

How can we challenge the fundamental male dominance in the building industry (that is, as the architecture profession becomes more gender balanced, the building industry at large is characterised by inertia and non-transparent structures), and what could be the result of a balanced field of practice and production?

How is a feminist architecture to develop responsible and caring approaches to transforming/making the world in such a way that it will welcome and host all living beings and all existing, imaginable and still-to-be-invented forms of life?

Is a nomadic feminist practice that actually affirms different notions of spatiality and subjectivities possible within architectural practice?

There is an urgent need for “rethinking the social in architecture” in late modernistic housing areas. In relationship to that I’m interested in posing the question of how feminist city planning could develop a method not only involving the citizens in social pre-studies, but bringing the process further into the design- and conventional planning phase?

There is a need for new types of social places that could change the public sphere, that in many examples are dominated by men – but certainly not are attractive to women.

Women do not have time to spend in public; they are occupied in domestic life. Is it possible to create ‘hybrid’ spaces with another type of necessary activities, taking more important roles in everyday life in comparison to cafés, shops etc.? One example is Stepwells in India. Could we mix playgrounds with restaurants, laundry with cafés? Or could we take this spatial challenge even further? Could a method be developed to give a strong motif that collaboration between feminism and architecture generates an important tool for “rethinking the social in architecture”?

Simply: How to and why make feminism a mainstream topic in architecture?

How can feminism continue to affect our everyday practice and ethics within architecture?

Is it about the articulation of difference (feminist spaces, practices, etc), or is it about equal rights?

How do we engage those who consider Feminist issues totally irrelevant to Architecture?

How should we raise the question of social and environmental justice to become a mainstream political objective?

Is there a sexual specificity in relation to space?

How can feminism, within and about, architecture engage effectively with our politically unstable times?

Do public planning need feminist separatist groups so change the norm? To exclude to be able to include?

How does the privatisation and neo liberalisation of universities impact on feminist teaching and research in architecture schools?

As our society shifts in values, how do you address the patriarchal nature of much of the pre-existing built environment?

To what extent is it possible/desirable for tools and modes of practice informed by feminist theory in architecture to find space within mainstream structures?

In which context and scale is it possible to act and who can make supply decisions?

How could the concerns of feminism be infiltrated in the conceptualisation of architecture, as an active component of the discipline but without its differentiation as activism?

How to implement feminist work practices and research into the architectural profession?

How can we improve wages and childcare support for women in the profession to ensure more women are able to develop their careers in architecture?

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Cover: Table Arrangement of the Interstitial Breakfast by **taking place** at the AHRA conference "Architecture & Feminisms: Ecologies, Economies, Technologies," Stockholm, 2017. Plan by Helen Stratford.

field: has an interest in dynamic and alternative fields of architectural practice, education and discourse.

field: is not prescriptive about methodologies, knowledge production or ways of imagining the field and is interested in questioning particular relations and assertions of power.

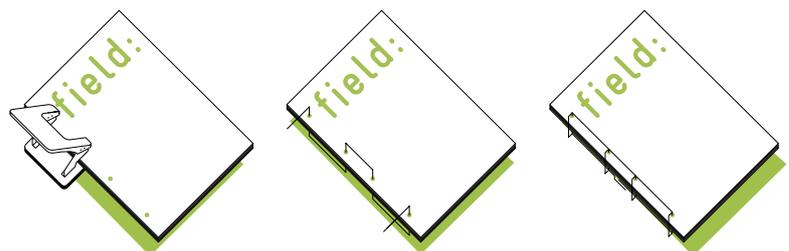
field: is more about invention than discovery. The field is not somewhere 'out there' waiting to be discovered but is open to the flow of new ideas and practices.

field: encourages contributions from academics, researchers, artists, activists, and practitioners, from individuals or groups.

field: sets out to begin to present on a regular basis reflections related to many different fields of interest. It is our intention to question and respond to what others in various fields have explored.

field: does not seek to privilege what is known or easily representable and is interested in new phenomena and their relation to the transformative process of research.

How to Print and Bind Sewn Japanese Binding



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*Field dedicates this issue to the memory of
Professor Peter Blundell Jones,
former member of the editorial team.*

Becoming a Feminist Architect, ... visible, momentous, with

Karin Reisinger and Meike Schalk

¹ Besides this issue, the conference has led to Hélène Frichot, Catharina Gabrielsson and Helen Runting, eds., *Architectures and Feminisms: Ecologies, Economies, Technologies* (London: Routledge, 2017) and Karin Reisinger and Meike Schalk, eds., “Styles of Queer Feminist Practices and Objects,” *Architecture and Culture* Vo. 5 Issue 3 (2017).

² Elizabeth Grosz, ed., *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 77-157.

³ Doina Petrescu. “Foreword: From Alterities and Beyond,” in *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*, ed. Doina Petrescu (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), xvii.

⁴ See for example Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2011).

⁵ “Dirty resilience” is a term used by Tara Tabassi in Wendy Harcourt, Sacha Knox and Tara Tabassi, “World-wise Otherwise Stories for our Endtimes: Conversations on Queer Ecologies,” in *Practicing Feminist Political Ecologies: Moving Beyond the ‘Green Economy,’* eds. Wendy Harcourt and Ingrid L. Nelson (London: Zed Books, 2015), 299.

This issue is one of three publications subsequent to the 13th International Architectural Humanities Research Association (AHRA) Conference “Architecture & Feminisms: Ecologies, Economies, Technologies,” which was held at KTH School of Architecture, Stockholm, between the 17th to 19th November in 2016.¹ The conference gathered around 200 participants and included over a hundred paper presentations and performances, as well as two exhibitions. The overwhelming interest in reviving the feminist discourse in architecture gave us the opportunity to reflect on the process of becoming feminist architects. *Becoming a feminist architect* is a complex process, rife with strategies, tactics, frictions, advances and retreats, that will continue to engage us in the future as it does now. This became clear through the presentations of a wide range of different feminist architectural practices, both historical and contemporary, their diverse theoretical underpinnings and methodological reflections and speculations. The present publication assembles a series of vital discussions that emerged at the event, including accounts of careful and creative ways of becoming feminist architects by “knowing and doing otherwise,”² “practising ‘otherwise,’”³ or doing architecture in other ways,⁴ the implication of which is a rethinking and expansion of the conventional scope of architectural practice. With these three publications – this edition of *Field Journal*, the *Architecture and Culture* issue “Styles of Queer Feminist Practices and Objects,” and the anthology *Architecture and Feminisms: Ecologies, Economies, Technologies* – we have made an effort to create space for as many of the voices and positions present at the conference as possible.

This issue presents a number of practices, as well as processes of formation, taking into account personal becomings and individual actions, and embracing the “dirty resilience”⁵ of collaboration, which refuses to be purified into neat categories or binaries. Instead, we have invited a wide variety of feminist approaches from “radical feminist, to lesbian feminist, to black feminist, to postcolonial feminist, to crip

- ⁶ Hélène Frichot in the call for papers, see <http://architecturefeminisms.org>
- ⁷ The notion of becoming has for example been developed in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
- ⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*.
- ⁹ Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 238.
- ¹⁰ Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*. The orchid and wasp become an especially timely parable on account of recent research about the drastic decline of 75% of the insects of nature reserves across Germany during the last 25 years. See Damian Carrington, "Warning of 'Ecological Armageddon' after Dramatic Plunge in Insect Numbers," *The Guardian*, Oct. 18, 2017.
- ¹¹ On the disloyalty and disrespectfulness of the nomadic subject, see Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subject: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 24. For the connection of subjects and acts see Elizabeth Grosz, *Becoming Undone: Darwinian Reflections on Life, Politics and Art* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 64-67, referring to Bergson's *Time and Free Will*.
- ¹² Doina Petrescu, "Altering Practices," in *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*, ed. Doina Petrescu (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 3.
- ¹³ Meike Schalk, Thérèse Kristiansson and Ramia Mazé, eds., *Feminist Futures of Spatial Practice: Materialisms, Activisms, Dialogues, Pedagogies, Projections*. Baunach: AADR / Spurbuchverlag, 2017.
- ¹⁴ Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects*, 5.

feminist, to queer feminist, to trans feminist, to Sara Ahmed's feminist killjoy, to feminist men, to posthuman feminist, to the liberal and neoliberal feminist, to material feminist, to marxist feminist, to eco feminist, to Roxane Gay's popular *Bad Feminist* and many others, even to postfeminist voices," in an attempt to show that the "claim to feminism continues to be tested and contested."⁶

Before discussing *feminist* advancements of becoming, the concept of becoming and the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari requires some attention.⁷ Processes of becoming are responsive; we become in relation to our environments,⁸ and we become through our alliances.⁹ These aspects are demonstrated in Deleuze and Guattari's famous example of the orchid and the wasp, who perform in collaboration. The orchid mimics the wasp so that the wasp momentarily becomes part of the orchid's reproductive apparatus. For a brief moment, orchid and wasp act in unison while maintaining their distinction.¹⁰ Mapping this cross-species event of a perfect match onto feminist theory and practice, we could surmise that the wasp moves on from the beautiful orchid in order to develop other strategies and other tools, enacting the "art of disloyalty" of a nomadic subject.¹¹ As Doina Petrescu reminds us, "the logic of 'becoming' may offer the potential for an infinite variety of constellations, forming and reforming in perpetual change."¹² Becoming offers us new positions from which to reclaim sustainable futures with long-term perspectives,¹³ while paying attention to micro-politics and micro-perspectives and being aware of how these connect across smaller and larger scales. In these ecosystems of micro and macro, of past, present and future, and of the centers and the margins, Rosi Braidotti has taught us about nomadic subjectivity as a simultaneous destabilization and activation of the center in interaction with the margins.¹⁴

Becoming a Feminist Architect includes different nuances of becoming: from becoming visible, becoming momentous and becoming with, to the becoming of nomadic subjects, formations of knowledge and the development of an ethical practice. Concerned with the built and materialized environment, but well aware that building is not the only way to influence architecture, the authors of this issue reveal different processes of becoming attentive, strategic and collective, starting with the important practice of becoming visible.

Becoming visible

We have collected accounts of practices and discourses that make visible, invisible or (re)present things in particular ways, showing various tactics of unveiling and foregrounding what is not usually taken into consideration. They make us aware of our position as well as the positions of others, enabling us to take up ethical and political questions as part of a feminist practice that contributes to change. "Becoming visible" refers

¹⁵ See also Colebrook, “A Grammar of Becoming: Strategy, Subjectivism and Style,” in *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memories and Futures*, ed. Elizabeth Grosz (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), above all 120-21, 132 and 140.

to active as well as reactive strategies of becoming,¹⁵ because the feminist strategy of making visible is often a critical reaction to that which has been rendered invisible or lacks representation, and which therefore demands to be reactivated.

Jane Rendell took the “Architecture and Feminisms” conference as an opportunity to reflect on practices of citation. This is an ethics which is often neglected under the neoliberal conditions that characterise academia at present, which place pressure on researchers to “publish or perish.” In **Jane Rendell *From, in and with Anne Tallentire***, Rendell develops a specific way of becoming in dialogue with Anne Tallentire, demonstrating the importance of careful and situated approaches. Such care, she argues, must be directed not only towards the questions of who we cite in our writings and projects, or whose thoughts we build our thinking upon, but how we give credit to each other. Rendell’s article appeals to researchers to critically reflect upon our citational practices in the production of scholarship in architecture and art. Marie-Louise Richards points to invisibility via the practical paradox of hyper-visible invisibility. In **Hyper-visible Invisibility: Tracing the Politics, Poetics and Affects of the Unseen** she brings out the hegemony of whiteness in architecture and suggests hyper-visible invisibility as a tactic of transgressing borders and going beyond the binaries of race, class and gender.

Aikaterini Antonopoulou enters an equally complex terrain in **Situated Knowledges and Shifting Grounds: Questioning the Reality Effect of High-resolution Imagery**. Here, Antonopoulou discusses how different visualization technologies create different representations of the Zaatari refugee camp. Amelia Vilaplana discusses how devices of media technology transform our relations. In **Urban Sonographies: A Feminist Art Work and the Transformation of Architectural Culture in the Infosphere**, she introduces the decolonial practice of a “spoken space” by the artist Eulália Grau in 1978, examining representational methods and their technological interconnections. In this way of re-claiming, making aware and making visible through citational practices, tactics of hyper-visible invisibility, and the use of various technologies, the authors of this section discuss how different actors approach their matters of concern from amidst their situated territories, which are at the same time impacted upon by global politics.

“Becoming Visible” concludes with Andrea Jeanne Merrett’s study on **Scholarship as Activism: Doris Cole’s and Susana Torre’s Pioneering Feminism in Architectural History**, which examines the legacy of women in American architecture in the 1970s. Merrett argues that Cole and Torre’s scholarship can be understood as a form of activism, challenging the accepted architectural historiography of the time by making visible women’s historical participation in the built environment. As Merrett stresses, this work is far from completed, and continues to engage

- ¹⁶ Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2017), 45.
- ¹⁷ Isabelle Stengers and Vinciane Despret, *Women Who Make a Fuss: The Unfaithful Daughters of Virginia Woolf* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
- ¹⁸ Virginia Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway* (Buffalo, London, Moorebank: Broadview Press, 2013).
- ¹⁹ Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 44-45.
- ²⁰ Milevska, "Becoming-Woman from a Feminist Point of View," in *New Feminism: Worlds of Feminism, Queer and Networking Conditions*, ed. Marina Gržinić and Rosa Reitsamer. Vienna: Löcker, 2008), 47.
- ²¹ Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 3.
- ²² Meike Schalk, Brady Burroughs, Katja Grillner and Katarina Bonnevier. "FATALE: Critical Studies in Architecture," *Nordic Journal of Architecture*, Vo. 2 (2012), 90-96. FATALE stands for Feminist Architecture Theory: Analysis Laboratory Education.

current feminist architectural activists, now organised in platforms such as Parlour, Architexx and n-ails, and in the collective scholarly effort of actively rewriting architectural course syllabi, textbooks and Wikipedia entries.

The aim of this issue is not only to foreground feminist struggle. We also want to capture a range of shifts which led to rethinking architecture from a feminist perspective.

Becoming momentous

In her book *Living a Feminist Life*, Sara Ahmed writes: "Once a flow is directed, it acquires a momentum."¹⁶ Ahmed, Deleuze and Guattari, Stengers and Despret,¹⁷ and Braidotti have all learned from Virginia Woolf, especially from *Mrs. Dalloway's* walk.¹⁸ Ahmed considers Mrs Dalloway's walk, undertaken on an ordinary day, as indicative of how "life itself can be understood as a path or a trajectory," requiring a shift in "momentum" to change directions or become un-directed.¹⁹ A shift in momentum can take place through a specific event, a conference for example, in relation to an act, or can even be located within a question. Becoming momentous also means becoming influential. Suzana Milevska stresses the importance of events in becomings, and claims a need for "compossible" and connected events to accumulate effects.²⁰ Ahmed locates a notable contemporary momentum in feminism: "... more people gathering on the streets ... more people using a name to identify themselves... the high visibility of feminist activism on social media; in how the word *feminism* can set the stage on fire ..."²¹



Fig. 1 Discussion with Katherine Gibson at the Practices Roundtables Salon at the conference. Photo: Björn Ehrlemark



Fig. 2 Conference bags prepared for the participants to arrive. Photo: Karin Reisinger

Each of us confesses to different histories in our relationship with feminism. For many of us there has been someone who has taught us about gender and feminism and inspired us with a critical momentum and different ways of reflecting on doing architecture, even expanding on what architecture could be. The conference "Architecture & Feminisms" involved students in the course "Architecture and

²³ https://twitter.com/ahra_archfems?lang=de

²⁴ Many thanks to the students of the “Architecture and Gender” course (autumn 2016) who co-shaped the event: Layal Al Haddad, Marie Ekblad, David Hagberg, Matthias Hagegård, Akane Imai, Gabriella Jakobsson, Lisa Christin Jonas, Patrycja Komada, Alice McColl, Jessika Mulraney, Banah Rashid, Lucia Schreiber, Selina Sigg, Hanna Skog and Sofie Tidstrand. (In 2016 the course was held by Karin Reisinger.)

Gender,” which has been delivered regularly at KTH Stockholm since 2008, and was initiated by the teaching and research group FATALE.²² In the autumn term of 2016 the students of the course developed proposals for organising a feminist conference in architecture. They contributed their organisational ideas to the event by preparing necklaces as badges, designing timetable maps to facilitate different itineraries through the many panels and workshops hosted at the conference, and by creating an online exchange platform using twitter (@ahra_archfems).²³ The students participated in creating a welcoming atmosphere for the conference guests, allowing for moments of exchange. They made suggestions about the choreography of presentations, and they also shared their experiences of what “blew them away.”²⁴

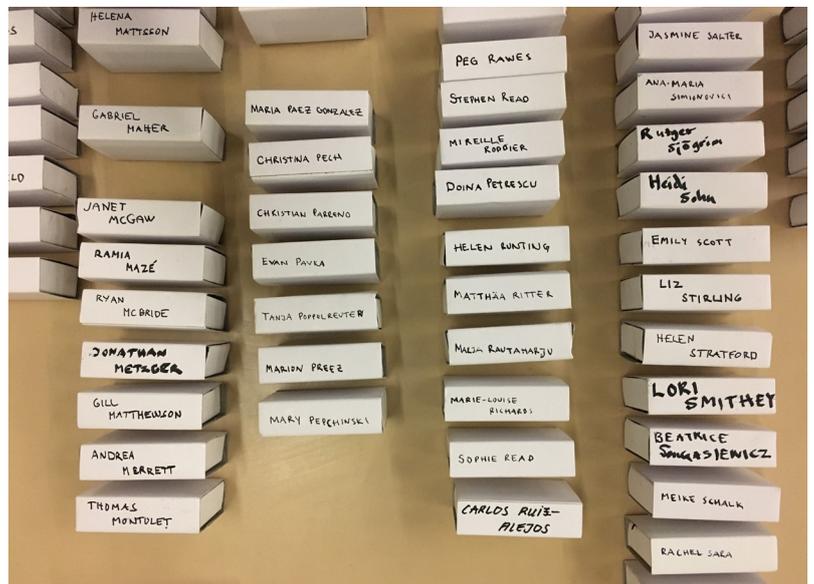


Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 Necklace packages for the participants of the conference, prepared by the students of the Architecture and Gender course. Photo: Sofie Tidstrand.

Feminist pedagogies formed an important part of the conference, especially as many of the contributors became pedagogues as part of a feminist aim to transform architectural practice from within the academy. Enabling practices of mutual exchange, peer-to-peer based learning, the insightful re-negotiation of the kinds of knowledge we need to produce in architecture - and according to whose terms and conditions - constituted a crucial concern. Torsten Lange and Emily Eliza Scott curated a conference roundtable dedicated specifically to feminist pedagogies by bringing together situated practices from a wide range of topical, geographical and cultural contexts. Contributors included Lila Athanasiadou, Harriet Harriss, Andrea Jeanne Merrett, Iradj Moeini and Rachel Sara; Jane Rendell concluded the roundtable session with a response. The roundtable resulted in a jointly authored text called **Making Trouble to Stay With: Architecture and Feminist Pedagogies**. Further, in a series of tales Malin Åberg-Wennerholm offers a narrative account of her daily work

²⁵ This is a critical term forwarded by Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*.

²⁶ Special thanks to H el ene Frichot who organised this additional call in the electronic conference system.

²⁷ See <http://www.takingplace.org.uk> (accessed November 6, 2017).

²⁸ Matrix also included the current members of **taking place**, Boys and Dwyer.

²⁹ See also Parlour's website: <http://archiparlour.org>

as the program director at the KTH School of Architecture. Her essay **The Gender-Eye Approach: Eleven Tales from KTH School of Architecture in Stockholm** shows how much fun it can be to act as a feminist "killjoy,"²⁵ especially when pursuing this activity together with students. Through tactics of interruption and actions involving pamphlets, posters, snacks, questionnaires and publications directed towards gender equality issues at KTH,  berg-Wennerholm has made an impact on the school's culture by bringing students and staff together, engaging in critique and criticism, and shifting discussions.

A momentum of a special kind at the conference in Stockholm was stirred by the group **taking place**, which is made up by Jos Boys, Julia Dwyer, Teresa Hoskyns, Katie Lloyd Thomas and Helen Stratford, and their curated 8th **taking place** breakfast, early in the morning of the second conference day. Before the conference, they staged an open call, posing the question: "What are the relevant questions for architecture and feminism today?"²⁶ which were printed on tablecloths they had designed for the discussion-breakfast. Participants took down notes directly onto the tablecloths, while enjoying a buffet of coffee, kn ackebr od, cakes, crazy sweets and fruits. In the essay **TAKING PLACE 8: INTERSTITIAL BREAKFAST**, Hoskyns and Lloyd Thomas share the experience of the **taking place** group,²⁷ over their 15 years of collective practice, which has avoided hierarchical organisation and unitary positions.

Christine Wall gives an account of a history of another collective practice, which we find highly relevant today. In "**We don't have leaders! We're doing it ourselves!': Squatting, Feminism and Built Environment Activism in 1970s London**", she describes how the common care and repair of abandoned buildings has fostered groups of feminist architects in the 1970s, such as Matrix.²⁸ Wall offers detailed insight into the experience of squatting and the material engagements that allowed for reflections on shared feminist struggles.

In the concluding contribution to this section, the Australian research and activist group Parlour generously illuminates their processes of becoming, introducing the audience to the incredible momentum they have applied in the Australian context to addressing the underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership in the field of architecture. With **Parlour: The First Five Years**, Naomi Stead, Gill Matthewson, Justine Clark and Karen Burns share insights into their formation, the pre-history of which was supported by a major research project on gender equity in the architectural profession, and into the outreach activities the group engaged in during the first five years of their collaboration. They show their multi-faceted practice and their momentous activism,²⁹ which has led to substantial change in attitudes to gender in architecture in Australia, as well as inspiring similar activities in the US.

Becoming produces multiple approaches to feminist architectural practices. These are specific and diverse and need to be developed collectively, as groups, across shared platforms, and in relation *with*.

Becoming with

The concluding section foregrounds connective thinking and action, alliances and collective multiplicities. Braidotti's expression "we-are-in-this-together-but-we-are-not-one-and-the-same"³⁰ resists what she calls an "uncritical reproduction of sameness on a planetary scale,"³¹ while at the same time allows us to think, act and become together. In Donna J. Haraway's words, this can also be described as how "[o]ntologically heterogenous partners become who and what they are in relational material semiotic worlding. Natures, cultures, subjects and objects do not preexist their intertwined worldings."³² Haraway argues for transgressing dichotomies by looking at how we are *becoming with*, seeking a resilient and dynamic relation with species, natures, materials and the world around us. This section addresses how we can extend our situated knowledges by embracing a posthuman becoming in which "we" are part of an environment, and entangled in multiple dependencies. And yet the tricky "we" deserves more attention. According to Ahmed, "[t]o build feminist dwellings, we need to dismantle what has already been assembled; we need to ask what it is we are against, what it is we are for, knowing full well that this *we* is not a foundation but what we are working toward. By working out what we are for, we are working out that *we*, that hopeful signifier of a feminist collectivity."³³ Ahmed connects the formation of a *we* to the processes of becoming, which requires collective work.

Gill Matthewson offers a profound insight into such a formation. Based on the collection of empirical data and voices of women in the architectural profession in **Thinking Through Creative Merit and Gender Bias in Architecture**, she shows, through the frame of Isabelle Stengers' concept of the "habitat" of profession and an ecology of practices, a research that became an important knowledge base for the activism of the group Parlour.³⁴ Evan Pavka explores a different kind of archive and history, namely that of same-sex desires through the closet and the grave in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. **From the Closet To the Grave: Architecture, Sexuality and the Mount Royal Cemetery** examines cemeteries and the art of memorialising relationships that happened outside of the heteronormative community of the family. From the queer typology of the closet and the queering of the grave, we move on to multiplying understandings of the concept of *chôra*, another form of receptacle. In **Reconsidering Chôra, Architecture and "Woman"** Louise Burchill gives an account of the philosophical and architectural discourses on *chôra*, from Plato's understanding of *chôra* as the "nurse of all becomings" to Elisabeth Grosz's feminist reading of *chôra* as beyond identity and form, and Ann Bergren's discussion of *chôra* in

³⁰ Rosi Braidotti, "Aspirations of a Posthumanist," (Tanner Lecture on Human Values, Yale University, March 2, 2016).

³¹ Braidotti, *Nomadic Subject*, 6.

³² Donna J. Haraway, *Staying With the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016), 12-13. For *becoming with* see also Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

³³ Sarah Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 2.

³⁴ Isabelle Stengers, "Introductory Notes on an Ecology of Practices," *Cultural Studies Review*, Vo 11 No 1 (March 2005).

relation to architecture. Burchill describes chôra as the becoming of a pre-architectural space, which makes itself available to multiple readings.

The concluding contribution to this issue, **Of the Urban and the Ocean: Rachel Carson and the Disregard of Wet Volumes** by Charity Edwards, encourages us to rethink our architectural and urban concepts from a posthuman standpoint. With the engagement of the hitherto neglected perspective of a wet ontology, Edwards “wets” the binary and static thinking of architecture. Edwards’ written and visual account of both Rachel Carson’s connective thinking in her main work *See Trilogy* – which has remained in the shadow of her seminal book *Silent Spring* – and her biography, demonstrate the necessity of acknowledging the interdependency of different spatial and temporal scales, the land and the sea, the entanglement of scientific work and personal life, and the relation between past, present and future.

At the 2016 AHRA “Architecture & Feminisms” Conference, we reacted together on shared issues like the need to reframe ontologies, acknowledged a wide variety of approaches for instance, the struggle for resilient working conditions, and projected a care-focused architectural education. There are of course no simple conclusions that can be drawn from this conference. We may rather speak of a multiplicity of outcomes – including new perspectives and insights; inspiration for research, teaching and professional practice; and new collaborations – which may linger, staying with us for some time. One result is this issue, which is one of three publications, each of which illuminates one aspect of the meeting. In this volume, we have gathered contributions from the conference that foreground different becomings of feminist architecture through common concerns and matters of care.³⁵ These “collective re-constructions”³⁶ draw attention to the crucial project of becoming feminist architects, which is an “interactive collective process.”³⁷ With this assemblage of essays, it is our ambition to contribute to rethinking, discussing, encouraging, undoing and doing architecture in other ways, in anticipation of alternative futures.

Acknowledgements: This work was supported by the “Strong Research Environment” Architecture in Effect: Rethinking the Social / The Swedish Research Council Formas and by the University of Sheffield School of Architecture. Great thanks to Doina Petrescu who has made this issue possible and to Stephen Walker for his support.

³⁵ Maria Puig de la Bellacasa, *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More Than Human Worlds* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

³⁶ Term borrowed from Doina Petrescu, “Altering Practices,” 5.

³⁷ Braidotti about figuration, in *Nomadic Subjects*, 11.

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*Jane Rendell **From, in and with** Anne Tallentire¹*

¹ This visual essay is composed of two parts. The first is a set of four double page spread compositions, each one comprising four components. On the right hand page is a photograph of Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, detail, work on paper, dimensions variable, (2013); and on the left hand page, a site-writing, consisting of three textual components, including – along the bottom in bold font – some experiments in citation. The second part is a reflection, informed by feminism, on citational practice in art and academia.

Photograph 1

[Guidelines for typesetting: these words describe the photograph of the face of the building with balconies and square windows. Since each sentence of this description follows one floor of the building in the photograph, it is important that each sentence is separated by a paragraph return.]

Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013).

