws that were not aligned with its agenda – then anarchy becomes a requirement to enact political and social change. Democracy, Derrida suggests, has wanted 'to welcome only men, and on the condition that they be citizens, brothers, and compeers [*semblables*], excluding all the others, in particular bad citizens, rogues, noncitizens, and all sorts of unlike and unrecognizable others'.[27] The rogue is not the bad citizen, for she/he in the first place is seen to be not a citizen at all.

Rogue sites are not created by refugees and homeless through their adoption and occupation of urban spaces; such sites already exist as failures of planning. Out of these spaces, the asylum seeker builds on these existing rogue spaces with little or no disturbance to the city's urbanity, its environments and society. Instead, the refugee, the asylum seeker, the migrant, and the homeless add space for where it appeared to be nothing but an underpass, bridge, pavement or vacant lot. Rogue without criminality, their collective unhomeness reinvents urban sites as spaces of shared opportunity. Neither flouting laws that govern the urban environment nor disrupting others, their rogue occupations of urban sites are nevertheless discredited and victimized. '[I]n a city, in the urbanity and good conduct of urban life', as Derrida puts it, the rogue introduces

> disorder into the street; they are picked out, denounced, judged, and condemned, pointed out as actual or virtual delinquents, as those and pursued by the civilized citizen, by the state or civil society, by law-abiding citizens, by their police, sometimes by international law and its armed police who watch over the law and over morals, over politics and over politesse, over all the paths.[28]

Rather than being applauded for their ability to seek out spaces for shelter and protection, the unhomed migrant becomes the incriminated rogue against the law-abiding citizen. The urban spatial relearning of the unhomed refugee, asylum seeker, migrant, and homeless offers a rethinking of how cities, in the age of global human mobility, become rogue and how being rogue is desirable and necessary in adapting to an unstable world.

In her book *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*, Keller Easterling proposes a dualism in how we relate to and make use of infrastructure – not just the physical infrastructure of the urban environment but also the technologies of communication that surround it. This new

association with infrastructure in turn creates a new urban field in what she calls 'Extrastatecraft' whereby space thickens, becoming 'more powerful if it finds a carrier that multiplies it'.[29] This multiplier for 'a new spatial protocol' will not come, she assures us, from the assembly line design of suburban homes but from the transformation of infrastructure. Easterling is interested in the rogue sites of communication and technologies of infrastructure: 'the workings of the operating system', 'free zones', 'broadband telescopes', and the 'skills to hack into it' on a global scale. Visible as much as invisible, these infrastructures take on the appearance of the visible; the invisible asylum seeker, refugee, and the homeless. 'Contemporary infrastructure space is the secret weapon of the most powerful people in the world precisely because it orchestrates activities that can remain unstated but are nevertheless consequential'.[30] Following Easterling's argument, it is possible to link her 'Extrastatecraft' concept to the future of the city where the unhomed migrant multiplies infrastructure into multi-functional programming. The 'new spatial protocol' that comes from their interventions far outweigh the reductive qualities of suburban sprawl and stagnant capital. Easterling's suggestion to 'hack the operating system' is pertinent to our thinking in recognizing the appearances of homeless, refugees, and asylum seekers as advancing a new operating system in the city.

In *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, Nicholas R. Fyfe argues that 'the reality of homelessness is that it affects a heterogeneous array of people':

> Among these are low-income single adults (mostly men but including women as well), workers displaced by economic change, runaway youths and abused youngsters, elderly individuals on low fixed incomes, substance abusers, those who suffer from physical and mental health disabilities, people who are shelterless as a result of seasonal work, domestic strife, or personal crises; in addition, there are recent immigrants, refugees, and Natives (aboriginal people) who have migrated to the city to find work or to escape problems on the reserve, along with ex-prisoners and those recently discharged from detention or detoxification centres and mental hospitals.[31]

None of this passage fits with the description of the rogue here, except perhaps for the visible/invisible status of the unhomed. What it does alert us to, however, is the diversity of people sheltering in public spaces who, ousted from society and racked with personal issues, health problems, domestic violence, and dispossession, have sought refuge. Plato first proposed the idea that space lies buried inside the body, which we enact upon the spaces and experiences outside. The refugee and the homeless carry their space bundled within them with little resemblance to the outside. When acted on externally, the inner space of the refugee or asylum seeker becomes flexible, adaptable, and transformative, not out of desire

but out of necessity, to the spaces they occupy. This means that their ability to adapt urban space is distinct from the bondage property and capital exert on the homed. The future of the city in the age of global human mobility will ultimately bring about significant changes in what will become an outmoded system of individualized property ownership and usher in a move toward a shared collective system. Even when border walls and fences are being built and public seating is divided by metal bars and outdoor ledge spaces are spiked to prohibit the homeless from sleeping and as more laws are passed to create greater controls on public space, the rogue becomes the city and society, not the individual. Like a people's revolution that topples an autocratic regime, urban spaces of the city will be revolutionized by global mobility of people fleeing war, persecution, and climate change. How cities and societies of the future respond will depend on their ability to broker the present discrimination and victimization of people seeking refuge. As human mobility increases across the world, more pressure will come to bear on societies, redefining how cities are inhabited and where nomadic, transitory urbanism will sit alongside what once seemed immovable, permanent systems.

In his report on housing and land rights commissioned by the United Nations, Miloon Kothari warned:

> The world today is facing an unprecedented housing and land rights crisis. National governments and the international community appear unwilling to directly confront the root causes of this crisis. As if this were not enough of a challenge, the world is now hurtling towards a level of massive urbanisation that will soon dwarf the already-colossal scale of 1.6 billion people inadequately housed and over one hundred million homeless.[32]

Given the scale of the crisis that Kothari reports, one can expect global human mobility to continue to change how cities are planned and future-oriented. Yet, what tends to emerge is not the quest to find solutions to the world's new migrant flows but instead an increase of disaffection and repulsion. Kothari observes that this massive upheaval and displacement of people is a result of 'so-called development' capital investment from international corporations as much as 'armed ethnic conflict and disasters' such as that experienced on the African continent, which has led to mass destabilization and an exodus of people. Kothari states that the 'persistence of economic policies that are steeped in the neoliberal framework' and left to the private sector does not 'create trickle-down opportunities to house the poor', let alone address the global movement of people.[33] Governments' unreadiness to provide adequate housing locally means that the only alternative for refugees, asylum seekers, and the homeless is to reformulate a city's urban sites as their own right to exercise their mobility.

In post-revolutionary Iran, Asef Bayat, in his book *Street Politics*, gives the example of the homeless and poor taking over vacant buildings for residence. Drawing on the squatter's riots in Iran's big cities such as Tehran and Bukatan in the early 1990s, Bayat sings their praises for establishing an alternative society in the absence of governmental aid.

> The squatters got together and demanded electricity and running water; when they were refused or encountered delays, they resorted to do-it-yourself mechanisms of acquiring them illegally. They established roads, opened clinics and stores, constructed mosques and libraries, and organized refuse collection. They further set up associations and community networks, as well as participating in local consumer cooperatives. A new and a more autonomous way of living, functioning, and organizing the community was in the making.[34]

Bayat explains the factors that have guided Iran's urban transition through the influx of the rural poor as well as internally and externally displaced as a result of war (the Iran–Iraq war and later the war in Afghanistan and the American invasion of Iraq) in terms of the disruption to the country's larger cities.

> Rural migrants encroach on cities and their amenities, refugees and international migrants on host states and their provisions, squatters on public and private lands or ready-made homes, and street vendors on the opportunity costs of business as well as on public space.

Bayat notes that the problems refugees face in becoming squatters inhibits their ability to change government and city councils because of their aptitude to construct an alternative social model and inability to form political representation. All of which sounds familiar. (Remember the Communards?) As such, the individuality of their system prevailed rather than the broader collective of people it represented.

> Unlike groups such as organized workers or students, the unemployed, emigrants, refugees, or street vendors are groups in flux; they are the structurally atomized individuals who operate outside the formal institutions of factories, schools, and associations. They therefore lack the institutional capacity to exert pressure, since they lack an organizational power of disruption.

In the face of the squatter's riots, Bayat writes:

> Many homeless families failed to retain the homes and hotels they had seized and were forcefully evicted. Squatters faced violent counterattacks by security forces; water and electricity supplies were cut,

hundreds of informal homes were demolished, communities were dismantled, independent neighbourhood councils fell apart, and activists were arrested and jailed.[35]

The background to Iran's 1990s squatter's riots, while forceful, did not legitimize their presence as a societal force to alter the economic structures of capital and property. It is not the case of an impending failure that makes them non-political activists; it was the success of their adaptation of urban sites and buildings that made them vulnerable, insofar as they proved to be a viable alternative working community. Their eviction and disbandment were a result of popularizing that they posed a threat to the wellbeing of the city's citizens. The squatters were not rogue; the city officials were.

The rogue in the homeless, the refugee camp dweller, or the asylum seeker hiding from authorities exists in their adaptive ability and perseverance to survive despite excessive adversity and hardship. Excluded from and outside the laws that govern society and its people, the refugee, asylum seeker, and homeless govern themselves but not each other. Caught in international law and restricted in transit zones of non-territories, refugees and asylum seekers self-organize their existence whilst having little control over their lives. Calais Tent City near the Euro Tunnel, as examined earlier, became a rogue site not by the appearance of asylum seekers and economic refugees' cluster of tents and plastic sheeting; rather, the site itself was transformed by authorities to gain control of the spaces surrounding the port. To 'retake' the humanitarian ground, authorities uprooted and replaced the encampment with white shipping containers stacked in ordered rows and surrounded by a high fence, surveillance, and security lighting. While the shipping container moves commodities throughout the world unhindered, the refugee inhabits them as mobility in stasis in sight of the Euro Tunnel and an opportunity to stow away inside trucks to a new life in the UK.

The presence of refugees and migrants at the borders of former colonial countries returns to the geopolitical histories of inequality. Right-wing white supremacists and middle-class protectionists formulate their own rogue militancy to subject refugees to the distortions of their fears. The unfolding inverse mirroring of colonialization has come back to haunt Europeans. This haunting will exacerbate the creation of rogue states to reject global human mobility at the borders of countries seeking to flout international law aimed at protecting (even though it does not) the most vulnerable. The imprints of colonialists who took hold of foreign countries are being reprinted in the soles of refugees young and old who have come to take hold of the lands of the former colonialists. This tide will not be restricted to countries with histories of colonial invasion; it will extend to countries invaded by colonialists who not only decimated indigenous first nations such as in the Americas, Canada, and Australia but have since practiced policies to keep out refugees and asylum seekers. In a shrinking global world of telecommunications

where live streaming to billions of phones exposes the inequality of wealth and opportunity between peoples, it is the world that has turned rogue.

Conclusion

In 1948, under the British Mandate of Palestine, Palestinians were expelled from their lands following the Arab/Israeli war of the same year. Referred to by the Israelis as the War of Independence and by the Palestinians as Nakba (Day of the Catastrophe), hundreds of thousands of Palestinians walked, carrying their meager belongings and crossed the border into Lebanon to seek refuge in camps hastily set-up in Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre, and Sidon.[36] Many of these camps were established by the International Committee of the Red Cross to accommodate the 700,000 Palestinians displaced.[37] The refugee camps of Mar Elias and Shatila in Beirut – established in 1948 and 1949 respectively and still Palestinian camps to this day – are two of 15 camps registered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in Lebanon. The 1967 Arab–Israeli war known as the Six Day War resulted in another wave of displaced Palestinians numbering approximately 300,000 who fled to the neighboring Jordan and Egypt and again Lebanon.[38] The history of displacement of the Palestinian people in the 20th and 21st centuries is evident over the three generations since the Mar Elias and Shatila camps in Beirut were established and the Jerash Camp in Jordan. The confined spaces of each camp, the basic material constructions of their dwellings coupled with the global geopolitical context concerning their right to return to their homeland, have resulted in their lives being trapped in a state of indefinite impermanence – suspension and displacement in landless territorial non-places of dead-time spaces.

The history of the Palestinian exodus from their homelands and detention in camps is a movement through stasis. Appropriately contradictory, movement corresponds to their history of forced expulsion from their homes and lands to the deterritorialized stasis of the camps. It is further exercised by the temporary structure of their camp dwellings that marks the permanence of their stasis. Still caught in mobility from their forced expulsion and yet permanently camped: this is the situation that Saba Innab describes in her article 'How to Build Without a Land', suggesting that their connection to homeland is the dislocation 'measured by distance'.[39] Palestinian lives held in Beirut's camps have become coordinated by outside forces governed by institutions and relief organizations that further intensify their statelessness. The UN decree regarding the status of refugees is based on the transitory occupation of the camp. This decree characterizes their refugee stasis through the limitation of their movement and claim for permanent settlement. Where nomadic civilizations marked ownership of their territories through the expanse of their movement over ground, the refugee housed in camps is metaphorically transposed as a geographical wanderer over an invisible landscape.[40] The plight of Palestinian refugees expelled from their

homelands and moved to their encampment in foreign lands results in a continuous stay as unwelcomed guests. Their residing on temporal ground forms the status of their condition; the temporary camp becomes a permanent home. The Mar Elias and Shatila refugee camps are exemplary of building impermanency on ground, for the ground on which they build cannot be owned, and its physical presence in Beirut's urban environments is dislocated by its walls of separation that surround them. Within these spatial, physical, territorial, and psychological divisions, the residents of the Mar Elias and Shatila camps have resorted to covert practices through clandestine building, services, and communications to enable them to live within the walls of the camp and to connect with the outside world.

The Shatila refugee camp was established in 1949 and houses 22,235 refugees on a site covering 1km² designed to house 8,000. Mar Elias was established in 1952 and currently has a population of around 1,400 refugees on a site covering 5,400m² amounting to approximately one person for every 3m² of ground. In Samir Kassir's *Beirut*, he describes the arrival of the Palestinians into Lebanon after the end of the 1948 Arab/Israeli war as a movement from temporary undefined occupation to solid occupation in defined spaces.

> Over time the tents that had temporarily sheltered them in improvised camps have been replaced by permanent housing. But these camps, into which the majority of the refugees had been herded together remained just that – miserable shanty towns staggered along the periphery of the inner suburbs and closely monitored by the police.[41]

Palestinian refugees account for 10% of the Lebanese population and 16% of Beirut's residential population. The demographic balance between Muslims and Christians and the smaller ruling elite, the Maronite Christians, came under increasing pressure and in 1975 developed into an all-out armed conflict between the groups that saw the rise of the Palestinian resistance within Beirut. The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon to expel the PLO ended in 1985 after the Christian Phalangist massacre of over 3,000 Palestinians in the Shatila camp that was at that time under Israeli guard. By the end of the civil war in 1990, the shift of the Lebanese people's relationship to its Palestinian refugees, who were held as responsible for the outbreak of the war, further agitated their impermanence and separation from the social and political life within Beirut. This agitation still runs deep to this day, and their existence and rights to self-determination, representation under law, work, freedom to travel, and property ownership remain unchanged.

Behind the walls of Mar Elias and Shatila, the Palestinians confront the exterior forces of separation and confinement with limited legal status. Over three generations, the residents of Mar Elias and Shatila have had to continually negotiate their connection to foreign ground and belonging in Beirut. Yet, within their tightly framed and compact camps, there is movement.

Figure 5.3 Shatila Palestinian Refugee Camp, Beirut Lebanon
Source: photo by author, 2010

Figure 5.4 Mar Elias Palestinian Refugee Camp, Beirut Lebanon
Source: image by author, 2010

It is not the movement of self-determination or mobility of the free body; instead, it is the modification of space to construct a territory lost. Fraught by the limitations of their occupation, the instability of their unchecked buildings, their external communications with the outside world persists. Internet sites such as intifada.com have brought greater awareness to the Palestinian plight in the camps. In Miriyam Aouragh's *Palestine Online: Transnationalism, the Internet and the Construction of Identity*, the author tells of how Palestinians communicate their ongoing status as refugees.

> The impact has reached beyond the internet café: human rights appeals and political communiqués are reproduced and spreading from one website or forum to the other. Popular images in particular are printed from the internet and circulated in the universities and mosques, or put on the wall, sometimes in a frame, as part of the house decoration as I noticed in several refugee camps.[42]

The status of the refugee raises the problematics of shared place. 'How do we build without a land?', as Innab asks. In the case of the camps of Mar Elias and Shatila, shared place is not formulated through passive resistance to their bounded environment; it is their movement through air space, physical through building and digital through communications, that challenges our notion of building with land. 'For some Palestinians the internet mobilises engagement with the Intifada, for others it leads to greater fatalism'.[43] The shared cables and wires that bring electricity and the internet to people's homes in the camp have provided Palestinians with a platform for communication and exposure to the outside world, allowing them to metaphorically jump borders and cross territories. As their mobility in physical terms is artificial and stagnant, movement is nevertheless animated through the geographies of distance contained in their communication.

Out of space

Space cannot run out of space. Its form and use may change or become something else, but the space itself will remain as space. Since space cannot be emptied of space, it would be impossible to fall out of space. Yet, as we saw in Chapter 2, this was exactly how a dancer described her relation to space in the movement of the dance to me. What's being described is the sensation of falling in and out of space – walls, floor, and ceiling interchanging in the movement of the dance. This was how the dancer explained her movement (sensorial, felt, remembered), as if the space around her were constantly changing. Everything appears out of space. Yet, in light of this second assertion, it is nevertheless the case that the experience of space eludes many of us. Space comes into appearance due to the materialization of building, when we look across a landscape unfolding to the horizon and view the infinite outer reaches of the universe. Yet, in all these spaces,

especially constructed spaces, a double space appears: spaces around and spaces within. Typically, programmed spaces are designed for a finite number of functions, and architecture and building are at the center of defining the inner and outer spaces we experience in our urban environments. The complexities of spatial programming of buildings and the city more broadly go far beyond this dialectic. The demands on space from urban density and infrastructure have brought the city into sharp conflict with global human movement in the 21st century. The occupations of urban sites by refugees and the homeless show a willingness for a renegotiation of the urban transaction of programming space, where resistance to planning brings new spaces into appearance.

Richard Sennett in his book *The Craftsman* explains that physical boundaries, such as the medieval walled city, not only controlled people's movements but also ensured that 'resistance to the outside is meant to become absolute, the boundary fending off human interaction'.[44] Contemporary urban design still draws from the walled citadel, reflecting its controls of human movement into absolute boundaries separating private, public, commercial, and transport zones. Forming parcels of inner-city urban islands, these zones are designed to fend off and segregate human access. Controlled and unregulated, it is in these spaces that the refugee and the homeless take shelter with the least amount of resistance and impact on society. 'Working *with* resistance means, in urbanism, converting boundaries into borders', Sennett maintains, but 'the problem is that we are better at building boundaries than borders'.[45] Working with resistance to convert exclusive boundaries into inclusive sites transforms the invisible spaces of the city into the visible. The ability of refugees, the homeless, and asylum seekers to craft space for habitation comprises a spatial anarchy by transgressing the limitations of programmed space.

In *Ephemeral Urbanism: Cities in Constant Flux*, Rahul Mehrotra and Felipe Vera take us through the variations of building, informal settlement, and encampment. In one of Mehrotra's case studies, he examines how the impermanence of the refugee camp might be used to rethink the city's urban environments. 'Lightness of building', he asserts, in the refugee camp 'goes beyond the material construction of the settlements'.

> The infrastructural, social and political formations of these settlements are 'light' in their manifestation, thus opening up several interesting questions for urban design. What is it that really differentiates a refugee camp from an actual city? Beyond scarcity, what would be the missing component that does not allow urbanism to fully unfold in refugee settlements (or camps), as it does in other temporary and light forms of urbanism?[46]

Out of the permanency of infrastructure, the homeless and refugees reform these spaces to impermanent encampments. Isolated and without support,

they construct their refuge through the spatial transformation of border spaces with the least amount of confrontation to society, and yet they still encounter the greatest amount of resistance to their presence.