N53° 16.7821', W006° 8.2549'

jr 1: Gridlock

y, a window, a balcony, a window, a window, a window, a window, a balcony, a window, a window, a wind

a window, a balcony, a window, a window, a window, a window, a balcony, a window, a window, a win

a window, a balcony, a window, a window, a window, a window, a balcony, a window

a window, a balcony, a window, a window, a window, a window, a balcony, a window

window, a balcony, a window, a window, a window, a window, a balcony, a window

indow, a balcony, a window, a window, a window, a window, a balcony, a window

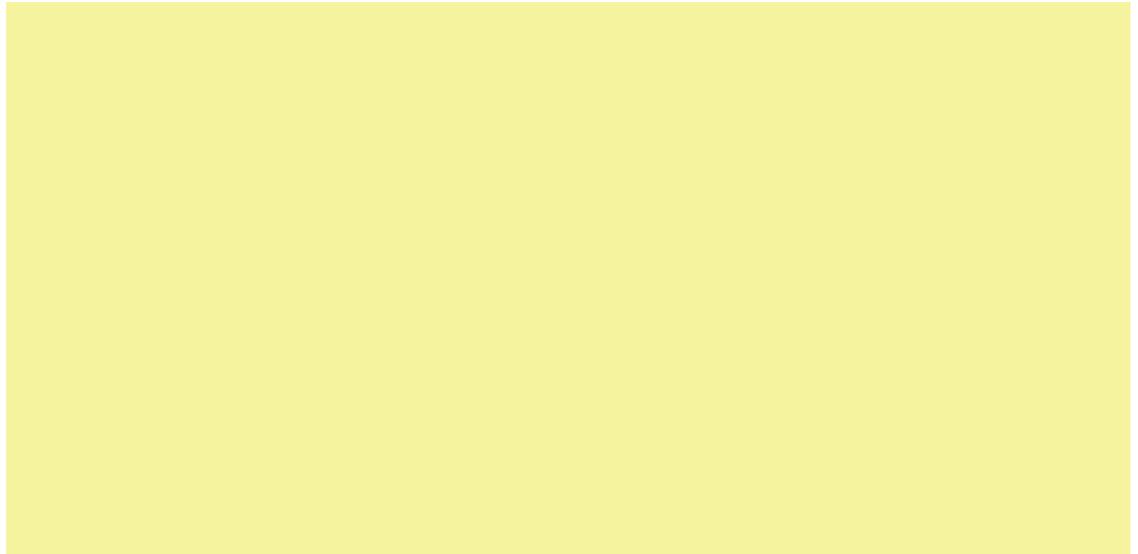
a wall, a window, a lamppost, a man, a pram, a phonebox, a wall, a window, a door, a window, a bollard, a wall, a window, a tree, a bollard, a man, a door, a bollard, a window, a bollard, a wall, a man, a tree, a window, a door, a window, a wall, a

Anne Tallentire, *From. in and with*, detail, work on paper, dimensions variable, (2013)

Photograph 2

[Guidelines for typesetting: these words describe the photograph of the building with the two windows blanked in. Each sentence should be laid out as above, ideally in three sections – as a response to the three floors of the building it is describing. So there should be two paragraph returns (not one) between Obliquely. and Below this, and two paragraph returns (not one) between Opposite. and Below this.]

Jane Rendell, 'Gridlock', 'Blindspot', 'About to touch', and 'Inversion', in Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013).



N53° 20.8907', W006° 15.9855'

jr 2: Blindspot

From the top.

Two windows. No view in. Reflections in one. Of the sky. Obliquely.

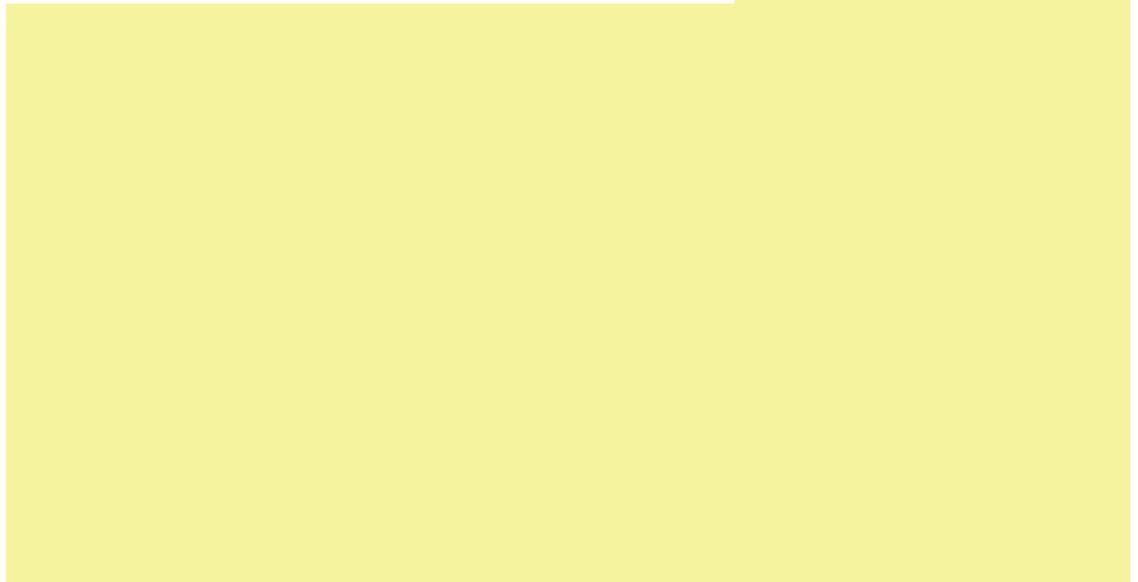
Below this.

Two windows. No view in. Reflections in both. Of the windows. Opposite.

Below this.

Two windows. No view in. No reflections. Of the sky. Of the windows. Outside.

Instead of glass, a layer of tiny mosaic tiles has been inserted, on top of what might be a concrete render. Like the scales of an old amphibian they would like to shimmer in the sun.



Anne Tallentire, *From. in and with*, detail, work on paper,
dimensions variable, (2013)

Photograph 3

[Guidelines for typesetting: these words describe the photograph of the curved building. It is important that two sides of the description are in the same font by different treatments, and that the one on the left curves out, and the one on the right curves in. The last two sentences need to touch, to run into each other to just about become one sentence.]

Jane Rendell, 'Gridlock', 'Blindspot', 'About to touch', and 'Inversion', in Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013).

N53° 16.7821', W006° 8.2549'

jr 3: About to touch

Something a little bit sexy
inserted into the otherwise-
orthogonal urban grid, one side of
smooth glass scoops out a passage of
invitation, through the rotating door,
slipping around a shiny surface,
moving against a taut curve
pressing forward, until the
two are about to touch

*The surface is of brick, but as thin as a sliver of
skin. It serves as a cover for another – most
likely concrete-framed – structure.
Pristine and precise, it is hard to
know if it is old or just pretending
to be so. When the brick façade stops
it is replaced by a plane of glass, which seems
to have been revealed by peeling back the brick skin.*

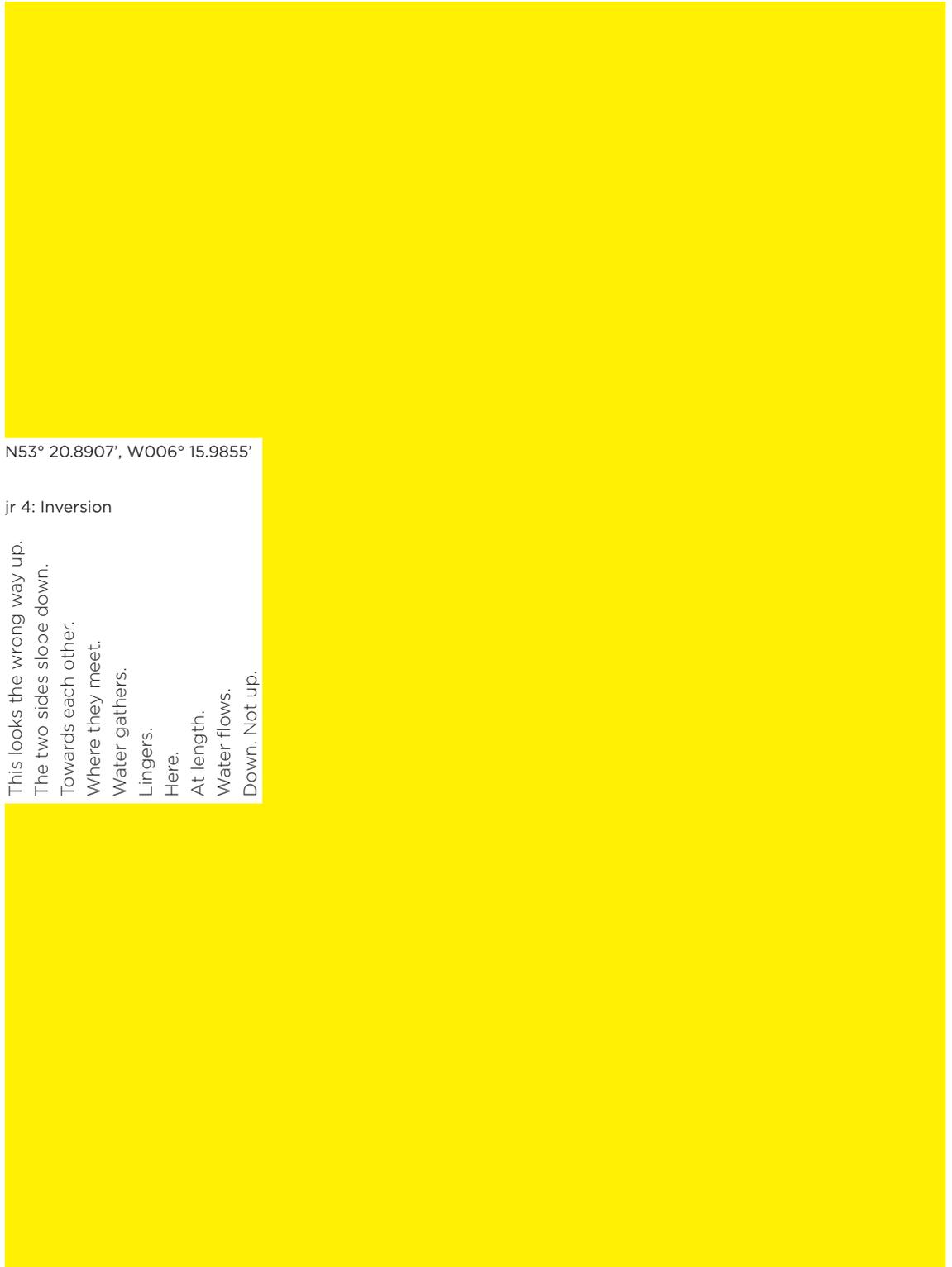
Up close, it is clear that the two are not overlaid but abutted.

Anne Tallentire, *From. in and with*, detail, work on paper,
dimensions variable, (2013)

Photograph 4

[Guidelines for typesetting: these words describe the photograph of the building with the v-shaped roof and YMCA lettering. It needs to be laid out as above so that the edge of the description forms a v shape on the page. Each line should end with a full-stop. Ideally it should be rotated counter clockwise by 90 degrees, so it forms a profile like the roof in the image]

Jane Rendell, 'Gridlock', 'Blindspot', 'About to touch', and 'Inversion', in Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013), (2013).



N53° 20.8907', W006° 15.9855'

jr 4: Inversion

This looks the wrong way up.
The two sides slope down.
Towards each other.
Where they meet.
Water gathers.
Lingers.
Here.
At length.
Water flows.
Down. Not up.

Anne Tallentire, *From. in and with*, detail, work on paper,
dimensions variable, (2013)



Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013). Installation View.
Gallery of Photography, Dublin. Photograph c. Brian Creegan



Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013). Detail.
Regional Art Gallery, Letterkenny. Photograph c. Miriam O'Connor.

From, in and with by Anne Tallentire, produced for the project, STILL, WE WORK, commissioned by the National Women's Council of Ireland (NWC), featuring artists Sarah Browne, Vagabond Reviews, Miriam O'Connor and Anne Tallentire, was first exhibited at the Gallery of Photography, Dublin in autumn 2013. Funded by the Atlantic Philanthropies, developed by curator Valerie Connor, STILL, WE WORK was an NWC's Legacy Project² to mark their 40th anniversary year. In 2014, the works toured to other venues in Ireland, including Galway and Cork, and in 2015 to Letterkenny, Callan and Limerick, supported by an Arts Council/An Chomhairle Ealaíon Touring Award. 'The artists were asked to reflect on contemporary representations of women's work in the context of the centenary of the 1913 Dublin Lockout', one of most important workers' strikes in the history of labour struggles, certainly in Ireland.³

² See <http://www.nwclegacyproject.com> (accessed 17 March 2017).

³ See <http://www.galleryofphotography.ie/still-we-work/> (accessed 17 March 2017).

⁴ See <http://www.nwclegacyproject.com> (accessed 17 March 2017).

⁵ See <http://www.galleryofphotography.ie/still-we-work/> (accessed 17 March 2017).

⁶ See <http://www.galleryofphotography.ie/still-we-work/> (accessed 17 March 2017).

... the aim was to spark new connections and reveal common cause among artists, activists and other communities of interest by exploring issues affecting women and work increasingly characterized by casualization, low pay and precariousness.⁴

The artists 'responded by making new works addressing women's experience of precarious contemporary working conditions and the invisibility of much of 'women's work'.⁵

From, in and with by Anne Tallentire consists of a 24 etched wood panels & 24 c-type photographs in a self-contained box. These correspond with 24 specially commissioned '100 word' texts [...] by women working in architecture: Ruth Morrow, Jane Rendell, Gráinne Hassett, Ellen Rowley, Culturstruction and Alice Casey – they describe photographs (we are never shown) of buildings located between the NWC offices and the site of Jacob's biscuit factory in 1913, where locked out women remained on strike the longest.⁶

From, in and with consists of a series of complex material translations. The work in three parts; text works on paper, architectural drawings etched on birch ply panels and photographic works depicting assemblages of objects is designed to be stored in a specially constructed box that operates as container and display device. This peripatetic mode of production was central to the ambition for the STILL, WE WORK project and exhibition that toured widely to diverse venues and audiences across Ireland. From, in and with took its cue from photographs of buildings (taken on a mobile-phone at intervals determined by a process of chance) when walking from the north to the south side of Dublin city on a route from the National Women's Council

of Ireland offices to the site of Jacob's Biscuit Factory, now the National Archive of Ireland. These photographs then operated as subjects for six women working in the field of architecture who were commissioned with an agreed fee to write 100-word descriptive texts (four by each of the six) in a mode of their choosing. As part of the internal process of production the photographs were seen only by the women writers and did not form part of the final work. The texts however do. They reflect both the impetus of the work to provide a visual space for diverse iterations of women's architectural knowledge. They also perform how this knowledge centrally informs the production of the art work itself. Each text, typeset into a white rectangle, one page for each surrounded by a unique colour, includes the geographical location indicating where the photograph was taken and the initials of the author. Jane chose to align her text visually to elements of the photographs she described which went beyond what was anticipated. Working with the designer Oonagh Young to incorporate Jane's contribution provided an unexpected yet generative aspect of the final work. Integral to the text works is a page of short biographies of the six women architect/writers. This biographical form of 'citation', a conceptual tactic of From, in and with, emphatically acknowledges the six women who accepted the commission to write the texts; their breadth of experience and contribution to their field.

Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013).

In response to the four photographs of Dublin that Anne sent me, I wrote four 100-word texts – 'Gridlock', 'Blindspot', 'About to touch' and 'Inversion' – which made spatial correspondences to the architecture shown in the photographs. I sent these to Anne along with instructions for typesetting those words to create 'site-writings'.⁷ *From, in and with* drew out the role of urban space and architecture in women's working lives, and also raised questions concerning the work involved in making art and writing history and criticism. I chose to participate in the process by responding to Anne's brief with a work of my own, trying, in the spirit of my site-writing project, to re-make the photographs in writing. This interaction of call and response, as well as involving a translation from image to word and back again, also raised some important questions for me concerning the processes of authorship, production, collaboration and citation involved in the work of making art and writing.

In discussing the site-writings I made for Anne in talks on my own practice, I became interested in the conditions of possibility for presenting 'Gridlock', 'Blindspot', 'About to touch', and 'Inversion' outside the frame of *From, in and with*, and what might happen to Anne's work in this process. This made me think – quite intuitively and loosely – about referencing as an ethical act, and citation as an academic correspondent to that act, and more broadly about how these operated as forms of 'critical

⁷ See Jane Rendell, *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism* (London: IB Tauris, 2010).

⁸ See Jane Rendell, *Art and Architecture: A Place Between* (London: IB Tauris, 2006).

spatial practice', a term I have introduced to describe acts that intervene into sites in order to reveal power relations at work.⁸ I wondered too about the labour and invention of those artists and writers who have come before, and whose work has been buried over time, and about who gets to make the choice between making visible or/and rendering invisible. In several talks to graduate students – many of them artists becoming researchers and so learning the practice of academic citation – I presented a shifting range of citations where the relationship to the production of art and academic writing can be altered by simply by adding quotation marks, brackets and italics. In this essay the lines of text that feature in bold track the different positions of authorship and artefact, from art practice to academic writing.

⁹ For the project catalogue see <http://www.nwcilegacyproject.com/catalogue.html> (accessed 22 April 2017).

In the artist's exhibition publication, *STILL, WE WORK*, and installation in both the photographs and the panels – Anne was rigorous in including my initials beside each text as well as a biography, as she did with every text contribution.⁹ However, by using a simple referencing format (that of Chicago) and putting the title of each text in quotation marks, as one would an essay, chapter or paper in an edited collection, the tools of citation do the work of shifting the relationship I have to my writing. So in this format, as indicated in the line of bold text below, my texts get recognized as individual written works written by me, but still as part of – contained within and commissioned for – Anne's work, so:

Jane Rendell, 'Gridlock', 'Blindspot', 'About to touch', and 'Inversion', in Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013).

¹⁰ This was a keynote presentation by Ramia Mazé at the Traders conference, Royal College of Art, November 2016. I contacted Ramia some time later and she has been extremely generous in sharing her sources and references on this topic. See for example, <http://tr-adars.eu/conference/general-theme/> (accessed 17 March 2017).

That citation was being fully addressed as subject of research in feminist scholarship – in theory and in practice – only became clear to me listening to a wonderful lecture by Ramia Mazé and hearing her talk of 'citational practice.'¹⁰ In an essay on the topic, Mazé discusses how a conversation with colleagues where they were discussing 'how design history and theory seem[ed] to be disproportionately dominated by male authors' set her off on a journey which transformed her own practice, where she first paid attention to her own modes of citation and the gender biases at work there, and then actively made her own citational practice more inclusive.¹¹

¹¹ Ramia Mazé and Josefin Wangel, "Future (Im)Perfect: Exploring Time, Becoming and Difference in Design and Futures Studies," in *Feminist Futures*, ed. Meike Schalk, Thérèse Kristiansson, and Ramia Mazé (Baunach, DE: Spurbuchverlag, 2017), 286.

My critical citational practice (cf. Ahmed 2012) has transformed my ideals, knowledges and the basic materiality of my everyday practice as an academic.¹²

¹² Mazé and Wangel, "Future (Im) Perfect," 286. See Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

Mazé's talk and writing alerted me to Sara Ahmed's work in this area, and her discussion of citation as a practice of reproduction:

But so many of my feminist killjoy experiences within the academy relate to the politics of citation: I would describe

¹³ Sara Ahmed,
“Making Feminist Points,”
posted on 11 September 2013
by feministkilljoys_.
See [https://feministkilljoys.com/
2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/](https://feministkilljoys.com/2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/)
(accessed 10 March 2017).

¹⁴ Danica Savonick and Cathy Davidson,
“Gender Bias in Academe:
An Annotated Bibliography of Important
Recent Studies” (2016), see [http://blogs.
lse.ac.uk/
impactofsocialsciences/2016/03/08/
gender-bias-in-academe-an-annotated-
bibliography/](http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2016/03/08/gender-bias-in-academe-an-annotated-bibliography/) (accessed 15 March 2017).

¹⁵ Savonick and Davidson,
“Gender Bias in Academe.”

¹⁶ Ahmed, “Making Feminist Points.”

¹⁷ Maria do Mar Pereira, “‘Feminist theory
is proper knowledge, but . . .’: The status
of feminist scholarship in the academy,”
Feminist Theory, 13 (3): 283–303.

*citation as a rather successful reproductive technology, a
way of reproducing the world around certain bodies.*¹³

Mazé also drew my attention to a whole range of other important articles and blogs on this topic: including a key work by Danica Savonick and Cathy Davidson’s ‘Gender Bias in Academe: An Annotated Bibliography of Important Recent Studies’ that draws together a range of empirical studies which show a whole range of gender-based exclusions being made in academic practice: including findings that demonstrate the extent to which articles by women are less frequently cited than those by men, and that this lesser rate of citation is in some disciplines systemic. Also that women cite themselves less than men do.¹⁴ Importantly Savonick and Davidson note the need to bring into visibility the framing mechanisms at play in citation:

*You cannot simply count the end product (such as number of
articles accepted, reviewed, awarded prizes, or cited)
without understanding the implicit bias that pervades the
original selection process and all the subsequent choices on
the way to such rewards.*¹⁵

Ahmed also makes the related point: that it is often feminists themselves who tend to frame their own work in relation to a male intellectual tradition:

*And I think within feminist and gender studies, the problem does
not disappear. Even when feminists cite each other, there
is still a tendency to frame our own work in relation to a
male intellectual tradition.*¹⁶

I have certainly been guilty of such a practice. In a student essay for my MA work in architectural history, I explored the tricky territory of feminist deconstruction, considering whether it was ‘feminist’ to use Jacques Derrida’s techniques of deconstruction because of his own problematic – and possibly non-feminist – use of the term ‘feminine’. Worrying at the time, about whether or not I should reference Derrida, I decided to also reference philosophers who took a more explicitly feminist position in their work around, in this case, deconstruction, and I combined their voices, always cited, with my own. But this practice – the referencing of theory (even when written by feminists) – raises another interesting problem – that of legitimisation – and the perceived need to theorise personal experience to make it appear valid in academic work. This issue has been explored and tackled in different ways by a range of feminist scholars. For example, Maria Do Mar Pereira has put forward the concept of ‘epistemic splitting’ to conceptualise how in responses to feminist scholarship only certain parts of the research are considered legitimate while others are excluded.¹⁷ And a similar point is made, which places emphasis on questions of race as well as gender: that when women academics of colour

¹⁸ Savonick and Davidson, "Gender Bias in Academe." See Gabriella Gutiérrez y Muhs, Yolanda Flores Niemann, Carmen G. Gonzalez, and Angela P. Harris, eds., *Presumed Incompetent: The Intersections of Race and Class for Women in Academia* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2012).

discuss oppression using personal accounts there is, as Savonick and Davidson describe it, 'a presumption of self-interest rather than expertise when teaching about oppression'.¹⁸

That different kinds of voice are given greater or lesser value by feminists and others raises questions around the disciplinary protocols of citation and the implications of the distinctions that can be applied. Experimenting with different techniques of citation makes it clear that it is possible to use the apparently neutral tools of referencing to make visible or invisible different kinds of authorship or work, academic and/or artistic. By italicizing the titles of my texts for Anne, for example, I was able to change the identity of my site-writings from four essays to a single artwork, so:

Jane Rendell, '*Gridlock*', '*Blindspot*', '*About to touch*', and '*Inversion*' in Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2013).

Each citation system is specific and has its own limitations and possibilities. I have always found in-text citations as used in the social sciences a problem when writing prose or a text that is more experimental, poetic or creative, as one has to treat the in-text citation as if it is not really present, which is especially odd when reading. When reading to oneself: one has to read over the citation and treat it as a kind of gap; and when reading aloud the decision is usually taken to not speak the words and dates in brackets. Footnotes can present a different kind of problem. For historians they are helpful in providing the source of information being referred to such that the reader can access those empirical materials for themselves – and certainly in historical research that is the footnote's purpose – to allow a reader access to a primary source in order to allow them to make their own interpretation.

The question of how to reference an original source, or even a secondary one, if not using footnotes or in text citation, is challenging, especially for practice-led research where the 'outcome' is often an artefact or event. This problem comes to the fore when one is asked to judge or assess a work of art or a building as a form of research. If the definition of research is the 'original production of knowledge' then this originality has to be positioned in context, in relation to work that has already been produced in the field. Here the role of citation is important in allowing for the recognition of such existing work. This is relatively simple when working with texts and work that is written, but it becomes more complex in relation to the production of artefacts and events. A recent fascination with reenactment practices in art and architecture informed by performance studies,¹⁹ may suggest a variant citation, of a kind more relevant for practice, as one, which pays homage to a previous artefact through its remaking and transformation, but in a way that is implicit and thus cannot be tracked through a citation index.

¹⁹ See the important and influential work of Rebecca Schneider in this respect. Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (Oxon, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

The performative aspect of reenactment brings out the temporal dimension of citation, as a type of ‘coming after’, and here the need is met that one must pay tribute to those who have come before, and acknowledge that one’s work does not take place in empty territory or a blank canvas but in a space that has already been occupied by others. I have always understood this paying of respects as an important part of the ethos and etiquette of citation, not carried out under duress or for the sake of politeness, but as an ethical aspect of practice, which wishes to acknowledge the contributions of an other. And whether it is to praise or to critique another’s work, it is certainly to recognize the presence of the work of others already in the world.

My experimentations with citation around my relation to Anne’s work, engendered a palpable nervousness in the audience to whom I presented it, this included graduate students, being trained in citation procedures, and so may have indicated an academic anxiety. But I also started to wonder whether there was a specifically feminist set of politics at work around citation, which went beyond critiques of the male canon and touched on the spirit of feminist collaboration itself. Taking the Dublin Lockout as an important historical event in this work of Anne’s, a member of the audience suggested that I might consider more carefully the practice of locking. Who was being locked in and out, I wondered, and with what citational tools?

I was asking these questions through the context of a practice, which is feminist (my own), set within another art practice, which is also feminist (Anne’s), and in the spirit of a convivial collaboration. I was, and continue to be, very content to be part of Anne’s work, and do not feel she has excluded me in any way, but if these tiny insertions of commas, quotation marks, brackets and italics can make such a difference to perceived authorship – what could be going on in the larger field of academic scholarship? My final experimentation with citation was the one, which caused the most nervous twitching from the audience, and this was the point of transgression at which I claimed ownership over Anne’s work by italicizing the whole title, and adding a date at the end, so presenting the work of art as my own, so:

Jane Rendell, ‘Gridlock’, ‘Blindspot’, ‘About to touch’, and ‘Inversion’ in Anne Tallentire, From, in and with, (2013), (2013).

I have always been very careful to cite the work of others as a key aspect of my own practice, which is why I find the use of other people’s work and ideas without proper acknowledgement problematic; at best lazy, and at worst a form of theft. However, a feminism that values collaboration, networks and horizontality, does not necessarily take kindly to the practice of citation, which can be understood to emphasize a vertical rather than horizontal connection. In the context of creative commons and open access, for example, a marking of a coming after could be understood as a form of hierarchy or ancestry. The danger in referencing backwards

is that one can make mistresses as well as masters, (and are mistresses any different from masters when constructing a canon?) This kind of problem can arguably be seen at work in much US feminist architectural history from the 1990s, especially research which attempted to make minor critiques or adjustments of the canon of the male modern masters in a way which underscored the status of these academics as existing within that very canon. This work also seemed to highlight, often against better intentions, the importance of canon-making in general as a practice that has served patriarchy well, certainly in architecture's history, theory and design.