Giorgio Agamben in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* associates the city with the refugee camp, declaring: 'Today it is not the city but rather the camp that is the fundamental biopolitical paradigm of the West'.[47] Disagreeing with Agamben's city-camp association, Mehrotra warns that this

> superficial description does not refer to the fact that the physical materialization of cities is becoming lighter (which it is), nor that the metabolism of cities is accelerating (which is also true) and, therefore, buildings are becoming more impermanent. Rather, this could actually be interpreted to mean that the nature of human life within the urban realm is changing and moving' toward a 'more robust expression of the human condition.[48]

Mehrotra's impermanent city urbanism – one that can 'mediate these diverse activities' – might be influenced by the impermanency of the refugee camp, but it does not become like the camp as Agamben suggests.

> Understanding the settlements of refuge under the rubric of an urbanism of the ephemeral is fundamental, not only for understanding and improving their condition, but also for understanding and improving current conditions of the contemporary city. What can design do to overcome such a scenario, both in the camp and the city?[49]

The answer to this is not an easy one and attempts to develop urban programming that respond to the increasing global movement of people remain under-developed. 'When cities are analyzed over large temporal spans', Mehrotra explains, 'ephemerality emerges as an important condition in the life cycle of every built environment – perhaps the only constant'.[50] Not to be outdone by Mehrotra's critique, Agamben maintains: 'The camp, which is now securely lodged within the city's interior, is the new biopolitical *nomos* of the planet'.[51]

Alongside human mobility and the association with temporal and ephemeral structures of the camp are the edifices that suggest mobility. In his preface to *Capsules: Typology of Other Architecture*, Peter Šenk outlines the need to reduce standard home building, in all its diversity across the globe, through a combination of new material technologies and reduced footprints as a way to confront the world's housing needs in the 21st century.

> Modular minimum living units and micro-apartments are again becoming popular and a reasonable solution as we rethink our housing needs and consider a possible future of contemporary compact urban living

all over the globe. Meanwhile, the technology offers possibilities for their fabrication with a diversity of methods. With the development of 3D printing, the production of pods is not a technical issue anymore – neither for little off-grid refuges, nor for plug-in components in the urban environment.[52]

Further along in the book, Šenk references the micro compartment hotel room of Japanese capsule hotels that has become not only the portable mainstay of cheap overnight accommodation for businesspeople but also substitute homes: the temporary accompaniment to the contemporary nomad.

> In the modern reality of the Japanese daily routine, the capsule hotel became a dwelling for the homeless, real-life modern nomads, residents of capsules. Capsule containers in the hotel are far from the anticipated technological prosthetics of a free individual. A capsule in a capsule hotel may be mobile, but is actually stacked firmly within the grip of the hotel program.[53]

Given the identical reproduction of each capsule together with the mobility of its occupants, the 'capsule in a capsule hotel may be mobile' and sustain constant movement, but its physical reality is one of stasis. In formulating the city in mobility, the capsule hotel design is as interesting as it is flawed. As we saw in Chapter 3, the examples in Washington and New York in which attempts by welfare agencies to build homeless shelters in their neighborhoods were met with fierce opposition from residents. A quick walk around Berlin's Zoological Garden Train Station where a shelter for the homeless is integrated into the station, the homeless continue to sleep (whether by preference or through lack of money to secure a bed for the night) under the overpass rail bridge. As a way to tackle global housing needs, micro housing proposals have made some inroads (mostly at the prototype stage) into providing compact individual shelters for the homeless. Built types include a hut on wheels, wheelable tents, small caravan-type structures to full-fledged microshelters with a shower, toilet, kitchenette, bed, and power. None of these has yet to be mass produced. While these forms of providing shelter for the homeless show innovation in design and material components, the problem is the costs associated with such designs, placement, and planning permissions. Aggressive opposition from residents and a lack of will by city authorities have resulted in many of these worthwhile projects being scrapped. 'While capsule dwellings for the homeless solve the problem of overnight accommodation', as Šenk explains, 'their presence in public space disclose suppressed and negated characteristics of contemporary society'. The experiments of movable capsules for the homeless points not to their failure but to the failure of civil society to become fully accountable to the needs of the homeless. Cities with large homeless populations – such as New York, Los Angeles, and Mexico City, let alone the acute needs of far larger populations of homeless in cities

such as Mumbai, Delhi, Lagos, and Manila – have become a common sight as much as government malpractice in accepting their presence and destitution as a by-product of modern society. As Šenk notes, in 'the tradition of parasites from 50 years ago, financially difficult to realize options of living in a city, utilizing space, and establishing development stimulations of the city' are cut at the foundations by 'the rigidity of institutions which assess the suitability of such proposals'.[54]

Frank Gaffikin, in his book *Planning in Divided Cities: Collaborative Shaping of Contested Space*, refers to two sets of urban conditions that pervade many modern societies. The 'degenerated urban enclaves of concentrated poverty alongside the cosmopolitan spaces enjoyed by the beneficiaries of neo-liberal globalisation' reside in the same area but do not mix.[55] The formal, neoliberal society sits at one end, while the informal society of the 'most excluded' sits at the other.

> Thus, informal urbanism can nest within the formal city, and the interpenetration of both is fashioned via the growing significance of three population sets: first, of migrants to cities, most evident in the developing world; second, of immigrants to cities in both developing and

Figure 5.5 Homeless, Zoological Garden Train Station, Berlin
Source: photo by author, 2020

developed worlds, and related diasporas communities; and third, of the ways the excluded in both places tend to be consigned to segregated precincts marked by deprivation and social insulation.[56]

Returning to Colin Ward's *Anarchy in Action*, cited at the beginning of this chapter, the issue of the collaborative shaping of urban environments that account for all inhabitants of the city can be highlighted in a series of ten lectures that Ward delivered and compiled into a book entitled *Talking Houses*.[57] Ward charts the ideals and failures of public housing and urban gentrification in capitalist societies. The topics of the lectures range from 'The Do-It-Yourself New Town', 'Anarchy or Order? The Planner's Dilemma', 'City People Housing Themselves', to 'An Anarchist Approach to Urban Planning'. In a lecture given in 1987 called 'Freedom and the Built Environment', Ward maintains that building is still an individualized practice carried out by owner-builders. 'Ninety per cent of human history', Ward claims, 'people have housed themselves'.

> The most widely used building material in the world today is grass or straw, and the second most widely used building material is earth or mud. There are vast areas of the Southern hemisphere, Latin America, Africa and South East Asia, where the great majority of homes are built by their occupiers with these materials and with the recycled detritus of modern industry: packing cases, steel sheet, cardboard or oil drums.[58]

Ward's self-autonomous owner-builder is evident across the world in slum shanty towns that cover hillsides and peripheries of cities such as Bogota, La Paz, Rio de Janeiro in the Americas; Lagos, Mogadishu, and Cape Town in Africa; the Jabalia refugee camp in the Israeli-controlled Gaza Strip; the Bidi Bidi camp in Uganda, Al Nimir camp in South Sudan's Darfur region, Dadadd and Kakuma camps in Kenya, and the world's largest refugee camp Kutupalong at Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh where one million Rohingya people have sought sanctuary from racial and religious persecution in their country from the Myanmar government, police, and soldiers. This brief list by no means captures the world's approximately 65–100 million refugees or internally displaced who live permanently in camps. In Africa alone, 25 million people have been forcibly displaced due to conflict and famine and crossed borders in recent years.[59] This figure does not take into account the tens of thousands of Africans crossing the Western Sahara to make their way across the Mediterranean to Europe.[60] Ward's ideas of the anarchist self-builder in *Talking Houses* should not be confused with the realities of the world's impoverished slum dwellers, refugee encampments or the harsh conditions of fringe dwellers and illegal migrants in European cities, but it does speak to the need to take action in support of self-determination.

The world's displaced populations, refugees, homeless, and slum dwellers create their shelters with the most basic materials to hand, as Ward notes. As

such, their shelters reflect their lives; fragile, dangerous, and destitute. Yet each displays, however crudely, an ability to adapt and innovate shelter and protection in unforgiving environments. In the present instability and increasingly unpredictable natural catastrophes of drought, water scarcity, and famine, dwelling in one place will be replaced by human mobility through multiple dwellings across the globe. In a continual oscillating movement, mobility reignites the histories of human migration over hundreds of thousands of years for a new evolution that challenges and multiplies human diversity, language, customs, settlement, and nations. The sedentary nature of human habitation that characterizes the present condition built on securing the separation of people through bordered territories, economics and opportunities would appear to be no longer practical or relevant where human mobility is a global consequence of humans creating and exacerbating the worst effects of global warming. Ward concludes his last lecture as a sort of summary for the anarchist planner: 'What I want to see is not a mass solution, but a mass of small, local, small-scale solutions that draw upon the involvement, the ability and the ingenuity of people themselves'.[61] Broadcasted images of refugees overcrowded in rubber boats drifting in the Mediterranean Sea as a result of failed engines and bodies floating upside-down due to boats capsizing does not dent the aim of many others to reach rich European cities in search of refuge and opportunity to live better and more secure lives. The realities of a changing planet due to weather turbulence will only increase, particularly when one factors in the continuing growth in population of tens if not hundreds of millions more people throughout the world who will be affected in the coming years. The inequities between free movement and containment, rich and poor, destitution and opportunity can only result in greater human mobility. It is an inescapable part of humanity's evolution in which we will all partake.

The previous suggests neither a moral nor an ethical stance but rather is meant to serve to question the will of governments and societies in becoming responsible for the free movement of people across the globe. With the world's population approaching eight billion, which is predicted to rise to 9.7 billion by 2050, coupled with the intensifying impacts of climate change, mobility and free movement of people will become key to human survival on Earth. Šenk observes that the destabilized permanency of the capsule facilitated 'a new lifestyle of intensive urbanity, or personal and social transformation on the basis of free will, independence, mobility, and even transcendence'.[62] This book proposes a similar transcendence of present human containment to mobility across the globe. While it requires societies to fortify their efforts to reconfigure their societal and nation state formations, it is nevertheless an inevitable future condition of humanity.

Conclusion

In part influenced by Thoreau's essay 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience', wherein 'government is best which governs not at all; and when men are

prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have',[63] the American composer, writer, and visual artist John Cage penned his extended poem *Anarchy* as if by accident when shuffling through his previous works. 'In order to write *Themes and Variations* I made a cursory examination of my earlier books, jotting down subjects or ideas which still seemed lively to me. When I counted them up they came to one hundred and ten. Anarchy is one of them'.[64] Cage cites Buckminster Fuller's flagrant rebuttal of the role and purpose that government plays in society. Paraphrasing Fuller, Cage writes: 'We don't need government. We need utilities: air, water, energy, travel and communication means, food and shelter. We have no need for imaginary mountain ranges between separate nations. We can make tunnels through the real ones. Nor do we have any need for the continuing division of people into those who have what they need and those who don't'.[65]

Cage found in Fuller and Thoreau an anarchist's approach in respect to how to wrestle the controls from government and hand them back to the people. As with revolution, anarchy is key to devising a reorganization of society to a self-organizing equal society. Cage sets out his maxim in a combination of complexity and difficulty. '*Anarchy* was written, to be read out loud'. 'The ends of stanzas are indicated by space, a full stop, a new breath. Within a stanza, the sign indicates a slight pause, a half cadence. My mesostic texts do not make ordinary sense. They make nonsense'. If the reader finds his poem unbearable, he asks that it be thought of as music. 'If nonsense is found intolerable, think of my work as music, which is, Arnold Schoenberg used to say, a question of repetition and variation, variations itself being a form of repetition in which some things are changed and others not'.[66] Cage's *Anarchy* poem is an artwork as much as a textual work. His use of capital letters within a word, the cutting and pasting of the text in erroneous spacings on the page – centered as much as decentered – is anarchical by intention, just as it is problematic for their reading. To view his poems visually – how they work across the page rather than being defined by it, instead forming a redistribution of the page – is to think how this might be thought in urban terms. The distribution of his text into deterritorialized boundaries across the page where the intersection of capitals could be thought of as the intersections of the city, breathing new life into the potential for organization where left, right, periphery, and center shun the formality and hierarchies of grid, avenue, street, boundary, and border dominance; weaving patterns of minor and major spatial exchanges to create a new sense of city and human interactions.

As Cage writes,

> Revolution is the organization of all public services by those who work in them in their own interest as well the public's; revolution is the destruction of all coercive ties; it is the autonomy of groups, of communes, of regions; revolution is the free federation brought about by a desire

for brotherhood, by individual and collective interests, by the needs of production and defense; revolution is the constitution of innumerable free groupings based on ideas, wishes and tastes of all kinds that exist among the people; revolution is the forming and disbanding of thousands of representative, district, communal, regional, national bodies which, without having any legislative power, serve to make known and coordinate the desires and interests of people near and far and which act through information, advice, and example.[67]

Besides Fuller and Thoreau, Cage is also thankful for the works of Emma Goldman and cites the following passage from her 1910 essay on anarchism, entitled 'What Really Stands for Anarchism'.

Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.[68]

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Figure 5.6 Excerpt from pg. 66 of *Anarchy* © 1988 by John Cage

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At times, Cage rambles his way in arguing the positive nature of anarchy as a social glue for societal cohesion and organizing tool for change to weed out the stale swamp of political stalemate. He calls for the elimination of sovereign states and borders for a 'recirculatory, interaccomodative, world-around democratic system'. Given his optimism for revolutionary change, it is the reading of his extended poem, the accentuations of its speaking while reading that resonate in redefining the meaning of words as a means to incite action for change. It is through a rereading of his poem that a visual image emerges of a distributed human inhabitation of the

world. The crucial elements occupying the left, right, central, and peripheral spaces of urban environments will not come from the dominant role that capital and property have played throughout the histories of cities but rather from new societies with self-organizing potential. Cage's poem is the language of dissidence, and the urban dissidence is the language of refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless – a language that this book strives to express.

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Figure 5.7 Excerpt from pg. 67 of *Anarchy* © 1988 by John Cage

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Notes

1 *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Third Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 66.
2 Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin, *The Paris Commune*, Freedom Anarchist Pamphlet 8 (London: Freedom Press, 1971), p. 8.
3 As well as tensions between groups and a lack of military to defend itself from the Versailles government, the short-lived Paris Commune, Kropotkin notes, failed to create another autonomous governing system: 'By proclaiming the free commune, the people of Paris were proclaiming an essentially anarchist principle;

but, since the idea of anarchism had at that time only faintly dawned in men's minds, it was checked half-way, and within the Commune people decided in favour of the old principle of authority, giving themselves a Commune Council, copied form the municipal councils'. Ibid, p. 13.

4 Simon Springer, 'Anarchism and Geography: A Brief Genealogy of Anarchist Geographies', *Geography Compass*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2013), p. 56.

5 Asimakopoulos' critique of Piketty's account of capitalist economy in the 21st century is brutal, to say the least. His attack on Piketty's acceptance of taxes as a social accounting of equality is problematic insofar as tax is politicized and politicians regularly use it as a way of dividing society between tax payers and tax avoiders. Having read the first half and skipped through parts of the second half of the book where it is clear that Piketty loses steam in his account of capital, the critique Asimakopoulos offers is consistent and methodical in making his counter case against capital. John Asimakopoulos, *Against Capital in the Twenty-First Century: A Reader of Radical Undercurrents* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2018), p. 5. See also Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).

6 Asimakopoulos follows up by describing the forms that capital takes in the world's economy. '*Capitalism*, then, refers to the whole ideological apparatus that promotes and proliferates capital as the ideal logic of social (and economic, political, cultural, and ecological) organization. And finally, *capitalist* describes (or names) forms of life, social, political, and economic systems, and the people who embody, reflect, and reproduce the power of capital'. Ibid, p. 10.

7 Ibid, p. 18.

8 Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974), p. 52.

9 Colin Ward, *Anarchy in Action* (London: Freedom Press, 1996), p. 19.

10 Ibid, p. 59.

11 Following on from Ward's discussion concerning the urban planning of cities, he states that 'with not the slightest provision for popular initiative and choice in the whole planning process it is scarcely surprising that the citizen mistrusts and fears the "planner" who for him is just one more municipal functionary working in secrecy'. Ibid, p. 60.

12 Appropriately, Ward is scathing about property ownership, something he shares with Tolstoy. Ward is damning of middle-class property purchases, where the 'former tenants are added to the numbers of overcrowded or homeless city dwellers, compelled by their low incomes to be the superfluous people, the non-citizens of the city who man its essential services at incomes that do not allow them to live there above the squalor level'. Ibid, p. 61.

13 Ward expands the incompatibility between law enforcement and crime and anarchy, arguing that law is '[t]he expressed will of the state. A command or a prohibition emanating from the authorised agencies of the state, and backed up by the authority and the capacity to exercise force which is characteristic of the state'. Regarding crime and anarchy, Ward offers the following definition: 'Crime: A violation of the criminal law, i.e. a breach of the conduct code specifically sanctioned by the state, which through its legislative agencies defines crimes and their penalties, and through its administrative agencies prosecutes offenders and imposes and administers punishments'. Ibid, p. 123.

14 The 'invisibility' of slum dwellings on the periphery of cities, Ward suggests, is a marker of the division between city officials and slum dwellers. 'The local official citizens don't even notice the invisible city. But does it feel like that on the ground to the inhabitant, making a place of his own, as a physical foothold in urban life and the urban economy?' Ward writes that the 'official view, from city

officials, governments, newspapermen, and international agencies, is that such settlements are the breeding-grounds for every kind of crime, vice, disease, social and family disorganisation. How could they not be since they sprang up without official sanction or finance and as the result of illegal seizure of land?' Ibid, p. 68.

15 Tolstoy points to the success of self-organizing societies where violence between peoples conflict over land was absent, but where governments control societies, violence was the main way of maintaining control; 'either people are rational beings or they are irrational beings'. 'If they are irrational beings, then they are all irrational, and then everything among them is decided by violence, and there is no reason why certain people should, and others should not, have a *right* to use violence. And in that case, governmental violence has no justification. But if men are rational beings, then their relations should be based on reason, and not on the violence of those who happen to have seized power. And in that case, again, governmental violence has no justification'. Leo Tolstoy, 'Arranging Our Own Lives', in *The Anarchist Reader*, ed. George Woodcock (New York: Fontana, 1977), pp. 306, 309.

16 Ibid, p. 308.

17 Giambattista Vico, *New Science*, trans. David Marsh (London: Penguin Books, 2013 [1744]), pp. 95, 109, 292.

18 Harold Barclay, *People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchism* (London: Kahn & Averill and Cienfuegos Press, 1982), p. 37.

19 Barclay suggests that 'since the egalitarian hunting-gathering society is the oldest type of human society and prevailed for the longest period of time – over thousands of decades – then anarchy must be the oldest and one of the most enduring kinds of polity. Ten thousand years ago everyone was an anarchist'. Ibid, pp. 38–39.

20 See Vikram Dodd and Jamie Grierson report in the Guardian, 10 January 2020: www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jan/10/xr-extinction-rebellion-listed-extremist-ideology-police-prevent-scheme-guidance.

21 James Baldwin was interviewed in a 1968 episode on *The Dick Cavett Show* in front of a live, mostly white audience. After being interviewed by Cavett about his writing and relations with Dr Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, Baldwin found himself having to explain the oppressive status of African-Americans in American society. Responding to a statement by the other guest on the show, Yale Philosophy Professor Paul Weiss who suggested that Baldwin had more in common with white writers than Black writers and the lack of university scholarships open to African-Americans, Baldwin launched into an attack explaining why this is so, why African-Americans have to constantly defend themselves, why it is that they do not receive the same opportunities that white Americans do. See www.youtube.com/watch?v=_fZQQ7o16yQ.

22 Based on the book by Roberto Saviano, directed by Matteo Garrone and released in 2008, *Gomorrah* is set in the vast dilapidated modernist housing project Le Vele di Scampia in the northern district of Naples. The film is based on a Mafia crime syndicate (Camorra) involved in drug running and extortion, and it chronicles the lives of the people living within the housing estate.

23 Jacque Derrida, *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason*, trans. Pascal-Anne Brault and Michael Nass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), p. xiii.

24 Thoreau's lecture was provisionally titled 'The Relation of the Individual to the State' but would later become 'Resistance to Civil Government' published by the American liberal, childcare reformer, and advocate for individual freedoms Elizabeth Palmer Peabody (1804–94) in a collection of essays under the title *Aesthetic Papers*.