Decolonialisation and intersectionality ask that we face up to the problems of the canon again, and differently this time, by explicitly examining the cross-cutting and reinforcing effects of various kinds of exclusionary practices – informed by differences of gender, sex, class, race and ethnicity. The importance of feminist projects which have sought to render those 'hidden from history' visible continues to be vital, but we have to make distinctions between acts of citation which aim for acknowledgement but simply reinstate the importance of what has come before, thus leaving existing systems of power in place, and those which also put new forms of relationality and positionality into play. Audre Lourde wrote:

For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us to temporarily beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. Racism and homophobia are real conditions of all our lives in this place and time. I urge each one of us here to reach down into that deep place of knowledge inside herself and touch that terror and loathing of any difference that lives here. See whose face it wears. Then the personal as the political can begin to illuminate all our choices.²⁰

²⁰ Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House" [1984], in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 2007), 110–4.

As those who have been rendered invisible write themselves into history (and also get written into history by others) new tools – including citational – need to be made. This is our work as feminists in architecture, and it means inventing new practices of citation that pay attention to different ways of respecting, honouring, and making visible, aiming for equivalence and equality-making while also allowing asymmetries and differences to occur. Some of those techniques are already evidence in art practices, in works such as Anne Tallentire's *From, with and in*, where the inclusion of the initials of the authors of the 100-word texts she commissioned from them, as well as their biographies, position these contributors at the heart of the work.

I have found it useful to think of academic and artistic work in terms of the distinction Hannah Arendt draws between labour, work and action in *The Human Condition*. Here, according to Arendt, labour corresponds to the

²¹ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

²² Roland Barthes, "From Work to Text," in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Poststructuralist Criticism*, ed. Josue V. Harari (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1979), 73-81.

²³ Umberto Eco, "The Poetics of the Open Work" [1962], in *Participation: Documents of Contemporary Art*, ed. Claire Bishop (London and Cambridge, Mass.: Whitechapel and the MIT Press, 2006), 20-40.

biological life of humans and animals and work to the artificial processes of artefact fabrication; and action – and its connection to speech – is for Arendt the central political activity.²¹ But in art discourse, the term work gets used in two ways, as a verb, associated with artefact production, as Arendt would have it, and also as a noun, as in the 'work of art' or artwork.

In the literary field, Roland Barthes distinguished the term 'work' from 'text' in his essay, 'From Work to Text',²² where he argues that the work is 'a fragment of a substance', 'caught up in the field of filiation', and the author, a father and owner of his work. The text on the other hand, for Barthes, is a 'methodological field' which opens itself up for completion of its meaning by the reader. In poststructuralist art criticism a strange contradiction can take place then when using the word work to refer to a kind of artwork, which might have been intended to operate as a text or open-ended piece.²³ This tension is compounded when a critical essay on such a work also operates in a poststructuralist mode which places itself on the side of Barthes's text, and does not intend to provide a final judgement, but to open up new possibilities for the reader, such has been my intention in my site-writing practice.

Jane has noted her interest in transgression and the implications of breaking a limit, psychic and otherwise when working across fields. There are various ways in which agency is found through the production of an artwork while participating with others and/or audiences. Key is an effort to attain mutual understanding. Intention and aspiration need to be both flexible and critically engaged so that limits can be transgressed ethically in the relation to the demand of the work itself.

The term work in art discourse tends most commonly to designate the finished artefact, and does not explicitly acknowledge the work required to produce it, the labour (in Arendt's terms above) of art is also seldom not accounted for, for example when commissions pay for materials but no labour costs, and the financial value of an artwork is no indicator of the value of those labour or work hours that have produced it. At this point then, the apparently trivial distinctions between how essays and works of art are cited and the work of citational practice itself might begin to really matter. In academia, as well as the gallery system, research outputs and their relative values have financial value, and are bearers of economic as well as cultural capital. Authorship is a key factor in academic promotion and the salary increases that can come with that, and in many academic posts it is a requirement that one produces research 'outcomes' that can be counted and graded, and quantified both in terms of the hours of research funding used to produce them, as well as the research funding they can potentially generate. At this point then, the distinction between a term that is italicized and so a work of art in comparison to one placed in quotations and so designated an essay could make a difference in money terms. And there are implications for those works, which sit between

things, like site-writings that are neither and both art and writing, and projects where one work sits inside another – like edited books or curated shows with multiple artists. This is where feminism has an important role to play in practice-led research in paying attention to the distinctions between labour and work, and finding new ways to acknowledge both process and product.

As ever, the most interesting aspect of writing this essay has emerged right at the end. When I sent Anne the first draft of this essay to get her approval, and also her feedback, her response was – as I had come to expect from working with her before – generous and critical. She alerted me to aspects of her project and her engagement with the work of women in the cultural field that I realized I had not fully grasped before. So I asked Anne if she would be willing for some of her responses to be included here, as part of this essay, and so her voice is indicated in italics. Key to the history of feminism in architecture – and in art, academia and activism – has been this desire to recognise each others' work and *From, in and with* others, to make this *work*.

*

Two referees read *that* work. According to the process of blind peer review, I do not know their names, but I wish to cite their contribution, as they drew my attention to a number of aspects of this essay and site-writing, which had gone unnoticed. One wondered about the 'curious doubling' of my contribution to Anne's work, and asked whether the 100-word texts 'cite' the buildings in the photographs, or whether they translate built material into written form. This point touched on an anxiety of mine concerning the process of 'site-writing' that I expressed in the conclusion to that book.²⁴ I asked there whether the remaking of an artwork in writing was an act of destruction, and addressed this issue with reference to D. W. Winnicott's 1968 paper, 'The Use of An Object'. Here Winnicott describes how 'relating may be to a subjective object, but usage implies that the object is part of external reality'.²⁵ For Winnicott, to use an object is to take into account its objective reality or existence as 'a thing in itself' rather than its subjective reality or existence as a projection. The change from relating to using is for him significant, as it 'means that the subject destroys the object' and that the object stands outside the omnipotent control of the subject, recognised as the external object it has always been.²⁶ Considering citation in terms of one's relation to or use of an object develops an understanding of citation as a register of recognition, which operates materially, poetically and ethically. In practice-led research since one cannot rely on normative forms of footnotes or in-text citation, other different and material possibilities of referencing are explored, which might connect to more established acts of mimesis, exphrasis or reenactment, for example.

²⁴ See Jane Rendell, *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism* (London: IB Tauris, 2010), 241-2.

²⁵ D.W. Winnicott, "The Use of an Object," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 50 (1969): 715.

²⁶ Winnicott, "The Use of an Object," 713.

The specificities of *how* one makes visible and/or invisible then are at the heart of these material practices of citation and call attention to the particularities of relations between poetics and ethics. To bring the suppressed or repressed into visibility can be expressed as an ethical act of concern, which cares and respects the other, but the danger here might be that a ‘forcing’ into visibility in order to achieve recognition for the other gets prioritized over respecting the right of that other to remain invisible. So the manner of the rendering of visibility or invisibility comes into play, and raises questions of consent and autonomy. In *From, in and with* (2013), Anne chose for the photographs of buildings she had taken to remain invisible. I had not fully realized this at the time I had undertaken the writing, and so my wish to make them visible here was an unintended act of transgression, which prompted a much longer conversation between Anne and I. On the one hand, Anne wished to act generously towards this essay, and to show the photographs, but on the other, she was concerned that this would operate against the integrity of her own work, and also the relationships she had made with the other women writers, who understood when writing that the photographs would not be shown. And so we decided together, that here again, they would remain unseen, in order to respect that agreement concerning visibility made between us and the terms of the commission to write texts which were limited and clear.

The intertwining of poetics and ethics through the making of relations through *From, in and with* is a key aspect of the original work that Anne made, and has been a concern when writing this visual essay. One reviewer described this visual essay as a ‘poetic riff’, a term not intended to be made visible, but I cite it here because the phrase describes so precisely an aspect of the work I myself had overlooked – improvisation. Riffing is a form of improvisation, a practice, which in theatre is understood as ethical: the key qualities of which have been understood as authenticity, agreement, listening, risk-taking and regard for the other.²⁷

Incorporating images from Anne Tallentire’s work *From, in and with* and my experiments with academic citations, along with my reflections on the practice of citation in academia, architecture and art, this visual essay consists of two parts. The first part comprises four double page spread layouts, each one made up of four components. On the right hand page of each is a photograph of Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, detail, work on paper, dimensions variable, (2013); and on the left hand page, a site-writing, consisting of three textual components. At the top of the page – in bold text – is a reference to the photograph taken by Anne, and shared with me and each of the other architectural writers as part of the process of making *From, in and with*. Next comes my response to Anne’s photograph in 100 words, formulated as the instructions I gave Oonagh Young, the designer of the publication, *STILL, WE WORK*,²⁸ for making those words visible. Finally at the bottom of the page is a line of bold text. Each of these is an experimentation in citation that potentially positions

²⁷ See for example David Patton, “The Pedagogy and Ethics of Improvisation using the Harold” (unpublished thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia, 2007).

²⁸ *STILL, WE WORK*: Sarah Browne, Miriam O’Connor, Vagabond Reviews, Anne Tallentire (NWCi Legacy Project: Representations of Women’s Work, National Women’s Council of Ireland, 2013)

my writing in relation to Anne's work for different contexts from art to academia. In the second part of this visual essay, I take these four citations and use them to structure my reflections on these textual and material transformations, and consider what they might suggest for considering the poetics, ethics and politics of a feminist citational practice located between academia, architecture and art that explores various techniques of acknowledgement.

*

I sent Anne the penultimate version of this visual essay and the referees' feedback for her comment. This provoked the most interesting conversation between us, and discovery for me, which concerned the material and architectural aspects of *From, in and with*. I already knew the catalogue well as an object because Anne had given me a copy, but due to the constraints of university teaching and trying not to fly, but travel by train and boat as much as possible, I had not been able to see Anne's work in situ when installed in Dublin. I have always argued that a situated criticism must take into account the position one occupies in relation to a work, physical as well as emotional and ideological, but I have always been careful not to privilege a phenomenological reading of a work, which prioritises the one site over other sites of the work's dispersion. However, I realized here, that not having been there; had meant missing something very important about Anne's work. Anne described how *From, in and with* contained three components, and so I looked again at the photographs of the installation much more carefully, and saw that they included her enigmatic architectural drawings which turn out to be the photographs of assemblages of items from Anne's studio; enlarged prints of the 100-word texts taken from the catalogue; and the plywood box containing panels of architectural drawings. These drawings were rendered as workable plans based on drawings Anne made in response to the 100-word texts produced by the architectural writers.

These reflections and discussions *From, in and with* Anne, have engaged academia and practice, art and architecture, words and images. Most important has been an understanding of how two women might come to think together and agree on terms of visibility.



Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2103), detail: box with 24 birch ply etched panels.
Gallery of Photography, Dublin. Photograph c. Brian Creegan.



Anne Tallentire, *From, in and with*, (2103), detail: box with 24 birch ply etched panels.
Gallery of Photography, Dublin. Photograph c. Brian Creegan.

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Hyper-visible Invisibility: Tracing the Politics, Poetics and Affects of the Unseen

Marie-Louise Richards

This article investigates the poetics of the invisible as a tool of analysis, tracing the hegemony of whiteness in architecture. It marks the intersection of power and identity through examples such as the transparent line in Toni Morrison's allegory of the fishbowl, the invisibility depicted in Ralph Ellison's novel *Invisible Man*, and the concept of 'hyper-visibility' introduced by Frantz Fanon, in his phenomenological and psycho-analytical critique, further analysed and 'queered' in critical race and cultural studies theorist Sara Ahmed's work. These authors have inspired the search for a new method in my architectural practice, tracing a poetics produced by 'others' under the working concept of 'hyper-visible invisibility'. Tracing a poetics of the unseen, I seek to go beyond the binary of race, and provide invisibility as an *abstraction* that escapes the usual dichotomies dominating race, class and gender, in order to focus rather on how these perform and materialize.

Given my initial assumption of the hegemony of whiteness in architecture and my own position as a female architect of colour, at times it feels disobedient, even defiant, to examine the relationship between race and architecture. Although I didn't expect this to be an easy task given the subject matter, it has proven to be extremely challenging, due to the difficult emotions that emerge when dealing with race affect, in my attempt to address the interrelation of race and space. Within this confluence of emotions, language and bodies, it became clear that I was lacking a sufficient or satisfactory vocabulary for addressing the effects of this interrelation. Likewise, the emotions that emerged made it difficult to distinguish what should be considered knowledge production and where that knowledge production takes place.¹ The recognition that I have no language has me wondering whether its absence identifies crucial relations of power in the interrelation of race and space. Do these challenges present themselves as indications of how language regulates or enables, and thereby controls and frames, ways in which we are able to speak and think within the current hegemony of whiteness?

¹ On affects and race see Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), and bell hooks, 'Representing Whiteness in the Black Imagination', in *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, ed. Ruth Frankenberg (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 167.

As I examine the interrelation of race and space by questioning the regulation of knowledge-production through language, my aim is to provide a new tool for architectural discourse, as discourse shapes and reflects society's values and beliefs about class, gender and race, through time. As architect and scholar Mabel O. Wilson points out, architecture can be thought of as manifested and materialized ideology. She writes: 'the discourse of modernism gave rise to modern architecture, and ... architecture has done very little to address how race, racial representation and racial thinking have shaped its own practices and discourse'.² Wilson's concern makes visible a gap in the narrative of architecture, where race represents that absence. She also suggests that the ways in which modernism gave rise to modern architecture, with its perceptions and virtues, correspond with the concept of whiteness. I would suggest that these same perceptions and virtues become central in narratives of domination and imagination by representing ideals of purity, morals, social refinement and progress, while the absence of these ideals works to subordinate and marginalize 'others'. Reading race as narrative, this crucial lack provides a central function to support the fiction of difference. Whiteness defines itself through the identification of 'others', where this difference assigns an order, securing 'others' in place and making race stable through visual or linguistic markers.³ In this way, language not only controls how we are able to speak of objects and beings, but also how we express relations and distances.

² On architecture and race see Mabel O. Wilson in the symposium: *Critical Dialogues on Race and Modern Architecture*, at Columbia GSAPP, New York, 26 February 2016 https://youtu.be/_nLLhiyN2xc (accessed 30 May 2017).

³ On the concept of the 'Other' see Alison Mountz, 'The Other', in *Key Concepts in Political Geography* ed. Carolyn Gallaher (London: SAGE,), 328–38.

I argue that the interrelation of race and space is crucial in a critical architectural practice. For me, a readily available language within architectural discourse is necessary to challenge the stability of race. However, I do not wish to eliminate the term race entirely by arguing the post-racial, nor do I intend to substitute it with the incommensurable term

‘ethnicity’. Rather, my intention is to outline a language liberated from the dichotomy of race that does not only point to terms of marginalization and oppression, but might become available through the concept of ‘invisibility’. For this, I turn to fiction as a tool in the quest for black subjectivity and agency. Is it possible to re-imagine the architect within this frame? Can the politics, poetics and affects of the unseen (or perhaps not seen) be included in an architectural practice?

The politics of invisibility

Invisibility can be found as a theme in literature and texts produced by the African diasporas, in fictional works that theorize black subjectivity as invisibility. The theme of invisibility also makes visible how whiteness remains unmarked when the racial is deployed to organize society and conceptualize spaces. Unmarked, whiteness becomes a ‘blind spot’, describing a certain unconscious viewing of oneself and others, which results in an unequal distribution of power and privilege associated with skin.⁴ Based on the assumption that what constitutes whiteness is that which is normal and neutral, considered to be the universal, it assigns structural advantages allowing cultural norms and practices of whiteness to go unnamed and unquestioned.⁵ This makes whiteness both invisible and hyper-visible, existing everywhere and nowhere, on the individual body (through phenotype) and beyond the corporeal simultaneously. Therefore, it is not only bodies considered ‘white’ that have an investment in whiteness; in order to survive, all bodies do. My point here is to emphasize that whiteness is a learned behaviour based on assumptions, beliefs, values, performance, habits and attitudes that combine to produce a constantly shifting boundary. It becomes a fluid and relational category that affects everyone. Who is considered ‘white’ changes over time; moreover, whiteness only exists in relation and opposition to ‘others’, establishing a hierarchy with power over those who do not fit the norm, and those who violate the beliefs, behaviours, values, habits, attitudes that hierarchy produces.⁶

In order to call out the centrality of whiteness, revealing its invisible central position as a site of power in language, knowledge and imagination, I have used racially charged terms, such as race or whiteness. To name this central position is to identify it as a rhetorical construction and to allow for new terms that describe the processes of race with greater accuracy, nuance and complexity. I turn to fiction produced by the African diasporas to raise questions about the relationship between identity and subjectivity, and the relationship between language and experience. The approach in my architectural practice has been to assemble and re-assemble texts, which has become a way to locate a poetics that describes the racial beyond the concept of race, and focuses on the work race performs. Tracing a poetics of invisibility in its performative aspects could also become a way of tracing how the performance of race makes spaces that have not previously been included within architecture.

⁴ hooks, ‘Representing Whiteness’, 177.

⁵ hooks, ‘Representing Whiteness’, 177.

⁶ Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture*. (London: Routledge, 1997), 45.

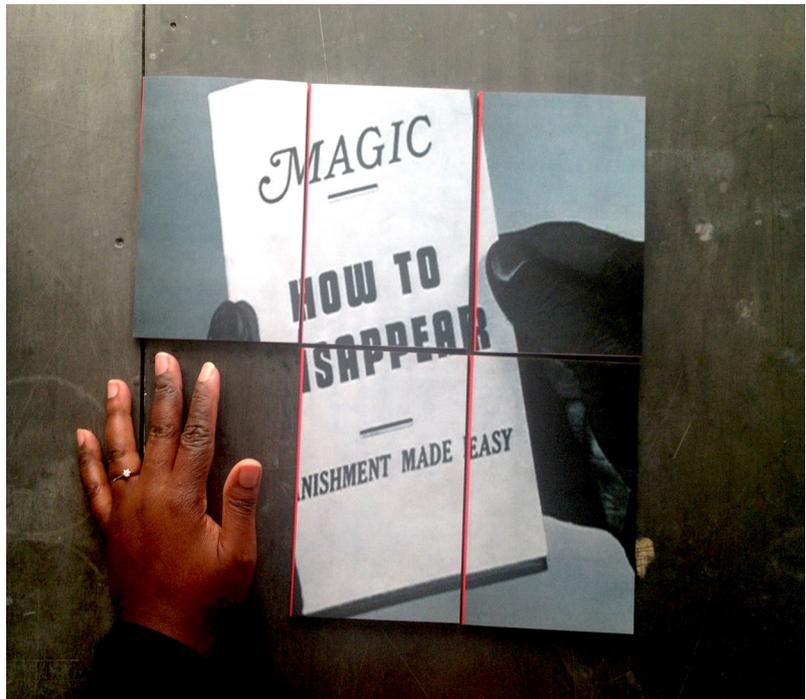


Fig 1 and Fig 2 Booklets that assemble and re-assemble texts by the African diasporas, performing a script which seeks to explore how whiteness functions (Photo: Marie-Louise Richards)

The poetics of invisibility and ‘hyper visibility’

The poetics of invisibility appears most notably in the work of Ralph Ellison, and in the absences and silences in works of Toni Morrison. The poetics of ‘hyper-visibility’ appears in the phenomenological and psychoanalytical critique of Frantz Fanon, and is developed in terms of a ‘queer phenomenology’ by Sara Ahmed. Together, I suggest that these writers offer a poetics of invisibility through both fiction and theory.

Frantz Fanon and Ralph Ellison both published their first works in 1952. Although they differ in geographical and cultural contexts, as well as genre, Ellison’s *Invisible Man* is a work of fiction and Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks* a collection of essays, both offer invisibility as an abstraction of race, in terms of exclusion and deletion.

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon’s central metaphor – that black people must wear ‘white masks’ in order to get by in a white world – refers back to the notion of the investment all bodies have with whiteness. Through the metaphor of the mask, Fanon undertakes a sustained discussion of the dimensions of psychological colonization that a racist phenomenology imposes, while he presents a detailed investigation of how the self encounters the trauma of being categorized as inferior, due to an imposed racial identity. Fanon refers to this process as the ‘historic-racial bodily schema’ of individual subjects, understanding race as a historically constructed relation to social differentiation, and providing detailed poetic accounts of bodies that constitute race as a historical category of social experience. Asserting that ‘being over-determined from without, the black body is hyper-visible and invisible at the same time’,⁷ Fanon poetically condenses two distinct modalities of race: race as *erasure*, or as a lived invisibility; and its appearance as *matter* in opposition to the universal subject position occupied by whiteness. These two conceptions of race appear in conflict, invisible yet hyper-visible. I suggest that Fanon’s contradictory way of understanding and constituting race is mediated by the work of abstraction, and establishes the double function of race. What Fanon is describing is a poetics of race, a relation of form to matter.⁸ For him, one of the most pervasive agents of phenomenological conditioning is language. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon analyses language as the bearer and unmasker of racism in culture, using the symbolism of whiteness and blackness in the French language as an example, a point that translates equally well into English linguistic habits. ‘One cannot learn and speak this language’, Fanon asserts, ‘without *unconsciously* accepting the cultural meanings embedded in equations of purity with whiteness, and the lack thereof equivalent with blackness.’⁹

Symbolism and surrealism become central agents in Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man*. The novel was conceived as a critique, rejecting his mentor Richard Wright’s naturalistic social-realist writing. Despite their shared artistic goal of interiority – focusing on the characters’ thoughts, feelings

⁷ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 109.

⁸ David Lloyd, ‘A White Song’, *Boston Review: A Political and Literary Forum*, 10 March 2015, <http://bostonreview.net/poetry/david-lloyd-white-song> (accessed 30 May 2017).

⁹ Fanon, *Black Skin*, 109.

and reactions to a given situation as means of agency within fiction – they held differing opinions of how this would best be achieved in terms of style. Ellison argued that social-realism, the style of which Wright was chief proponent, was insufficient for capturing black experience in the United States. He came to this realization over a period of several years as he wrote a completely different novel, naturalist in style, taking place during World War II, where he found himself distracted by a voice, which was taunting him. One of his characters did not at all fit within the narrative he was writing, and constantly interrupted his process: ‘I was confronted by nothing more substantial than a taunting disembodied voice.’¹⁰ After several attempts to ignore this distraction, Ellison finally yielded, noting that ‘it now appeared that the voice of invisibility issued from deep within our complex American underground... one who had been forged in the underground of American experience and yet managed to emerge less angry than ironic’.¹¹ This caution to the *unconscious* dimensions of American society and the irony of the narrator influenced Ellison to adopt the surrealist approach to structuring the novel.

¹⁰ Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Random House, 1952, Second Vintage International Edition 1995), xiv.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xviii.

Exploring race as erasure, *Invisible Man* begins with the end of the story. With a prologue narrated in first person by a protagonist who throughout the novel remains nameless: ‘I am an invisible man... I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me.’¹² Speaking from a ‘hole in the ground’ at the borderlands of Harlem, the invisible man has gone into hibernation. The end of his journey marks the beginning of insight, and of resistance. It is important here to emphasize that the protagonist’s only opportunity to tell this story with sincerity arises precisely because he is nameless and invisible. Anonymity assigns him the freedom to speak freely. In hibernation the invisible man withdraws from the outside world, to reflect without external interference, and describes how he came to realize his invisibility, to write it down, so that we, the readers, can take part in it. This production of knowledge is his first step in taking control of his own identity. Literary scholar Anne Anlin Cheng notes:

¹² *Ibid.*, 3.

*By locating cultural and racial exclusion as loss, Ellison’s text offers a theorization of identity that recuperates that loss, not as presence but as invisibility. Or more specifically, Ellison revalues invisibility as a strategy to identify that absence without denying that absence’s constitutive power for the formation of the racialized subject.*¹³

¹³ Anne Anlin Cheng, *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation and Hidden Grief* (New York University Press, 2000), 226.

Ellison’s attention to language and surrealism, and his subversive use of the symbolism of light and darkness, express this revaluation of absence and loss, Cheng emphasizes:

Beyond the standard reading of invisibility as a metaphor for exclusion (that the black man is invisible because white society refuses to see him) the text offers us invisibility

as a critical strategy: a metaphysical, intellectual meditation that explores the power of abstraction, disembodiment and illusion. As the inadmissible phantasm configuring (not just configured by) social visibilities, the narrator's invisibility is not just an effect of social reality but also affects it.¹⁴

¹⁴ Ibid 229

¹⁵ Toni Morrison, 'Ghosts in the House - How Toni Morrison fostered a generation of black writers', interview by Hilton Als, *The New Yorker*, 27 October 2003.

¹⁶ Toni Morrison, 'The Radical Vision of Toni Morrison', interview by Rachel Kaadzi Gahnsah, *New York Times Magazine*, 8 April 2015.

¹⁷ Morrison, 2003.

With her attempt to recover lost history and the voices of the unheard by combining myth, realism and the fantastic, Toni Morrison explores the impact the past has on the present, and arrives at what she calls 'imaginative resistance'.¹⁵ Transforming subjectivities into forces, and in making 'difference' self-evident not deviant, Morrison extends some criticism to her male predecessors. 'What I'm interested in is writing about the gaze, without the gaze'.¹⁶ She implies that the works of Wright, Ellison and others, especially male novelists before her, were preoccupied with explaining inequality, marginalization and oppression. Instead of explaining 'the problem', Morrison is interested in exploring it, as she wants to reveal and raise questions. 'I was inspired by the silence and absences in literature. What was driving me to write was "the silence", so many stories untold and unexamined.'¹⁷ The kinds of narratives that form the identity of a person becomes, for Morrison, a political question. In a conversation with activist Angela Davis, Morrison describes her writing mission:

So that all of this is my trying to figure out not just the consequences of race, which I did in the first book I wrote, but other things around it, since it seems to have a hole, you have to be ferociously against it, or apologetic about it or the victim of it or the perpetrator of it and I just wanted to get rid of that discourse which doesn't go anywhere, and find out what the origins are, what its purpose is, not just the scapegoat purpose, but it has a real function.¹⁸

¹⁸ Toni Morrison, 'Angela Davis and Toni Morrison: Literacy, Libraries and Liberation', in conversation with Angela Davis, Live in The New York Public Library, 27 October 2010, <https://www.nypl.org/events/programs/2010/10/27/angela-davis-toni-morrison> (accessed 20 August 2017).

¹⁹ Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

Morrison identifies the affective restraints and limited positions in discourses of race, and expresses her desire as a novelist to transcend these. According to Morrison identity is not so much a question of what something *is*, but rather a question of what it *is not*.¹⁹ By this she means that we should not become preoccupied what it *is* to be black, but rather direct attention towards the ways in which being black is inscribed within whiteness. In other words, what 'white' *is not* – 'black' as absence, negation and as negativity.

Affects, sensory thresholds of control

To recognize race as what 'white' *is not*, Morrison centres on how our affective selves, our thinking, feeling and judging selves are constructed in this political world. Through an allegory of a fishbowl, Morrison defines race as a barely perceptible threshold:

It is as if I had been looking at a fishbowl – the glide and flick of the golden scales, the green tip, the bolt of white careening back from the gills, the castles at the bottom surrounded by pebbles and tiny intricate fronds of green, the barely disturbed water, the flecks of waste and food, the tranquil bubbles traveling to surface – and suddenly I saw the bowl, the structure that transparently (and invisibly) permits the ordered life it contains to exist in the larger world.²⁰

²⁰ Ibid, 17.

In identifying this *structure* Morrison writes an allegory of whiteness as a *sensory* threshold. The moment the boundary created by this structure is identified is the moment when race fails to sustain its stability. This moment frames how bodies are constructed. Architect Jennifer Bloomer points out, in reference to the fishbowl as a container of social and cultural significance, ‘this line is as interesting an architecture as the environment that is shaped and contained by it’.²¹ Whiteness as sensory threshold mirrors the politics and affects of race as a social relation, in Mabel O. Wilson’s definition of ‘race as the controlling of space, controlling where people are able to go’.²² This raises the question of how control manifests itself and recalls the notion of whiteness as learned behaviour. The repetition of habits, beliefs etc. performs a boundary, barely perceptible, but perceptible as a ‘liminal’ condition, as in-between, only possible ‘to pass’ through learning to *erase* ‘difference’.

²¹ Jennifer Bloomer, ‘Nature Morte’, in *The Architect Reconstructing Her Practice*, ed. Francesca Hughes (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1998), 241.

²² Mabel O. Wilson, ‘Design & Racism 2: Can the Master’s Tools Dismantle the Master’s House?’, interviewed by Leopold Lambert, podcast recorded in New York on 1 May 2016, <https://thefunambulist.net/podcast/mabel-o-wilson-design-racism-2-can-the-masters-tools-dismantle-the-masters-house> (accessed 30 May 2017).

In perceiving ‘passing’ as a (sensory) threshold, Sara Ahmed argues for the importance of acknowledging how whiteness is not reducible to skin colour or to something one can have or be:

When we talk about a ‘sea of whiteness’ or ‘white space’ we are talking about the repetition of the passing by of some bodies and not others. Non-white bodies do inhabit white spaces; we know this. Such bodies are made invisible when spaces appear white, at the same time as they become hyper-visible when they do not pass, which means they ‘stand out’ and ‘stand apart’. You learn to fade in the background, but sometimes you can’t or you don’t. The moment when the body appears ‘out of place’ are moments of political and personal trouble.²³

²³ Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 135.

²⁴ Sara Ahmed, transcript of lecture ‘Some Striking Feature: Whiteness and Institutional Passing’, presented at *Disrupting Visibility: The Politics of Passing*, Friday, 12 June 2015, Goldsmiths. <https://feministkilljoys.com/2015/06/14/some-striking-feature-whiteness-and-institutional-passing/> (accessed 30 May 2017).

What Ahmed proposes is to think of ‘passing’ through the lens of phenomenology, to conceive of ‘passing’ as a field of perception, referring to whiteness as a background one has the ability to fade into or not: ‘To pass is to pass into a background.’²⁴ In doing so, Ahmed suggests ‘passing’ as camouflage or mimicry, invisibility as performance, as means to ‘blur’ into ‘backgrounds’. Her attention to negation frames the sensory threshold of whiteness in how its liminality frames the affects and performativity of race. Ahmed stresses:

The matter of race is very much about embodied reality; seeing oneself or being seen as white or black or mixed does affect what one can do, even where one can go, which can be re-described in terms of 'what is and is not within reach'. If we begin to consider what is affective about the 'unreachable' we might even begin the task of making 'race' a rather queer matter.²⁵

²⁵ Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 112.

Ahmed challenges the notion of race as stable, in extending Fanon's critique of phenomenology through a queer lens. 'To pass' disrupts and re-orders power relations through ambiguity, in its failure to serve the function of race- the desire to determine difference in order to control space, whether enabling, limiting or controlling, establishing a position that is either *within reach* or *unreachable*. In this sense, queer refers not only to the non-normative, but also to the moment when norms fail to be reproduced.

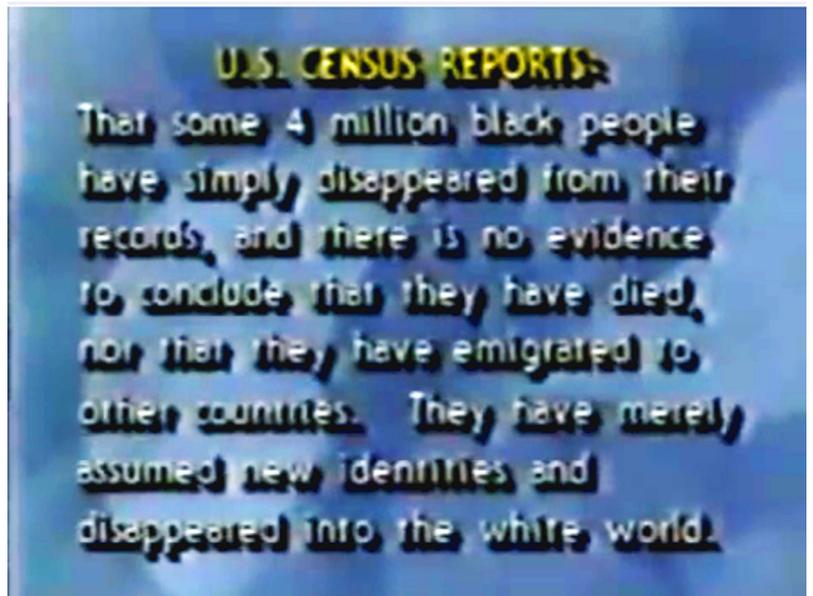


Fig. 3 Film still from video-montage 'Thresholds' with clip from *The Phil Donahue Show* 1990. (Photo: Marie-Louise Richards)



Fig. 4 Video-montage 'Thresholds' that explores how the threshold of race performs and corresponds with the racial spatial divide in Detroit. (Photo: Marie-Louise Richards)

To think of race as the controlling of space, in the sense of that which is or is not within reach, has been helpful in my work. In the example 'Thresholds', clips from American newscasts, TV talk shows, and real estate promotions are assembled using video montage into a non-explicit narrative, examining segregation in the Detroit metropolitan area. My aim was to explore how the threshold of race performs and corresponds with the spatial divide between the predominantly black city of Detroit and the surrounding affluent white suburban neighbourhoods, a spatial division which is replicated in many, if not most, American cities.

On the border between the inner city and its suburbs, where homes on 8-Mile Road in Detroit lay too close to a black neighbourhood to qualify for positive rating from the Federal Housing Administration, the program that subsidized housing after World War II for all American citizens, the residents built a 6-foot wall between themselves and those neighbours. Once the wall went up, mortgages were approved. This was in 1941, and between 1943 and 1962 the federal government underwrote \$120 billion in new housing, of which less than 2 percent went to black families.²⁶ The Fair Housing Act, that prohibited racial discrimination in housing, was not implemented until 1968. I don't think it is unfair to assume that these policies put the non-white population at a disadvantage that is still present spatially to this day.

When analysing architecture, the tendency has been to look for what can be seen; and when examining race and space, only to examine non-white spaces. I wish to direct attention to the policies that made segregated suburbia in America possible in the first place. To argue for the queering of race in architectural discourse, in line with Ahmed's arguments above, proposes to consider race as relational and to identify how norms are reproduced, in order to locate what values, etc. we, as architects, must examine and challenge.

The poetics of invisibility provided a strategy for uncovering the processes hidden in policy, laws and attitudes that led to the effects visible in Detroit today. In this way, this approach has been a helpful tool to challenge the ways in which white spaces are typically examined as non-racialized, and how the phenomenon described as 'white flight' makes spaces unreachable for those who fail to pass into the background of the normative practice of whiteness.

Towards an architectural strategy of hyper-visible invisibility

In considering what is affective about the 'unreachable', I must admit to my own anxiety in putting forward my conclusion on how the theories introduced throughout this paper translate into architecture, poetics and practice. Whereas 'anxiety' might appear to be an exaggerated

²⁶ PBS documentary series *Race: The Power of an Illusion*, episode three, 'The House We Live In', 2003. http://www.pbs.org/race/000_About/002_04-about-03-01.htm (accessed 20 August 2017).

and dramatic term, it seems only fitting in light of the premise that the discipline and practice of architecture have done little to address how race, racial representation and racial thinking have shaped their own practices and discourse. This endeavour of tracing a poetics of invisibility reflects a desire to put a discipline and practice of architecture 'within reach', and to inhabit this subject as a black feminist, but also to include 'other' spatial practitioners, both historically and in the present. Surely, my anxiety stems from an unease to claim what *I do* as architecture; yet insistently a practice has emerged, experimental in character, ranging from a more conventional practice to exploring artistic practices, across and between disciplines, that explores 'other ways of doing architecture', utilizing queer feminist methods and theories.²⁷

²⁷ In insisting that feminist critical practices are architectural, I refer to the discussion in chapter one of Brady Burroughs, *Architectural Flirtations: A Love Storey*, PhD Dissertation (Stockholm: ArkDes, 2016), 46. See also Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, Jeremy Till (eds), *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2011).

²⁸ Sara Ahmed, 'Declarations of Whiteness: The Non Performativity of Anti-Racism', *Borderlands* e-journal 3, no. 2 (2004): 4.

Nevertheless, this is a premise that brings uneasiness, insofar as it seeks to recognize the challenge in addressing the interrelation of emotions, language and bodies as mechanisms that regulate or enable power. What does this recognition do? It becomes a question of definition: Rather than perceiving effects of whiteness as an action, I follow Ahmed in considering the effects of whiteness as an 'inaction', by tracing how the effects of whiteness can be perceived simply as the failure 'to provide' for 'others' who do not 'pass' into whiteness *because* of their 'difference'.²⁸ With this definition, it becomes important to emphasize that the utility of addressing the effect of whiteness does not lie in the ability to assign moral blame, or even to focus on the oppression that inevitably follows. But rather to make visible that which affects *what* we define as problems and *how* we formulate them. Here, the question of the subject of knowledge, in discourses of race, racism and space, is immediately put at issue. Therefore, my concern at a lack of vocabulary is one of agency.

To not remain anxious in the inadmissibility of the subject of architecture I wish to claim, I have chosen to embrace the unreachable or unseen, with support of the power of abstraction, disembodiment and illusion, imagining 'invisibility' as a feature of a (black) feminist figuration.²⁹ In this way the poetics of invisibility traced from the writings of Ellison, Morrison, Fanon and Ahmed has not only served as tool for thinking through how race operates as invisibility, but has also been mobilized into a form of architectural practice. Reading race as narrative, reviewing the literature of black writers, becomes a crucial part of my approach, as a form of knowledge production in how theories introduced in this paper offer invisibility as a form of black subjectivity that challenge the optical regime of race, or 'the desire to determine difference', as a critical strategy. More importantly, as critical strategy, a poetics of the 'unseen' allows for an exploration of a *black feminist poetics*,³⁰ which seeks to frame whiteness as invisible for those who inhabit it; whereas for others, making visible what already is, but doing so in other ways.

²⁹ Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

³⁰ Denise Ferreira da Silva, 'Toward a Black Feminist Poethics: The Quest(ion) of Blackness Toward the End of the World', *The Black Scholar* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 81–97.

How we imagine spaces also depends on who is doing the imagining and what traditions, history, languages and mythologies they have inherited. All of these aspects form identities that are embedded in the stories told, so we should be aware of who is telling them. Exploring fiction through various media opens up new worlds and introduces new thoughts and possibilities. Through the practice of assembling and re-assembling narratives, *hyper-visible invisibility*, as a concept, allows me to consider invisibility as embodiment, critical strategy and spatial category, to explore approaches to the production and reproduction of social and spatial relations. In following how Morrison argues the centre as dependent on the margin, I examine spatial practices considered normal and neutral. With the intent of complicating borders, surfaces, embodiment and boundaries, I explore how whiteness performs through an appropriation of texts, contexts and images, as well as through video-montages. By re-working the conventional, mediated, iterative and citational to dissolve the binary of race, I blur and disturb that which is perceived as stable, to make space for something 'other' to emerge.

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Situated Knowledges and Shifting Grounds: Questioning the Reality Effect of High-resolution Imagery

Aikaterini Antonopoulou

Donna Haraway has formulated the concept of “situated knowledges” to argue that the perception of any situation is always a matter of an embodied, located subject and their geographically and historically specific perspective, a perspective constantly being structured and restructured by the current conditions. The aim of this paper is to examine different ways of seeing the refugees of the Zaatari Refugee Camp in Jordan through the lens of situated knowledges. It will present high-resolution aerial photos of their settlements as if they could be “anywhere” and it will look at a Virtual Reality short film which provides the viewers with a 360-degree view of the camp, promising an immersive experience, to argue that high-resolution images create distance and generic visions that scarcely foster engagement and situatedness.

Introduction

¹ Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575–99, at 586.

Vision requires instruments of vision; an optics is a politics of positioning. Instruments of vision mediate standpoints; there is no immediate vision from the standpoints of the subjugated. Identity, including self-identity, does not produce science; critical positioning does, that is, objectivity.¹

² Ibid., 576.

In *Situated Knowledges*, Donna Haraway criticizes the theories of "disembodied scientific objectivity",² arguing for the embodied nature of all vision and a form of objectivity which takes into account both the agency of the person producing the knowledge and the object of study. Knowledge is determined and framed by the social situation of the epistemic agent, their race, gender, class, etc., and becomes body-specific and site-specific. And since perception is always specifically grounded and socially situated, the view of infinite vision and the construction of a transcendent objectivity become an illusion. Vision, according to Haraway, is always mediated and cannot be understood without its instruments:

³ Ibid., 583.

There is no unmediated photograph or passive camera obscura in scientific accounts of bodies and machines; there are only highly specific visual possibilities, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, partial way of organizing worlds.³

⁴ Quoting Jane Flax, "Gender as a Problem: In and for Feminist Theory," *Amerikanstudien/ American Studies* 31 (Fall 1986): 193–213, Sandra Harding argues that reality can only have one, single structure when seen from the universalising perspective of the privileged, and calls for the abandonment of all kinds of universal claims. Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), 28.

If vision is always a matter and a politics of situatedness, then the process of acquiring knowledge begins as standpoints, partial perspectives and specific ways of seeing emerge. The more of such partial perspectives and cultural narratives we gather, the closer we get to objective observations. Situated knowledges, therefore, stand against the unlocatable, the disembodied, and the irresponsible. The aim of this paper is to examine different ways of seeing refugees through the lens of Haraway's situated knowledges. It will present high-resolution aerial photos of refugees and their settlements which look as if they could be "anywhere", and it will look at a short film that promises an immersive experience of a refugee camp through its 360-degree Virtual Reality view. These examples will be juxtaposed with hastily captured, sometimes blurry or unclear mobile phone snapshots of people who find themselves in the midst of the action to argue that high-resolution images often create distance and generic visions that can hardly call for engagement and situatedness, despite their ambitious claims. The question of reality will frame this discussion. What makes our understanding of the real world today? And is there one true story of reality today?⁴ Situated knowledges open up space for unexpected situations, unsettling possibilities, and many different lived realities. The feminist objectivity that Haraway proposes allows surprises and ironies to come into play in knowledge production and unexpected realities to emerge. It is interesting to pose the question of reality in the context of the current visualization technologies and devices that make a range of "realities" possible: from virtual reality to augmented reality to

mixed reality. What is the role and agency of new technologies in the (re) construction of new and hybrid forms of terrains, knowledges, and realities? And are such realities site- and body-specific? This essay questions this site- and-body specificity in the production of knowledge in increasingly unstable grounds and with increasingly mobile bodies in the context of the European refugee crisis.

The View from Above

The Zaatari Refugee Camp, Jordan, is one of the largest temporary settlements for refugees in the world, counting at the moment of writing 79,900 Syrian refugees.⁵ Set up in July 2012, the camp is comparable in size to some of the largest cities in Jordan and is run jointly by the Jordanian government and UNHCR, comprising twelve different districts, schools and hospitals and an extensive market. Numerous documentaries focusing on the life of the refugees have been filmed on the site (we will look closely at one in the following section), and the camp has become very popular in the news media, with politicians and diplomats, celebrities and journalists visiting and reporting from it. The camp is primarily represented in articles and film using views from above: high-resolution aerial photographs, bird's-eye views and even satellite photographs

⁵ "Syria Regional Refugee Response - Jordan - Mafraq Governorate - Zaatari Refugee Camp," UNHCR. <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/settlement.php?id=176®ion=77&country=107> (accessed 15 October 2016).

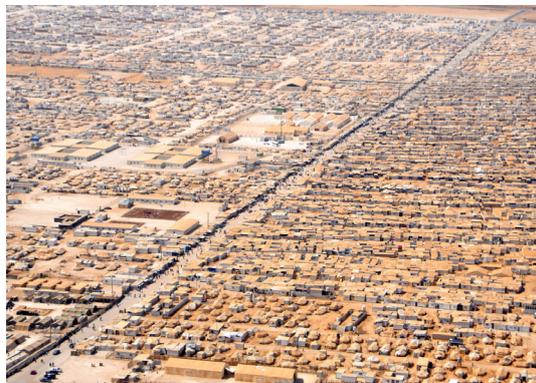


Fig. 1 A close-up view of the Zaatari camp in Jordan for Syrian refugees as seen on July 18, 2013, from a helicopter carrying U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Jordanian Foreign Minister Nasser Judeh. Credit: U.S. Government Works

proliferate on the Internet, emphasizing mainly the scale and organization of the site (although it could also be argued that aerial imagery best portrays the isolation of the site from its surroundings and its clear separation from any urban context). In recent times, the phenomenon of mass migration, the spaces of refugees and their visualization have come to the fore of architectural research, with events such as the Venice Biennale in 2016 and numerous international competitions engaging design in response to the crisis. Very often in such contexts refugee camps around the world are represented in the media in ways that highlight the arrangement of the tents and the homogeneity of the site, and one can even

⁶ “Fifty Largest Refugee Camps - A Story Map Presented by ESRI,” ESRI. <http://storymaps.esri.com/stories/2013/refugee-camps> (accessed 15 October 2016).

⁷ Mark Dorrian, “On Google Earth,” in *Seeing from Above: The Aerial View in Visual Culture*, ed. Mark Dorrian and Frederic Pousin (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 290–307, at 301.

⁸ The placelessness and the detachment from any specific situation described here bring to mind Siegfried Kracauer’s critique of the Tiller Girls in “The Mass Ornament.” The Tiller Girls for Kracauer are not perceived as individual human beings but as clusters of bodies who perform their routines with the same geometric precision at any place and in any theater: “in a vacuum.” Siegfried Kracauer, “The Mass Ornament,” in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, ed. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 75–86, at 77. This process reflects the capitalist thinking that deprives human minds, lives, and bodies of their concrete reality and substance and turns people into empty abstractions.

⁹ Daniel Bertrand Monk and Andrew Herscher, “The New Universalism: Refuges and Refugees between Global History and Voucher Humanitarianism,” *Grey Room* 61 (Fall 2015), 71–80 on 71.

¹⁰ Andrew Herscher, “Humanitarianism’s Housing Question: From Slum Reform to Digital Shelter,” *e-flux*, 66 (2015).

find applications and platforms that map out such sites. A “story map” by the software company ESRI,⁶ for example, presents highly detailed satellite views of the world’s fifty most populous refugee camps, where one can see their exact location on the map, their demographics, and their comparison in size to a – usually random – American city.

From the bird’s-eye view and the city portraits of the Renaissance to modernity’s experience of flight and today’s Google Earth, which represents the earth’s surface as a multi-media surface, the aerial view has been associated with ideas of infinite vision and the all-knowing observer, with distance and “objectivity”, with exemption from any engagement with things, and with dreams of omniscience. In his essay “On Google Earth”, Mark Dorrian talks about the “politics of resolution” that Google Earth facilitates with its images. Since the release of Google Earth, all sorts of interferences, from national security to privacy issues, from censorship to efforts to camouflage, and in the service of both economic and political interests, have shaped the degree to which specific terrains reach us:

Google Earth might present us with a new kind of political map, one structured according to a different logic than those coloured political cartographies, organised by the vectors of national boundaries, with which we are all familiar. Instead with Google Earth the implication is that we have a politics of resolution, or definition, of the image, a new popular political map structured through image resolutions and the upload periodicity of data sets.⁷

In the context of digitization, places that are accessible, public, available are projected in great detail, while places of conflict, of security issues, of high privacy are blurred in a complex play of high and low definition and of proximity and distance. Aiming to take us as close to the situation as possible, many of the images of the Zaatari refugee camp are uncannily detailed, yet people and buildings are thinned into an abstraction of the kind critiqued by Siegfried Kracauer in “The Mass Ornament”.⁸

The visual distance is also supported by other digital means. Andrew Herscher regards the new practices by which refugees are managed and sheltered by the United Nations and the other agents involved in the process as “voucher humanitarianism”.⁹ With the help of telecommunication companies and banks – at its most extreme applications using iris scanners in ATM machines to replace credit cards and PIN numbers¹⁰ – “digital food” and “digital shelter” allowances tend to replace the refugee camps. In this situation the refugee becomes dissociated from the refuge and humanitarianism disconnects from architecture. According to Herscher, when the spatial residence is replaced by “digital controls”, the making of any site-specific and

¹¹ Monk and Herscher, “The New Universalism,” 76.

¹² Haraway, “Situated Knowledges,” 581.

¹³ *Clouds Over Sidra*. Directed by Gabo Arora and Barry Pousman. USA: VRSE.works (Within), 2015, <http://with.in/watch/clouds-over-sidra> (accessed 5 January 2017).

body-specific architecture becomes unnecessary and, by extension, this “dearchitecturalization”¹¹ of humanitarianism takes us to a new form of universalism: a humanitarianism that could be anywhere, with refugees too being placed anywhere, or equally nowhere. Through the lens of both Kracauer’s line of study and Herscher’s “voucher humanitarianism” that detaches the refugee crisis from any specific situation, the arrangements of refugees and their camps take an abstract, representational form despite the high resolution of their imagery. The extreme detail of the photographs plays a different role here: it aims at transforming the subjective image (subjective because it carries within itself hundreds of stories of expatriation, war, and trauma) into “objective” information: data to be registered, analyzed, processed, and compared. The visual field translates into an informational field and technologies of perception are employed to interpret the place into a model. Vision in this context becomes “unregulated gluttony”.¹² The most recent visualizing technologies come without apparent limit, carrying within themselves the inheritor of the god’s-eye view of the Middle Ages: the dreams of total knowledge and total seeing. And the domestication of such tools through the multiple devices that we possess and use increases the illusion of seeing everything from nowhere. But is this “long view” truthful and objective? And would detail be able to position us on the spot, even if we had the means to infinitely zoom in?

Virtual Reality

*Clouds over Sidra*¹³ is a Virtual Reality short film directed by Gabo Arora and Barry Pousman that takes us inside the Zaatari refugee camp through the eyes of Sidra, a twelve-year-old girl who has lived there for eighteen months. Sidra presents the viewers with a day from her life as it has been re-established in Jordan: from the family’s accommodation to the streets of the camp, to the school, to a space where boys of her age play computer games, to the gym, to the football pitch. The spaces that we previously observed from above now appear for us from another perspective: we are placed inside and we have the possibility to examine them in close detail. The movie is designed to be watched with the help of Virtual Reality headsets that provide a 360-degree view of the scenes, aiming at indulging the viewers with a truly immersive experience. By moving their heads around, they can see not only what Sidra sees when walking to school, but also the sky and the ground, the schoolteacher and the other children around her looking back at them. The film was commissioned by the United Nations (UN) and sponsored by Samsung; it was launched before the prestigious participants at the World Economic Forum in Davos, at the outbreak of the refugee crisis in January 2015. During the opening of the forum, politicians, corporate business leaders and academics, among others, were invited to this experience in order to be mobilized on the situation. The footage of this unique “screening” offers some rather surreal



Fig. 2 Sidra's accommodation, still from *Clouds Over Sidra*, Gabo Arora and Barry Pousman (dir.), 2015 (courtesy of Within)



Fig. 3 Going to school, still from *Clouds Over Sidra*, Gabo Arora and Barry Pousman (dir.), 2015 (courtesy of Within)



Fig. 4 The boys playing video games, still from *Clouds Over Sidra*, Gabo Arora and Barry Pousman (dir.), 2015 (courtesy of Within)

¹⁴ UN_SDG_ACTION_CAMPAIGN. “Virtual Reality and Vulnerable Communities,” <https://sdgactioncampaign.org/virtualreality> (accessed 14 October 2016).

¹⁵ Chris Milk, “How Virtual Reality Can Create the Ultimate Empathy Machine.” TED talk, TED2015, Vancouver, Canada, March 16-20, 2015, https://www.ted.com/talks/chris_milk_how_virtual_reality_can_create_the_ultimate_empathy_machine?language=en (accessed 5 October 2016).

moments, with Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General, describing the film as “deeply moving” and Mitchell Toomey, Director of the UN Millennium Campaign, arguing that with such media “we can create solidarity with those who are normally excluded and overlooked, amplifying their voices and explaining their situations”.¹⁴

Virtual Reality technology has only recently escaped the confines of video games to be used for the purposes of film-making. “Empathy” and “immersion” are the key terms that are repeatedly used to describe the impact of the movies that have been produced.¹⁵ Unlike conventional film-making, the process requires a cluster of cameras, bound together and pointing in all directions from a single source. The footage then goes through a highly complex post-production in order to create a wraparound environment, with the viewer positioned at the very center. For the filmmaker to stay out of shot, they need to set up their camera rig, begin recording and then quickly run and hide behind an object, hoping that the action will unfold as planned. Thus the viewer is placed at the center of every scene, even though the filmmaker is absent when he/she is filming it. The protagonist too is seemingly absent from the scene, as the viewer is supposed to be in their place, embodying them.

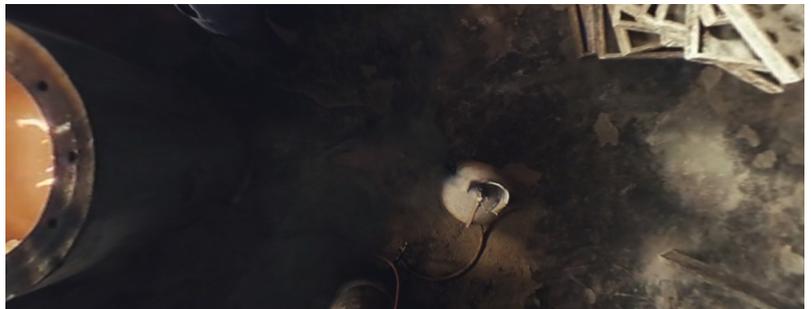


Fig. 5 Looking down, still from *Clouds Over Sidra*, Gabo Arora and Barry Pousman (dir.), 2015 (courtesy of Within)

At the beginning we see Sidra introducing herself to us, after which we never get to see her again – since we experience the camp having taken over her eyes. As shown when looking downward, the viewer confronts the ground rather than a human body, a void, and is left with a feeling of invisibility and suspension. This fictional situation brings to mind Louis Marin’s map analysis in “The City in Its Map and Portrait.”¹⁶ In this essay, Marin studies three sixteenth century maps of Strasbourg to argue that a city map is the representation of a production of a specific discourse on the city (rather than one of the pure “reality” of the city) and, therefore, the deconstruction of this representation brings out all the preconceptions on which this discourse has been formed. In each of the maps Marin questions the place, the symbolism, and the power of what he calls “the delegate of enunciation”:¹⁷ this is a figure who often appears on the representation of the city, usually shown standing outside the map, and represents the city’s viewer outside the representation. The third of Marin’s maps is an

¹⁶ Louis Marin, “The City in Its Map and Portrait,” in *On Representation*, ed. Werner Hamacher and David E. Wellbery (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 202–18.