25 Leo Tolstoy, *The Anarchist Reader*, ed. George Woodcock (Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1977), p. 197.

26 Thoreau offers a witty critique of the democratic principles of voting: 'All voting is a sort of gaming, like checkers or backgammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions; and betting naturally accompanies it. The character of the voters is not staked. I cast my vote, perchance, as I think right; but I am not vitally concerned that that right should prevail. I am willing to leave it to the majority. Its obligation, therefore, never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting *for the right* is *doing* nothing for it'. Ibid, pp. 198, 200, emphasis in original.

27 The rogue in society swings between being recognized and thus seen as a swindler or unrecognizable thus extended hospitality albeit limited and conditional. As Derrida puts it, 'it is typical for democracy to do one or the other, sometimes one and the other, sometimes both at the same time and/or by turns. Rogues or degenerates [*les voyous ou les roués*] are sometimes brothers, citizens, compeers'. Derrida, *Rogues*, p. 63.

28 Ibid, pp. 63–64.

29 Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space* (London: Verso, 2014), p. 115.

30 Given that Easterling is talking about the infrastructure of global communications, it is also permissible to think through how the physical urban plan connects society to the city. 'Some of the most radical changes to the globalizing world are being written', Easterling notes, 'not in the language of law and diplomacy, but in these spatial, infrastructural because market promotions technologies – often or prevailing political ideologies lubricate their movement through the world'. Ibid, p. 10.

31 Gerald Daly, 'Who Are the Homeless?', in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 110–11.

32 A respected advocate in global policy development concerning housing, land dispossession, and subsequent poverty, Miloon Kothari served from 2000 to 2008 as the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing with the Human Rights Council. See Miloon Kothari's report titled *The Global Crisis of Displacement and Evictions a Housing and Land Rights Response* (New York: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Publication, Dec. 2015), p. 2.

33 The global housing crisis Kothari points to can be illustrated by the sobering example he gives about the urban pressures placed on India's main cities as the mass movement of people migrate from regional areas of the country to the cities. Kothari explains that '[t]hree of India's mega-cities (Delhi, Mumbai, and Calcutta) make out 17 percent of the world's slum population. In 2011, 31 percent of India's population was living in cities. In 2031, 41 percent of the country's population will be living in slums'. Ibid, pp. 2, 4.

34 Asef Bayat, *Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 2.

35 Ibid, pp. 161–62.

36 The history of the Palestinian refugee crisis can be traced to the 1917 Balfour Declaration. When Palestine was still under the British mandate, the United Kingdom's Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour promised in a letter to Lord Rothschild, a leader of the Jewish community, that the British government would approve the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The Arab kings and leaders of that time considered this promise a violation of previous treaties with the British Government but above all a violation of the holy land and appointed themselves as the guardians of Palestine. This was the real start of the long line of Arab–Israeli wars, bloodshed, and Palestinian immigration waves to adjacent countries such as Jordan and Syria. Later on, most of

these Arab countries signed peace treaties with Israel, with Palestinian refugees remaining until now scattered around the Arab world in what were once emergency refugee camps. According to Kassir, '[e]ven if the official seat of the PLO was in Damascus and Yasser Arafat himself spent a great deal of time of time in Cairo, Beirut was for all intents and purposes the capital of Palestinian political life'. See Samir Kassir, *Beirut* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

37 For a detailed account of the Palestinian exodus, see Dawn Chatty's *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
38 For more on the Palestinian exodus, see David McDowall, *Palestine and Israel*, First Edition (London: I.B. Tauris, 1989).
39 See Saba Innab, *How to Build Without a Land*: http://u-in-u.com/nafas/articles/2014/saba-innab/.
40 This contradiction in the status of the refugee's relationship to the permanency of settlement is continually being reinforced by the array of mass designed shelters of the UN. Companies such as IKEA mass-produce a hard-shell flat pack refugee shelter, while various militaries supply tents and portable Nissen huts. There are also many architectural projects to tackle the issue of immediate shelters. From the Japanese architect Shigeru Ban's sustainable bamboo huts to the Scottish design firm Suisse RD-Shelter who strive to produce aesthetically modelled, textile-based shelters providing self-generating energy production, thermal insulation, and breathable outer shell membranes, these are examples of refugee shelters being procured as a solution to immediate problems but that governments, NGOs, and agencies are deploying as temporary-permanent housing solutions with the refugee camp at its center.
41 Kassir, *Beirut*, p. 473.
42 Miriyam Aouragh, *Palestine Online: Transnationalism, the Internet, and the Construction of Identity* (London: I.B. Tauris Academic Studies, 2011), p. 182.
43 Ibid, p. 183.
44 Richard Sennett, *The Craftsman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 228.
45 Ibid, p. 229.
46 Mehrotra refers to the design of refugee camps 'expressed in the neutralizing repetition of the identical unit in a regular grid as a base or their urban from' and that this is also expressed in the city as 'what seems to characterize the camp as a space-production paradigm in contemporary urbanism, extrapolating the contradictions of refugee camps to other fields of urban design'. Rahul Mehrotra and Felipe Vera, *Ephemeral Urbanism: Cities in Constant Flux* (Santiago: ARQ Ediciones, 2016), pp. 163–64.
47 Agamben argues that the space of the camp 'is produced at the point at which the political system of the modern nation-state, which was founded on the functional nexus between a determinate localization (land) and a determinate order (the State) and mediated by automatic rules for the inscription of life (birth or the nation), enters into a lasting crisis, and the State decides to assume directly the care of the nation's biological life as one of its proper tasks'. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 181.
48 Mehrotra and Vera, *Ephemeral Urbanism*, p. 164.
49 Ibid, p. 165.
50 Mehrotra and Vera describe how the ephemeral landscapes of the military at borders, on patrol, and in war seep into the conditioning of urbanity in the city: 'Considering that new military operations are progressively taking place in supermarkets, buildings, tunnels and factories rather in isolated or deserted

conditions, how far are we from having this hyper controlled but actually "out of control" form of the ephemeral within our cities? This is the most aggressive, destructive and painful expression of the ephemeral city'. Ibid, pp. 192, 196.

51 Continuing his city as camp argument, Agamben notes: 'The camp as dislocating localization is the hidden matrix of the politics in which we are living, and it is the structure of the camp that we must learn to recognize in all its metamorphoses into the *zones d'attentes* of our airports and certain outskirts of our cities. The camp is the fourth, inseparable element that has now added itself to – and so broken – the old trinity composed of the state, the nation (birth), and land'. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, p. 99.

52 Peter Šenk, *Capsules: Typology of Other Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. xiv.

53 Šenk also refers to Krzysztof Wodiczko's *Homeless Vehicle Project* in New York for the 'homeless who collect plastic bottles and cans for recycling. A cart with a unit for sleeping, and carrying luggage and the collected material, enables the homeless to be mobile without being on the grid, since the latter is replaced by their independence and coexistence within urban space. In addition, looking like a food cart or street cleaning cart, it is adjusted to the environment and has a utilitarian character. It enables the homeless to be beneficial to the city, pointing out problems and influencing changes in the perception of the homeless in public'. Ibid, pp. 96, 128.

54 Šenk's reference to 'parasites' does not refer to the homeless but to the parasitic nature of capsule architecture explored in the 1960s and '70s as an alternative to permanent stable building to the present such as '*Rucksack House*' by Stefan Eberstadt (2012) or the multifarious '*Minibox* unit' shelters by enterprising designers today. Ibid, p. 178.

55 Frank Gaffikin and Mike Morrissey, *Planning in Divided Cities: Collaborative Shaping of Contested Space* (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p. 7.

56 Ibid, p. 45.

57 See Colin Ward, *Talking Houses* (London: Freedom Press, 1990).

58 Ibid, p. 101.

59 See Wendy Williams, *Shifting Borders: Africa's Displacement Crisis and Its Security Implications* (Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, 22 Oct. 2019): https://relief web.int/report/world/shifting-borders-africa-s-displacement-crisis-and-its-security-implications.

60 For more information concerning refugee numbers and the sites of refugee camps, see Raptim Humanitarian Travel: www.raptim.org/largest-refugee-camps-in-2018/. See also the UNHCR, 'Forced Displacement in 2017' report by the UN High Commission for Refugees released 2018: http://www.unhcr.org/statistics.

61 Ward, *Anarchy*, p. 142.

62 Šenk, *Capsules*, p. 4.

63 Taken from Thoreau's essay 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience', Cage likes to say that musicians are in fact anarchical and 'ready' for the challenge: 'We now have many musical examples of the practicality of anarchy. Music with determinate parts, no fixed relation of them (no score). Music without notation. Our rehearsals are not conducted. . . . Musicians can do without government. Like ripe fruit (I refer to the metaphor at the end of Thoreau's Essay), they have dropped away from the tree'. John Cage, *Empty Words, Writings 73–78* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), p. 183.

64 John Cage, *Anarchy New York City – January 1988* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), p. v.

65 In his reference to Fuller, Cage writes: 'Looking at Fuller's Geodesic Dome we see that the earth is a single island. Oahu. We must give all the people all they need

to love in any way they wish. Our present laws protect the rich from the poor. If there are to be laws we need ones that begin with the acceptance of poverty as a way of life. We must make the earth safe for poverty without dependence on government'. Ibid.

66 It is worth noting Cage's influences that formulated his form of anarchy and the form of the poem's spatial displacement on the page. 'Paul Herman, author of *Quotations from the Anarchists* . . . Seldes' *Great Quotations* . . . The *Essential Works of Anarchism* edited by Marshall S. Shatz . . . James J. Martin who wrote Men Against the State'. Ibid, p. vi.

67 Ibid, p. vii.

68 Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, Second Revised Edition (New York and London: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1911), p. 30.

6 City in transgression

Instability of order

In *Architecture and Transgression*, architect and writer Bernard Tschumi points to the role transgression plays in rethinking urban programming from the initial design to spatial transformation. 'Whether through literal or phenomenal transgression, architecture is seen here as the momentary and sacrilegious convergence of real space and ideal space'.[1] In *Preface to Transgression*, Michel Foucault notes how transgression is obstinately circumvented by short durations of movement, drawing and redrawing the space from where it springs. 'Transgression is an action which involves the limit, that narrow zone of a line where it displays the flash of its passage, but perhaps also its entire trajectory, even its origin; it is likely that transgression has its entire space in the line it crosses'.[2] Foucault's idea of durational trajectories and Tschumi's idea of momentary convergence describe how transgression is a crossing-over of 'real space and ideal space' and an 'entire space' in physical and literary embodiments. Through material composition and scripted word, transgression suggests how the determinant spaces of urban planning can be renegotiated for mobility. Yet, transgression remains restricted to the parcels of inflexible, mono-programming city planning that is further thwarted by the limitations of design and building. The challenge for the cities of the future in responding to the demands of global human mobility is how to recreate spatial opportunity through urban planning. Formulizing an elastic, rather than the present static, urbanity calls for new orders of transformative spaces to emerge. On the one hand, these spaces are destabilized, dislocated, and dissociated from the plan, and, on the other, they are crossings, transgressions, and expansions – forming renewed social and spatial relations across society and city.

Tschumi's investigation for an architecture of transgression and an urbanity of disjunction arose out of the unexpected autonomy 'of the metropolis to generate unexpected social or cultural manifestations'. This allowed him to consider how it might 'be possible to encourage such urban upheavals "to design the conditions" rather than "to condition the design"' where 'the urban condition itself could be a means to accelerate social change'.[3] In

calling for an architecturally as much as socially engineered transgression of urban environments, one can sense Tschumi's frustration with the role that the architect exerts over urban and architectural planning. As he highlights, 'we [architects] could act as revolutionaries by using our environmental knowledge (meaning our understanding of cities and the mechanisms of architecture) in order to be part of professional forces trying to arrive at new social and urban structures'.[4] Tschumi's call for an urban uprising intentionally annexes the architectural regime for spatial dominance, for 'there is no architecture without event or program'. His revolutionary call is what defines architecture in transgression and what helps to define the city in transgression. Again, it can be relayed back to the homeless, refugees, and asylum seekers insofar as they recreate the urban program, combining camp and city by intervening in the measured spaces of urban planning. 'Rebellious use of the urban physical framework had led to various types of urban upheaval, could the use and misuse of the architectural space lead to a new architecture?'[5] It would be unwise, however, to view homeless and refugee constructions of shelter as architecture as such, for their spaces of shelter and protection come by way of necessity without the means of building and financial resources. But their ability to adopt and adapt mono-programmed infrastructure for habitation ought to lead us to think that given the chance to create them anew, the social structures would no doubt redefine urban environments to the city in transgression. 'Architecture's inherent confrontation of space and use and the inevitable disjunction of the two terms means that architecture is constantly unstable, constantly on the verge of change'.[6] Tschumi's rationale for an architecture of disjunction is to lead with transgression as the spatial trajectory in countering the limitations of design and building and in doing so to achieve a greater social cohesion between the city and the people. The variable landscapes of occupation formed by refugees and the homeless remake infrastructure 'on the verge of change', not to Tschumi's concept for an architecture of disjunction but rather the basic necessities of creating shelter – one that self-forms. Tschumi informs us that the limits of transgression do 'not mean the methodical destruction of any code or rule that concerns space or architecture. On the contrary, it introduces new articulations between inside and outside, between concept and experience. Very simply it means overcoming unacceptable prevalences'.[7]

It might be worth asking: how does transgression translate to the plight of the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers in camps, on streets, under bridges, between buildings and vacant lots, in forming their habitat? The answer might lie in how they bridge the transit zones of non-places they occupy. Tschumi's formation for architectural transgression and disjunction, merging concept and experience, is a reconsideration of urban planning and building practices. Transgression is proceeded by the refugee and the homeless through the spatial transformation of urban sites into inhabitable spaces. Transgression also occurs when society accepts their presence and site of habitation in the city. Crossing demarcated zones of city planning,

passing through borders and boundaries of states and nations is to remove spatial determinacy. If we are to consider the refugee, the asylum seeker, and the homeless acquisition of urban space for occupation becoming a model for the city in mobility, what will be realized is the city in transgression.

Elizabeth Wilson in her 1993 essay 'The Limits of Transgression' takes up Foucault's concept of transgression – the 'action which involves the limit' – and suggests that it 'constantly seeks to cross a limit – or *the* limit – of the permissible, but this act of transgression then sets up a further limit which then has to be crossed in its turn. One implication of this might be that the threshold of what shocks is progressively raised'.[8] To interpret Wilson's meaning of 'the threshold of what shocks is progressively raised' in light of the homeless and refugees crafting shelter is to understand the shock as society's inability to incorporate their presence into daily life. In the words of Roland Barthes, the presence and destitution of the homeless in cities and refugees in camps 'pricks the viewer' as much as it numbs the experience for their viewing. Foucault's reply to the limits of transgression is the capacity for its interpretation. 'The play of limits and transgression seems to be regulated by a simple obstinacy: transgression incessantly crosses and recrosses a line which closes up behind it in a wave of extremely short duration, and thus it is made to return once more right to the horizon of the uncrossable'.[9] If we again consider the homeless and refugee crossing the controls of spatial planning and the histories of the vagrant's wandering across territories, then transgression can be seen as a recrimination to the erasure of rights and the freedoms of human mobility. Transgression, Foucault writes, 'is not related to the limit as black to white, the prohibited to the lawful, the outside to the inside, or as the open area of a building to its enclosed spaces. Rather, their relationship takes the form of a spiral which no simple infraction can exhaust'.[10] In the form of the spiral you can be simultaneously inside and outside and where the upward journey is the same as the downward, and as across. Transgression exposes the limitations of identifiable boundaries and allows the redrawing of its edges; forming transitional spaces in plane and surface crossings to allow for new cultural and social identities to emerge.

Transgression can be related to the refugee and homeless inhabitations of the planes and surfaces of the built environment by appreciating that their occupations do not oppose society as such but expand the possibilities of what it may become – unilaterally inclusive. Foucault is keen to point out that transgression is not about 'upsetting the solidity of foundations; it does not transform the other side of the mirror, beyond an invisible and uncrossable line, into a glittering expanse'. In other words, transgression is neither fantastical idealism nor revolutionary action in opposition to existing authoritative controls on space, as argued in the previous chapter; instead, it marks the emergence of new sides of the metaphorical mirror that are yet to exist – the reflective silver film and the non-reflective black backing. 'Transgression is neither violence in a divided world (in an ethical world) nor a victory over limits (in a dialectical or revolutionary world)', Foucault

explains. 'Transgression contains nothing negative', for it 'affirms the limit-
lessness into which it leaps as it opens this zone to existence for the first
time'.[11] Transgression is the revelation of the normally hidden, and in the case
of the homeless, asylum seeker, and refugee, these are the neglected and ill-
defined urban infrastructure spaces of the city; inner-city highways, crossover
bridges, pedestrian passageways, public spaces recast through occupation.

Transgression and temporary occupations of infrastructure can also
be understood in counterpart to the (apparent) permanency of the urban
built environment. In *Obsolescence: An Architectural History*, Daniel M.
Abramson surveys the life of buildings cut short before reaching the matu-
rity of adulthood. In the capitalist-driven property speculation of American
cities such as New York, Detroit (when it was the automobile capital of
the world), Atlantic City, and Chicago or indeed most cities throughout
the world, building permanency is co-opted with building profit. Once the
profit margins of a building have reached their peak, it becomes a profitable
proposition to tear the building down and build a new one in its place. The
growth spurts of the world's cities as mass urbanization emptied rural popu-
lations from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution at the turn of the
19th century to the interwar developments of the 1920s and postwar devel-
opments of the 1950s and 1960s, the model for short-life buildings became

Figure 6.1 Homeless shelter, Mexico City
Source: photo by author, 2019

a way of turning over cities as speculative places – a process that continues today. American, Canadian, European, Asian, African, South American, and Australian cities have been forged from the spreadsheets of speculators, often resulting in urban turmoil and social instability. Un-building permanency, Abramson suggests, was a condition for 'transcending commercial real estate' where ' "modern needs" have "reduced average life of a *home* today to thirty years" '.[12]

One of the most famous short-lived buildings can be found in the Pruitt-Igoe urban housing complex in the city of St. Louis, Missouri. Constructed between 1952–55, Pruitt-Igoe comprised 33 11-storey apartment buildings, which by the late 1960s had become an urban slum beset by crime and high vacancy rates. Armed with sticks of dynamite, the drastic step was taken to demolish all 33 buildings – a type of architectural laundering of failed urban planning. The example of Pruitt-Igoe's short-life came to symbolize the impermanency of building in the 20th century. No longer was building a legacy that turned the pages of human history through millennia – such as the Luxor Temple, the Great Mosque of Djenné, Rome's Pantheon, and Athens' Parthenon continue to do now. History is filled with cities being razed to the ground and erased from the face of the earth. The erasure of the ancient cities of Carthage, Troy, Babylon, and Thebes was a result of military conflict and revenge. Modern-day erasures such as Seattle's 32-year regrade of its topography (1898–1930), which also resulted in the erasure of neighborhoods, to the destruction of Hamburg and Berlin and the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during WWII, to Mosul in Iraq and Aleppo in Syria, cities have become less permanent and more vulnerable to the destructive technologies of war. Destruction, erasure, and reconstruction tell of the fragility of architecture, building, and the city. They also speak to how the temporary occupations of urban sites by refugees and the homeless reform these histories of erasure and destruction to a new urban adaptation of resistance and resilience. The differences are clear. Reconstruction replaced destruction as a way of ensuring the survival of cities, whereas refugees and the homeless adapt existing spaces, ensuring their security and survival – recall Mother Courage, her wagon, and her endurance.

Advocating that refugees, migrants, and the homeless represent the new frontier explorers of the city points to how the city in mobility of the future can be developed. Given that their reality is the territory of the camp, the dangers of seas, deserts, borders, boundaries, geopolitics, and discrimination, it is transgression that affords them the ability to adopt and adapt urban infrastructure. For the city in transgression to be a workable model, the whole society will have to participate in transgression – the crossing of inseparable boundaries, the determinacy of the urban plan, swapping the politics of expulsion for a new world model of human mobility, city planning, and inhabitancy. The shift from permanence to impermanence, material accountancy rather than excess, shelter and security rather than property and protection, inclusion rather than exclusion – all this speaks to the physical and literary ideas contained in the conceptions of transgression

put forward by the likes of Tschumi, Foucault, and Wilson. Addressing the future of the city in light of global human movement in the 21st century requires a radical rethinking of permanency, capital, and property.

Citing Swiss architect Hans Bernoulli's postwar theory whereby cities of the future are under 'constant organic regeneration', Abramson tells us that this could be achieved 'by means of eighty-year district rebuilding cycles. Government would mandate time contracts for each building type, from thirty-year temporary structures, to forty-to-sixty-year industries and offices, to sixty-to-eighty-year housing'.[13] From Abramson's retelling of Bernoulli's prediction we can discern a pendulum swinging between urban cultivation of building and un-building. As I noted in Chapter 1, Giambattista Vico referred to the curved shape of the plough called the *urbs*, and this can prove helpful in cultivating an image of what Bernoulli's future city might look like: a urban farm that tills the ground in continuous temporal cycles of planting and reaping buildings. As retold by Abramson, Bernoulli's future city proposal to constantly manage architecture's death instills the idea of a city in mobility; permanency cedes to temporality and longevity to obsolescence.

Shifting between obsolescence and permanency in the built environment realizes possibilities for re-programming the arterials of infrastructure that give the city its mobility. In the age of peak oil and fossil emissions, the life cycle of the infrastructure takes on a new spatial praxis yet to be invented.

Figure 6.2 Shanties beside highway overpass, Mexico City

Source: photo by author, 2019

A part of this invention is already underway. Vast stretches of inner-city highways, bridges, and the infrastructures which support mobility present new possibilities for pliable spaces for habitation. As petrol-driven cars give way to quieter and cleaner electric cars, the spaces of infrastructure become not only pollution-free spaces but also economically viable spaces for habitation. As the homeless, refugees, and asylum seekers have led this present habitation of infrastructure spaces, the aim would be to support the obsolescence of their occupations adding a new stratum of habitancy to the city. The flimsy urbanism they presently create would begin to be credited for their creative capacity of adopting and adapting existing structures and for transgressing capital and property. The city in transgression is notably *terrain vague*; indeterminate spatial relations and crossings through urban zones undefined.

Conclusion

Transgression is where there is instability of spatial identity, where spatial programming dissolves into unknown spaces. The architect and historian Ignasi de Solà-Morales understood the term *terrain vague* when experiencing the spaces of industrial wastelands. He identified *terrain vague* as between programmatic space, loosened or ceasing to be determinate. Seventy years before Solà-Morales' *terrain vague* of industrial wastelands, Sigmund Freud developed his concept of *unheimlich* (unhomely or unbelonging) through his understanding of Ernst Jentsch's concept of the *uncanny*, which he described as the uncertainty of one's intellectual reasoning, that is, not knowing one's way around a problem or issue that demands a decision. As noted in Chapter 4, Freud developed his *unheimlich* concept from his studies of German soldiers returning from the battlefields of the Western Front in WWI. He noticed that many soldiers were unable to describe the strip of land that separated the trenches of the opposing armies.[14] This highly defined yet artificial strip of land is referred to as 'no man's land' – a death zone of topographical ditches, ground mired in mud, entangled forms of barbed wire, and the bodies of dead men. Freud's observations of traumatized shell-shocked soldiers' inability to recall their experiences in this wasteland death zone would help him formulate his psychological concept of extreme ruptured memory. He found that no two experiences were alike even though the soldiers experienced the same devastating conditions of that strip of land. Freud's psychological analysis of the soldiers' mental state furthered his appreciation of Jentsch's *uncanny* concept to a psychological-spatial experience of the strangely familiar troubled feeling of the unhomely. What Freud found to be similar in the traumatized soldiers' recalling of their experience of 'no man's land' was the familiarity of the death zone – since only the dead could permanently occupy it.

Solà-Morales' descriptions of *terrain vague*, Jentsch's *uncanny*, and Freud's *unheimlich* are also pertinent concepts when considering the illustrations of ruins by the 17th-century artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi, particularly in

his *Views of Rome* (*Vedute di Roma*). Piranesi's fine etchings of remnants of architectures and monuments of the ancient Roman Empire are recognizable and romantically attractive yet also strangely grotesque. They depict nature taking over with the roots of plants etching their way through stone and marble, rupturing the memory of Imperial Rome. Solà-Morales argued that *terrain vague* – 'those empty, abandoned spaces' where 'a series of occurrences have taken place' – seem to 'subjugate the eye of the urban photographer'.[15] Piranesi's illustrations of Rome's aesthetic decay (long before the invention of photography) tell of the strangely familiar character of the site, similarly to the notion of *terrain vague*. Solà-Morales explains that 'the term *terrain*', with French origins, has 'a more urban quality than the English *land*' while *vague* has Latin and Germanic roots, with the German '*Woge*' referring to 'sea swell' signifying 'movement, oscillation, instability, and fluctuation'. He informs us that vague 'descends from *vacuus*, giving us "vacant" and "vacuum" in English, which is to say "empty, unoccupied" ', which translates into 'indeterminant, imprecise, blurred, uncertain'.[16] The 'in-determinant, im-precise, un-certain of *terrain vague*', Solà-Morales implies, is 'this absence of limit, this almost oceanic sentiment, to use Freud's expression'; it is 'precisely the message which contains the expectations of mobility, vagrant roving, free time, liberty'.[17] The attraction to Piranesi's illustrations of ruination and Freud's unhomely of the strangely familiar would later be taken up by Anthony Vidler in *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*.[18] Vidler picks up where Freud left off in exploring the *uncanny* and *unheimlich* trauma of the mind in relation to the physical spatial resonance of encounter in architecture.

In attempting to draw connections between *terrain vague* and the occupied spaces of refugees, the homeless, and asylum seekers, we need to better understand and appreciate their *uncanny* foreign-alien habitations. The stability of order that infrastructure provides becomes the strangely familiar via way of habitation. In these spaces, the *terrain vague* of refugees and homeless occupation merges with the strangely familiar for an urban mobility. Motorways, bridges, verges, medium strips, vacant lots are spaces of *terrain vague* by appearance that remain even in the appearances of the homeless and refugees' adoption and adaptation of these sites. The *uncanny* of *terrain vague* is foregrounded by their occupations, making the familiar seem strangely familiar, for it is only the homeless person, the destitute person, the refugee, or the asylum seeker who occupy these sites.

The modern unhomely of refugees, asylum seekers, and the homeless arises from the insecurities of the homed that form the divisions between them. The uncertainty created by the space of *terrain vague* resets the agenda of stable urban planning for the city in transgression. What is realized by refugees and the homeless in their ability to adopt and adapt the 'no man's land' strips of ground, edges, and surfaces of infrastructure as sites of residency is the *uncanny* reality of their presence. Attraction and fear rise in the space of their appearance, in the spaces of infrastructure, and, as such, they

are continually abandoned by society with every passing of a car, a bike, or a walker. The instability of order and the strangely familiar spaces of the *unhomely* of conflict zones come to the spaces that the homeless and refugees occupy. Unable to console the minds of traumatized soldiers, Freud's *unhomely* is within us all and pervades society. The uncertainty of the space is what maintains the certainties of separation between the unhomed and the homed. At present, it is a ruinous relationship. The instability of order arises when familiarity is assumed and spatial experience is confused. Disconnectivity challenges the way in which refugees and the homeless in their creative urban occupations are viewed – namely as strangely familiar – and yet most often they are seen as strangely offensive.

The radical turn

In the face of selective adversity practiced by both the unhomed and the homed, there is an allegorical notion of the evolution of human mobility in the 21st century undertaken by refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless. Charles Darwin's study of plant and animal life and biological transformations – for example, blind mollusks to fish, caterpillars to moths – prompted him to conceive of his evolutionary origin of species theory.[19] Also known as the 'Transmutation Theory', Darwin understood that life forms evolved as they adapted to their habitats. It is not my intention here to compare the life of organisms, plants, and animals to the homeless or refugee adaptations of urban sites but rather to draw an analogy to the human capacity for transformation and to think the city as a type of species undergoing a radical turn of transmutation and transgression.

As already discussed in Chapter 2, which told of the city's transformation from settlement to the expanse of surfaces of exterior and interior volumes multiplied ad infinitum in vertical and horizontal planes, the city is nevertheless an enclosed environment. Separations of inside and outside spaces, lines of transport arteries that dissect the city and splinter neighborhoods dividing rich from poor, ethnicity and race, customs and cultures, the city's enclosures are omnipresent. The unhomed are likewise divided into strands of separations: homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, climate change migrants, those dispossessed of land, down and out, mentally ill, drug users, sex workers. . . . Each of these groups lives on the edges of infrastructure and the peripheries of cities, hidden within surfaces and appearing on pavements, public spaces and parks, under bridges and highway overpasses. Visible and invisible, their adaptation and integration of the built environment for inhabitation presents a dichotomy to the determinant programming of city planning. How the urban conditions and the human situations can be unified to create the future city in mobility is by blurring the formal and non-formal spaces of the city. The radical spatial turn for the city in transgression is where society and the homed who are publicly celebrated and the unhomed who are publicly shunned dissolve or, in Darwin's theory, transfigure.

At the turn of the 19th century, less than 10% of the world's population lived in cities. At the turn of the 21st century, that figure had moved to half of the world's population, and it is predicted that the number will drastically change again and that by 2050 three quarters of the world's population will be living in cities. With this continuing spike of people flooding into urban centers, the pressure on cities is mounting to an urban implosion – massive rises in population density, as well as shortages in housing and job opportunities. In response, securities and protections are being stepped up; gated communities, policing, racial profiling, and economic spatial management are being enlarged, standardizing cities by the increasing use of authoritative controls. Cities such as Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro display the cruel realities of urban dystopia where large marginalized populations are kept separate through either topographical formations or strict boundary demarcations. The rapid relocation of rural populations to urban centers to sustain the economic growth of factories in Chinese cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen is raising concerns about social cohesion and the long-term psychological impact of people having to quickly adjust to living in mass density housing. Where the formation of settlements was a result of the collective task of sharing protection and securing food, cities now rely on urban marginalization and individual responsibility for survival. While this is nothing new – for centuries, urban populations have been divided into classes dependent on their access to capital, education, and work – the present scale of urban explosion is genuinely unprecedented. From the Industrial Revolution through to today, the shaping of cities, societies, and economies is forged by the ruling economic class that is dependent on a subservient working class.

In *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro*, Janice Perlman speaks of the misconceptions associated with slum dwellings and the people who live in them. Perlman challenges the 'prevailing view of the urban poor and the irregular settlements in which they lived'.

> Squatter settlements were seen as syphilitic sores on the beautiful body of the city, dens of crime, and breeding grounds of violence, prostitution, family breakdown, and social disorganization. It was the fear of the Right and the hope of the Left that the disparity between their conditions and the surrounding opulence would turn the squatters into angry revolutionaries. The population at large viewed the squatters as *other*, rather than as part of the urban community, and this view was legitimized by social scientists and used to justify public policies of favela removal. *Marginality* thus moved beyond the simply descriptive to become a material and ideological force.[20]

Much of the same discriminatory descriptions that Perlman cites earlier have been aimed at refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless. The forced removal of urban slum dwellers, as with the homeless, does not

remove them entirely, for they simply reappear in another part of the city. As the number of urban populations continues to grow and human mobility becomes a way of life amid an unstable world, tactics such as managing exoduses and shifting resident populations will not be sustainable. Living on the fringes of the city, society, and infrastructure will, by extension, become new cores of the city, a radiating circle of temporality and mobility, elasticizing edges and surfaces. Returning to Tschumi's question about the role of architecture, he wonders whether, just as the 'rebellious use of the urban physical framework had led to various types of urban upheaval, could the use and misuse of the architectural space lead to a new architecture?'[21] The obvious answer would have to be *yes*. The spatial turn in formulating the city in transgression arises via turning marginal sites into core components.

Mobility implies movement, and movement implies ground-shifting. We walk over ground as much as ground moves with our walking.[22] Recall Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion Map, in which he argues that the accepted theory of human migration from south to north was equally east to west in its oscillations, and we can see that this is being enacted in the 21st century. In *Cities in Time: Temporary Urbanism and the Future of the City*, Ali Madanipour suggests that '[t]emporary urbanism may be partly interpreted as an intensification of change and a departure from predictable routines'.[23]

Figure 6.3 Homeless site, Mexico City
Source: photo by author, 2019

Madanipour's interest in temporary urbanism is mainly focused on time-space-event intersections as well as technological changes and migration. 'Temporary urbanism is at once a reflection of and a driver for acceler-ated mobility', he suggests, 'and intensified connectivity, and the efforts to fill the gaps created by structural change'.[24] Madanipour suggests that the social devolution of labor and economic change coupled with mass migra-tion is recreating the city as, what he terms, nomadic urbanism. 'Tempo-rariness appears to have a disruptive impact on stable societies', he asserts, 'somewhat similar to the impact of nomadic ways of life on sedentary populations'.[25]

Rahul Mehrotra and Felipe Vera's *Ephemeral Urbanism* discusses two contrasting alternatives that persist in the development of cities. 'The first derives from the assumption that development is about accumulation. This generates a common anxiety that drives cities with capital investments, producing what can be denominated a "hyper-city"'. The second is attrib-uted to the 'kinetic city' where 'urbanity considers the city in a state of constant flux. This continuous, kinetic quality is characterized by physical transformations . . . it is multifaceted, a three-dimensional conglomeration of incremental development, perceived as if in motion'.[26] Mehrotra and Vera describe the kinetic city as 'temporary in nature, dependent upon ephem-eral conditions, and often built with recycled materials: plastic sheets, scrap metal, canvas, and waste wood. These materials also enable modification and reinvention'.[27] One might think that they are describing the ephem-eral structures of the homeless and refugees, but their temporary urbanism is more in tune with their ideas of sustainability, mobility, and material reduction in forming shelter. The kinetic city, they suggest, is 'reliant upon an indigenous urbanism that has a particular "local" logic that reacts to people's needs, in relation to the place they inhabit'.[28] Certainly, the home-less, refugee, migrant, and asylum seeker live temporary lives in ephemeral structures. As discussed in Chapter 5, some groups – such as the Palestin-ian refugees in Beirut – live their lives in permanent temporariness, while others – such as those in the Dadaab Refugee Camp in Kenya, established in 1991 – live permanent lives in temporary transit. In between these two poles is the city in transgression – a supply city of spaces and shelters to human mobility. 'Today, urban environments face ever-increasing flows of human movement as well as an accelerated frequency of natural disasters and iterative economic crises that dictate the allocation of capital towards the physical components of cities'. Mehrotra and Vera point out that '[a]s a consequence, urban settings are required to be more flexible in order to be better prepared to respond to, organize, and resist external and internal pressures'.[29] The kinetic city, as with the city in mobility, is not intended to create a binary by making distinctions 'between the permanent and the ephemeral'; instead, Mehrotra and Vera reveal 'what remains versus what vanishes'.[30] Further on in their book, the authors characterize what consti-tutes the ephemeral city: 'The ephemeral city is often constructed out of

light materials, which allow it to adapt to a range of contexts, to be transported, and to colonize all sorts of spatial conditions'.[31]

Mehrotra and Vera's conception of the kinetic city resembles the flourishing of experimentation in architecture and building that occurred during the 1960s and 1970s. This period produced new ideas for flexible mobility as a way to contravene the stable histories and practices of architecture and building. Explorations of alternative concepts of dwelling – slung, hung, and bubble form phantasmagorias – brought a material lightness that defied the gravity of ground-based, standardized construction. The British futurists Archigram and their Italian counterparts Superstudio and Archizoom formulated their architectural manifestos to establish new and non-hierarchal social communities, opening up architecture and urban programming to a rhizomic geo-polis sensibility. As covered in part in Chapter 2, their designs of traversing planes of surfaces cutting through swathes of geography over indefinite distances served to dislocate the characteristics of terrain for urban super-highway plateaus linking cities and accommodating communities of urban drifters along its axis. Plasticized bubbles, walking capsules pinned on mechanical legs, and fun palaces of endless entertainment redrew the conservative practices of urban planning through intersecting, dissecting, and interconnecting a geo-culturally shared world that the Dutch artist Constant Nieuwenhuys explored in his epic project *New Babylon*. Adaptability was the core for his and Guy Debord's *Unitary Urbanism* theory – a modifying conception of unification – incorporating mobility, the city, and habitation as one.

Conclusion

Constant's *Unitary Urbanism* concept of the future city, which he developed for *New Babylon*, may have come closer to combining urban transformation and mobility. Based on elevated platforms of indiscriminate fluid programming, Constant developed his urban theory as a core member of the avantgarde collective of writers, architects, and artists who called themselves the Situationists. Led by Guy Debord, their concept of urban drift – the *dérive* – developed the foundation for their manifesto of *Unitary Urbanism*. To explore and transpose their urban concept into physical manifestations in architecture, building, and urbanism, Constant created model environments in ambiguous urban scales. Utilizing a variety of materials such as mesh, wire, wood, metal, perspex, plastic, and paint, his *Unitary Urbanism* formulated a layered city of interpretative open spaces for cohabitation. At the Third Situationist Conference held in Amsterdam in 1958, Constant delivered his paper titled 'Another City for Another Life'. There he stated that '[t]he crisis in urbanism is worsening' and that, in order to respond to this crisis, 'new forms of life' need to be found. Constant's proclamation was aimed at overthrowing the established order that had driven Western urban planning for centuries. His attack on modern urban developments, where old neighborhoods 'degenerated into freeways, leisure activities are commercialized

and denatured by tourism',[32] was aimed at rupturing the three tenets that dominated city planning: centralization, privatization, and capitalization. 'We are in the process of inventing new techniques; we are examining the possibilities existing cities offer; we are making models and plans for future cities'.[33] Constant's radical concept for his utopian *New Babylon* – not as the hanging gardens of ancient Babylon but as floating surface planes of the modern city – sought the removal of 'isolated housing units' where traffic 'dominates everything' and where meetings between people 'only occurs by chance'. *New Babylon* was aimed at blurring the boundaries between the public and private domains, allowing for transparent spaces of urban drift, communication, and interaction between people. The physical model environments that Constant created illustrated the Situationists' idea for a united urbanism – topographies of expansive 'terraces for an open-air terrain which extends over the whole surface of the city'.[34] Such 'terraces' exist in the city, namely the infrastructure of motorways, bridges, streets, and pavements used by cars, trucks, trains, and pedestrians. Constant and Debord's *Unitary Urbanism* concept, I would suggest, is being practiced today in the spaces inhabited by refugees, asylum seekers, the homeless, and migrants, not as a modeled idea but as physical embodiment.

There is no doubt that in the years since Constant's *New Babylon* many of the world's cities have undergone massive change, economic growth, population expansion, and rampant development. Many do not possess his autopoietic modeled city of the future. Many have created technological wizardry that might have rivaled the phantasmagoria of ancient Babylon, where it shimmered in the desert sands 3,000 years ago. Cities still rest on the stock exchange chess moves of global investors. Vast amounts of concrete have been poured over ever disappearing topographies to orchestrate the planes, surfaces, and movements of people where speed is desired. The city has yet to become truly mobile, whereby inhabitancy moves with and over ground 'in any direction without hindrance'.

The shift in the 1960s and 1970s from the architecture of permanency to aesthetic architectures of mobility were renegade steps aimed at recoding architecture and building. The failure from this period of experimentation to infiltrate urban planning and society is not lost on their contemporaries: the refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless who are living out and in such schemas for the lack of any alternative. The 1960s and 1970s sought to bring nomadic urban life for a new generation of tribal urban dwellers. While the bubbles and superhighways have not materialized as an alternative to the standard practices of architecture and building, the task of finding solutions to population expansion, which has doubled in the 50 years since, remains the central task in developing cities of the future. Other than being a bonanza for property developers, the world's population explosion seems not to be a priority for governments and planners. If not already evident, the approaching implosion of cities' ability to provide housing, energy, and resources for their inhabitants requires a far more radical turn in order to meet the needs of a growing population. Urbanism as we

know it has to be usurped and the dominance of capital overthrown so that a new nomadic global mobility of people fleeing poverty, war, famine, persecution, inequality, and climate change can survive and flourish. It would be negligent on the part of the global community to dismiss this new evolution of human migration in which all of us will participate.