¹⁷ Ibid., 211.



Fig. 6 Plan Morant, not dated, credit: Archives de Strasbourg, 1 Pl 1

extraordinary example of the construction of a fictional viewing point and the power of its representation. The map takes the form of a bird's-eye view, but the concentric arrangement of the buildings reveals that the map is viewed from above the white space at its center:

as if the viewer of the map were contemplating the whole city from “there”, that is, from a celestial place whose projection onto the surface of the ground represented could be inscribed only by default, in the form of an absence, a central blind spot¹⁸

¹⁸ Ibid., 214.

The emptiness of this central blind spot is confirmed by the fact that it becomes the space for inscription of a text, so that the ground becomes thinned into an abstraction. The only structure missing from this representation is the spire of the cathedral, and the empty space on the map is what signifies its absence.¹⁹ Instead of displaying the “delegate of enunciation” in this case, the map is erasing that presence: it is instead the empty space on the map that creates the fiction that produces the figures of the representation. According to Marin, the only way to make the spire of the cathedral visible as an operator in this process of representation is to make it disappear and to inscribe its very absence.

¹⁹ Ibid., 215.

In a not dissimilar way, Sidra's presence is manifested as an absence from the representation of the life in the camp. The position of the viewer in the center of the blind spot and in suspension illustrates on the one hand the place of the subject/viewer and reveals on the other the mechanism that produces the representation – another form of fiction here. Then mediation becomes central; getting back to Situated Knowledges,²⁰ it is impossible to have an unmediated view from the

²⁰ Haraway, “Situated Knowledges,” 586.

standpoints of the subjugated. Instruments of vision always inevitably mediate standpoints and define our positioning. The camera rig that produces this 360-degree view, the absence of the film-makers from the time of the filming, the headset that projects the movie as an immersive experience, as well as the conference room in Davos where this screening of the film took place, all define in a complex way the viewers' positioning and their perception of what is represented.

The Reality Effect of New Media

Sensory-input devices, space simulators and primitive head-mounted displays were invented more than half a century ago, and Virtual Reality was discussed a lot in the 1980s and then again in the 1990s. It became very popular after 2000 with games such as World of Warcraft and social worlds such as Second Life. Neither the positioning of the player in relation to the screen nor the visual representation and resolution of the computer graphics of such early examples can begin to compare to the sophistication of the technological means applied to Virtual Reality today. However, one could become immersed in such worlds despite (and perhaps due to the) poor graphics. I argue that the user became so emotionally and mentally engaged with the digital world through their avatar that they would disregard the fact that the world on display was artificial and imperfect.²¹ Such worlds were then worth investigating not as visually perfect representations but rather as environments that, despite their imperfections, had the ability to trigger the imagination of their users to supplement and complete their experience. In the same sense, the avatar body also became a field of investigation. As an object and a vehicle of the self intrinsically linked to its creator, it not only revealed but also extended and supplemented the character of the user and questioned "situatedness" within the context of digitization.

The form that Virtual Reality takes today, conversely, abolishes the distance between the user and the screen, is saturated with detail, and situates the viewer at a predetermined place inside the high definition scene that it produces. The question of realism, however, arises here: does this create a real, life-like experience, or does it, instead, produce a more-than-real, a hyper-real condition, increasingly immersing us in a realm of virtualization, which transforms things into idealized images of themselves? Is realism indeed a poor way of engaging with things and with the world's active agency, as argued by Haraway,²² especially when we are experiencing more and more video-game-like environments in our everyday life?

In his essay written in 1968, "The Reality Effect", Roland Barthes argues that the analysis of any text cannot be considered complete unless it takes into account the seemingly insignificant, scandalous, details of the narrative.²³ According to Barthes, the untheorized descriptive details of the

²¹ In her essay *Will the Real Body Please Stand Up*, Allucquère Rosanne Stone discusses a primitive military simulation called SIMNET, which, despite its poor graphics, appeared to have a particular reality effect on its users: "the simulation is astonishingly effective, and participants become thoroughly caught up in it. SIMNET's designers believe it may be the lack of resolution itself that is responsible, since it requires participants to actively engage their own imaginations to fill the holes in the illusion!". Allucquère Rosanne Stone, "Will the Real Body Please Stand Up?", in *Cyberspace: First Steps*, ed. Michael Benedikt (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 81–118, at 96.

²² Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 593.

²³ Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect," in *The Rustle of Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 141–48, at 143.

²⁴ Ibid., 146.

²⁵ Haraway, "Situated Knowledges," 581.

²⁶ Stefano Boeri, "Eclectic atlases: four possible ways of seeing the city," *Daidalos* 69/70 (December 1998/ January 1999), 102– 13.

text are the ones that produce effects of reality, disengaging themselves from any signifier.²⁴ Representations of reality, he argues, cannot produce any meaning, and thus their sole purpose is to authenticate the real and to signify the concept of realism itself. Visualizing technologies today have, according to Haraway, no apparent limits, reaching any scale from the micro to the macro and any environment from the most domestic to the most universal.²⁵ Vision within this context of technological advancement comes as pure excess and omnipotence. The two examples that we have examined are ample in detail. None of this detail, however, seems to be in excess: every single element has a very specific purpose, to create an unlocatable and disembodied, not a real but a more-than-real perspective and a fixed image. On the other hand, the thousands of snapshots from the refugee camps one may find in the social media expose a very different reality: that of the refugees themselves, or the people who accompany them. Such incomplete, multiple and interweaving viewpoints, in the form of "eclectic atlases",²⁶ bring out multiple realities and unexplored worlds, and stand against the dream of an all-embracing vision from a predetermined point of view. Low resolution, limited connectivity and the camera of a mobile phone, do not signify the absence of the necessary unnecessary detail here, but bring together information that situates us in the action. The ability to position the device in relation to one's body and to the scene makes them instruments for us to see the refugees as they are, and for them to see the world.

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Urban Sonographies: A Feminist Art Work and the Transformation of Architectural Culture in the Infosphere

Amelia Vilaplana

Applying the concepts of “infosphere” coined by Franco Berardi and “pharmacopornographic regime” proposed by Paul B. Preciado, this paper will revisit two experimental works created in late 1970s Spain that use the spoken word as a tool to explore urban and architectural space. *Occitània i Països Catalans*, the feminist sonic artwork conceived by Eulàlia Grau in 1978 and the spoken “o.o” issue of the magazine *Arquitectura* launched three years before by the Architects Association of Madrid (COAM) coincided with the emergence of new imaging techniques and telecommunication technologies. I claim, in a moment of political transition in Spain from the Franco regime to a modern democracy, these works demonstrate the conceptual changes brought about by the use of new technologies in everyday life, in the process redefining the domestic and urban sphere.

- ¹ About the relationship between Eulàlia's art work and architecture since the middle of the 1970s, see Amelia Vilaplana, "Hágase Bichito. La arquitectura fantasma de Eulàlia Grau", in *Matrices 2nd International Symposium on Gender and Architecture* (Lisboa: Universidade Lusofona, 2014).
- ² Eulàlia Grau signed herself as Eulàlia from the 1970s to the 1980s, the first decade of her career.

In 1978, Catalanian artist Eulàlia Grau¹ exhibited her work *Occitània iPaïsos Catalans* (Occitània and Catalan-speaking Regions) as part of *A Spoken Space* – a two-year-long show at Galerie Gaëtan in Geneva, Switzerland. Eulàlia's² work set in motion a dialogue concerning the telephone network and the symbolic space of the gallery. The piece was exhibited night and day for eight days by the gallery's answering machine while the gallery space itself remained closed. During that week, Eulàlia used the telephone line to build a spoken territory. Each phone call to the show was answered by the voice of a woman artist singing traditional songs or reading extracts from the local history and literature of the Catalan-speaking regions. As callers listened, each track would bring to life the virtual space inhabited by said voices.

The native voice of a woman speaking her mother tongue stood for each region, which were thus portrayed in a kind of spoken landmark differentiating a verbal geography in a constructed territory. These local languages had been suppressed for years: censored in the public sphere under the Franco regime and barely surviving in the intimacy of certain domestic spaces. Eulàlia's piece provided a sonography that made present those spoken territories.

In 1977 two technological breakthroughs emerged with the capacity to influence our way of conceiving space: cellular telephones became publicly available, and sonography emerged as a new technique for monitoring the first weeks of gestation. This latter imaging technique opened up new modes of visualizing bodies and new ways of perceiving space.

Galerie Gaëtan's exploration of spoken spaces was not an isolated experience. Two years before, *Arquitectura* (the professional journal of COAM, the Madrid Architects Association) had launched a "spoken issue."

A spoken space, spoken geographies

The exhibition *A Spoken Space* "set in motion a dialogue between a telephone network, a gallery and an artist whose piece was specially conceived for this show. Each [...] installation was broadcast night and day for eight days by an automatic answering device."³ During two years audio exhibitions changed weekly while the physical space of the gallery remained closed. Instead, what the public was able to access was a fictive, immaterial space that transformed into an actual verbal representation. The only form of contact with the gallery was by way of dialing a number on the telephone network (see Figures 1, 2, and 3).

Young international artists such as Muntadas, Eulàlia and the Fluxus artist Robert Filliou were among the show's headline acts. Each track generated during the show unfolded a sonic space inhabited by voices. Through the act of listening, previously unexplored forms of representation,

³ Galerie Gaëtan, *Un espace parlé*, 1.

became accessible. The exhibition catalogue was available in vinyl format, emphasizing the importance of sound. The title read: *Un espace parlé. 47 propositions. Messageries associées. Galerie Gaëtan.*

Eulàlia's piece is the focus of this article, mainly because of its capacity to use a virtual space for actualizing a political claim. It is a work linked to the author's biography. As a Catalanian, she had experienced the repression of her own language under the Franco dictatorship. Only months after the exhibition, in December 1978, the new Spanish Constitution recognized the wide variety of languages spoken in Spain that were censored under the Franco regime. The success of this work lies in its use of technological tools available in our everyday life, specifically the telephone and the answering machine. Eulàlia's piece demonstrates how our conception of space and our notion of territory have changed through different technologies of representation. This notion can no longer be explained merely through geographical location, geopolitical boundaries or historical identity. Instead, the piece reveals the psychological and physiological "mutations" suffered by inhabitants of specific territories, in Franco Berardi's terms. In a world based on semiotics and technology, concepts such as space, inhabitant, identity and reproduction must be reconsidered. So, how exactly does Eulàlia's work explore the possibility of inhabiting this new, immaterial terrain?

By discussing Eulàlia's work as a paradigmatic case through a current philosophical and theoretical lens, I present the political transformation in the early post-Franco Spain in relation to new telecommunication and medical technologies. I draw on the work of the Italian philosopher and activist Franco Berardi, who has identified and analysed psychological mutations linked to political and technological changes as opening a cognitive dimension in the everyday life of a middle class. Berardi refers to this dimension as the "infosphere", and he coins the term "post alpha generation" to highlight the existence of a psychologically mutated population that has lived since childhood at the intersection between westernized cities and the deterritorialized new, virtual world.⁴

⁴ See Franco Berardi, *Precarious Rhapsody: Semio-capitalism and the Pathologies of the Post-Alpha Generation* (London: Autonomedia, 2009).

⁵ Paul B. Preciado, *Testo Junkie* (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2013).

Another underlying aspect of Grau's piece can be best described through concepts developed by philosopher and architectural theorist Paul B. Preciado. In his book *Testo Junkie*, he proposes the concept of the "pharmacopornographic regime" to depict the new mechanisms used to govern subjectivity since the mid-1970s.⁵ These mechanisms, in Preciado's terms, are characterized by the remote provision of information capsules which are then incorporated into our bodies, producing transformations concerning our subjectivity and physical composition.

In the context of this debate, *Occitània i Països Catalans* applies the theories proposed by Berardi and Preciado to urban studies, opening a promising line of research concerning the intersection of art, technology

and politics. By proposing new forms of urban architectonic space from the new epistemological paradigm through the use of new technologies, Eulàlia's piece prompts important discussions. The "o.o" issue of the journal *Arquitectura*, which I will discuss in detail, also emphasizes the importance of the sonic, the virtual and the semiotic in the urban. Another association in respect to both examples is Beatriz Colomina's thesis on the correlation between the improvements in medical imaging technologies and the evolution of architectural representation methods, which supports Berardi's line of argumentation.

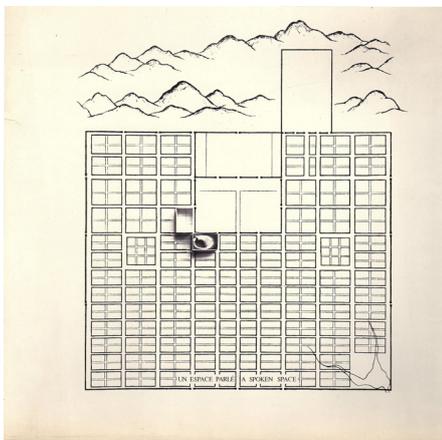


Fig. 1 *A Spoken Space (1977-1979)*, exhibition catalogue, 1979, front cover, Galérie Gaëtan, Geneva, by courtesy of Eulàlia Grau. Photo: Amelia Vilaplana



Fig. 2 *A Spoken Space (1977-1979)*, exhibition catalogue, 1979, back cover, Galérie Gaëtan, Geneva, by courtesy of Eulàlia Grau. Photo: Amelia Vilaplana



Fig. 3 *A Spoken Space (1977-1979)*, exhibition catalogue, 1979, folder, Galérie Gaëtan, Geneva, by courtesy of Eulàlia Grau. Photo: Amelia Vilaplana

Occitània i Països Catalans was a sound collage specifically conceived in 1978 for the *A Spoken Space* exhibition. The piece presents a collection of poems, songs, literary readings and historical documents representatives of the regions of Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and southern France. An oral piece performed by a local artist in her native language stood for each region. The Occitan singer Josiana, the Catalan actress Rosa María Sardà, Teresa Rebull, a Catalan singer who had immigrated to Languedoc after the Spanish Civil War, María del Mar Bonet, a singer and writer from Mallorca, and Al Tall, a folk music band from Valencia, were the artists whose voices contributed to creating the work (see Figure 4).

The reading started off as a geographic and historical review of each of the different territories, offering physical and demographic data, and slowly transformed into an epic legend presented through songs and narratives, thereby creating the imaginary terrain of *Occitània i Països Catalans*.

An oral techno-performative device to integrate diverse geographies in a virtual space

A virtual territory popped up on the telephone line. A series of calls helped to weave a spoken network between homes and the art gallery. People calling the gallery could listen to the recording that Eulàlia had prepared on the answering machine. This act of sonic weaving materialized a virtual region overlaid onto the geopolitical map.

Each phone connected the calling party to a new location where the regional languages were claiming their belonging. These new regions were thus, temporarily inserted into the internationally legitimized reality. The instruments of choice for this insertion were both the spoken word and the telephone. The telephone became popular in Spanish homes in the mid-1960s. The spoken word ensured the continuity of the persecuted idiom on the streets. Through the art installation, a virtual space emerged to host it. The delocalization strategy became a valuable asset for dispersion and camouflage.

Out of the answering machine, artists and songwriters performed their songs. As Catalanian, Valencian, Balearic and Occitan languages reached their highest expansion in the Middle Ages, due in part to the literature of the courts and to the lyric poetry of the troubadours, some of these contemporary techno-troubadours acted to reclaim the existence of their language by repeating songs from those traditions.

The installation joined together two private spaces in the process of reproducing the regional languages: the caller's house and the inside of the gallery. Confining the possibility of coming into contact with Eulàlia's sound art to an inner, private space, Eulàlia's device recreated the circulation grid for the regional languages in Spain. Eulàlia's strategy also allowed for those languages to creep into Swiss homes.

The mother tongues sounding through the artists' voices shifted to become an oral landmark of sorts, bringing forth a spoken geography. Catalanian, Valencian and Balearic languages had been domesticated – censored for decades in the public space but surviving in intimate contexts. Because the home was where language was taught and transmitted, Eulàlia's work insists on the interaction between such spaces. Eulàlia's device provided a kind of sonography that visualized the vitality and development of the languages. The image in the catalogue showing the artists during the

sound recording for the answering machine (see Figure 4) reinforces this idea by reproducing the visual appearance of an ultrasound scan. The composition of the picture uses a triangular layout, with the women located at the base and the telephone at the top. Also, the black and white colours, the definition and the contrast in the image are characteristics of medical imaging.



Fig. 4 Rosa Maria Sardà, Maria del Mar Bonet, Josiana and Eulàlia Grau recording *Occitània i Països Catalans*, 1978, by courtesy of Eulàlia Grau. Photographer: Colita (Isabel Steva Hernández)

Occitània, somewhere in the infosphere

Occitània i Països Catalans not only meets the linguistic decolonizing goal that drives Eulàlia to create this multilingual oral soundscape but also provides a model to analyse the new mechanisms for the production of both space and the notion of identity regarding it. Using Deleuzian terminology, it is easy to say that Eulàlia's work is a reterritorializing device.⁶ Firstly, it builds a physical space using sound as the primary construction material; then in addition it brings about an emotional landscape with the capacity to enrol a community of listeners wishing to inhabit a shared space, at least for a few minutes.

⁶ About deterritorialization and reterritorialization, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *L'anti-Oedipe. Capitalisme et schizophrénie* (Paris: Minuit, 1972).

From a Foucauldian perspective, *Occitània i Països Catalans* escapes the biopolitical mechanisms of control operating in western societies by the use of new technologies through subverting them.⁷ It emerges from inside the gallery, away from street surveillance, and it spreads by the telephone line. Humans cannot directly consume (listen, speak, or inhabit) “the spoken space”; it is only accessible by the use of machines (the telephone and the answering device).

⁷ See Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).

The exhibition *A Spoken Space* opened in 1977, the same year that cellular phones became available, Apple was registered as a trademark, and the internet took its first steps towards the development of modems. 1977 was also the year that free radio channels conquered the air space in Italy and France.⁸ It thus becomes clear that what Eulàlia developed was a territory to explore – one with no handbook or history of behaviours setting guidelines. It was a territory designed for intervention through the use of domestic tools.

⁸ See Berardi, *Precarious Rhapsody*.

Occitània i Països Catalans emerges from the infosphere through an exploratory semiotic device. It fits the characteristics that Franco Berardi attributes to the cognitive territories of the infosphere. Quoting the terms employed by Berardi to define the construction process in the digital network, *Occitània i Països Catalans* is composed of a mosaic of “microfragments of recombinant semiosis”⁹ provided in each call: the sound clips recorded on the answering machine. In addition to that, the mindscape of *Occitània i Països Catalans* is constructed through the logic of mythology. Each call provides a shot of disjointed information that cannot be isolated or analysed rationally. The territory constructed by Eulàlia is not created appealing to reason but appealing to feelings. The singing voices of the techno troubadours call out to our deepest emotions. Its inhabitants (citizens in the act of communication through the telephone call) are members of the *post-alphabetic generation* which, according to Berardi, have learned more words from a machine than from

⁹ Berardi, *Precarious Rhapsody*, 81.

¹⁰ Ibid., 76.¹¹ Ibid.

their biological parents. The “post-alpha generation” described by Berardi has discovered the world by experiencing space and time correlations in a brand new way, unknown to their ancestors. He observes that “The concept of ‘generation’ no longer identifies a biological phenomenon but a technological and cognitive one”,¹⁰ identifying a generation as a human group sharing a technological training that creates a cognitive system and consequently an imaginary world. “The transformation of the cognitive techno environment continually redefines the forms of identity.”¹¹

It becomes imperative to explore how the technological transformations in the mid-1970s (and therefore contemporaneous to *A Spoken Space*) redefined the notion of identity. This panorama seems to permeate into the architectural sector in Spain – one found in the intersection between new technological tools, the end of the dictatorship, and the beginning of the democratic transition.

Post alphabetical humans, urban sonographies

A Spoken Space was contemporaneous with the boom in telecommunication technologies, yet it also coincided with the development of the sonography for monitoring early weeks of conception and gestation. This technique opens up new modes of visualizing bodies and new ways of representing space. Body and space are viewed as one, and what is more, the body itself becomes a typology of space. The architecture historian Beatriz Colomina claims that the evolution of architectural space correlates with the development of medical procedures to explore bodies. The way the human body is approached from a medical standpoint is also valid for the representation of architectural space.¹² Sonography is a technique to explore both the new cognitive territory and its inhabitants. The exhibition format established for *A Spoken Space* made the works conceived for this show behave like a sort of ultrasound exploration of an enclosed space through the use of sound. The exhibition scanned the cognitive scene where the post alphabetical individual develops. It provided the verbalization expressing the mental representation of the virtual space constructed by the artist and inhabited by the listener. In the meantime, the exhibition exposed the technological tools used to construct the spoken spaces: images of the phone and the answering machine are featured on the catalogue cover in a calculated way (see Figures 2 and 3).

¹² See Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996).

In 1975, coinciding with the end of the dictatorship, the Architects Association of Madrid put out the “o.o” issue of the professional journal *Arquitectura*. The editorial team launched the issue to mark a starting point for the renewal of the institution that would lead to a serious revision of Spain’s architecture culture. It was a sort of map guide with characters and spaces. A tour through the COAM building was outlined to discover the real institution behind the building’s façade. The magazine displayed a sequence of floor plans, photographs and inventories of

objects showing the innermost places of the building, accompanied by a series of interviews, testimonies, biographical data, drawings and pictures introducing the people working at COAM.

To illustrate the birth of a new and improved organization, graphic resources referring to human reproduction were used throughout the publication (see Figure 7). This brings us back to the paradigm outlined by Preciado and dubbed by him *the pharmacopornographic regime*, a term that “refers to the processes of a biomolecular (pharmaco) and semiotic-technical (porno-graphic) government of sexual subjectivity”¹³. According to Preciado, the pharmacopornographic regime acts as hormones do, producing remote reactions that transform our bodies and shape our subjectivities. This argument is based on the fact that our societal structures and identities are controlled by the information we receive, incorporate and assimilate, an action which starts a mutation with an endocrine disruption.

¹³ Preciado, *Testo Junkie*, 33.

To show the internal transformation of the institution and to expand on its revolutionary spirit, the magazine carried out a series of performative strategies. Dozens of human silhouettes printed on tracing paper appeared interspersed between regular pages. As the pages were turned, their hollow bodies were filled with the words written on the page after and the page before (see Figure 8). In this way they were made to incorporate every plan, scheme, and text describing the COAM renewal. The voice of the transformed institution permeated and thus transformed the humanoids, and vice versa. The renovation of the Madrid Architects Association also began with a metabolic change of the institutional organism that would alter the way architecture was conceived and then built in (physical or virtual) space. The issue was prefaced by an evaluation of the current state of Spanish architecture, taking into consideration the rules governing the practice that needed to be changed. Throughout the magazine the mechanisms that controlled production in the architectural practice were exposed and adjustments were proposed for changing them. This was sketched out as a model of the human reproductive system (see Figure 7). The semi-transparent bodies of the humanoids conquering the magazine became a metaphor for the assimilation process of the proposed changes.

Issue “o.o” was also available in a (tape) recorded format entitled “La Voz del Colegio” (Voice of the Academy). At the end of the printed publication was an advertisement publicizing this alternative format and the extra audio information it contained. The ad showed a floating tape cassette hovering above the COAM building and absorbing it (see Figure 6). The sound recording was an equivalent of the “spoken space” of COAM; a virtual and expanded version of the building arose from the ultrasound exploration undertaken by the editorial team. The credits of this issue were housed (in the printed version) in a vinyl sleeve (see Figure 5). The format and the visual imagery were quite similar to the ones employed in the *A Spoken Space* catalogue.

The two experiences provide a path to explore the newly opened landscape of the public realm since the mid-1970s. They attempt to conquer the urban space by conquering the air, which appears as a virtual *terrain vague* that can be inhabited through the construction of oral architectures. While the experience of *A Spoken Space* represents a speculative spatial proposal, the *Arquitectura* magazine example definitely brings the explorations of the virtual space created by the new telecommunication techniques and the new epistemological paradigms out of the art context and into the architectural and urban debate. *Arquitectura* magazine places these experimentations at the centre of professional discussions, bringing them to the most relevant architectural institutions in Spain. With its launch of the “o.o” issue, COAM acknowledged such spatial phenomena and explored the possibility of inhabiting them. If we consider the political context of this COAM publication – 1975, the last year of the dictatorship in Spain – the cognitive space emerges as an uncharted land of opportunities out of biopolitical control.

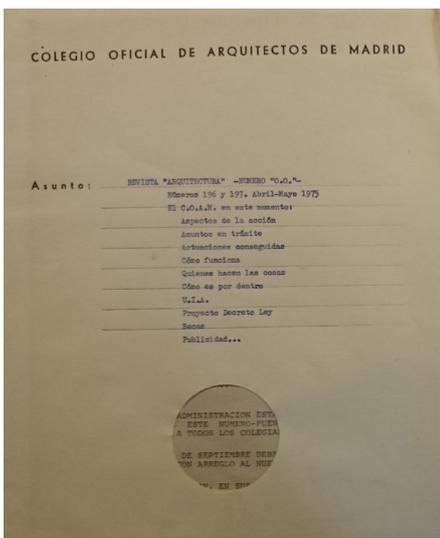


Fig. 5 *Arquitectura*, no. “o.o”, summary printed in a vinyl sleeve containing the credits of this issue. Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid COAM, 1975. Photo: Amelia Vilaplana

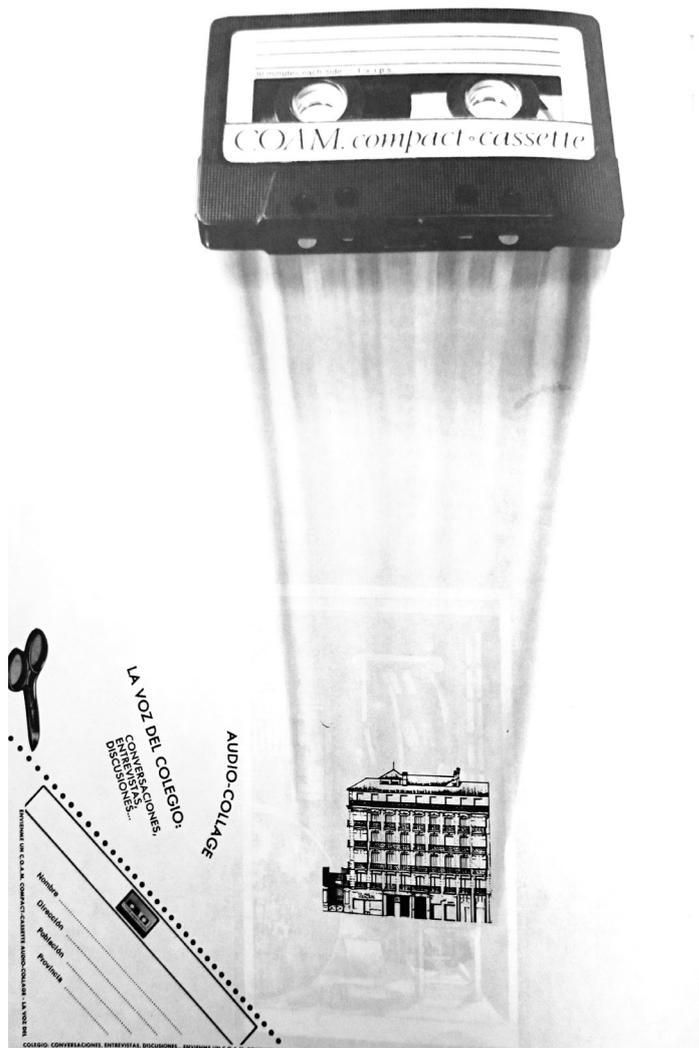


Fig. 6 *Arquitectura*, no. “o.o”, advertisement for “La Voz del Colegio”. Colegio de Arquitectos de Madrid COAM, 1975. Photo: Amelia Vilaplana

technological beyond the natural.