Infrastructure edges

The city is defined by its edges, and edges define the separation between spaces. 'Borders and boundaries possess a special force and power', Edward Casey contends in his book *The World on Edge*. 'They are not only useful – borders in a more focused way than boundaries – but they also often act to determine entire histories: personal, institutional, regional, even global'.[35] Casey refers to the 'indefiniteness of boundaries' ranging from 'walls that exclude immigrants . . . issues of real estate and land use and state borders'. He reminds us that borders and boundaries 'act to determine entire histories' in the course of nations and societies and argues that the world is reaching its limits and 'calls for transgression'. Borders 'are clearly demarcated edges that serve to distinguish one place (region, state, territory) from another', whereas 'boundaries, in contrast, resist linearization; they are inherently indeterminate, porous, and often change configuration'.[36] The transgressing of edges that marked the beginnings of settlement to the citadel lies in the thickness of the lines that now form the surface plane demarcations of the present metropolis. As Casey explains, the problem of drawing lines on a map belies the problem whereby the 'genealogy of geometry does not address the more difficult question of the intrinsic shapefulness of the earth's land and water masses'.[37] City planning and urban infrastructure got rid of the natural characteristics of terrain and placed in its absence areas defined by edges. 'Borders are artifacts of explicit human designs, individual or collective; they are imposed structures, whereas boundaries emerge from what is already given, whether this is the edge of an open plain or of a neighborhood long in the making'.[38] Casey argues that where borders maintain the separation between nations and exclude and differentiate peoples from each side, boundaries demarcate sectors to exclude people on either side. In their occupation of boundaries, edges, and surface planes, the homeless and refugees might seem to be peripheral inhabitants of the city – a perception that is shared by the dominant society of the homed. Yet, one could (and indeed should) argue that the occupations of urban infrastructure by refugees and the homeless turn edge into center, surface into habitation, and boundary into porous zone. Their visceral occupation of these zones achieves, in small parcels, mobility in the city but not the city in mobility.

Where borders and boundaries place controls that contain and limit human movement, they also provide the demarcations on space by which they can be traversed. To understand the limits of borders and boundaries is to know their limitations. Boundaries can be crossed and walls can be traversed; tunnels can be dug beneath them, a hole can be blown through them, they can be climbed and flown over. A quick search through the histories of

Figure 6.4 Homeless shelter, highway overpass, Mexico City

Source: photo by author, 2019

military sieges demonstrates how walls are breached. Even the medieval cita-del's highly organized lines of protruding star-shaped fortifications would eventually fall after a prolonged siege. Centuries later, the construction of the Third Reich's Atlantic Wall defense system during WWII that stretched along the coasts of Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France fell in the same way; for once penetrated in one section, the rest of the defenses became obsolete, for they were designed to defend in one direction out to sea. Yet, these archaic forms of repulsion still persist today, serving as the physical edge to halt bodies. And just as the walls that defended citadels were scaled, so too will the walls of nation states. Once built, a wall can only be broken and the divisions sown by its construction restored.

The history of human migration has been one of overcoming natural geographical barriers such as oceans, seas, rivers, mountains, and deserts in determining the histories and cultures of the world. Where natural bounda-ries propelled humans to explore what lies beyond, the cultural, societal, religious, and linguistic distinctions that followed and splintered forged the differentiation between peoples. Resistance toward one group of people traversing the claims over terrain of another often led to violence. While

borders created edges to define spaces for protection and defense, boundaries on the other hand confused geographical characteristics such as rivers or mountain ranges via the surveyed lines of demarcated edges. From the beginning of settlement, humankind has defined itself though borders and boundaries, and anything that disrupts this established foundation of human to human and human to nature is disruptive to the histories of segregation. Yet, the relevance of borders and boundaries dividing nation states in an age of mobile technologies, mass environmental devastation from climate change, and global inequality becomes an obvious outdated form of managing and repressing human mobility. This is where refugees and asylum seekers, already traumatized by their experiences, have the strength to persevere and lead the way in manifesting how mobility and resourcefulness will be defining features of future human survival in the 21st century.

The histories of human mobility have nevertheless combined edge, boundary, and border to define place and maintain survival. With no formal power, laws of protection, support, and claim to ground, refugees, asylum seekers, and the homeless reform edge, boundary, and border as crossings and spaces of inhabitation on their own terms. The porosity created by carving out spaces for habitation belies their capacity to reauthorize the edge and surfaces of boundaries. To be sure, their occupation of urban sites of the city exposes the limitations of urban design, civil society, law enforcement and authorities, architects and planners who design, create, and abide by spatial segregation. From the migrations across the urban space of the city to the migrations across geographical regions and seas, human mobility has constantly exposed borders and boundaries as permeable. Yet, these histories of permeability – once celebrated – have become the 'problem' of the homeless, refugee, asylum seeker, and migrant. The chief purpose of borders and boundaries – as artificial lines drawn over maps and walls and fences erected over terrain to demonstrate controls over regions – has been to divide people by way of culture, language, custom, and religion, among others. Where thin lines registered on the cartographical map differentiated spaces through virtual boundaries, the fluidity of the oceans and seas thicken and diffuse such divisiveness. Examples such as the mountainous regions of Jammu and Kashmir that separate the claims by India and Pakistan and characterize their continuous conflict or the fluid separation of the Rio Grande River between the United States southern border with Mexico pertain to the organization of natural borders that serve to segregate people.

The refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants crossing borders and boundaries that separate nations and wealth point to an inevitable conclusion: namely the collapse of these constructed forms of division. A major obstacle in rethinking border and boundary conditions both globally and within the city is the history of violence enforced by policies of detention and the psychological impact and trauma that borders and boundaries have on people. The present reliance on aggressive border controls, detention centers, and deportations only delays the potential of transitory human flows

and the crossovers of culture, skills, and labor between peoples. In the minds of some, if not many, people – especially those who feel they have something to lose – such a utopian concept as the free-flowing movement of people around the world might seem to be a threatening prospect. But the present opposition to a transitory urbanism will eventually be forced upon the most affluent countries and cities. No one will be immune to what is coming. No doubt it is better to start planning now than to be caught in a future chaos without any workable solutions, where repulsion and violence become the main response of those who fear the most.

Carl Nightingale, in *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*, details the exclusions of Black people from white neighborhoods in American cities. 'As urban segregation persists', he explains, 'it at once reflects and encourages the sharply increasing economic inequalities that have been a hallmark of the New Right era'.[39] Nightingale points to the early 20th-century ghettoization of people of color in parts of many American cities such as Harlem in New York, East Detroit, South Los Angeles, and South Side Chicago, and the late 20th-century urban division of gated communities as a way of continuing the racial segregation of people of color. 'In the New Right era, increased government coercion of people of color is mirrored by a wilful retreat from governments' legal obligations to control segregationist actions by real estate agents, developers, bankers, and privileged white homeowners in the housing market'.[40] Perpetuated by ignorance, modern-day segregation has spread to include religious divisions aided by the Christian Right in countries such as America, Europe, the UK, and Australia fermenting Islamophobia by linking followers of Islam with terrorist organizations. Given the global histories of racial and religious segregation in nations and cities, the neutrality of occupying infrastructure for habitation though sited on boundaries does not dissolve the subjectification of the divide. While asylum seekers, refugees, the homeless, and migrants are subjected to persecution and denied rights and support, they nevertheless form communities of resistance and survival by their placement on the divides of urban infrastructure.

In *Hinterland: Americas New Landscape of Class and Conflict*, Phil A. Neel notes that the central focus of his book is the death of urban imagination – 'the urbicide' – that has become the American city. The 'product of insurrection' of urbicide, he argues,

> is the point at which those excluded from the urban core and thrown out into that hinterland beyond suddenly flood back into it – this leads to the overloading of the city's metabolism, the death of urban administration, the local collapse of civil society, and therefore the beginning of politics proper.[41]

The migrant, the refugee, the slum-dweller – all bring a subset of 'issues' that are to be solved, if at all, by administrative organs, possibly stimulated from

time to time by movements that 'raise awareness'. Only via this process can such populations come to be included in the 'urban subject' and only on the condition that they themselves are incorporated into the fabric of the city itself.[42]

Neel throws this discontent at the long shadows cast by the identifiable division of class between people inherent in the make-up of cities. Class, he asserts, 'cannot be understood without crisis'. The modern-day migrations of people across the globe to the home-grown economically disadvantaged of the destitute homeless are extensions not only of class but of the crisis of world conflicts, the histories of colonialism, and the present effects of climate change that create a truly global class between peoples. This crisis is presently being dealt with by reinforcing borders and boundaries as lines to repel human mobility. Even as this crisis has existed for decades, where the holding on to class and privilege is viewed as a right by some in separation from the many, the will to create a global collaboration between countries is constantly being thwarted by policies of division.

   As the effects of climate change – unfertile land, water scarcity, drought and famine – continue to uproot the lives of tens of millions of vulnerable people and their survival becomes increasingly fragile year-on-year, divisive structures like walls and class structures like wealthy nations will fall. As previously cited, the world's population is set to increase from its present 7.3 billion people to 9.7 billion by 2050; the number of people in mobility from the present conservative estimate of 75 million people will likely increase to 100, 200, 300 million people.[43] If the world embraces human mobility on a global scale, then the resources to accommodate, protect, and provide for it can be spread across the globe. The present alternative of refugee and detention camps, deportations and violence from right-wing militias and border guards is not the way to deal with the increasing mobility of people seeking – rightfully – new opportunities to exist on the same planet. Placing blame on people seeking to secure better lives – to attain even a modicum of what is granted every day to people living in many affluent Western countries – is not the answer. The thickness of the line that defines countries on cartographical maps is also applied to everything drawn and built in creating buildings and cities. The variation of thin and thick lines drawn on the plans of the architect and urban planner to define and separate spaces demarcates the function of buildings and the programming of cities. In each case, with every line drawn new divisions are created – this is the ideology of the line that divides two sides. Yet, as previously noted, following the lines of infrastructure, refugees, the homeless, and migrants do not trespass on either side but rather rest on the line and each side of the line.

   Though the refugee camp is laid out with the military precision of a grid, when filled with people its uniformity is transgressed by the bodies that move through it. This speaks to the discrepancy between formalizing structures and lived inhabitancy. In the urban environs of the city, if more spaces of the built environment are contravened through human mobility, then

Figure 6.5 Highway infrastructure, Mexico City
Source: photo by author, 2019

public and private property and capital, which support the city, become the new lines of transgression. The future of the city in the age of global human mobility can be determined by redrawing the lines of borders and boundaries as spaces of transgression. As the edges of infrastructure become sites of occupation by the homeless, refugees, and others, the original city plan becomes diffused, allowing for new interpretations of the plan to emerge in multiple variations and functions. The utilization of existing urban sites of infrastructure is not only economically viable as a proposition to build spaces for temporary accommodation; it is also environmentally sustainable as the dominance of the petrol car gives way to electric cars and the passageways of urban highways become healthier spaces for temporary occupation. Tschumi argues that '[a]rchitecture seems to survive in its erotic capacity only wherever it *negates* itself, where it transcends its paradoxical nature by negating the form that society expects of it. In other words, it is not a matter of destruction or avant-garde subversion but of *transgression*'.[44] If governments, developers, architects, and urban planners, who sit at the axis of capital and spatial programming, are able to rethink their roles in terms of urban mobility, then the city in mobility can become the present-now, accommodating the influx of a global movement of people rather than being continually overwhelmed and building resistance to the inevitable new evolution of human migration.

Conclusion

In *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation*, Eyal Weizman considers how spaces at the edges of boundaries are forcibly occupied by Jewish settlers in the Palestinian territories of the West Bank. As briefly explored in Chapter 5, which noted the clandestine architectures built by Palestinians in refugee camps in Beirut, a further examination of how edge and infrastructure are combined, first informally to occupy land and then later formulized in the absence of legal claim, is relevant to the overall discussion of borders and boundaries. Weizman describes how boundaries between Palestinians and Israelis are in constant flux, expanding and contracting on the surface in spite of the depth of homeland and belonging. 'Temporary lines of engagement, marked by makeshift boundaries, are not limited to the edges of political space but exist throughout its depth. Distinctions between the "inside" and "outside" cannot be clearly marked'.[45] Weizman tells the story of a hill owned and farmed by Palestinians that is deemed to be of strategic importance to the Israeli military. The occupation begins in 2002 with the expulsion of the Palestinian farmers and the installation of a mobile telecommunications tower on top of a hill followed by the establishment of a Jewish settlement, and it ends after a rare capitulation by the Israeli state leading to the removal of approximately 50 families from the hill in 2012.

The Orange mobile company is employed to erect the telecom tower on the hill but is running behind on its construction. To push forward the Israeli

military agenda, a fake tower is installed and permission is granted for a 24-hour guard to watch over it. As a consequence of the guard's occupation, water and electricity are supplied to the hill, a perimeter fence is built around the fake tower, and a caravan is placed at its base for him and his family. Following the installation of the real tower months later, the guard and his family are joined by five families and their caravans, and the settlement outpost takes the name of Migron. By 2006, Migron has 60 trailers and 150 people living on top of the hill around the mobile antenna. Weizman's story of Migron is not an isolated case but a condition of how the occupation of Palestinian land is conducted. 'Against the geography of stable, static places, and the balance across linear and fixed sovereign borders, frontiers are deep, shifting, fragmented and elastic territories'.[46]

The occupation of a determined area – in this case, the hill by one group, which is owned by another – illustrates how force and boundary combine to become an acceptable way of acquiring land. The dispossession of Palestinians from their lands is geographical as much as geopolitical. Such territories, Weizman suggests, 'have become the battlefield on which various agents of state power and independent actors confront each other, meeting local and international resistance. The mundane elements of planning and architecture have become tactical tools and the means of dispossession'.[47] As a result of the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank, cartographical maps show multiple micro territories occupied by Palestinians with each separated by Israeli settlements. Unable to grow and connect, the Palestinian communities shrink, while Israeli settlements expand and connect. Following the eviction of the Israeli settlement of Migron in 2012, the hill and its surroundings remain disputed, bounded and bordered by the Israelis refusing access to everyone. Following the American foreign policy announcement toward the end of 2019 to grant Israel's right to claim the West Bank as their land, the hill formerly known as Migron is set to once again become a site of Israeli occupation.

Drawing lines to demarcate boundaries can also be illustrated through an artwork undertaken in 2005 in the city of Jerusalem by the Belgian-born, Mexican-based artist Francis Alÿs. The artwork titled *The Green Line* is created by walking with a dripping can of green paint that traces the original Green Line known as the 1949 Armistice Line that formulized the sovereign state of Israel and the occupied territories of Palestine following the UN peace treaty at the end of the 1948 Arab/Israeli war. The head of the Israeli military in Jerusalem, Moshe Dayan and the representative of the Arab league, Abdullah al-Tal, met to deliberate the territories of separation that included the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and the newly created state of Israel. Pouring over a map of the combined territory, each drew lines on the map, with grease pencils, to formulize the lines of division separating Jewish and Palestinian settlements. Dayan drew with a green pencil and Abdullah al-Tal a red one on a 1:20,000 scale map where the thickness of their lines represented on the ground an ambiguous stretch

of unclaimable land.[48] Alÿs' walk with green paint is not only a historical retracing of the green line; it also speaks to the contemporary realities of that agreement by Israel's occupation of Palestinian land.[49] The video made to document the walk, like many of his other works, not only follows his actions but also protects him from possible interference or even violent disruption through the presence of the camera and operator. The video opens with the phrase: 'Sometimes Doing Something Poetic Can Become Political and Sometimes Doing Something Political Can Become Poetic'. The opening shot shows Alÿs tapping a screwdriver into the bottom of the can of paint to create a hole. In the opening scene, he appears in a nondescript location at the side of a road. Alÿs picks up the can, turns it upside-down, and begins to walk with the green paint dripping on the dirt as he goes. As Alÿs walks with the can, a line of green paint follows him, as does the camera person filming behind him, with the shot panning to show a large Jewish settlement stretched along a high ridge. In the next scene, Alÿs is walking along a main bitumen road and passes by an Israeli soldier who looks perplexed by the dripping paint but does not obstruct his action. His walk is ordinary, routine, and even though he features in the work, he is neither the subject nor the main focus. The focal point is the green line of paint – how it dribbles on the dirt, asphalt streets, stone paving, the bottom of his pants and shoe as he traces the 1948 Green Line. The green trail Alÿs makes is quietly disruptive, staining the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; the contestation of ground, division, and oppression.

Throughout the video, Alÿs crosses the everyday signs of Israeli occupation, Jewish and Palestinian life, and the response to his action on the part of onlookers is one of perplexity as much as nonchalance. Passing the Ein Yael checkpoint, the Israeli guards, who can clearly see the dripping paint, seem unsure as to what to do, as the camera and the operator afford the artist some protection. Capturing and recording is a powerful medium where the realities of Israeli occupation are mostly kept out of the media spotlight. Clearly unfazed and not seeking attention, Alÿs continues his walk unhindered under an overpass, crossing streets, past Orthodox Jews, through Palestinian and Jewish neighborhoods, an open market, across a square, a school, farm land. The normality of the walk, his lack of interest in the leaking can of paint makes this artwork a compelling, brave, and poignant political act. Legal status and illegal status, legal settlement and illegal settlement, rights and non-rights converge as part of the everyday occurrence along Alÿs' walk and trail of green paint. His version of the green line is a convergence of edge, boundary, and border as much as it is a graffito, public statement, and non-violent political act of transgression. Transgression comes in the mobility of the line of division he retraces; where his movement dissects and enacts the divide between Israelis and Palestinians. The original red and green lines drawn by Moshe Dayan and Abdullah al-Tal in wax pencil display the zones of demarcation but not the limits of

their transgression. At the end of Day 1, we see Alÿs washing his hands, which have been stained green. The paint dissolves down the drain of the basin – a metaphor for the transparency of the actual line in contrast to the opaque solidity it has become. Day 2 begins at 6.30am, and we see Alÿs passing the Jaffa Gate, City Hall, past Palestinian and Jewish women, men, and children. Some are oblivious, while others are aware of his leaking can of green paint marking the ancient stone pavements and streets. Everyone who witnesses this act is witness to the present divide – the original line that controls and haunts their lives.

Notes

1 Bernard Tschumi, 'Architecture and Transgression', in *Architecture and Disjunction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), p. 78.
2 Michel Foucault, 'A Preface to Transgression', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 33–34.
3 Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, pp. 6, 7.
4 As a preface to seeing the architect as a revolutionary, Tschumi sees the limitations inherent in the architect's current role. 'I then saw only three possible roles for architects. Either we could become conservative, that is, we would "conserve" our historical role as translators of, and form-givers to, the political and economic priorities of existing society. Or we could function as critics and commentators, acting as intellectuals who reveal the contradictions of society through writings or other forms of practice, sometimes outlining possible courses of actions, along with their strengths and limitations'. Ibid, p. 9.
5 Tschumi raises the question concerning the role of architecture beyond the program of building. 'Over the next decade I kept exploring the implications of what had first been intuitions: (a) that there is no cause-and-effect relationship between the concept of space and the experience of space . . . and (b) that the meeting of these mutually exclusive terms could be intensely pleasurable or, indeed, so violent that it could dislocate the most conservative elements of society'. Ibid, p. 16.
6 Changes to the practices of architecture have been fleeting, as Tschumi reflects: 'It is paradoxical that three thousand years of architectural ideology have tried to assert the very opposite: that architecture is about stability, solidity, foundation'. Ibid, p. 19.
7 Overcoming architecture's 'prevalences' is Tschumi's way of calling out its conservatism and its impact on the city and social cohesion. He suggests that 'the meeting place is ultimately architecture. It thrives on its ambiguous location between cultural autonomy and commitment, between contemplation and habit. Architecture seems to survive in its erotic capacity only wherever it negates itself, where it transcends its paradoxical nature by negating the form that society expects of it. In other words, it is not a matter of destruction or avant-garde subversion but of transgression'. Ibid, p. 78.
8 Elizabeth Wilson, 'The Limits of Transgression', in Jonathan Dollimore (ed.), *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 158.
9 Foucault, 'A Preface to Transgression', pp. 33–34.
10 Foucault writes of the bind between limit and transgression: 'The limit and transgression depend on each other for whatever density of being they possess: a limit could not exist if it were absolutely uncrossable and, reciprocally, transgression

would be pointless if it merely crossed a limit composed of illusions and shadows'. Ibid, pp. 34, 35.

11 Ibid, p. 35.

12 Abramson refers to an article in *The New York Times* under the headline 'Thirty Years Average Life Span of Modern Skyscrapers' (1931), which cites a banker and was primarily a piece of scaremongering. The banker proclaimed the advantages of limiting the life of buildings as a way to boost the economy in an America under immense strain from the effects of the Great Depression. The hard-won savings of industrial workers to the white-collar, middle-class saw their suburban homes tumble in value, while above the fray, the wealthy remained safe and secure in their exclusive properties. Daniel M. Abramson, *Obsolescence: An Architectural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 30.

13 Abramson further explains Bernoulli's idea of short-lived building cycles never developed beyond the thought. 'Bernoulli imagined urban change as a process of legislated obsolescence, inevitable devaluation met by required replacement enforced by the state. Such socialism enforcing obsolescence would have been anathema in free-enterprise Cold War America and was never in practice taken up anywhere in the world, but the idea that cities possessed limited life spans was becoming ubiquitous'. Ibid, p. 58.

14 Ernst Jentsch published 'Zur Psychologie des Unheimlichen' ('On the Psychology of the Uncanny') in the *Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift*, Vol. 8, No. 22 (25 Aug. 1906), pp. 195–98 and Vol. 8, No. 23 (1 Sept. 1906), pp. 203–5. Sigmund Freud's 'The Uncanny', published in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 17, trans. and eds. James Strachey et al. (London: Hogarth, 1955).

15 Solà-Morales' reference to capturing the *terrain vague* of wastelands through photography notes that: 'The photographic images of terrain vague are territorial indications of strangeness itself, and the aesthetic and ethical problems that they pose embrace the problematics of contemporary social life. What is to be done with these enormous voids, with their imprecise limits and vague definition? Art's reaction, as before with "nature" (which is also the presence of the other for the urban citizen), is to preserve these alternative, strange spaces, strangers to the productive efficiency of the city'. Ignasi de Solà-Morales, 'Terrain Vague', in *Anyplace*, ed. Anyone Corporation (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), p. 122.

16 The *terrain vague* of the industrial wastelands, Solà-Morales suggests, are 'forgotten places', in which 'the memory of the past seems to predominate over the present. Here only a few residual values survive, despite the total disaffection from the activity of the city. These strange places exist outside the city's effective circuits and productive structures. From the economic point of view, industrial areas, railway stations, ports, unsafe residential neighborhoods, and contaminated places are where the city is no longer'. Ibid, p. 124.

17 Ibid, p. 125.

18 See Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992). See also Manuela Mariani and Patrick Barron (eds.), *Terrain Vague: Interstices at the Edge of the Pale* (London: Routledge, 2014) and Jo Collins and John Jervis (eds.), *Uncanny Modernity: Cultural Theories, Modern Anxieties* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

19 See Charles Darwin, *Evolutionary Writings*, ed. James A. Secord (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

20 Perlman notes that the marginalization and stigma associated with slum dwellers came about because 'migrants from the countryside were seen as maladapted to modern city life and therefore responsible for their own poverty and failure to be absorbed into formal job and housing markets'. Janice Perlman, *Favela: Four*

Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 12.

21 Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, p. 16.

22 In *Dark Writing*, Paul Carter suggests that ground moves constantly, reforming our experience of movement: 'we do not walk with the surface'; instead, 'we glide over it . . . in any direction without hindrance'. Carter argues that ground and the larger scale of ground, i.e. geography, are inseparable, requiring the ability to 'think figuratively' and 'inhabit a different country of thought'. 'The line of such thought represents a movement, a dynamic contraction that cannot be adequately represented by the dimensionless line of cartography'. Paul Carter, *Dark Writing: Geography, Performance, Design* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2009), p. 6.

23 Madanipour notes that a 'long historical process has been at work to institute a concept of change that would manage change and limit the extent of vulnerability to change. It led to understanding time as a measure of change, conceptualized either as an independent substance or a set of relationships that need to be shaped and tamed'. Ali Madanipour, *Cities in Time: Temporary Urbanism and the Future of the City* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), p. 12.

24 Madanipour suggests: 'Temporary urbanism, as a reflection of the accelerated speeds of a global society, would be directly aligned with this technological change'. Ibid, pp. 40–41.

25 According to Madanipour, '[t]emporary and precarious use of space is a way of coping with the crisis of poverty. The difficulty in space is exemplified by disaster-struck areas, where wars and natural disasters have demolished or removed access to urban areas. In response, temporary cities are created, with tents or containers, which offer relief for what is hoped to be a brief period before reconstruction can start and a return to normal urban life can be possible'. Ibid, p. 57.

26 Rahul Mehrotra and Felipe Vera, *Ephemeral Urbanism: Cities in Constant Flux* (Santiago: ARQ Ediciones, 2016), p. 17.

27 Mehrotra and Vera expand on their idea of the kinetic city as 'a place where designing functional arrangements is more important than the construction of the architectonic body, where openness prevails over rigidity and flexibility is valued over rig-or. It is a city that is premised on detachment. In this context, sustainability relies more on the city's capacity to deconstruct, disassemble, reconfigure, and reverse previous iterations'. Ibid, p. 18.

28 Ibid, p. 19.

29 Capital and flexibility are, on the whole, at opposite ends of development. For the city to move with urban flexibility, according to Mehrotra and Vera, it arrives at 'a time in which uncertainty is the new norm, urban attributes like reversibility and openness appear to be critical to a more sustainable form of urban development. Therefore, in contemporary urbanism around the world, it is clear that in order for cities to be sustain-able, they need to resemble and facilitate active fluxes in motion, rather than be limited by static, material configurations'. Ibid, p. 21.

30 Ibid, p. 22.

31 The ephemeral city, Mehrotra and Vera suggest, is where '[p]eople, buildings, and the entire urban landscape modify their appearance and acquire new meanings each year, reactivating the city space'. Ibid, pp. 26–27.

32 Constant presented 'Another City for Another Life' at the Internationale Situationniste #3 (Dec. 1959), trans. Paul Hammond, p. 163. Constant and Debord's 11-point Situationist manifesto was presented during this conference, held in November 1958 in Amsterdam. See Mark Wigley, *Constant's New Babylon: The Hyper-Architecture of Desire* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1998), p. 87. See also Trudy Nieuwenhuys-van der Horst (editorial consultant), *Constant's New Babylon*, exhibition catalogue (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2015).

33 Ibid, p. 164.

34 Ibid, p. 115.

35 Casey suggests that the 'very intransigence and intransitivity of borders – their status as *instituted* – along with their resistance to easy alteration act as a forceful historical determinant'. This observation can assist us in our thinking about how we might view homeless, refugee, and asylum seeker occupations in forming the city in mobility. Edward Casey, *The World on Edge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), p. 16.

36 Ibid, p. 7.

37 Ibid, p. 9. For further writing on cartography and mapping in respect of borders and boundaries, see: James Corner, 'The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention', in *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1999); Denis Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) and his chapter 'Carto-City', in *Else/Where: Mapping New Cartographies of Networks and Territories*, eds. Janet Abrams and Peter Hall (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Design Institute, 2006).

38 Casey, *The World on Edge*, p. 16.

39 Carl Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), pp. 399–400.

40 Ibid, p. 397.

41 Phil A. Neel, *Hinterland: America's New Landscape of Class and Conflict* (London: Reaktion Books, 2018), p. 12.

42 Ibid, p. 13.

43 The present figure of 75 million is an estimate provided by the UN's refugees survey. These include stateless refugees, the internally displaced, those held in refugee camps, and those in transit.

44 Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, p. 78.

45 Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (New York: Verso, 2014), p. 4.

46 Weizman points out that opposition to this forced appropriation of land is evident not only in Palestinian resistance to armed outpost settlers but also in resistance to national and international organizations. 'Outposts have thus become the focus for political and diplomatic squabbles. Local and international peace organizations engage in direct actions against outpost expansion. In 2004 several Israeli peace activists managed to steal five trailers from Migron, provocatively placing them in front of the Ministry of Defence building in Tel Aviv, demonstrating that evacuation could be carried out if the will to do it exists'. Weizman, *Hollow Land*, p. 4.

47 Ibid, pp. 4–5.

48 In the video documenting *The Green Line*, the opening image is a scrolling text overlaid on a map of the Palestine/Israel territory with a highlighted circle with the city of Jerusalem in the middle, Ramallah at the top, and Bethlehem at the bottom and the grease pencil lines of demarcation drawn in green and red by Dayan and al-Tal. The scrolling text taken from Meron Benvenisti's book *City of Stone: The Hidden History of Jerusalem* concisely provides the context in which Alÿs' work unfolds.

49 Francis Alÿs had earlier carried out a similar walk by dripping paint in 2002 in Paris titled *The Leak* (version colonial blue). Beginning at the Museum of Modern Art (Musée d'Art Moderne), Alÿs walks with his can of dripping light blue oil paint along famed boulevards such as the l'avenue du Président Wilson, descends to the embankment of the River Seine, Boulevard Saint Germain, and many other places along the route in a graffiti line of disturbance to the aesthetic grandeur of Paris.

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7   Unbounded mobility

Dwelling in mobility

A black and white aerial photograph taken in 1946 of Hamburg shows the devastation of the Allied Forces' bombing campaign on the city during World War II. Between the blocks of bombed-out buildings and piles of rubble, streets have become static sites for habitation, instead of the movement of people and cars. Nissen huts line these streets while pedestrian paths take on the appearance of sheep and goat trails weaving through piles of rubble. Mobility in this city has been inverted; the temporary urbanity of the street and the impermanency of building exist amid its destruction. Another aerial photograph, taken in the early 1950s, shows two thick white lines drawn over the image to indicate the route of a new main road through the city. Cutting across streets and sites where buildings once stood, the lines give scant regard to the city's historical layout. The white lines, the goat paths, and Nissen huts speak to urban transformation and transgression out of the ashes of destruction. Yet, very little time separates these two photographs – past-future and present-future time.

   Hamburg's urban transformation through reconstruction was not an isolated example of such planning. Many of Germany's cities destroyed during World War II such as Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt, Munich, Nuremburg, as well as hundreds of towns and villages, followed a similar transformation. The huge task of rebuilding created a cultural amnesia that permeated German society as a way of forgetting the past and looking to the future.[1] In the case of other cities devastated during the war – such as Coventry, Birmingham, and London in England; Warsaw and Krakow in Poland; St. Petersburg (Leningrad) and Moscow in Russia; and the annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from the atomic bomb in Japan – new plans were drawn up for these city's reconstruction, severing their chronological time and spatial histories. Humanity's capacity for destruction and ruination continues to this day. It is all too evident in war-torn places like Mosul in Iraq, Aleppo and Idlib in Syria, Aden and Hodeida in Yemen, and the burning of countless towns and villages in many parts of Africa, South America, and Asia. A connection can be drawn between Hamburg's postwar,

inverted urbanist habitation, the inhabitants of Mosul, Aleppo, Idlib, Aden, and Hodeida, and the present occupations of urban infrastructure sites by refugees, migrants, and the homeless. The destruction of these cities erased all forms of normative habitation and way of life, and to survive without home or services meant adopting, in any way possible, new forms of occupation as refugees within one's own city.

In his introduction to 'The Generic City', Rem Koolhaas asks the provocative question: 'Is the contemporary city like the contemporary airport – "all the same"?' Between the transient spaces within airports to the transient places within cities, it would seem safe to assume that cities are like airports – each a site of conjunction between places and non-places. 'Is it possible to theorize this convergence? And if so, to what ultimate configuration is it aspiring?'[2] Koolhaas' concern with cities and their identities is a problem of degree: there is either too much identity or a complete lack of it. He describes Paris as extolling too much identity, becoming 'a polished caricature' and London as 'becoming even less London, more open, less static'. Koolhaas' airport transit lounge metaphor and the identities that cities express in the modern era have wider associations with the global identities around human mobility. A year before his architectural encyclopedia *S*, *M*, *L*, *XL* came out in 1995, Koolhaas wrote his seminal work on the city, laced with acidic humor, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*. Among his many critical smears of New York, Koolhaas pokes fun at the homeless. 'Bums are the ideal clients of modern architecture: in perpetual need of shelter and hygiene, real lovers of sun and the great outdoors, indifferent to architectural doctrine and to formal layout'.[3] *Delirious New York* explores how architecture becomes the generative engine to formulate the city's culture rather than its inhabitants. His interest also lies in the apparatuses that give the city its mobility; the city's vertical and linear surface planes that conduct the social interactions between people. The 'Generic City', in contrast, speaks of the city where social interaction and culture lack identity, where the city becomes the non-placed and airport-like – the transient space of arrivals and departures.

In *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy*, Stephen Cairns suggests that '[o]ne of the first images to surface from the architecture/migrancy association is that of the adaptations carried out by migrants on the architectures of their "destinations"'.[4] 'Architecture-for-migrants', Cairns notes, calls to mind 'the burgeoning numbers of "refugee camps" and "detention centres"' as the sole forms of architecture they occupy. 'These facilities are designed to control and deter the unauthorized travel of refuges and asylum-seekers across national borders'.[5] Cairns advocates that modernism is by default a migratory condition, something not lost to the International Style of the 1920s on generic stylization for the sake of an exportable architecture as transient object, not answerable to a site or cultural identity. In other words, architecture became perfunctory – adaptable for multiple combinations and

cultural conditions. 'Migrancy's particular style of mobility provides the transactive principle for architecture's self-reproduction', Cairns notes

> The trope of estrangement is particularly important in this regard, describing an architectural correlate of the ontological estrangement a migrant feels when arriving in a new city or country. This 'migrant mobility' is seen to throw up novel formal and architectonic combinations that can 'enrich' and give material form to a collective civic imagination.

It is the experience of 'defamiliarization associated with migrancy', which for Cairns 'provides the conceptual basis for a reinvigorated architecture based on its own typological lexicon being redeployed in times, places and configurations other than those of their origins'.[6] This estrangement of building permanency from an architecture of transient mobility is co-opted by refugees, asylum seekers, and the homeless whose urban migrancy reshapes and repurposes the sites they inhabit. Such a transgression of the permanent city by the mobile city brings us back to the key question: what form of living takes place?

Calling for a new relationship between building and dwelling, Heidegger asked: 'What is it to dwell?' Heidegger's concern with dwelling and building

Figure 7.1 Aerial view of Hamburg 1947

Source: photo by Willi Beutler (720–1/343–1/00007681), courtesy of Staatsarchiv Hamburg

expresses the symbiotic relation that defines dwelling by *being* in-ground and in-building. 'How does building belong to dwelling?' In his essay 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking', he suggests that '[w]e attain to dwelling, so it seems, only by means of building. The latter, building, has the former, dwelling, as its goal'. Heidegger's positioning of dwelling as the prime human tradition for building shelter draws us to the beginnings of co-opting ground and material to human design. Heidegger declares 'not every building is dwelling. Bridges and hangers, stadiums and power stations are buildings but not dwellings; railway stations and highways, dams and market halls are built, but they are not dwelling places'.[7] Yet, he continues, '[e]ven so, these buildings are in the domain of our dwelling'. Published in 1954, nine years after the end of WWII and with much of his country still in ruins, Heidegger was sure to witness people dwelling in the underground spaces of cellars of destroyed buildings. In the progression from settlement to city, dwelling in-ground would be surpassed by building on ground as the supreme example of human habitation. As settlement developed and complexity in building became ever more ambitious, dwelling was built-out and the certainty of the master plan built-in. Vast stretches of surfaces were applied over ground, removing human in-ground connectivity. Building kept habitation inside, while outside buildings became encircled with its reflections.

Figure 7.2 Los Angeles City Airport
Source: photo by author, 2019

'These buildings house man', Heidegger asserts; 'he inhabits them and yet he does not dwell in them'.[8]

The city in transgression reconnects to settlement through a return to dwelling. Considering refugees and the homeless as the new urban explorers of the city points to the potential of dwelling without building through adaptive innovation. The 'dwelling places' to which Heidegger refers such as 'railway stations and highways, dams and market halls' are also the sites where homeless and refugees can be found. Dwelling in cities is tolerated by authorities when it remains temporary and insecure like the refugee camp. The protracted non-placement, un-sited, and dislocated embodiment of refugees in camps, which establishes their status as refugees is maintained if their transitory immobility is sustained. If cities continue to be dominated by capital – that divides rich and poor, supplies opportunities and dispenses hardships, grants mobility to some and immobility to others, supports some people and abandons others – then dwelling will become a way of life for people caught in transitory spaces.

Many people across the world live in various forms of dwelling; slums dwellers, refugees in camps, asylum seekers in detention centers, prisoners, those dispossessed of land who dwell no more, and the internally displaced looking to dwell. The notion of dwelling suggests mobility, for to dwell is not to fix habitation but to inhabit many places without building. As Heidegger suggests, 'dwelling would in any case be the end that presides over all building'.[9] 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking' gives shape to an ecological thinking for humanity and the world; 'divinities and mortals', the geology of 'rock and water', and the genealogy of 'plant and animal' life. Dwelling cultivates our interactions with Earth-bound and cosmic entities alike. Heidegger's human-world-universal ecology shifts our notion of cities as impenetrable surfaces that dominate modern urban life to in-ground dwelling. If we were to agree that refugees and the homeless, in their adoptions and adaptations of urban spaces, signal a return to dwelling, then cities might be better able to respond to global human mobility without become preoccupied with the architecture of permanence. 'Spaces open up by the fact that they are let into the dwelling of man'.[10] To dwell does not need the golden stake and hammer to claim ground but the conditions for an alternative urbanism habitancy via ground, geography, and mobility. 'How else, can mortals answer this summons than by trying on their part, on their own, to bring dwelling to the fullness of its nature? This they accomplish when they build out of dwelling, and think for the sake of dwelling'.[11] Mobility and dwelling prize open the permanency of building and the static entity of the city. They form a new layer of in-ground movement within the city and throughout the world – a nomadic geography and inhabited lightness that is carried.

Fluid urbanity

The phenomenal expansion of Chinese cities in the late 20th and 21st centuries shows that not just hundreds of thousands but millions of people can be

absorbed into cities in a relatively short period of time. While Chinese cities such as Beijing, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, and Shanghai are unprecedented in terms of population expansion and economic growth, they are not alone. Mexico City, Lagos, Mumbai, Jakarta, Kinshasa, and Karachi are some other cities that have seen urban and economic explosion on varying scales. Yet, what characterizes all these cities is the influx of rural populations moving to the city in search of work in the technology, garment, and manufacturing industries. Overwhelmingly fraught with the problems of population explosion and urban density implosion, these cities are not the destinations of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants seeking better lives and refuge from climate change, war, and famine. Their destination is wealthy Western countries that became rich by plundering the resources of their former colonial lands. It is little surprise that one of the most plundered parts of the world, namely the African continent, is also the world's most vulnerable. While China, India, America, and the EU collectively make up more than 50% of global greenhouse gas emissions, the African continent collectively accounts for just 3.8% of global emissions.[12] Whole regions have been ravaged by acute drought and water scarcity, turning once fertile land into barren deserts. Africa's largely agrarian culture is suffering, and the hundreds of millions of people who rely on cultivating their own food for survival have made the continent a central point of human exodus and mass migration.