Both examples propose experimental sonic maps to integrate the different sensibilities coexisting in the same space. In those representations, the static physical sphere (buildings, urban fabric, and territorial organization) is always considered together with a dynamic virtual sphere where memories and desires keep constantly recombining. As a consequence, both works propose a liquid concept of space and of spatial identity. They even open a path to imagine a post-human concept of “inhabitant” and claim that we can virtually inhabit space. Finally, they dismiss the status of demiurge associated with the traditional role of the architect – in Eulàlia’s piece, by showing that space can be modified with domestic technological tools, from home and by anyone; and in the “o.o” issue, by making transparent the institution of the Architects Association of Madrid as a first step towards a renewed architectural culture post-dictatorship.

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Scholarship as Activism: Doris Cole's and Susana Torre's Pioneering Feminism in Architectural History

Andrea Jeanne Merrett

This paper examines the history and legacy of two early textual histories of women in American architecture: Doris Cole's *From Tipi to Skyscraper* (1973) and *Women in American Architecture* (1977), edited by Susana Torre. Both Cole and Torre were practicing architects, and their scholarship can be understood as a form of activism. As part of the feminist movement in architecture of the 1970s and early 1980s, their work contributed to the visibility of women's historic participation in the American built environment, and challenged the accepted architectural historiography of the time.

- ¹ The history of the feminist movement in American architecture is the topic of my dissertation, which is currently in progress. I owe special thanks to my supervisor, Mary McLeod, for all her support and feedback, and to the women who agreed to be interviewed for the project.
- ² The Alliance of Women in Architecture (AWA) in New York City, Women Architects, Landscape Architects and Planners (WALAP) in Boston, and the Organization of Women Architects (OWA) in San Francisco were all founded in 1972. Two years later, Chicago Women in Architecture (CWA) was founded. By 1977, at least a dozen organizations existed across the United States.
- ³ In 1974, two conferences were held: “Women in Architecture: A Symposium” in March at Washington University in St. Louis, and the “West Coast Women’s Design Conference,” in April at the University of Oregon in Eugene. The following year, the Woman’s Building in Los Angeles hosted “Women in Design: The Next Decade.” In Boston, “Women in Design and Planning Conference” was held at the Boston Architectural Center, and MIT’s Department of Architecture organized a conference on Sexual Politics and Design.
- ⁴ Records of the Women’s School of Planning and Architecture, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA. Also see my chapter, “Making Pedagogy Personal: The Women’s School of Planning and Architecture,” in the forthcoming publication by Penn Design on architectural pedagogy.
- ⁵ I am indebted to Kampen and Grossman for their insight that this scholarship was a form of activism which has helped me understand how it fit into the larger history of the feminist movement in American architecture.
- ⁶ “Historical Statistics of the United States.”
- ⁷ WALAP, “The Case for Flexible Work Schedules.”

At the beginning of the 1970s women in American architecture began fighting to change their profession.¹ Like that of other feminists of the period, their activism took many forms: they founded professional associations,² organized exhibitions and conferences,³ and they even created an experimental summer program, the Women’s School of Planning and Architecture (WSPA).⁴ Not all of the women involved in these activities defined themselves as feminist (and those that did often had different definitions of feminisms) but they were all motivated by the social changes happening due to the Women’s Liberation Movement. One important component of women’s activism in architecture was scholarship. It was practicing female architects, involved in women’s organizations and the broader feminist movement, who took up the research and writing of women’s histories as part of their feminist endeavors.⁵ In 1970, women were less than four percent of practicing architects in the United States.⁶ Before the creation of the women’s professional groups, it was not unusual for a female architect to not know any others. They often found themselves the only woman, or one of only a handful, in their class or in the office. They were unlikely to have any female teachers or bosses, nor did they learn about women architects during their education. For the most part, women were absent from architectural textbooks and survey courses, and there were no monographs written on any female architects in the US. Initially, the practitioners who wrote the first histories of women were searching for role models. In the face of discrimination, they soon realized that history could be used to challenge assumptions about female architects and their capacities, and promote their inclusion in the profession. This paper focuses on the first two histories of women in American architecture: *From Tipi to Skyscraper: A History of Women in Architecture* (1973), written by Doris Cole; and *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (1977), edited by Susana Torre, who also curated an exhibition of the same name.

Both *From Tipi to Skyscraper*, and *Women in American Architecture* were rooted in women’s professional organizations in architecture. Cole was a member of Women Architects, Landscape Architects and Planners (WALAP), which was founded in Boston by Dolores Hayden in 1972. When interviewed in 2013, Hayden remembered WALAP as primarily a discussion group. Although the organization was short lived, the members soon became active in challenging the status quo of the profession. One initiative of the group was a paper on flexible work schedules, published in the *Architectural Forum*. In it the authors argued that for women to succeed in architecture, offices needed to change the culture that equated commitment with long work hours.⁷ Another initiative by some WALAP members was to start an all-women’s architectural practice, the Open Design Office. Similar to many feminist organizations of the period, the firm rejected the hierarchical structures of traditional offices. It aimed to serve those who ordinarily would not have the means to hire an architect, especially community groups,

⁸ Doris Cole, interview with author.

women's organizations, and lower-income families. As a member of WALAP, Cole contributed to advancing the position of women – her definition of feminism – by writing *From Tipi to Skyscraper*. The impetus came from an interaction with a male colleague who one day asked her: “What are you doing here, Doris?” The question prompted her to ask herself “Hadn't we been architects before?”⁸ Through writing the book, she was able to demonstrate that women had indeed been involved in architecture from before the country had even existed. Although *From Tipi to Skyscraper* was not overtly polemical, one of Cole's objectives was to encourage more women to become architects.

⁹ Regi Weile, interview with author.

In contrast to *From Tipi to Skyscraper*, the *Women in American Architecture* project began as a group effort, one intertwined with the Alliance of Women in Architecture (AWA). Regi Goldberg, an architect and teacher at the Cooper Union, founded the group in New York. She was eager to find out more about the history and current status of women in the profession having hit a barrier in her career. Around 1970, when she assumed that she would supervise the construction of one of her projects, her employer told her “We don't send blacks or women to the site.”⁹ After some pressure from Goldberg, her employer relented, on the condition that she had to present to him examples of women supervising construction. She responded by collecting a list of as many women she could find practicing in and around New York City, and then proposed an exhibition and series of seminars and lectures. She, and eight other women she recruited, established the AWA after an open meeting in May of 1972. The group hoped to provide education and support for women in practice. They launched a monthly newsletter and formed a number of subcommittees to address different issues, including: education, discrimination, and licensing. The members also wanted to reach a public audience in order to foster a broader interest in architecture. In March of 1973, the AWA announced an upcoming exhibition to be held at the Architectural League of New York in the fall. A committee began meeting to plan the exhibition. Although they continued to report back to the AWA coordination committee occasionally in 1973 and 1974, the committee organized the exhibition independently of the group. In September 1973, the League provided Susana Torre, by then the official curator of the exhibition, a seed grant of \$3000; this officially launched the Archive of Women in Architecture, which was the basis for the exhibition and book. Torre was never a member of the AWA; however, she was involved in the Women's Liberation Movement through her participation in a consciousness-raising group, which included her neighbor, the feminist art critic Lucy Lippard.¹⁰

¹⁰ Torre, Lippard and other members of the CR group, went on to found the feminist art and politics magazine, *Heresies*.

Through their work, both Cole and Torre showed that women, despite many obstacles, had helped shape American architecture, both as professionals and in other roles. Cole's book, published in 1973, was a

- ¹² Essays by Judith Paine, Susan Fondiler Berkon, Sara Boutelle, Mary Otis Stevens (who was the publisher for Doris Cole's book), Doris Cole, Jane McGroarty and Susana Torre.
- ¹³ Essay by Suzanne Stephens.
- ¹⁴ Essays by Torre. Ellen Perry Berkeley also contributed material.
- ¹⁵ Essays by Lucy R. Lippard and Torre.
- ¹⁶ Venues included: Hayden Gallery at MIT (May 6 to June 18, 1977), Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center (August 11 to September 6, 1977), Houston's Public Library (November 1 to 22, 1977), the ArchiCenter in Chicago (January 10 to February 28, 1978), and the Woman's Building in Los Angeles (April 28 to May 26, 1978). The exhibition was displayed at least three additional times in the United States before travelling to the Netherlands. In many venues, exhibitions of regional women's work were mounted in conjunction with the traveling exhibition.
- ¹⁷ The term 'exceptional' as applied to women in architecture, was used in the 1955 Booklet "Should You be an Architect?" written by Pietro Belluschi, which Ellen Perry Berkeley quoted in 1972. Ellen Perry Berkeley, "Women in Architecture," *Architectural Forum* 137 no. 2 (1972): 46-53. Gwendolyn Wright, in an article published the same year as *Women in American Architecture*, identified "exceptional women" as one of four roles women in the profession used to cope with the challenges they faced. Gwendolyn Wright, "On the Fringe of the Profession: Women in American Architecture," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, edited by Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): 284. The term was still being used by the AIA in 1988, when it organized an exhibition, called "That Exceptional One," in honor of the 100th anniversary of Louise Blanchard Bethune's membership. American Architectural Foundation and the AIA Women in Architecture Committee, "That Exceptional One, Women in American Architecture 1888-1988," (Washington, D.C.: American Architectural Foundation, 1988).

modest volume, consisting of five chapters. It presented a brief social history of women's contributions to the American built environment, from the colonial period to the twentieth century. By focusing on the social context of women's lives, she demonstrated that many did not become architects because they lacked talent but because of social factors, most notably because practice was not considered a suitable pursuit for women. By showing how the women who did succeed in practice were often channeled into certain fields – namely domestic and landscape architecture – as well as demonstrating how they actively resisted this, she provided the evidence female architects could use to counter the stereotypes that restricted their choices in practice.

Women in American Architecture expanded Cole's work by adding biographies of individual women to the historical record, as well as new topics not covered by Cole. The catalogue was divided into five sections: women as designers and writers of domestic environments in the nineteenth century;¹¹ practicing women architects from the nineteenth century to the 1960s;¹² women architectural critics;¹³ practicing women architects in the contemporary period, including a history of feminism in architecture to date;¹⁴ and "Women's Spatial Symbolism," which addressed spatial ideas in women's art and constructions.¹⁵ When the exhibition opened at the Brooklyn Museum in February 1977 (Figure 1), a sea of almost 100 panels confronted visitors and provided visual evidence of women's long history of participation in architecture. There were three categories for the panels: blue for practitioners, brown for domestic writers and reformers, and red for the women's buildings. The practitioners' boards profiled both historic and contemporary women, following the categorization used in the book. After the show closed in April, it toured around the United States for close to a decade, and was also brought to the Netherlands.¹⁶

Torre, in her introduction to the exhibition catalogue, called for an in-depth analysis of the social and institutional context of women's contributions to architecture. Unlike Cole, who did not have an explicit theoretical framework for her book, Torre was galvanized by Linda Nochlin's groundbreaking 1971 article, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" Nochlin argued that the question was actually a trap that feminists should try to avoid. Such a pursuit would only reinforce the assumption that women were not capable of significant accomplishment. Her point was that "greatness" was not innate but produced by certain conditions at particular periods in time, conditions that excluded women. Torre took up Nochlin's call to investigate those conditions and institutions in architecture. Reflecting retroactively on the exhibition and book, Torre recalled that the group, by focusing on context, wanted to counter the tendency to elevate the rare female practitioner to the status of 'exceptional woman.'¹⁷ For Torre, the concept meant that the occasional woman was accepted by the male

¹⁸ Susana Torre, Review of *The Architect*, 81.

power structure as an “honorary male,”¹⁸ but only “one at a time,” something she had, in fact, experienced in her own career. Without the historical background and analysis, a juried show of contemporary practitioners might have reinforced the idea that only a few women had the talent to be considered “good” architects; it would not have helped women overcome their minority status in the profession.

¹⁹ Some women architects, like Louis Blanchard Bethune, were well recognized during their lives, but their careers were not considered important enough to be recorded by the historians.

In trying to add women to the architectural canon, *From Tipi to Skyscraper* and *Women in American Architecture* also challenged accepted methodologies in architectural history. The lack of scholarship on women architects at the time, and the fact that early women practitioners were rarely recognized as successful¹⁹ or “great,” forced Cole, and the authors of *Women in American Architecture* to take new approaches. As a practitioner, Cole wrote independently from any academic institution, and so did not feel confined to traditional methods. For instance, she used etiquette books as a major source of evidence. The very idea of a social history of women in the profession was at odds with much of the scholarship at the time, which still consisted largely of monographs of individual architects, buildings, or styles.²⁰ Torre, by including the essays by historians – such as Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright – on pioneering nineteenth-century domestic reformers, also expanded our understanding of architecture as more than public monuments and avant-garde manifestos. Further, by commissioning essays by a team of women, Torre challenged the single-author format of most architectural history publications at the time. *From Tipi to Skyscraper* and *Women in American Architecture* initiated decades of feminist scholarship, including more research on specific female practitioners.²¹ Starting with Hayden and Wright, feminist historians expanded the research to include writers and domestic reformers, female clients and patrons, gender and spatial relations, representational strategies, race and sexuality, and other topics previously not addressed in architectural history.

²⁰ See Marvin Trachtenberg, “Some Observations on Recent Architectural History,” *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 2 (June 1988), 208-241.

²¹ Louise Bethune, Julia Morgan, Marion Mahony Griffin, Mary Colter, and Eleanor Raymond have all received monographic treatment. Other American women architects who are overdue for monographs include: Anne Tyng, Norma Merrick Sklarek, and Natalie de Blois.

Both books, and the exhibition, were well received and reviewed in architectural and general publications. Most reviewers of Cole’s book congratulated her efforts with only a few criticisms of its brevity and lack of depth. The most thoughtful review was by Hayden, written in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Like most of the other reviewers, Hayden acknowledged that the ambitions of the text were greater than what was possible in “one slim volume,” but she praised it as a “significant, pioneering effort.” As a historian, she commended Cole’s use of untapped primary materials (the etiquette manuals) and methodologies (interviews and oral history), and thought the book was a “good beginning” for subject “long overdue for recognition.”²² *Women in American Architecture* also received mostly positive reviews. Because it was an exhibition, as well as a book, it was also covered by newspapers. The *New York Times* critic, Ada Louise Huxtable, called the exhibition “a first-rate history” and a “fascinating” story, although she criticized the lack of original drawings,

²² Dolores Hayden, Review of *From Tipi to Skyscraper*, 362.

²³ Jane Holtz Kay, "Architecture," 474.

²⁴ John Morris Dixon, letter to Susana Torre, May 6, 1977, Susana Torre Architectural Collection.

²⁵ "Historical Statistics of the United States."

²⁶ National Center for Education Statistics.

²⁷ Susana Torre, interview with author.

and bemoaned that most of the work available historically to women was the design of houses. The most common criticism of the show was how much reading was required. Jane Holtz Kay reviewer described the organizers as having "virtually spread the pages of their newly published book [...] in space on the museum's fifth floor."²³ John Morris Dixon, editor of *Progressive Architecture* also expressed concern with the amount of reading. However, he was impressed by the content and design of the exhibition. He wrote to Torre: "For my part, the insistent arrangement of rows and the extensive text seemed intended to emphasize the seriousness of the subject and the mass of individual contributions from which you refused to extract a few 'stars.'"²⁴ In contrast to Dixon and others, John Lobell, in *Artforum*, praised the extensive text which made the exhibition easily understood by non-architects, a stated aim of the committee. Clearly the text-based approach worked to make the content accessible, as most of the reviews focused on highlighting some of the women featured in the show, and expressed genuine excitement to learn about their work.

Both *From Tipi to Skyscraper* and *Women in American Architecture*, as part of the feminist movement in architecture, contributed historical visibility to women and made it clear that it was not so unusual to be a woman in architecture. Along with the other efforts by women's professional groups, like WALAP and the AWA, to fight discrimination and transform the profession to make it more welcoming to women, these histories legitimized women's presence in architecture schools and offices. Women who read the books or visited the exhibition, could look at the historical models and see themselves as architects. Employers could no longer claim that there was no precedent for women's full participation in all aspects of practice, including supervising construction. In addition, the publicity surrounding the exhibition and reviews in the general press helped make the public aware of the role that women had in shaping the built environment. By 1980, the number of women in practice quadrupled,²⁵ and the percentage of women receiving degrees in architecture increased significantly.²⁶ They were still a minority in the profession, but thanks to the activism of feminist architects, they were no longer isolated and they had historical role models to look to. When a woman encountered the reaction "Oh, I didn't know there were any women architects,"²⁷ she could now respond by pointing to the long history uncovered by Doris Cole, Susana Torre, and others.

Postscript:

Since the publication of *From Tipi to Skyscraper* and *Women in American Architecture*, a multitude of feminist subjects and methodologies have been introduced to architectural scholarship. Given this work, and the nearly forty years of unearthing the histories of women, the continued near-absence of women in architectural textbooks and survey courses is shocking. Architectural pedagogy, at least at the undergraduate level in the United States, still focuses on the "genius" architects, and the buildings designed by them; and as a rule, these geniuses are still men, with very few "exceptional"

- ²⁸ Notable exceptions were Jean-Louis Cohen's *The Future of Architecture, Since 1889* (New York: Phaidon, 2012) and Gwendolyn Wright's *USA, Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion, 2008).
- ²⁹ Catherine W. Zipf, "Surveys, Seminars, and Starchitects," 2011.
- ³⁰ <http://dna.bwaf.org/pioneercollection>; <https://undiaunaarquitecta.wordpress.com/>; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:WikiProject_Women_Wikipedia_Design. The WikiD project was launched in response to Despina Stratigakos's article "Unforgetting Women Architects: From the Pritzker to Wikipedia," *Places Journal*, June 2013, <https://placesjournal.org/article/unforgetting-women-architects-from-the-pritzker-to-wikipedia/#0>.
- ³¹ For example, while studying architecture at Harvard, Caroline James and Arielle Assouline-Lichten drew attention to the under-representation of women by launching a petition to have Denise Scott Brown recognized for the 1991 Pritzker prize awarded only to her partner and husband, Robert Venturi. <https://www.change.org/p/the-pritzker-architecture-prize-committee-recognize-denise-scott-brown-for-her-work-in-robert-venturi-s-1991-prize>

women.²⁸ When I searched for a textbook to teach my first survey course on European and American architecture in 2015, I could find only a few that included more than about a dozen female names.²⁹ Women are rarely discussed in class and few essays on women are assigned as topics for research papers. Efforts such as the Beverly Willis Architectural Foundation's Pioneering Women of American Architecture, *Un día | una arquitecta*, and the international project WikiD, led by Architexx, Parlour and n-ails, are making the history of women more accessible through online platforms.³⁰ One of the tasks for the current generation of feminist architectural historians is to rewrite the course syllabi and textbooks to finally include the rich history unearthed by previous generations of architects and scholars. Fortunately, students at some schools today are starting to demand the inclusion of women, and other minorities, in the curriculum.³¹

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Fig. 1 *Women in American Architecture* exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum, February–April 1977 (courtesy of Susana Torre).



Making Trouble to Stay With: Architecture and Feminist Pedagogies

Torsten Lange and Emily Eliza Scott with contributions from Lila Athanasiadou, Harriet Harriss, Andrea Jeanne Merrett, Seyed Hossein Iradj Moeini, Jane Rendell and Rachel Sara

Architecture is, at its most basic, about imagining desirable futures. Yet, despite growing awareness of the lasting and extensive effects that design decisions have in the world, many people remain inadequately represented (or entirely unrepresented) by the profession, which lacks diversity. The faction of those who hold the power to design is still, by and large, comprised of a relatively homogenous group of middle-class white men who dominate not only the profession but also architectural education, even though there is now—in most places—near gender parity among students. How, then, might we—as educators committed to forms and practices of architecture that are inclusive, progressive, egalitarian, socially and environmentally just, and so on—implement and promote feminist pedagogies? Together, this set of short responses by young as well as established figures in the field, begins to sketch the outlines of an approach to architectural education rooted in feminist politics. Our goal is to offer possible tools at our disposal, from revisionist architectural history to site-specific, community-based spatial projects to gender-centered design studios.

If the architectural profession is to play an incisive role in current and future world making, we believe that the discipline must fundamentally change. How “architectural” knowledge is produced and reproduced in the academy, first and foremost through teaching, matters a great deal in this regard, and calls for urgent and radical reconfiguration. Engaging adequately with entangled, promiscuous and inevitably messy realities requires forms of knowing and doing that place emphasis on collaboration and cross-disciplinary exchange, on interdependency as well as contingency. Yet architecture, a notoriously conservative discipline with roots in the long nineteenth century, all too often clings to traditional notions of individual mastery, genius, and autonomy, while also maintaining deeply hierarchical and patriarchal structures.

Feminist thinkers such as Donna Haraway and bell hooks have, by contrast, championed diverse practices that hold the potential to “trouble” such prevailing models, while furthermore providing fruitful alternatives to normative forms of knowledge production.¹ For example, Haraway stresses that all knowledge is situated as opposed to objective or universal, encouraging the persistent acknowledgement of positionality with regard to any given problem or claim. She furthermore advocates experimental forms of research and expression – including what she calls “speculative fabulation” – that are grounded in the world, while, at the same time, recognizing their potential to make worlds otherwise. Meanwhile, hooks highlights the emancipatory potential of education, espousing pedagogical practices that transgress the limits of the classroom. With particular sensitivity to gender, race, and class, she aims to transform the dominant power relations that are socially reproduced through knowledge. Extending from this, our contribution springs from the question: How might we—as educators committed to forms and practices of architecture that are progressive, egalitarian, socially and environmentally just, and so on—implement and promote feminist pedagogies?

The following, collected inputs—framed by way of three loose and interrelated questions—are based upon conversations held during a roundtable panel on pedagogy at the “Architecture and Feminisms” conference hosted by the KTH Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm in November 2016. Along with our fellow “educator-kin” and a lively audience, we discussed not only ways that feminist pedagogical strategies might contribute to meaningful “troublemaking” in the architectural discipline, but also how we might build the alliances and networks necessary to keeping that trouble productively alive. Our aim, in other words, was to further an “ecology of practices”² and practitioners in architectural education that might transform the discipline in responsive and sustainable fashion.

¹ See: Donna Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2016); bell hooks, *Teaching Critical Thinking: Practical Wisdom* (New York: Routledge, 2010); *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Routledge, 2003); *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

² Isabelle Stengers, “Introductory Notes on an Ecology of Practices”, *Cultural Studies Review*, no. 11 (2005), 183–96.

What forms might feminist pedagogy take in architecture and who are its potential protagonists (imaginary or real)?

Andrea Merrett

Although not immediately concerned with pedagogy, the feminist architects who wrote the first histories of women in the profession provided the material to expand the canon taught to architecture students.³ They were part of a first generation of architects and scholars who challenged the disciplinary boundaries of architectural history to include not only female architects, but also other histories not previously told.⁴ The work of recuperating these histories is ongoing and has yet to radically alter what and how history is taught, at least here in North America.⁵

This raises, for me, the question: what is the role of the architectural historian in a professional school? Beyond developing students' skills in research, the synthesis and analysis of texts and artifacts, and the presentation of their ideas, the historian can help students understand the context of architectural production. This includes the histories of professionalization, office practices, and construction laws. Furthermore, I believe that historians can be instrumental in countering the insularity of the architecture school around the design studio by connecting architecture to the larger social, political, and cultural forces that shape it.

Feminist scholars in the 1970s, after all, were never just interested in who the female architects were, but also the social and professional norms that excluded most women from practice, and the other ways women have contributed to the built environment. A more recent generation of scholars have extended these earlier feminist analyses to gender and spatial relations, representational strategies, text and language, and race and sexuality.⁶ Mining this work for content and methodologies goes beyond uncritically adding women to the canon to expand students' exposure not just to the history of construction, but the construction of history, and their place in it.

Harriet Harriss

Epigraph: "A mistress is not a female mister.... nor a starlet a female star. In fact, a starlet is not a star at all." – Sol Saporta.⁷

That there are fewer women architects than men cannot be blamed on practice alone: schools of architecture share a burden of responsibility too. However, the gender gap between men and women within roles of academic leadership is even more acute. In the UK for example, the male to female ratio for heads of school is 1:40. Women heads can be counted on one hand.

³ See, for example, Doris Cole, *From Tipi to Skyscraper: a History of Women in Architecture* (Boston: i press inc., 1973); Susana Torre, ed., *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977).

⁴ For example, Dolores Hayden, *Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981).

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⁷ Sol Saporta, cited in Paul J. Hopper, ed., *Studies in Descriptive and Historical Linguistics: Festschrift for Winfred P. Lehmann* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1977), 214.

Subsequently, it's the "masters" and not the "mistresses" of architecture whose pedagogies pervade. Unless staffing teams are inclusively peopled, inclusive pedagogies fall flat. Feminist pedagogies are not only needed to provide a set of principles and practices for educational equality, but also to build a space in which women can inhabit educational institutions to begin with.

For a mistress pedagogue in a position of influence, explicitly promoting feminist pedagogies can often be discredited as "subjective," "personal" and "politicizing" (i.e. actions considered "un-academic"), fueling the fear that such "activism" will worsen already poor chances of promotion and increase isolation.⁸ Yet feminist pedagogy emphasizes collective over individual action, to protect rather than expose its own. It demands that the false dichotomies that divide us are deconstructed - from student v tutor to end-user v architect – disrupting the debilitating and exhausted power relations that have served to perpetuate partitions based on gender identity, ethnicity, class, age, ability and sexuality (figs. 1 & 2).

Feminist pedagogy tackles the problem of inequality in all its forms and across architecture writ large: from how a male tutor might relate to a female student, to how the profession allows manual laborers to be treated on site. Whilst gender-sensitive pedagogies invite us to acknowledge diversity and difference⁹, feminist pedagogies emphasize our interconnectedness: the need to share and redistribute and to work for collective good and not just individual goals. As the world outside the classroom is fast becoming increasingly inequitable, feminist pedagogy provides a working prototype for students; it helps them report, resist or reconfigure, but never to resign to the present reality. In the face of the fear-fueled crisis that previous patriarchal pedagogies have helped foster, feminist pedagogy is not the backswing of a fist but the leveling force needed to defibrillate the unfolding disaster.

⁸ The ACSA statistics (2015) identify 1:4 women/men educator ratios in the USA, 1:5 at Dean level. See <http://www.acsa-arch.org/resources/data-resources/women>. In contrast, UK stats are closer to 1:3 women/men. See: David Gloster, RIBA Education Statistics, 2013-14, <https://www.architecture.com/Files/RIBAProfessionalServices/Education/2015/EducationStatistics2013-2014.pdf>. Statistics exist identifying whether the women are likely to be in leadership roles or not.

⁹ Sherry Ahrentzen and Kathryn H. Anthony, "Sex, Stars, and Studios: A look at Gendered Educational Practices in Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 47, no. 1 (1993), 11-29. Ahrentzen preferred gender-sensitive to gender indifferent.

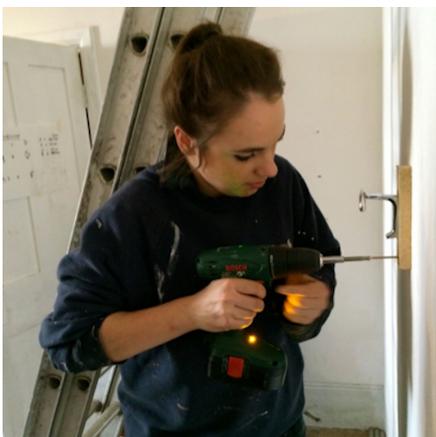


Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 MA architecture students working on a live project on Fish Island in Hackney, London 2014. The brief tasked students with inserting 'meanwhile' spaces into a disused building scheduled for redevelopment, giving the spaces a useful community purpose in the interim. Photographs by Harriet Harriss.

Which practical strategies have you employed to set an explicitly feminist agenda in your design studio teaching and how have students responded to such efforts?

Iradj Moeini

Our studio started with a series of discussions on feminism that helped students familiarise with the topic in an Iranian academic context, in which feminist views are virtually unknown. A consensus developed during these sessions that feminism is part of a broader set of ideas oriented toward unraveling historically developed forms of discrimination and exclusion.

The discussions were also focused on issues of abuse – something a typical student in Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, knows little about – and how women are affected differently, and often more severely, by it in many societies. This helped shift the common perception of fugitive abused women as being oblique, or even criminal, to one wherein they are understood to have suffered tough, discriminatory circumstances which need to be addressed with support and, if necessary, shelter.

Our studio project evolved in conjunction with readings and discussions on feminist art, women's movements, gender and public space, feminine design, and psychoanalysis. It also included case studies of houses for abused women both in Iran and abroad, through which students explored the vulnerable situation of these women, how they feel about their various environments, and ways in which they can be better protected and cared for through architecture. Some of the design themes and strategies that students came up with were: domesticity, glamour, merging into/emerging from nature, complexity-simplicity symbiosis, greenness, symbolic connotations, soft materiality, and craftiness.

Most contentious was the issue of site selection. Diverging from mainstream practice in our school, students focused carefully on not only access, views, and adjacent land uses, but also the factors that might positively affect abused women's quality of life, both in terms of giving them a sense of security and facilitating their reintegration into society. Although students' opinions were often divided, a consensus developed that such issues have a significant gendered dimension.

In the end, a site was selected next to a women-only park called 'Mothers' Paradise'. This involved another series of debates as to whether or not the association between motherhood—or, to use Sara Ahmed's words, the condition of being 'happy housewives'—and paradise is something that should be challenged.¹⁰

By the time students reached the design stage, they had developed their individual ideas of how to address the specific issues of their users,

¹⁰ Sarah Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 50–53.

not only by sheltering them from further abuse, but also by designing gender-conscious spaces.

Rachel Sara

¹¹ See <http://www.hands-on-bristol.co.uk>.

¹² bell hooks, *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope* (New York: Routledge 2003); and Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1989).

¹³ For the first year of a two year, RIBA Part II accredited Master of Architecture course at the University of the West of England, UK.

¹⁴ Live Projects Network: <http://liveprojectsnetwork.org/about/>.

¹⁵ bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (London: Routledge, 1994), 207.

I write this as a part of the hands-on-bristol collective,¹¹ which acts as a platform to bring together community members, architects, architecture students, and academics, to work together in order to generate positive changes within our city, Bristol, United Kingdom. I also write this as an academic with a particular concern for the promotion of diversity – both in terms of *who* is involved in education and the profession as well as *what* is valued as architecture. This emphasis on diversity is underpinned by a radical feminist and transformative pedagogy, inspired, in particular, by bell hooks and Paulo Freire.¹²

Our collective has set up an ongoing practice of studio projects¹³ that take students beyond the confines of the university, with its traditional focus on design as an individual sovereign act, and into diverse, local communities with the aim of building design projects that are collaborative, negotiated, connected, inclusive, and empathetic.

We understand these efforts as representing a type of live community architecture. Whereas typical live projects are often assumed to comprise “the negotiation of a brief, timescale, budget and product between an educational organization and an external collaborator for their mutual benefit,” and to be “structured to ensure that students gain learning that is relevant to their educational development,”¹⁴ we conceive of live community architecture as a form of spatial agency which involves collaboration between a community and architects that results to their mutual benefit and, ideally, a positive and sustained impact on both. A feminist agenda shifts the focus towards inclusive co-creation and participatory practices. The primary objective is civic spatial agency, in which knowledge is generated collectively throughout the process (rather than focused on the students’ individual learning).

Students have responded to such projects in mixed ways. Some feel constrained by “consulting,” and hang on to their presumed positions of expertise where possible. Others engage in ways that seek out the voices of silenced others to challenge questions of difference and engage in inclusive co-creation. The most powerful work reconceives the relationship between all involved as something akin to a learning community, in which design is understood as a practice of freedom that brings forth new consciousness about the conditions that shape (a) community’s place(s) in the world.¹⁵ It furthermore catalyzes community action beyond the confines of an academic project, so that projects become largely self-sufficient and live on into the future (figs. 3 & 4).



Fig. 3 Ebenezer Gate, Bristol, a project to create a community pocket park. Photograph by Marcus Way.



Fig. 4 Wayfarers: portable recycled architecture to reclaim the street for performance. Photograph by Thomas Sale.

Which conceptual frameworks, from critical theory to activism, can be mobilized in order to articulate and extend feminist pedagogy?

Lila Athanasiadou

Within the context of architectural education, pedagogical practices tend to follow prescriptive models grounded in either inductive or deductive reasoning. The former, envious of methodologies used in hard sciences, reproduces 1:1, all-encompassing representations, reducing social complexity to a problem-solution dialectic while transforming empirical observations into axiomatic truths. The latter, fixated on styles, specific representational techniques, and idealizations of specific architectural theories, fetishizes the image of the architecture rather than the practices it affords. Both models encourage students to adopt preexisting positions rather than to forge their own, and make for a teaching practice that is based on the transference rather than the transduction of knowledge. A feminist rethinking of pedagogy, by contrast, radically reorients attention from the form of the project to the entire, process-based assemblage of educator, student, and content.

Felix Guattari's "meta-modeling" offers a conceptual framework based on abductive reasoning, which shifts the focus from locating and reusing existing models to developing a sensibility toward their emergence. His scheme traces the formation of the subject through the relationality between patterns (models) and the crystallization of subjectivity as it transverses these relations.¹⁶ By abstracting the methodological movements of meta-modeling, the creative process shifts its subject matter from the things-in-themselves (understood as products) to the resonances between them and the contingencies of their formation. This design process forms in two asymmetrical registers: the foreground, as the product of the process; and the background, which encompasses non-goal oriented activities, thought-based and tangible experimentation, as well as intuition. The background process encourages an abductive reasoning based on the "hypothetical inference" preceded by a material observation that both describes something and interferes with it.¹⁷

By adopting a problematic approach rather than an axiomatic one, meta-modeling as a pedagogical practice problematizes all models and preconceptions. It becomes a way of unlearning standards and conventions, questioning the means of approaching a problem as well as the problem itself.¹⁸ Instead of aiming to provide clear answers to clearly defined questions, it shifts the question until the answer becomes a process of how to answer a question of that nature. This operation transforms it into an action on an action, a design of the process of designing, rather than the design of mere products.

¹⁶ Félix Guattari, *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012).

¹⁷ Lorenzo Magnani, "Chapter 6: Abduction, Affordances, and Cognitive Niches" in *Abductive Cognition: The Epistemological and Eco-Cognitive Dimensions of Hypothetical Reasoning* (Berlin Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 2009), 318.

¹⁸ In the first chapter of the *Queer Art of Failure*, Jack (Judith) Halberstam envisions a similar "open" pedagogy that is "not fixed on a telos", "without fixed logics and epistemes", but instead playful, experimental, abductive rather than deductive or inductive, and problem-making rather than problem-solving. Judith Halberstam, *The Queer Art Of Failure*, 1st ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 16-17.

Jane Rendell

In 2003, I introduced the term “critical spatial practice” to define modes of self-reflective artistic and architectural practice which seek to question and to transform the social conditions of the sites into which they intervene, and test the limits of their own disciplinary procedures.¹⁹ At the heart of the project is a focus on the “inter” and the “trans” as places and processes that operate between and across art and architecture, theory and practice, public and private.²⁰ My pedagogical approach relates closely to my practice-led research: they inform one another. The feminist aspect is palpable in the attention paid to positionality and subjectivity, and the unerring return of site-specificity, situation and situated-ness in the work.²¹

Through writing about critical spatial practice, I came to understand criticism as a form of critical spatial practice, one I named “site-writing”.²² Site-writing is the pedagogical challenge I set myself annually (for around 16 years now). Each year, I offer a group of students the invitation to produce a piece of experimental writing, one that responds to, but also intervenes into, a site, conceptually and formally. Most recently, site-writing has transformed into site-reading, where texts on the “reading list” get configured and read aloud on site, participants set writing workshops for each other, and I get to go wherever I am taken!²³

- ¹⁹ Jane Rendell, “A Place Between Art, Architecture and Critical Theory,” in *Proceedings to Place and Location* (Tallinn, Estonia: 2003), 221-33 and Jane Rendell, *Art and Architecture: A Place Between* (London: IB Tauris, 2006), 1-2, 4, 6, 9, 12, 66 and 191. This term was in to response to Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* [1980] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) and Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* [1974] (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). Most recently, see Jane Rendell, “Critical Spatial Practice as Parrhesia,” special issue of *MaHKUscript, Journal of Fine Art Research* 1, no. 2 (2016).
- ²⁰ Inspired by Julia Kristeva, “Institutional Interdisciplinarity in Theory and Practice: An Interview,” in *The Anxiety of Interdisciplinarity, De-, Dis-, Ex-, v.2*, ed. Alex Coles and Alexia Defert (London: Blackdog Press, 1999); Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, “Intellectuals and Power,” in *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (New York, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 205-17; and Judith Butler, “What is Critique? An Essay on Foucault’s Virtue,” in *The Political: Readings in Continental Philosophy*, ed. David Ingram (London: Basil Blackwell, 2002).
- ²¹ For example, Claire Doherty, ed. *Situation* (Cambridge: MIT Press with Whitechapel Gallery, 2009); Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3, (Autumn 1988), 575-99; Miwon Kwon, *One Place After Another: Site Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); Rosalind Krauss, “Sculpture in the Expanded Field,” in *Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (London: Pluto Press, 1985); D. Soyini Madison, *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics and Performance* (London: Sage Publications, 2004).
- ²² See Jane Rendell, “Architecture-Writing,” in *Critical Architecture*, ed. Jane Rendell, special issue of *The Journal of Architecture* 10, no. 3 (June 2005), 255-64; Jane Rendell, “Site-Writing,” in *Transmission: Speaking and Listening*, vol. 4, ed. Sharon Kivland, Jaspar Joseph-Lester and Emma Cocker (Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University, 2005), 169-76; and Jane Rendell, *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism* (London: IB Tauris, 2010). These followed my interest in “artwriting”. See David Carrier, *Artwriting* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1987).
- ²³ Jane Rendell with Adriana Keramida, Povilas Marozas, Mrinal Rammohan, “Site-Writing,” in *Engaged Urbanism: Cities and Methodologies*, ed. Ben Campkin and Gers Duijzing (London: IB Tauris, 2016), 35-44.

Epilogue

As conveners of the pedagogy-themed roundtable session forming the basis for this piece, we arrived to the conversation hungry to learn from others about their insights and experiences with building feminist-oriented architectural teaching, including the strategies and references employed as well as the challenges, or even failures, encountered in the process. We were particularly motivated by our efforts to address the pronounced gender inequity at ETH Zurich, our current institutional home.²⁴ Here, among other things, we are working to introduce an interdepartmental seminar in which feminism, in addition to being our subject matter, is taken up as a method and orientation through which to critically explore architecture in its various aspects, scales, and modes of operation – from design through to technology and construction, history and theory, urbanism and landscape.

In closing, we wish to emphasize that all of these discussions take place in the context of the intensifying financialization of higher education, as reflected in the growing proportion of and competition for private funding, the expectation of wildly accelerated academic production, and the rising influence of the administrative sector. This trend has significant implications for gender-related concerns. Increasingly resembling an extractive economy, the academy measures output (i.e., academic products) in ever more quantified terms. While argued to be somehow objective, metric-based evaluation has been shown, again and again – according to numerous studies on the workplace, including the academic workplace, specifically – to mask, and thereby to perpetuate, gender biases. Again, feminist scholarship has proven especially useful for negotiating these emergent conditions. A recent manifesto on “slow scholarship,” for instance, offers models for a “feminist ethics of care that challenges the accelerated time and elitism of the neoliberal university,” including its “isolating effects and embodied work conditions.”²⁵

Together, this set of short responses to questions about feminist pedagogy in architecture – by young as well as established figures in the field – begins to sketch the outlines of an approach to architectural education rooted in feminist politics as well as to offer possible tools at our disposal for achieving it, from revisionist architectural history to site-specific, community-based spatial projects to gender-centered design studios. In the end, we believe that feminism helps us to critically assess the various structures, superstructures, and everyday practices that shape architecture today, especially in this moment of extreme financialization. Perhaps more importantly, at the level of content, form, and method alike, feminism provides crucial insights into how we might help our students to develop the skills demanded to not only question the inequitable and oppressive powers at play, but also to imagine and produce architecture otherwise.

²⁴ Since 2015, the Parity Group in the Department of Architecture at ETH Zurich, a grassroots initiative established by academic staff and students with which both of us are actively involved, has been confronting the lack of diversity, gender-wise and otherwise, at our institution. To this end, the group has organized two multi-day symposia, titled “Parity Talks”, one each in 2016 and 2017. During these events, we have chaired roundtable discussions about issues of gender in relation to architectural pedagogy as well as practical strategies for implementing gender-sensitive academic policies. See: <http://www.aaa.arch.ethz.ch/parity.html>.

²⁵ Alison Mountz, et. al., “For Slow Scholarship: A Feminist Politics of Resistance through Collective Action in the Neoliberal University,” *ACME: an International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 14, no. 4 (2015): 1236-37.

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The Gender-Eye Approach: Eleven Tales from KTH School of Architecture in Stockholm

Malin Åberg-Wennerholm

This is a story about listening to students, making gender norms visible, and working practically with pedagogical and societal values. It is also about how I, as the new Program Director of KTH School of Architecture in 2014, inherited “problem emails” directed to the former leadership of the school and was told “the students are not happy concerning gender equality within the school.” As an educator, I asked myself, how do women recognize themselves in the education conducted here at our school today? Part of this story is about how I, together with students, started a “Gender Equality Society” and made pamphlets that we distributed to everyone at the KTH School of Architecture workplace. This work went on to the publication of the booklet “Enough is Enough” on architecture and gender equality, which currently serves as our statement of aims. Everything is about developing a Gender-Eye Approach in education.

Working with gender equality in the practice of architectural education, not as a studio project or course subject but within the structure and teaching practices of the institution, is my task as Program Director at the KTH School of Architecture in Stockholm. I wish to share here my experiences, including challenges, in developing methods, tools and rhetorics for advancing a more equal learning environment, and provide external and internal information concerning my work. Let's say the external information is the toothbrush and the internal is the toothpaste and the actual brushing. By this I mean that there is the Swedish law on gender equality, as an instrument, which has to be used to become instrumental. Or that, without both, there will be no clean teeth, no wonderful smile. Regarding the actual brushing, I am referring to all of the actions we – the students, the staff and the school's steering group – made happen in a very conscious approach, knowing that it is not only important to do them but also crucial how you achieve them.

In undertaking this work, there was one door I took care to shut immediately, the one I call the boring "quality discussion door." This door was opened most often by male professors, preferably in front of a huge audience, with the question: "But what about quality? Isn't architecture about quality, not about women or men?" My tactic for shutting that door was to simply answer quickly, "yes exactly," and then smile and move on. Prior to beginning this work, I studied the Swedish law and the KTH regulations stipulating gender equality in order to have something to lean on, since I was "just" an architect and a teacher, without specific knowledge or education within the history or theory of gender studies. I suspect that this fact made the other teachers listen to me.

I started the whole process by introducing what I call a Gender-Eye Approach to the School of Architecture by presenting my own shortcomings in the area of gender equality. I was not just pointing a finger at the other teachers but in fact investigating myself as well, which turned out to be a smart move. From day one, I created a new gender tool, a "50/50 policy," which suggested a representation of 50% men and 50% women among the references used during lectures and tutoring or among invited critics when organizing a critique. I also proposed mandatory gender equality education for all staff at the school, in order to create a platform and common point of reference for these issues. People came to these sessions. They were curious and maybe afraid to miss out on something. In addition to this opportunity for further education, I also started a process of suggesting "Rules for Gender Equality" for our school, which could translate the Swedish law into action. A gender equality action plan had not previously existed here. The rules were produced in a series of workshops with the students in the new "Gender Equality Society," the faculty, the staff, the administration and the management team. I also created forms to conceive action plans and self-evaluations of these actions, on an individual level.

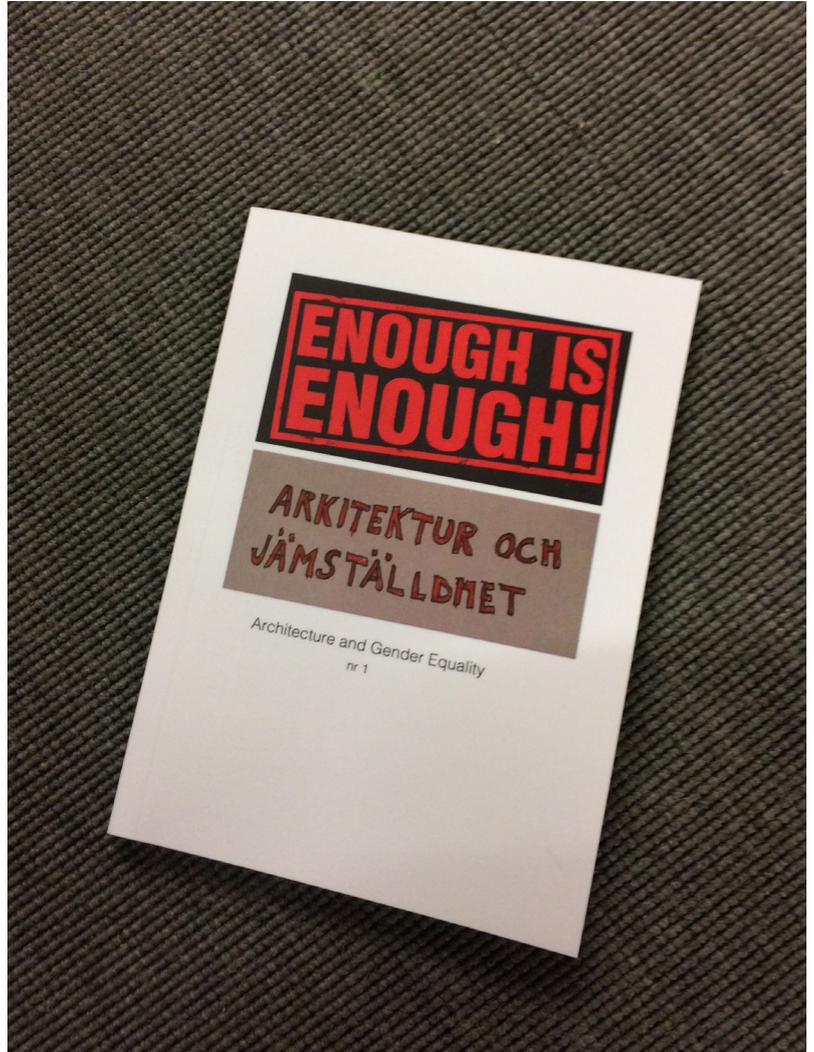


Fig. 1, Fig. 2 and Fig. 3 The Booklet “Enough is Enough”, by Malin Åberg-Wennerholm, 2016; and launch of “Enough is Enough”.

- ¹ KTH's 'Vision 2027' (published 15 December 2011), available online: <https://www.kth.se/vision2027/vision-2027-1.293654> (accessed 20 June 2017).
- ² Ana María Fernández García, "On Women Architects. Looking for a Room of One's Own: On the Visibility of Professional Women and Associationism in Europe," in *MoMoWo. 100 Works in 100 Years: European Women in Architecture and Design, 1918-2018*, ed. Ana María Fernández García, Caterina Franchini, Emilia Garda, and Helena Serazin (Ljubljana and Turin: France Stele Institute of Art History, 2016), 16-21.
- ³ UKÄ, Rapport 2016:16, *Kvinnor och män i högskolan*.
- ⁴ Malin Åberg-Wennerholm, 'Lyssnar för att förbättra,' interview in *Utbildningskatalog 2017/2018*, 14-15. https://www.kth.se/polopoly_fs/1.524991!/KTRN0078_KTH_Utbildningskatalog_HELA_LOW.pdf
- ⁵ Viktoria Kalonaityté, *Normkritisk pedagogik: för den högre utbildningen* (Växjö: Studentlitteratur, 2014).
- ⁶ Malin Åberg-Wennerholm. *Enough is Enough, Architecture and Gender Equality*, nr 1 (Stockholm: KTH, 2016).
- ⁷ Despina Stratigakos, *Where are the Women Architects?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 23.
- ⁸ Katja Grillner, 'Det arkitekturfeministiska genombrottet', *Osqledaren #4* (Stockholm: KTH, 2013/14), 30-33.
- ⁹ Högskolelagen (1992: 1434) §5.
- ¹⁰ HR Department, KTH. Guidelines: Equal terms (2015-11-19).
- ¹¹ KTH, gender equality policy and gender equality plan 'A KTH for everyone', studies and work on equal terms, University Board decision 2003-09-24.

We, as educators, are obliged to make sure that each individual student receives a proper education in relation to her/his own person. This, of course, should not be dependent on a student's sex. We, as educators, must follow the law. We at the School of Architecture want to make a better world, following the Higher Education Law and our internal documents. We are creating an education that is a mirror of a future society, not the face of the society of today. In the policy document for KTH Vision 2027, KTH states that as an institution it is working for a "brighter tomorrow" and that issues of gender and equal opportunity have an obvious role in development activities.¹ Great. In fact, a majority, 51%, of the Swedish architects today, are women.² Likewise, women have become part of architectural education in Sweden; 66% of all the first year Swedish architecture students in year 2014/15 were women.³ Women are welcome in schools of architecture today.⁴ Despite this, "the academy has retained much of its excluding and exclusive character,"⁵ where hierarchies between women and men are still in place. It is clear to me that gender equality in higher education is an issue of fairness for individuals, and about a brighter future for Swedish society.

In my opinion, representation of women alone is not enough to change the male norm: within the School of Architecture we all must change the approach to our education. We must understand that gender conditions our architecture students in the educational space. As educators, we need to explore methods and working materials within this education to create conditions that give our students the same opportunities for development, new knowledge, challenges and the experience of joy, regardless of gender.⁶ Regarding the existing gender imbalance in the architectural discipline, e.g. as demonstrated by the male majority among Pritzker Architecture Prize winners, we, as practitioners and educators, must ask ourselves what determines quality or excellence in architecture. Is quality still measured against the male norm? "Where are the women architects? Students are rarely exposed to the historic roles of women in architecture, whether as builders, clients, or critics."⁷

I propose that feminism in architecture should be not only an option but a conscious focus. It is important that feminist issues are not treated parallel to architecture; they should be central.⁸ What is a "woman architect"? It was helpful to us to start by changing our educational world in line with Swedish law⁹ and the internal documents of KTH.¹⁰ In these documents KTH states, "major efforts are needed to provide the students with role models of both sexes in teaching and course materials."¹¹ Love it. I follow the Gender Equality policy at KTH that states, "As an educational organization, KTH emphasizes the importance of women as role models in teaching and in broadening and updating perspectives on knowledge so that space is given to the experience of both sexes." In other words, we must educate architects who have the ability to work in a culture of

¹² KTH, Development Plan 2013-2017.

¹³ Critical Studies and the FATALE research group at KTH-A, has offered Architecture and Gender courses and have had a feminist-based master's studio for several years. Many of my (mostly female) colleagues have worked explicitly with these issues at the school for a long time which culminated in holding the AHRA Architecture and Feminisms conference in November 2016 at the KTH School of Architecture.

¹⁴ Iris Bohnet. *What Works - Gender Equity by Design* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016).

gender equality, even if society is not equal.¹² This is KTH's official policy; it's neither my private opinion nor my hobby horse.¹³

Swedish higher education is in many respects a model of gender inequality, despite the fact that women and men have formally had equal rights and opportunities in the academic system for some time. My advice is: do not sit back patiently; do not let time run its course! I do not believe that gender equality will happen by itself over time without effort. We need to make gender equality a reality, since "reality by default is biased." A call to action is needed.¹⁴

What pedagogical tools do we have to create conditions that offer students the same opportunities in their education? Are we, as educators, actually curious about all our students regardless of their gender? How do we acknowledge both men and women without unnecessarily emphasizing their gender? These were some of the relevant questions that arose when I began to work with gender equality within the School of Architecture. If we at the School of Architecture understand ourselves as morally and ethically aware, why has so little happened in terms of gender equality over the last hundred years?

As the Program Director, how can I contribute to accelerating change in that culture?

What follows are eleven tales about our gender equality work:

"The Monday caramel," or, "Merry Christmas and Happy New Year"

I already mentioned that I inherited some of the so-called "problem emails" directed to the former leadership of the school, and "The Monday caramel" was such an email. It was sent on a Monday morning, and in a nice tone it encouraged all our teachers to consider gender equality in their teaching. But my personal favorite is the email with the subject line Merry Christmas:

We, the first-year students, like our lectures and lecturers a lot. But we feel that there are too few women who lecture, and that almost all the examples of architecture given in these lectures are the work of men. We have discussed extensively why it's positive that women are properly represented in academia, and we will continue this discussion. What we all, as first year students, have in common is that we would like to see a change towards more gender-equal representation as soon as possible. The future starts now!

Year 1 wishes you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year!

Our gender equality checklist: “5 items on gender equality,” or, Yeah, it is a quality matter

Gender equality is not only about fairness for all but also about obtaining better quality of architecture. It brings variety to the table and in turn, encourages broader and more diverse understandings of the world. If you want to change something, you need to speak with both students and teachers.¹⁵ I drew up this checklist first in co-operation with the students of the “Gender Equality Society” and then it was communicated to our teachers, guest lecturers and guest critics and to all our students and staff. It consists of five items:

¹⁵ bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

Consider what/who you display as a reference, and why.

Consider what/who the image/lecture/review omits and why.

Move outside of your usual network in order to create an equal mix of participants in your activities.

Remember that work towards referring to architects of both sexes is seamless, and avoid “next we have a woman architect”; do it in a natural way without a lot of fuss.

Mention or cite men/women in the same way and remove any unnecessary value words or gender-specific expressions.