In 2018, the number of people forcibly displaced worldwide from violence, persecution, and human rights violations was calculated to be 70.8 million.[13] The world's population is predicted to increase from the present 7.7 billion to 9.7 billion by 2050, it is highly likely that forced human mobility will increase in light of ongoing human persecution and the effects of climate devastation. As the world's population is predicted to increase from the present 7.7 billion to 9.7 billion by 2050, it is highly likely that forced human mobility will increase in light of ongoing human persecution and the effects of climate devastation. Figures of 200, 300, even 500 million people displaced or on the move would not be out of the question. It is obvious that a radical global ideology and restructuring program is required to ensure adequate responses in dealing with this new human migration in the 21st century. Joining mobility with inhabitation would appear to be a counterproductive exercise. The answer to this quandary is not to join them together but instead to create new types of habitation out of them, forms that facilitate and accommodate mobile humans and cities. Returning to Koolhaas' conception of the 'Generic City', he remarks: 'The Generic City is always founded by people on the move, poised to move on. This explains the insubstantiality of their foundations'. It emerges out of the 'collision or confluence of two migrations . . . both ultimately on their way someplace else – establishes out of the blue, a settlement'.[14] Whatever form Koolhaas' 'Generic City' takes in his imagination, the transient and non-place airport resonates with the transient non-place status of migrants in conceiving of cities as inhabitable sites of fluid urbanism. Transient and fleeting, nomadic and migratory, fluid

urbanism resets the city from permanency to the migratory flows of refugees and migrants. As cities have become identifiable with and representative of countries, at times surpassing the uniqueness of their geography, the city in transgression takes on a transient identity of city-world-geography, one that is unconstrained by city boundaries and national borders.

In the article 'From Refugee Camps to Gated Communities: Biopolitics and the End of the City', Bülent Diken contends that 'the refugee is seen as a sign of displacement, and although his routes are densely controlled by infrastructures of mobility, his own life in the camp can only be described as immobility'.[15] Diken likens this dead-end immobility of the refugee camp to the end of the city. 'In what sense, then, does the camp signal the "end" of the city?' According to Diken, 'the city never existed as a whole; it has always been held together by exception'.[16] He points to the city becoming increasingly like a camp of lives lived in divided and isolated environments of non-places. 'The world of contemporary camp(ing) is a world in which power goes nomadic'.[17] The contemporary issue of mass global human mobility is where the nomadic power of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants becomes self-organizing and exceptional to the rules that govern spatial occupation. Diken's city as camp affords a new urban condition, a fluid urbanity 'fit for liquid modernity' that flows across the city. Internally characterized by economic and social separations, cities are nevertheless joined via their infrastructure. Formulating new forms for urban dwelling and mobility can transgress these divisions to bring about newfound freedoms for *being* in the city. We might say that in the neutrality of infrastructure and its occupation by the unhomed is where 'power goes nomadic'. The point here is that refugees and the homeless are not necessarily homeless, seeking home as such; more specifically, they are unhoused and non-placed seeking refuge, security, and the opportunity to secure their identity. To formulate mobility and dwelling for the city in transgression is to forego any semblance to the camp. Diken asks 'how are resistance to and emancipation from the camp possible?' Resistance to formulating new forms of inhabiting cities is what happens when civil authorities run cities as if they were camps. Controls on space control people in spaces, and people in mobility are harder to control, police, and document. The refugee camp is an example whereby control mechanisms are maintained in exchange for the provision of food and medical support when refugees' mobility ceases. Diken suggests that 'panoptic discipline', which 'establishes sovereignty through confinement', inhibits human mobility: '[C]odified mobility becomes a necessity; and terror seems to emerge and an unregulated flow, as a line of escape from control, investing in insecurity, uncertainty and unsafety'.[18] As we are currently witnessing throughout the world, human mobility is set against enforced policies of protections and border militarization to repel the movement of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. The victimization that characterized the medieval vagrant-vagabond should not be repeated as the accepted practice for the millions of 21st-century forced vagrants. Mobility is the only way for them to survive. Human mobility is forced onto

people through conflict, persecution, and extreme weather events; it is a situation not of their own making, and, as a result, they should be free from the victimization and discrimination they presently endure.

The city in mobility allows for a reclamation of dwelling for a shared global geography. Transgressing city boundaries and national borders, this new city-geography is being forcibly restricted by the fear and threat of global mobility. The present ability of cities to adapt and respond to human migration is hindered by the same fears and threats that plagued original settlement. The fear – both real and imagined – of what lay outside that dogged early settlement resonates today in the fear of wealthy societies losing their capital and property to external forces – namely refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. A psychological fear on the part of wealthy societies projected onto the most vulnerable people in the world paralyzes the imagination and prevents the emergence of a new city-geography world order. As a result of such an impasse, we find ourselves still engaged in the basest kind of paranoia.

Fabricating mobility

Fabricating shelters for the homeless, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants for the city in transgression requires a list of guiding rubrics, which might include the following:

- *the city in transgression* dissolves borders and boundaries, formulating flexible urban programming in response to global human mobility in the 21st century;
- *the city in transgression* encourages fluid urbanity that transgresses all sectors of society;
- *the city in transgression* places no restrictions on the freedoms of human mobility;
- *the city in transgression* provides temporary shelters for the homeless; refugees; asylum seekers; migrants; victims of domestic violence; victims of war, famine, and climate change; those dispossessed of land; and those persecuted on the basis of race, religion, culture, gender, disability, and sexual preference;
- *the city in transgression* provides temporary shelters, sanitation, cooking facilities, community centers, medical, skills education, and workplace support where needed;
- *the city in transgression* places empathy and compassion at the center of human to human relations where all exist within a common ground to overcome division, separation, and isolation.

The city in transgression can be designed, planned, and fabricated in many ways. Material technologies such as automated fabrication and 3D printing offer some methods through which to realize the mass construction of shelters in dedicated factories and on site. Robotic fabrication has been widely adopted in the car industry since the early 1960s and allied construction industries. In

2017, there were 2,097,500 robotic units in the world, and by 2020 it is estimated that there will be more than 3 million.[19] Older robotic units are being replaced by new models, and with the closure of car manufacturing plants, surplus units can be reprogrammed to cut and weld framing and paneling sections in the creation of shelters for refugees, homeless, and asylum seekers. Associated digital units such as CNC routers broaden the potential of automated fabrication, notwithstanding the recycling of building materials discarded from construction sites. In addition to automated fabrication, there is the rapid process of 3D printing. Now possible on a large scale, the speed of 3D printed homes was proven to be a viable construction proposition in 2014 by a Chinese fabrication company, which printed ten full-size houses in a day with each costing approximately $5,000 to produce.[20] Automated fabrication and 3D printing provide diversity in material use and design aesthetics with integrated allowances for heating and cooling systems, modular and flat-packed segments, and transportation and assembly where needed.

The design and manufacturing of refugee and disaster shelters have been undertaken by architects, individual companies, and NGOs in response to catastrophic natural and humanmade disasters. These range from basic relief shelters – such as the UNHCR's tarpaulin-wrapped shelters over wooden frames – to more complex constructions – such as Ikea's flat-pack *Better Shelter.Org*, which consists of 71 mainframe structure aluminum tubes, 35 hard shell plastic panels, and an assembly time of four to eight hours. The UNHCR has deployed thousands of these shelters across its various missions

Figure 7.3 Paper Loghouse, Kobe Earthquake 1995, Shigeru Ban Architects
Source: photo credit Takanobu Sakuma, courtesy of Shigeru Ban

in providing shelter for refugees. Other refugee shelter systems include *The Origami Shelter* by Kinetic Structure Laboratory, which consists of rigid exterior walls and inflation foam interior for insulation and the *Domo Tent* from More Than Shelters consisting of an aluminum frame and a permeable outershell fabric.[21] The Japanese architect Shigeru Ban has created sustainable refugee shelter systems – such as his carboard tube and tarpaulin-wrapped roof emergency shelters for Rwanda in 1999 following the ethnic genocide that displaced more than two million people; his more complex *Paper LogHouse* in Kobe, Japan, following the city's devastation during the 1995 earthquake; and the *Paper Partition System 4* consisting of carboard tubes and hanging fabric for separation and privacy assembled inside a gymnasium following the 2011 earthquake.[22] There are many other temporary structures not designed as refugee shelters but worth mentioning – such as the 2007 Kengo Kuma twin-walled self-standing *Inflatable Tea House* in Frankfurt and the 2013 *MOOM* tensegritic membrane structure by C+A Coelacanth and Associates consisting of multiple rods inserted into sleeves of the membrane material to create a self-supporting structure. The origins of some of these structures can be traced back to the tent and various nomadic ephemeral and temporal structures. Portable structures have accompanied human mobility and migration over tens of thousands of years. Examples can be seen in the American First Nations people's animal hide shelter (*Tepees*), Eskimo's ice igloos (*Aputiak*), tropical native people's bamboo and palm leaf shelters, and the assembled brush shelters (*Gunyah* or *Wurley*) of the Australian Aborigines.

Figure 7.4 Paper Partition System 4, 2011 East Japan Earthquake, Shigeru Ban

Source: photo credit Voluntary Architects' Network, Courtesy of Shigeru Ban

Besides manufacturing new shelters, there are existing structures that can be converted. The first thing that comes to mind is the amount of unused and vacant buildings in cities. The previously cited occupation of the 45-storey unfinished office tower known as the Tower of David in Caracas and many other buildings squatted over decades by people unable to acquire or afford affordable housing would appear to offer a solution in this regard. But the support structures to maintain these and the permits and the private property holders to support such a solution on a large scale would be difficult to obtain and vulnerable to eviction at any time. One of the most notable structures for conversion and free of in-ground property ownership and laws is the shipping container. There are approximately 20 million shipping containers in the world with an estimated 11 million unused. The metaphorical association between the shipping container's unrestrained global movement, as against the restrictions placed on the free movement of people such as refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants, is not coincidental. No doubt, utilizing shipping containers as shelters may have a psychological impact on the wellbeing of refugees (as previously noted following the removal of Calais Tent City), reinforcing a sense of containment and detention associated with refugee camps. It also may symbolize an increased sense of separation and division within the city and society, rather than promoting

Figure 7.5 Shipping containers Port of Rotterdam
Source: photo by author, 2008

inclusion and acceptance. There are also associations with the mobility of commodities shipped around the world, enjoying a greater degree of access to the world than refugees are afforded. Besides these drawbacks, shipping containers have a number of advantages. Stackable, structurally reliable, and adaptable, their standardized dimensions in two main sizes (6.1m width and 12.2m length; 2.44m width and 2.62m and 2.44m height) allow for multiple assembly compositions of intersecting spaces. Thin thermal insulation layers can be clad either externally or internally, creating better thermal regulation in the summer months and thermal insulation in the winter. Their conversion to toilet blocks, laundries, and kitchen facilities is relatively straightforward in terms of the plumbing and electrical requirements. Their flat roofs can be used for energy harvesting such as solar and wind generation to provide power and light. The obvious advantages of their inherent modular design and accompanying extensive infrastructure for transport by ship, road, and rail to any site, region, country, and continent make for a compelling architectural argument in favor of reusing them.

The first use of shipping containers can be traced to April 26, 1956, when trucking cargo magnate Malcolm McLean loaded 58 specially designed enclosed trailers of cargo onto a repurposed old tanker in Newark, New Jersey and sailed them to Houston, Texas. Up until this time, cargo was manually loaded onto wooden crates and hoisted via crane onto the ship's hull where it would be shipped to its port destination and hoisted up via crane, stacked onto trucks, and transported to dock-side warehouses for distribution. McLean's shipping container invention changed the labor-intensive dock-side cargo handling process to a mechanically driven process, leading to the birth of the transport container port and specifically the container ship. This global, standardized system substantially reduced costs while increasing volume – thickening the world's oceans and seas with commercial goods. Figure 7.6 explores layout typologies of shipping containers in various assemblies between private and public space interaction, kitchen, eatery, toilets, shower and laundry facilities, prayer room, and community services such as language class, medical room, and skills transference. The various layouts were generated by first establishing public space areas through a methodology of various 'shift' articulations of the shipping containers' footprint and the spatial intersections with private living spaces and services. In this way, the public and private spaces mirror each other to form a cohesive symbiosis. This absence/presence of the inner private and outer public forum create the social and cultural place of exchange between refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and the homeless, as well as the community services support and residents of the city. The indicative typologies have been designed for 50 people, which can be expanded to house hundreds of refugees or contracted depending on the needs of a particular site and city.

The next image details the spatial articulation between private and public spaces. The blow-up detail illustrates private inhabited spaces inside the containers for families and single accommodation providing basic comfort,
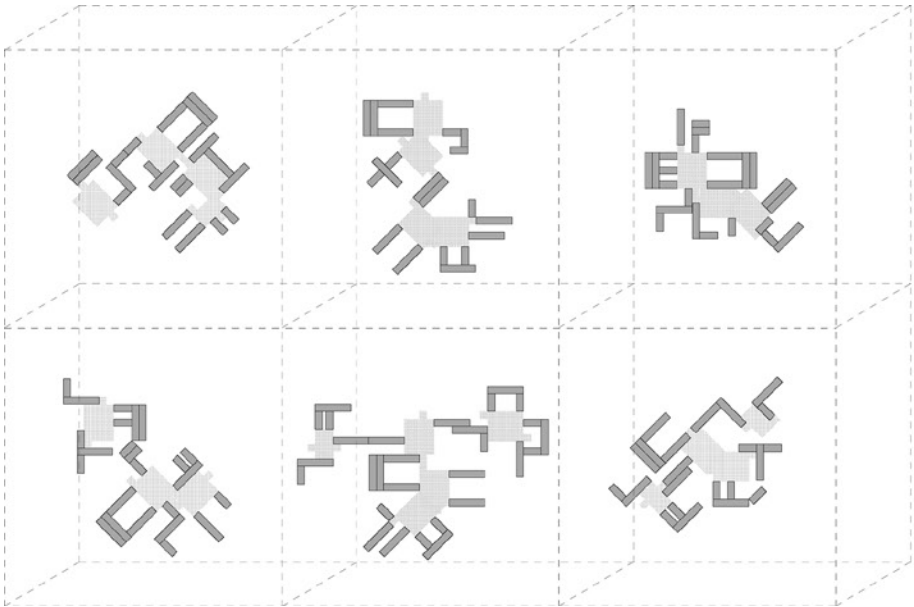
Figure 7.6 Layout typologies for shipping containers showing intersections between public space (light grey) and private accommodation (dark grey)

Source: design Onur Kösedağ, Büşra Yeltekin, author

beds, and storage. For the kitchen facility, two containers have been converted to double the volume, two separate eating spaces, and a school classroom for children. The interior arrangement of furniture – benches, tables, chairs, beds, etc. – is intended to give a 'lived' sense of the spaces as adaptable to individual needs. The layout is designed for open accessibility, and by night it can be closed down to maintain privacy. Cultural events and celebrations are held in public areas.

To create a community of people is to consider their needs and everyday lives. Converting shipping containers as temporary spaces for occupation by refugees, migrants, asylum seekers, and their families from diverse cultural backgrounds involves incorporating specific design decisions. The following image details the daily moment-by-moment interactions between people such as washing, cooking, collecting water, children playing games, prayer space and ablution area, medical room, skills, language classes, and internet access, all of which help to create a workable and supportive living environment where cultural identities are respected and shared and security and trust between people established. In this way, a self-organizing structure of habitancy emerges, issues are decided in a public forum, civil and civic guidelines become the responsibility of all residents. The drawings also detail the infrastructure independence of the community where electricity is supplied by solar and wind power generation on the containers' roofs, water is collected in tanks, and gardens are provided for recreation purposes and for cultivating food.

The following set of visualizations show how the city in transgression takes form in the various sites of the city as provocative acts. The next figure is a compilation image where refugee accommodation is implanted in Mexico City's Central Plaza (Zocalo) assembled from two typologies. The middle image is a golf course that has been used as a site of refuge, and the third image is a medium strip. Each of the images challenges notions of central public space occupation (Zocalo), a 'taking-over' of the large urban space dedicated to a mostly elite sport of golf and public park spaces of extended public infrastructure spaces of medium strips of road.

The following two illustrated renders are mirror images of the social and political division reflected in the relations between the United States, Mexico, and Central American countries. The first image shows how Mexico City's dense infrastructure is inhabited through the installation of the converted shipping containers. The insertion of the shipping containers within the structures of inner-city highways formulates a new and in-between layer in the city, transient by its siting and situation and integrated and connected by its centrality to mobility. Mexico City has a vast population living in various temporary accommodation, and it is one of the 'gateways' for many thousands of Central Americans hoping to make it north and across the border into the United States. The growing tensions between Mexico, Central American migrants, and America have fueled anti-Latino racial sentiment, epitomized in US migration policy as a central political issue and symbolized in the demand to 'build the wall' along the Mexican/US border.
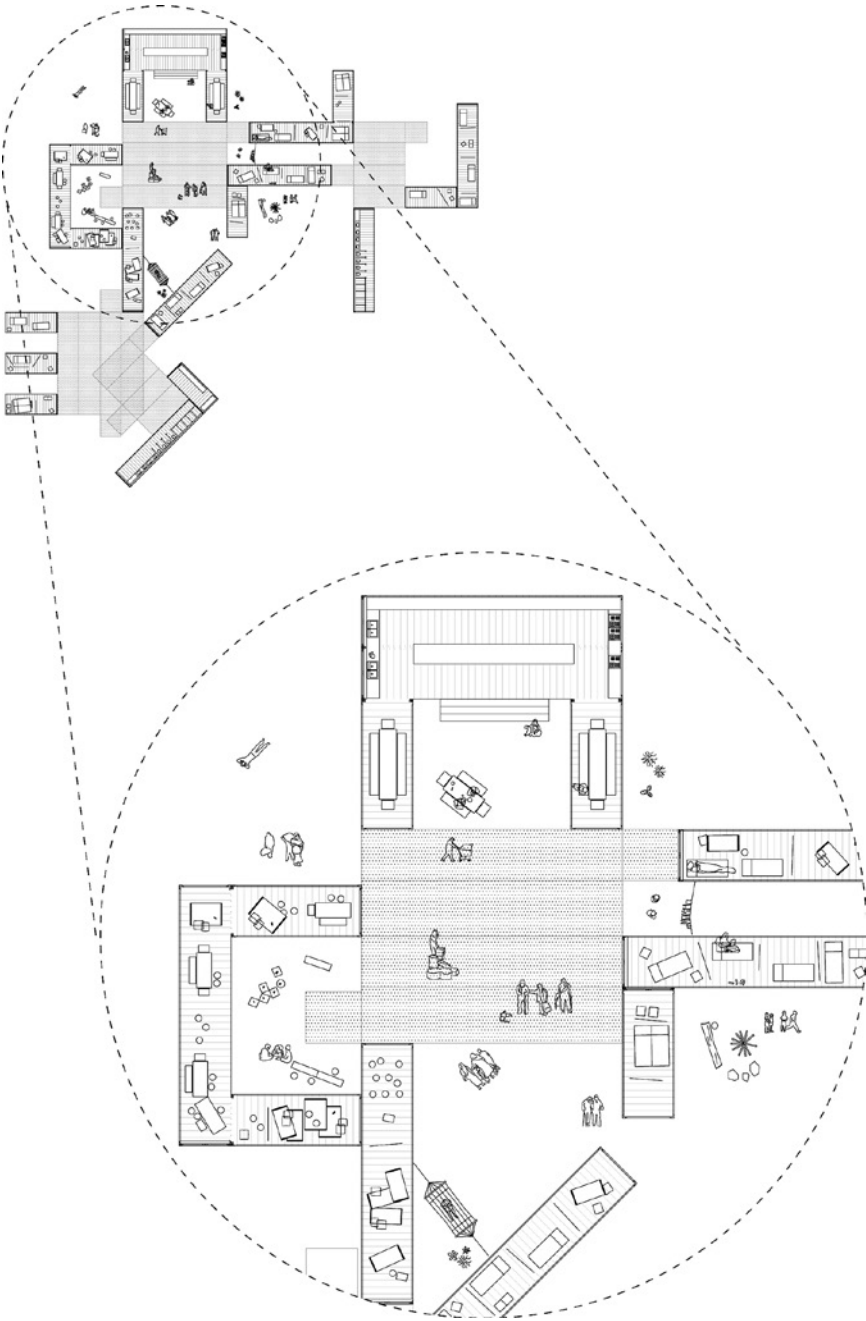
Figure 7.7 Spatial schema, private and public spaces

Source: design Büşra Yeltekin, Onur Kösedağ, author
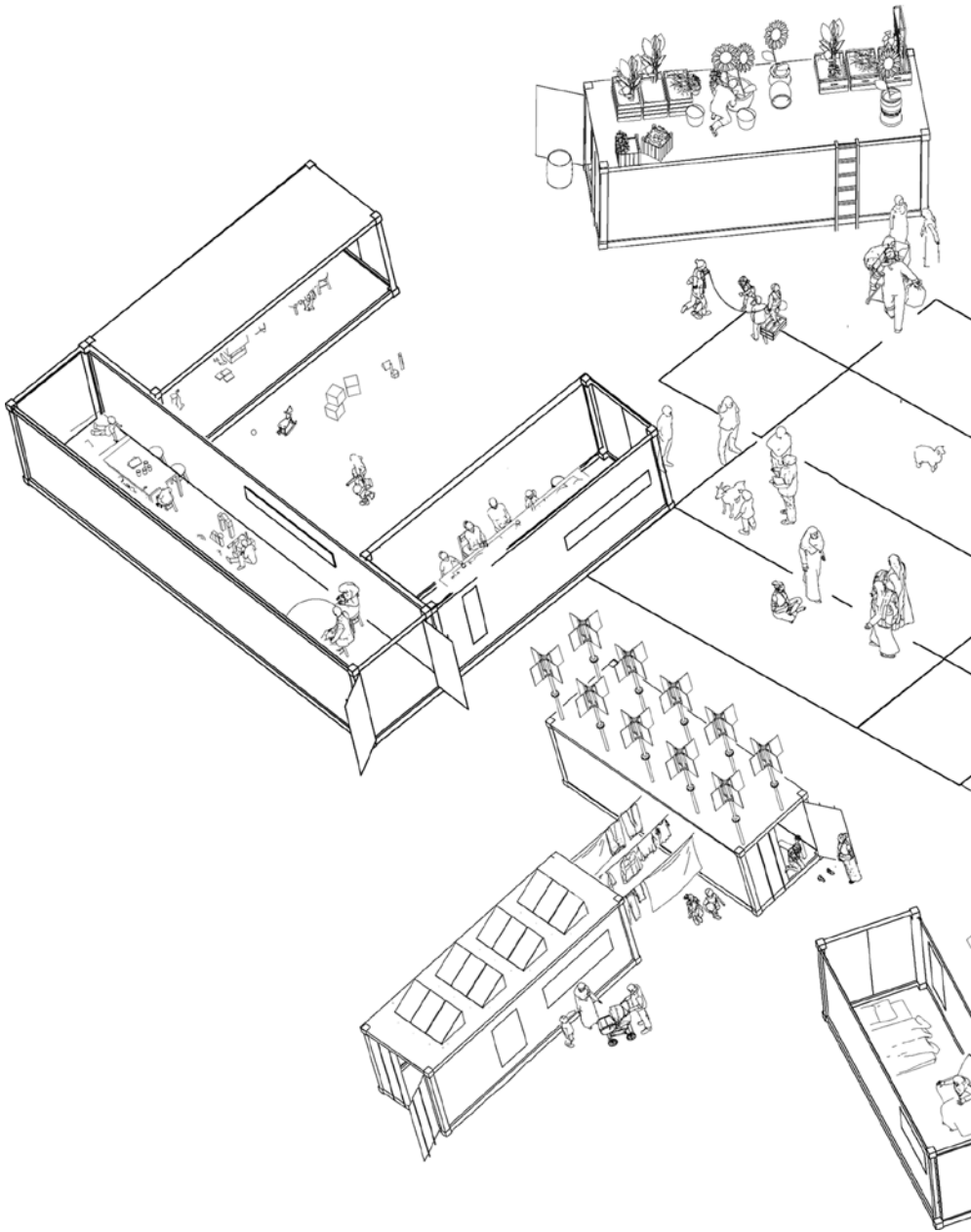
Figure 7.8 Community interior-exterior spaces, sleeping, school, kitchen, dining, play, solar-wind energy generation

Source: design Büşra Yeltekin, Onur Kösedağ, author
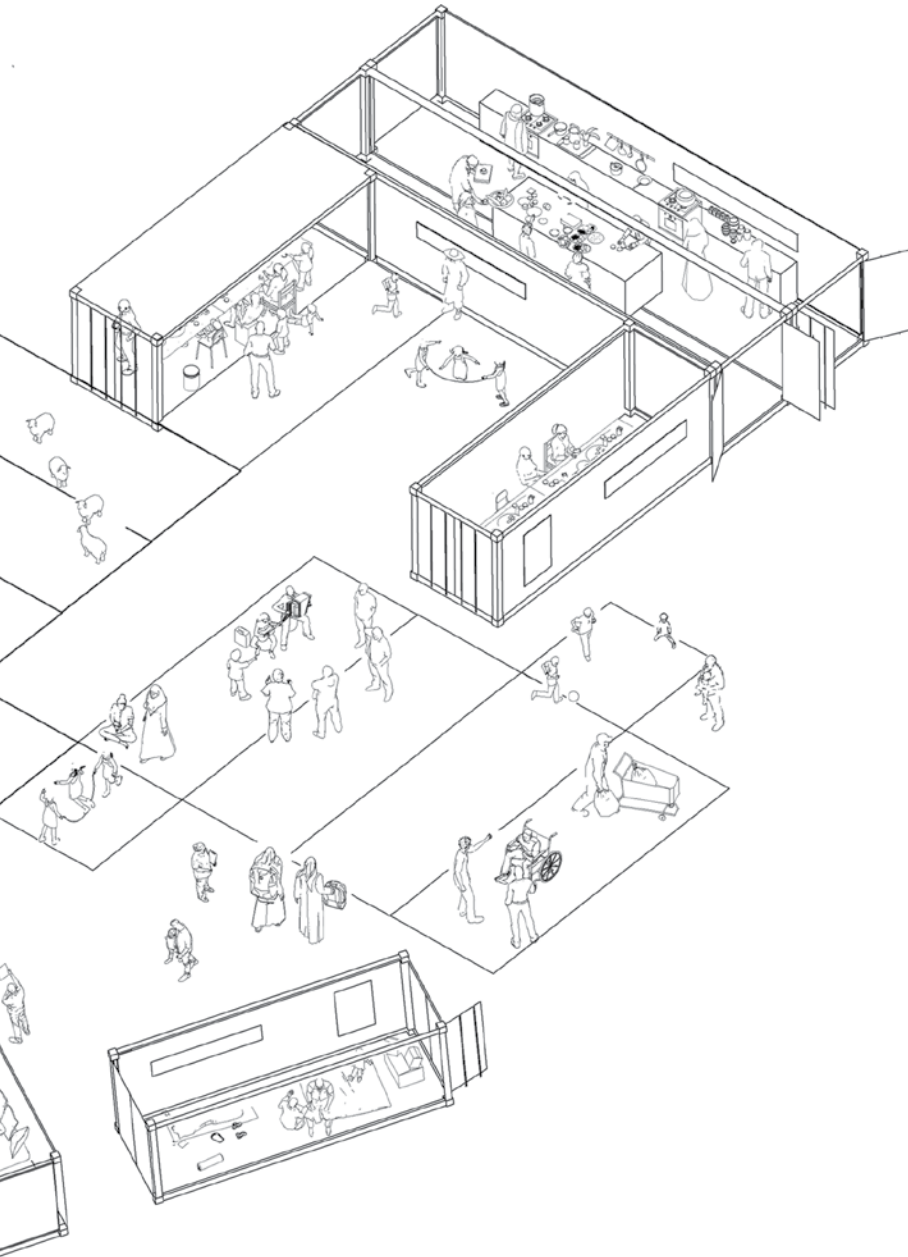
Figure 7.9 Collaged image refugee communities, Mexico City's Central Plaza
(Zocalo), golf club and medium strip

Source: design Onur Kösedağ, Büşra Yeltekin, Author

Figure 7.10 Visualization of refugee community housing, inner-city highway over-
pass, Mexico City

Source: design Onur Kösedağ, Büşra Yeltekin, author

Figure 7.11 Visualization of refugee community, inner-city highway overpass, Houston, Texas

Source: design Onur Kösedağ, Büşra Yeltekin, author

The accompanying image mirrors the other side of the Mexico-Central America-United States immigration conflict by designing shelters nestled within an overpass in Houston, Texas. The recent policy announcement by Texas Governor Greg Abbott to close down the state's refugee resettlement program makes this image all the more poignant in how it reflects the other side of the border visualization created in Mexico City's urban infrastructure.[23] Both images contest the ground on which they are sited, the mobility of infrastructure and the refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, as well as the city's homeless and the immobility of immigration policies of expulsion and detention.

The final image takes the dense urban condition of central London along the River Thames. Utilizing the flat roofs of existing buildings, the shipping containers create a new urban habitat layer within the city. Temporary inhabitancy sits among the permanency of the city and in confluence with the fluidity of the city's lifeblood, the River Thames, as a symbiotic relation. The containers inhabit the rooftop spaces of the building not in a parasitic manner but rather as the new evolution of the city in transgression. The shipping containers' inherent mobility generates sections of the city in mobility. As in a city like London where space is at a premium and capital is maximized, the provocative placement of the shipping containers is intended to de-capitalize property and increase access to the city in a way that is both anarchic and yet spatially practical. As one of the main colonial powers epitomized in the British Empire, the image of migrant shelters covering certain weight-bearing rooftops brings home the idea of a re-colonization taking place right at the center of a former colonial power.

Conclusion

I began this book with an unknown man's occupation of a niche under a highway overpass in Mexico City. Even though I had been writing the book before I knew about the man living in the niche, the story of his appearance and disappearance marked a moment of reckoning in how to think about the city in transgression, human mobility, and resistance. Throughout the book, I have advocated spatial indeterminacy over the dominance of urban programming and praised the medieval heretic vagrant-vagabond who fought with the peasants against the noble class, as well as the self-organizing if short-lived force of anarchy during the French Communards' attempt to take over and reshape Paris in 1871. I have also written of the problem of place's domination over space, the *terrain vague* of non-places of infrastructure and refugee camps to the rights of human freedom and self-determination and the powers of sovereignty and state. These are just some of the ways in which this book has sought to better understand how transgression and human mobility can be brought together to shape the future of cities in an age of global human mobility. At the moment, resistance to human mobility is conditional to maintaining the status quo of division and

separation, rich from poor, rights and injustices, freedoms and containment. The present impasse around human mobility remains under the control of the few rich and powerful nations who see it as their right to impose their world order of discrimination and indifference on the majority. This relationship is slowly unwinding, and, like a dam about to burst, the minority controls over the majority cannot continue unless an outlet is created to allow a continuous flow of human mobility. No doubt, it is better to prepare now and plan for a world and its cities that are capable of effectively and humanely responding to the unfolding of mass human mobility in the 21st century.

Attempting to bring this book to a conclusion in the form of a neat summary of key points is difficult, since it is clear to me there is no conclusion as such. Human mobility and resistance do not end. Refugees are facing the enhanced militarization of land and sea borders, cultural, religious, and racial profiling from hard-right governments, systemic victimization, and discrimination as they flee from conflict, violence, and persecution. For tens of millions of people across the world who are having to leave their countries that are either too dangerous to live in or unable to sustain their lives as a direct result of climate change, mobility offers the only way for survival. What these millions of displaced people, refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants are experiencing now will only widen and affect us all, if they are not already doing so. The large numbers of people walking out of their countries or floating on inflatable rubber boats across deep blue seas to find refuge in other lands and countries have brought a new evolution in human migration in the 21st century. The standard dichotomies – such as nation and state, capital and property, rejection and entry, repression and freedom – that characterize divisions and separations between people throughout the world are being challenged by people forced into mobility, journeying across continents and seas. Without doubt, human mobility has always been met with resistance. Human history is one of the control and resistance of one group of people, society or nation by another. Human histories of enslavement of millions of people, colonial-era white supremacy over African, South American, Asian, and countless indigenous nations, incarceration and genocide, economic and racial inequality, silencing of dissenting voices for human rights and freedom, disproportionate access to education and opportunities across the world – these are just some of the human failings that mark the inhumanity of human to human relations and that continue to afflict the world today.

Human mobility and resistance cannot continue to be compartmentalized between repression and control. The opening two decades of the 21st century, with civil wars and natural disasters, which have led to mass human migration, are only the beginning of what will become a global human condition. The atmospheric turbulence circling Earth, the catastrophic effects of climate change on nature and humans, and the world's increasingly unstable tensions between nations means that resistance to human mobility will continue to

Figure 7.12 Visualization of refugee community, London

Source: design Büşra Yeltekin, Onur Kösedağ, author

be fought over. But it is a fight that cannot be won. Drawing up urban-city-national-continent solutions in an attempt to respond to and support global human mobility provides security and humanitarian resolve to the rights of free movement across the world. Flicking through a newspaper or watching the latest upbeat news report, there is at times a sense of positive change in the air, of a world progressing and caring for itself. Many people around the world who place humanity and preservation of the earth at the center of their lives are being drawn into action where authorities refuse to listen to people's concerns, democratic freedoms are not what is being peddled, injustices are fought by bodies pitched at police batons, and voices of opposition fill social networks – all of which tells us that the necessary changes are not moving quickly enough, and governments are not taking care of the people they represent. To these people, it seems inevitable that global inequality cannot continue, that the protectionism of capital and property by one group of people serves to isolate the lives of countless others. Rightly so, the loudest voices being heard in this insurrection for global change are those of the young people who will inherent an Earth they see as unfit, who are angry at their parents and grandparents who became bloated with the rampant expansion of consumption in the 20th century. It is the young who will be left to work out the future of the world. Refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants fleeing conflict, violence, persecution, and climate change are part of this insurrection too, insofar as they are also victims of the choices made by a powerful minority who plundered the world, sowed injustices, and reaped the rewards. To right these historical wrongs – from colonial invasion and oppression, wealth inequality, and ecological devastation – human mobility is a necessity and fundamental right. This book represents a way of thinking into the 21st century where human mobility, nations, and cities combine in synchronized movements dissolving divisions, borders, and national protectionism in moving toward an inclusive world in transgression.

Notes

1 For a better understanding of postwar German society's cultural amnesia, see W.G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction* (London: Notting Hill Editions, 2003), p. 11.
2 In Koolhaas' critique of cities becoming more like airports and 'all the same', he notes: 'Convergence is possible only at the price of shedding identity. That is usually seen as a loss. But the scale at which it occurs, it *must* mean something. The problem of the generic city is it cannot create its own breakage'. It may be permissible to suggest that the unhomed innovation in adapting urban sites of infrastructure offers one way out of the generic city, where city identity is the reality of their resistance. Rem Koolhaas, 'The Generic City', in *S, M, L, XL*, ed. Jennifer Sigler (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1995), p. 1248.
3 Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1994), p. 249.

4 Stephen Cairns (ed.), *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 18.

5 Cairns considers the architecture of detention and examines centers such as the desert encampment of Woomera in the middle of Australia. Referring to the architect's role in detention design, Cairns writes: 'Where contact has been broached, it has been resisted by architecture'. Ibid, p. 25.

6 Calling for a 'reinvigorated architecture', Cairns suggests that it 'embodies a general relationship in which the migrant stands for the unsettlement against which a preferred and ideal state of sedentary settlement is understood. Mobility, in this script, is conceived of as an aberrant state that functions, at best, as a side-effect of processes of re-settlement. In this account, the marginal figure of the migrant stands in for the once privileged figure of the user, the sedentary citizen, and surreptitiously returns to architecture the core features of a traditional humanism'. Ibid, p. 35.

7 Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 143.

8 Referring to modern building and perhaps influenced by the reconstruction of German towns and cities, Heidegger asks if these new buildings 'hold any guarantee that *dwelling* occurs in them?' More pertinent to the unhomed dwelling in urban sites of infrastructure, he comments: 'Yet those buildings that are not dwelling places remain in turn determined by dwelling insofar as they serve man's dwelling. Dwelling and building are related as end and means'. Ibid, p. 144.

9 Ibid.

10 In relating his concept of dwelling to the mortality of men and the immortality of the divine, Heidegger suggests: 'To say that mortals *are* is to say that *in dwelling they* persist through spaces by virtue of their stay among things and locations. And only because mortals pervade, persist through, spaces by their very nature are they able to go through spaces'. Ibid, pp. 154–55.

11 Heidegger asks: 'What if man's homelessness consisted in this, that man still does not even think of the *real* plight of dwelling as *the* plight? Yet as soon as *man gives thought* to his homelessness, it is a misery no longer. Rightly considered and kept well in mind, it is the sole summons that *calls* mortals into their dwelling'. Ibid, p. 159.

12 According to the Brookings Institute, Africa's 3.8% share of global emissions pales in comparison to China at 23%, America at 19%, and Europe at 13%. Yet, Africans are the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change where the alternative is to leave their countries and seek opportunities and survival in rich countries on the European continent that lie in close proximity across the Mediterranean Sea. Brookings Institute: www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/global_20160818_cop21_africa.pdf.

13 For a full report, see the UNHCR account of forced human displacement: www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/.

14 Koolhaas gives a number of pointers to how the 'Generic City' is formed not by design but by abandonment. 'The great originality of the Generic City is simply to abandon what doesn't work – what has outlived its use – to break up the blacktop of idealism with the jackhammers of realism and to accept whatever grows in its place. In that sense, the Generic City accommodates both the primordial and the futuristic – in fact, *only* these two'. Koolhaas, 'The Generic City', p. 1252.

15 The immobility of refugees is placed in stark contrast to the transient space of the displaced camp. Even though Diken is of the mind that the 'camp is officially transitory, so to say, an "exceptional space", in which the refugee is supposed to spend only a limited amount of time. Yet, everywhere the refugee camp has

today become a "permanent" location and the transient condition of the refugee extends indefinitely, becoming an irrevocable and permanent situation, freezing into non-negotiable, rigid structures'. Bülent Diken, 'From Refugee Camps to Gated Communities: Biopolitics and the End of the City', *Citizen Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2004), p. 93.

16 Ibid, p. 100.
17 Diken's idea of nomadic power is the 'essential link between increasing mobility and the "splintering" city', for nomadic power ruptures the formal powers of the city, which is based on permanency. Ibid, p. 101.
18 Diken likens the controls on the spaces of the camp to the controls placed on urban spaces of the city – 'islands of order amidst disorder in contrast to panopticon as an island of disorder amidst order'. Ibid, p. 104.
19 International Federation of Robotics (IFR): https://ifr.org/ifr-press-releases/news/summary-outlook-on-world-robotics-report-2019-by-ifr.
20 BBC News report, 25 Apr. 2014: www.bbc.com/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-27156775.
21 For the *Better Shelter.Org* from Ikea, see https://bettershelter.org/?gclid=Cj0K CQiA-4nuBRCnARIsAHwyuPrZmGSE2WbqcHODh93ARPxOAIz51ZSytn-nIqffa33EirMEIGZbtQkaAln-EALw_wcB. For *The Origami Shelter* by Kinetic Structure Laboratory from the University of Notre Dame, see www.nd.edu/stories//origami-shelter/ and for the *Domo Tent* from More Than Shelters, see www.morethanshelters.org/eng/domo/.
22 For more information on the *Paper Emergency Shelters* for UNHCR – Byumba Refugee Camp in Rwanda 1999 and *Paper Loghouse Kobe*, see www.archdaily.com/489255/the-humanitarian-works-of-shigeru-ban and www.architectmagazine.com/project-gallery/paper-log-house-kobe.
23 For information concerning Texas Governor Greg Abbott's refugee policy announcement, see the following NBC report: www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/texas-governor-reject-new-refugee-resettlement-following-trump-order-n1113851.

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