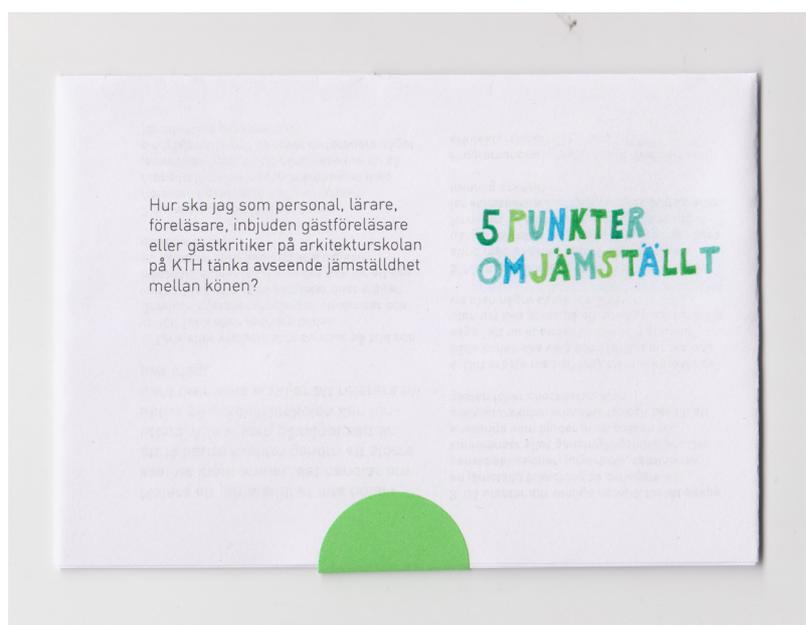


Fig. 4 Pamphlet No 2, by Malin Åberg-Wennerholm, distributed all over KTH School of Architecture, 2015.

We are in the room now, or, Historiography is unfair

Until 1921, a law prevented women from becoming architecture students at The School of Architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology, KTH, in Stockholm.¹⁶ Our program was only open to “young men.” Gender constituted a legal exclusionary instrument against women training as an architect. The first time a woman was allowed to enter architectural education in Sweden was in 1897, when Agnes Magnell, as the first woman student at university level ever, was granted exception and accepted into KTH.¹⁷ What effect has this had on our education? We are here now. We are all welcome under Swedish law.¹⁸ Nice to know. But still, the dominant view is that women have designed fewer buildings than men. Is this really true? For a long time, women have been excluded from the opportunities that existed for men. Likewise, women were seldom considered when history was written.¹⁹ History is shaped by how we describe the past, what is included and what is left out. A glance through existing history books tells us that women architects have not been considered important for the development of architecture. How have ideas of masculinity and femininity, as well as hierarchies of power, expressed themselves, both in the past and our present everyday life?²⁰

“My daughter goes to your School of Architecture,” or, Business as usual

“My daughter goes to your school of architecture,” a male Nordic dean said to another male Nordic dean after having dismissed my talk on “Gender equality within architecture education” with a slightly bored facial expression. “Darling,” I wanted to whisper to him, “this is what I was talking about earlier when you almost nodded off. It’s all about your child. It is all about her right to be treated equally, regardless of her sex. It’s not something that should send you to sleep.”

Within our educational system and our teaching, gender inequality is invisible to most of us because of its constant presence; where gender is perceived as constant as the sea. At the KTH School of Architecture, we have developed a gender-eye approach to our daily business based on our new “Rules for Gender Equality”²¹ and our new “Forms for Gender action and self-evaluation.”²² Now our students and faculty have tools available to them, in order to help reorganize our education from the perspective of gender. I can see very well with my gender-eye. Can you?

Wolf in sheep’s clothing, or, All that glitters is not gold

Some of our faculty have over the years learned to camouflage their ugly feelings when it comes to their stance relative to gender equality in general or to the women working at the school. Many who deny the impact of gender forces in architecture education and practice have understood that

¹⁶ Helena Werner, *Kvinnliga arkitekter- om byggpionjärer och debatterna kring kvinnlig yrkesutövning i Sverige* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2006).

¹⁷ Anna Karlqvist, *Från eftersatt till eftersökt* (Stockholm: Avdelningen för teknik- och vetenskapshistoria: KTH, 1997).

¹⁸ Högscolelagen (1992:1434) §5.

¹⁹ AnnaSara Hammar, ‘Om kvinnors villkor 1600-1800’, *Rötter: En trasslig historia*. Umeå: Kvinnohistoriskt museum, 2014.

²⁰ Caterina Franchini, ‘History Does not Stand in a Single File. 100 Works, 100 Years, 100 Creative Women in Architecture,’ in *MoMoWo. 100 Works in 100 Years: European Women in Architecture and Design, 1918-2018*, ed. Ana María Fernández García, Caterina Franchini, Emilia Garda, and Helena Serazin (Ljubljana and Turin: France Stele Institute of Art History, 2016), 14-15.

²¹ *Internal policy documents for KTH-A* (2015-06-16) and *Program development program concerning sustainable development, KTH-A’s education* (2017-01-20).

²² KTH School of Architecture, forms for gender equality actions and self-evaluation, internal material. KTH-A, 2015.

²³ Despina Stratigakos, *Where are the Women Architects?* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 20.

²⁴ hooks, *Teaching to Transgress*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁶ Gunilla Lundahl, ed., *Byggeforskningsrådet, Kvinnor som banade väg: porträtt av arkitekter* (Stockholm: Formas Byggeforskningsrådet, 1992).

it is not so smart to allow one's gender biases to pop out in broad daylight. Not so good for your career. We need to discuss the importance of actually picking up our own dirty clothes and washing them, not just spraying them with gender-equality perfume to avoid giving them a decent wash; otherwise the "professional gendered borders remain intact."²³

Is it safe to be critical? or, Is your pedagogy radical?

According to bell hooks, in order to create safe learning environments it is important to make a classroom where critical questions about the pedagogical process are allowed. The classroom remains the most radical space of possibility in the academy. Any radical pedagogy must insist that everyone's presence is acknowledged. This insistence must be demonstrated through pedagogical practice. Everyone in the classroom should be able to contribute. These contributions are resources that an open learning community can embrace.²⁴ It's all about pedagogy, right?

As a teacher, it is a fantastic experience to become aware of how your own norms and values affect your teaching and treatment of your students. As a teacher, you need to make visible, problematize and develop the students' performance and be aware of gender myths, so that students can choose according to their own will and their personal interests. Teachers need to watch out so they do not just "exercise power and authority within their mini-kingdom, the classroom" claims bell hooks.²⁵ Your pedagogy is still the issue.

The dangerous single story, or, It is all about references

The term architect, and the idea of architecture, are limited by stereotypes. These shape our thinking. References are important, since they say something about who has created places and buildings, as well as those who may create places and buildings in the future. It is important to broaden and question our choice of references. As Gunilla Lundahl points out, women's experiences have hardly been considered in a profession characterized by patriarchal values, where a similarity sign is set between human and male.²⁶

I call this "the awakening of the educator," which means that with the gender tool I have called the "50/50 policy", all of us are in charge of this high-speed change towards a correct balance regarding attitudes, references and the distribution of power.

I never think about it, or, Watch out for the "neutral" category

For centuries women have been excluded as architects. Some teachers and architects say things like "Well, gender equality doesn't interest me" or "I never think about it." Well hey, that is part of the problem. Architecture schools in most Western countries now have a high representation of

- ²⁷ Amanda Roan and Naomi Stead, 'A "New Institutional" Perspective on Women's Position in Architecture: Considering the Cases of Australia and Sweden.' *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2-3 (2012): 378-98.

women students.²⁷ Working practically with gender equality in the workplace means engaging in a process of change.

In this process, I urge you all to watch out for those individuals, often thought of as "neutral," who dismiss gender-related issues. Be aware that showing an active disinterest is definitely also a form of involvement. You will recognize them because they are quietly or loudly engaged on the surface, but they do nothing to improve the situation below the eyelevel.

The "Gender-eye approach" in everyday life, or, "Just not *this* woman"

In which ways do we, as university teachers in architecture schools, interact with the students and with each other? The effects of gender inequality can be seen in everyday life, and it is in those situations that changes must be made. More than half of our students risk being deprived of the opportunity to develop their courage and initiative. And having knowledge of gender is not enough; we all participate in a "gender drama" every day. To keep an eye on yourself, your unconscious behaviour and the role you play in this drama is necessary, difficult and fun.

Statements such as "I don't mind women as leaders of something, but just not *this* woman," are a tell-tale sign. Do listen to yourself. History as we know it is often about the male architect as genius. Women are rarely afforded the same role. Especially the role of the genius. Although there are women in architecture, the huge white fluffy cloud called "homosocial culture" tries to make us all blind.²⁸

Even a small needle hurts, or, Fresh stuff

Many men and women are quick to dismiss the problems of gender, but gender matters everywhere in the world. The school of architecture's mission used to be to educate men.²⁹ Now we must teach our students differently, both our male and our female students. It is exciting to study critical pedagogical practices in architectural education that engage in the world in order to change it. "Critical pedagogy is concerned with how a society re-produces its school systems. Highlighting the politics of the everyday, critical pedagogy unravels and critiques the experiences of the students and teachers as they find themselves in asymmetrical relations of power, tempered by class, race, gender, ethnicity and others."³⁰ If you are a teacher and you suspect that your colleague treats a student unfairly because of the person's sex, then raise your voice and comment on it.

Creating posters of gender inequality experiences, or, How are you doing?

We, The Gender Equality Society, were creating posters from our personal

- ²⁸ Boel Berner, 'Crossing Boundaries, Building Bridges: Comparing the History of Women Engineers, 1870s-1990s' *Technology and Culture* 43, no. 1 (2002): 175-177.

- ²⁹ Thomas A. Dutton, 'Introduction: Architectural Education, Postmodernism, and Critical Pedagogy,' in *Voices in Architectural Education, Cultural Politics and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 1991), xv-xxix.

experiences of gender inequality at the school. We put up the posters all over the school and called on both teachers and students to share their experiences concerning gender equality within education. The posters featured phrases like “The teachers expect a gold medal as soon as they mention an architect that is a woman,” or “My teaching colleague is always explaining what I just said,” and they were put up all over the school. Notably, by early the next morning all of the 35 A2 posters had been torn down.³¹ It was an aggressive act.

³¹ This happened during the night of March 30, 2017, but only a few days later the Gender Equality Society had already replaced all of the A2 posters.

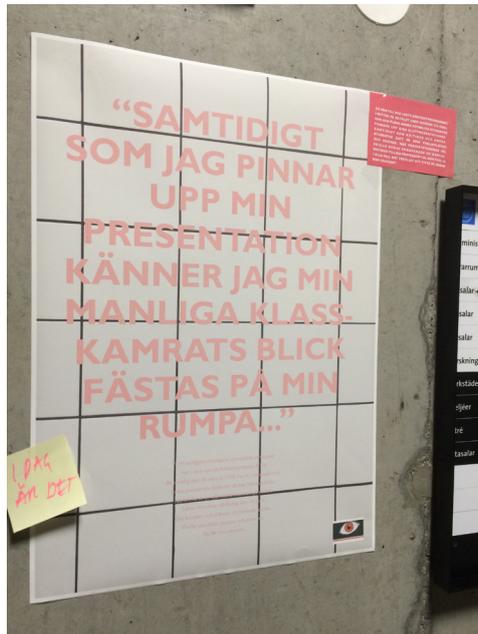


Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 Examples of posters made by a student group together with the author, The Gender Equality Society, 2017.

We arranged a special event where we inaugurated a mailbox, and forms to fill in and post there. We emptied it two weeks later, and I would like to share with you some of the comments submitted: “Somehow you attract ‘help’ from your male student colleagues without asking for it when building or doing something ‘handy’.” “When male teachers become mates with my male classmates but hardly say hello to me.” “When male lecturers show projects by women but do not remember their names.” “Female teachers do more work but get less attention.” “Our male teacher’s joke takes more space than our female teacher’s criticism at pinups.” “It is always the guys who present when there is group work.” “Our male teachers arrive late and then take over.” “Once when we were having presentations of architectural projects in the studio, a guy who did not belong to the group interrupted the girl who was presenting to tell ‘how it really is’. The studio teachers let him go on.” “I feel that there is a high level of awareness about the problem of gender equality at school and yet at the same time problems persist.”

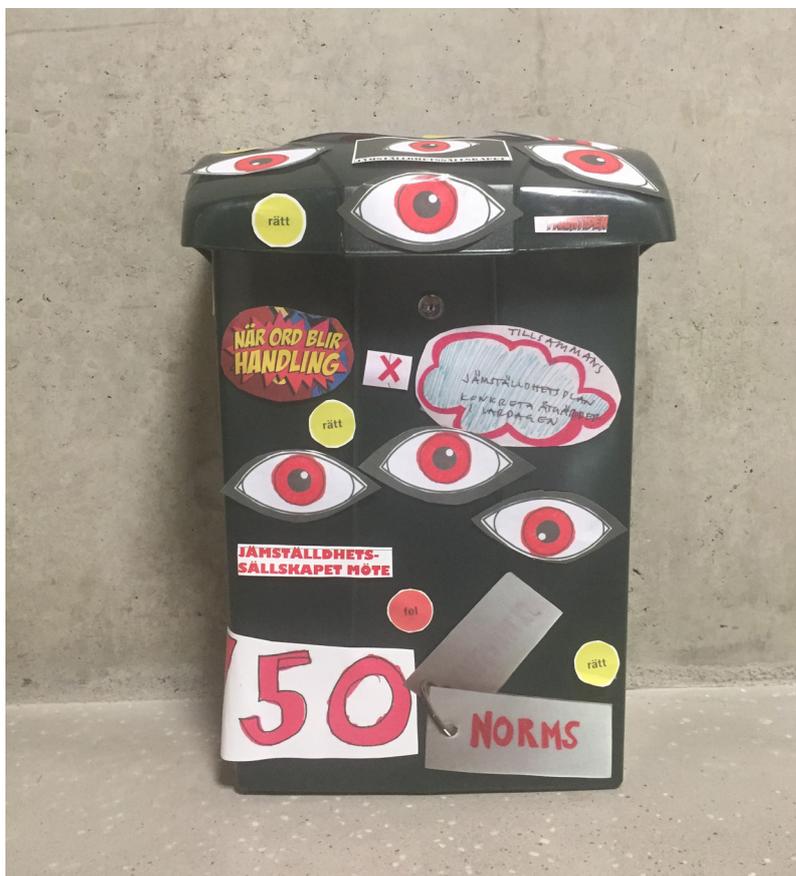


Fig. 7 The mailbox which was installed in the entrance of the School of Architecture to collect students' and teachers' experiences of gender (in)equality within education, 2017.

³² Biennale Architettura, "Meetings on Architecture," May 28, Biennale Channel Youtube, published May 31, 2016.

³³ 'Reporting from which Front? Aravenas sexist opening panel', May 28, 2016, Blog *Die Architektin, women+architecture/women in architecture*.

³⁴ Jill Julius Matthews. *Good and Mad Women: The Historical Construction of Femininity in Twentieth-century Australia* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1984).

³⁵ Iris Bohnet, *What Works*.

Is there more to see? or, Welcome to a better world

At the opening panel of the Architecture Biennale 2016 in Venice and the first "Meeting on Architecture," a popular dish we can call "Eight architects on stage" is served.³² What these chosen 'outstanding' architects all have in common is the fact that they are male.³³ Hmm. This order based on our sex is called gender structure or gender order.³⁴

A common and popular misconception is that "women need to become better at building networks and supporting other women." I do not believe so. Women do not need to become better at anything. It is the men who need to become better at opening up to others than their own sex. Deal? We must admit that unconscious biases exist in each one of us. Unconscious bias holds us back and changing people's minds has proven to be difficult. By de-biasing organizations instead of individuals, we can make smart changes that have a big impact at low cost.³⁵ This is about running a school of architecture, in not only a fairer way, but with regard to improving quality. Welcome to a better world!

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TAKING PLACE 8: INTERSTITIAL BREAKFAST

Making Space for Questions about Architecture and Feminism

Teresa Hoskyns and Katie Lloyd Thomas with **taking place** (Jos Boys, Julia Dwyer, Helen Stratford).

Images by Sue Ridge

In November 2001, exactly 15 years before the *Architecture & Feminisms* conference in Stockholm, the feminist spatial practice group **taking place** had organized ‘**taking place 2**’ at the University of North London. We invited 100 guests – mostly women - to the architecture school and brought domestic ‘supporting’ activities into the front-of-house and spaces of presentation. We started the day with a shared breakfast.

The themes of *Architecture & Feminisms* remain central to the work each of us continue to do, and many of the group who had been involved with **taking place 2** were already making individual contributions to the conference. We used the opportunity to re-visit our conversations and to extend them to others at this new event. We asked conference delegates, ‘What are the relevant questions for architecture and feminism today?’ On the second morning, before paper sessions began, we gathered together with delegates over breakfast to discuss their questions, recording comments on tablecloths as we talked and ate.

At *Architecture & Feminisms* in November 2016 the feminist spatial practice group **taking place** convened an early morning ‘interstitial breakfast’ in the main lecture hall, ‘stealing the early morning’ before the conference proper started for the day. Together with conference organisers and volunteers we provided refreshments and remade the space by placing chairs around cabaret tables, dressing and laying the tables for the breakfast (see figure 1). We supplied tablecloths we had designed with printed questions for discussion, provided by conference delegates in response to ‘What are the relevant questions for architecture and feminism today?’ (see figure 2, Table Arrangement by Helen Stratford) and left pens for recording the thoughts and conversation that followed between conference participants who joined us. Each of us gave a short introduction, talking about the group’s work together and the questions which concerned us. Extracts of these individual reflections are included in the text which follows. The tables and annotated cloths were left in place for most of the day, altering the space and allowing the questions and written contributions to be viewed and added to by others as they listened to presentations. Later, we hung them on the wall and exhibited them for the rest of the conference.

¹ For the group’s CV and more details about the range of our projects together see www.takingplace.org.uk. For a more detailed contextualization of the group’s development and early activities see, Teresa Hoskyns and Doina Petrescu (and other mixed voices), ‘taking place and altering it’, in *Altering Practices: Feminist politics and poetics of space*, ed. Doina Petrescu (London: Routledge 2007), 15-38.

² **taking place 2** ‘Women and Spatial Practice’ (University of North London, November 2001). See Helen Stratford (with Teresa Hoskyns and Katie Lloyd Thomas), ‘taking place 2’, *Scroope 14*, 2002.

³ **taking place 3** ‘A 3 day Feminist School of Architecture’ (Sheffield University, September 2002).

⁴ **taking place 4** ‘Becoming Space’ (Living Art Museum, Reykjavik, October 2003).

⁵ **taking place 5** ‘Technologien im Raum’ (Schloss Solitude, Stuttgart, March 2005).

⁶ **taking place 6** ‘The Other Side of Waiting’ (Homerton Hospital, Hackney, 2007 -2011). For more on this long-term participatory art project in the Mother and Baby Unit at Homerton Hospital see; Katie Lloyd Thomas and **taking place**, ‘the other side of waiting’, *Feminist Review 93* (2009): 122-127; Julia Dwyer, ‘Inscription as a collective practice: **taking place** and “The Other Side of Waiting”’, in *The Design Collective: An Approach to Practice*, ed. Harriet Edquist and Laurene Vaughan (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 35-53.

⁷ **taking place 7** was a performative intervention at *Sexuate Subjects* (University College London, December 2010).

taking place 8: Interstitial Breakfast is the most recent of a series of events and longer term projects that the group has collaborated on since 2000, in a variety of sites and configurations of people.¹ As Helen explained in her biographical introduction at the start of the event:

“The **taking place** group began in 2000 with the view to creating a larger celebratory event, the process towards this event, the becoming, has been key, evolving into a multiplicity of connections, practices and processes, opening up questions around feminist spatial practices. Through a series of private workshops, public events and public art projects **taking place** has developed a collaborative methodology where projects are created out of differences between individuals, disciplines, participants, audiences and ourselves. From challenging the male hierarchies of the architecture school, in the Universities of North London² and Sheffield³ through performative practices to feminist conversations and encounters with technology in arts institutions, Living Art Museum, Reykjavik⁴ and Akademie Schloss Solitude, Stuttgart,⁵ to working in material ways with the highly gendered site of a new Perinatal Centre, Homerton Hospital Hackney, London,⁶ **taking place** has consistently tried to avoid unitary positions, manifestos or hierarchical ways of organizing. Instead, **taking place** has changed and adapted in size, composition and different states of becoming.”⁷

Interstitial Breakfast was also a re-making of part of our first public event, **taking place 2**, which had happened exactly 15 years before



Fig. 1 Photo: Sue Ridge

the *Architecture & Feminisms* conference. At **taking place 2** we invited 100 guests to spend the day with us at the architecture school at University of North London (UNL) (November 22-23, 2001) and started the morning with a breakfast. Repeating that event in a new context, 15 years on, recalls the first opening out of our private conversations over croissants and coffee; it allows for reflection upon changes – personal, contextual and in the field of feminist practice - across the intervening years, and is also another iteration in our own working method.

Eating Together

Before **taking place 2**, we had been coming together privately for over a year, organizing meetings around sharing food, discussion and our individual practices.⁸ At the public event at UNL, we retained this focus, while bringing domestic ‘supporting’ activities that are usually hidden (from coat-check, to washing-up and lunch preparation) into the front-of-house and spaces of presentation. Teresa described that first **taking place** breakfast event:

“As part of **taking place 2** at UNL 2001, we organised our first breakfast with the idea that at this kind of event people like talking as much as listening. A lot of the interesting

⁸ **taking place 1** private workshops (University of East London, 2000).

taking place Interstitial Breakfast: November 18 2016 8:00 – 9:00

In 2001 the art/architecture collective taking place hosted a breakfast at the University of North London posing our own questions about architecture and feminism. Exactly 15 years later we asked Architecture & Feminisms delegates what are the relevant questions for architecture and feminism today?

We invite you to discuss them over breakfast.

www.takingplace.org.uk

Why do we keep having to relearn our past?

How are feminist principles manifested in built works of architecture?

How can we best address the generational differences between definitions of & attitudes toward the word "feminism" so that it may be a word that joins, rather than separates, all ages?

How can the role of feminine playful spaces contribute to developing new forms of representation in waste urban spaces?

How do we reconstruct a legacy of women working in architecture? How do we make them more visible and present in our discourse about architecture? How do we make their concerns heard?

What are the ways in which architecture as a discipline participates in intersectionality, or the multiple frameworks of identity at play in the social field? Is that a term that our discipline is specially equipped to handle or is it woefully limited in that regard?

Can feminism survive resource conflicts?

What is the framework for sexual ethics in a socio-cultural environment that can interrogate gender equity, privilege and heteronormativity?

How do women redefine their practice?

How can feminist thought approach and improve current housing and make it more socially inclusive?

If we want to correct the underrepresentation of women in architecture's most visible practices, how do we avoid adopting masculine norms of success as guidelines for women's attitudes in the workplace?

Women Architects are often not mentioned in literature concerning architectural history and/or theory. If they are mentioned than often in passing or as collaborators and wives of male architects. Should it be a goal to 'rewrite' such history books towards a more inclusive history of architecture or are such books obsolete?

[Are there] Feminine ways of occupying urban space?

Although feminist scholars have greatly increased their work, it does not flow to practitioners or to the public in a way that has caught on. How to integrate feminism and architecture needs persuasive arguments and activism to compete in a profession with many challenges.

How can we carve out a space in practice where there is room for analyses of power structures, and how they play out in the spaces we create?

How can the architect reclaim a role where we can contribute to a socially and environmentally sustainable society?

How can we move away from a situation where we are passive executioners of commissions from the builders, and take a more active role in what spaces we create, building more inclusive societies that we can actually be proud of?!

'[Architectural and feminist theory, arguably] has shifted from oppositional dichotomies to include and embrace a spectrum of differences.' (Hilde Heynen and Gwendolen Wright) Is this the case today, and if so, what might this diversity mean for architecture and feminism?

How does architecture address the need for 'situatedness' in an increasingly mobile and networked world?

How can we move towards a situation when city planning and architecture is based on the idea of an inclusive and sustainable society, where the initiative comes from the town planning office and not from builders looking to maximize their profit?

How can we challenge the fundamental male dominance in the building industry (that is, as the architecture profession becomes more gender balanced, the building industry at large is characterised by inertia and non-transparent structures), and what could be the result of a balanced field of practice and production?

How is a feminist architecture to develop responsible and caring approaches to transforming/making the world in such a way that it will welcome and host all living beings and all existing, imaginable and still-to-be-invented forms of life?

Is a nomadic feminist practice that actually affirms different notions of spatiality and subjectivities possible within architectural practice?

There is an urgent need for "rethinking the social in architecture" in late modernistic housing areas. In relationship to that I'm interested in posing the question of how feministic city planning could develop a method not only involving the citizens in social pre-studies, but bringing the process further into the design- and conventional planning phase?

There is a need for new types of social places that could change the public sphere, that in many examples are dominated by men - but certainly not are attractive to women.

Women do not have time to spend in public; they are occupied in domestic life. Is it possible to create 'hybrid' spaces with another type of necessary activities, taking more important roles in everyday life in comparison to cafés, shops etc.? One example is Stepwells in India. Could we mix playgrounds with restaurants, laundry with cafés? Or could we take this spatial challenge even further? Could a method be developed to give a strong motif that collaboration between feminism and architecture generates an important tool for "rethinking the social in architecture"?

Simply: How to and why make feminism a mainstream topic in architecture?

How can feminism continue to affect our everyday practice and ethics within architecture?

Is it about the articulation of difference (feminist spaces, practices, etc), or is it about equal rights?

How do we engage those who consider Feminist issues totally irrelevant to Architecture?

How should we raise the question of social and environmental justice to become a mainstream political objective?

Is there a sexual specificity in relation to space?

How can feminism, within and about, architecture engage effectively with our politically unstable times?

Do public planning need feminist separatist groups so change the norm? To exclude to be able to include?

How does the privatisation and neo liberalisation of universities impact on feminist teaching and research in architecture schools?

As our society shifts in values, how do you address the patriarchal nature of much of the pre existing built environment?

To what extent is it possible/desirable for tools and modes of practice informed by feminist theory in architecture to find space within mainstream structures?

In which context and scale is it possible to act and who can make supply decisions?

How could the concerns of feminism be infiltrated in the conceptualisation of architecture, as an active component of the discipline but without its differentiation as activism?

How to implement feminist work practices and research into the architectural profession?

How can we improve wages and childcare support for women in the profession to ensure more women are able to develop their careers in architecture?

Fig. 2 Table Arrangement by Helen Stratford

work that happens in conferences can be the conversations in the corridors and over lunch. The first shared meal and discussion was a breakfast over prepared questions with comments recorded on tablecloths as visitors talked and ate. The breakfast room then formed the setting for the following lectures. At the time questions of public space and public art were high on the agenda. Questions included, ‘why is public art commonplace in feminist practice? To what extent is public art representation and how can we go further?’”

“The performative methods of **taking place** have been literally to ‘take a place’ for the discussion of feminist theory and practice in architecture schools and other institutions by re-inventing, re-arranging and performing space. (see figure 3) The questions themselves act as a critical method to produce discursive spaces. On returning from the Alterities conference (Paris, 1999), Katie and I co-ordinated a regular meeting of the group Women Architects For Equal Representation (WAFER) asking the question: ‘What does a feminist architecture look like?’ Inspired by the Alterities conference, our aim was to move the discussion at WAFER from women’s rights in the architectural profession to the question of sexual difference in architectural design. My question today is, how can feminists maintain a critical position in universities in the context of the ongoing privatisation?”

Sharing food together has continued to be central to the way we work together in private and in public. The carefully set and choreographed meal is a recurring meal in feminist work, from Judy Chicago’s lavish ornamental *The Dinner Party* to the feast-based events of the Swedish feminist practice FATALE whose work we first encountered at the conference *Sexuate Subjects* following **taking place 7**, our own performance about our project ‘The Other Side of Waiting’.⁹ Prior to Interstitial Breakfast much discussion went into the breakfast menu between the conference organisers and **taking place** members, and the process of buying and preparing food involved many of the conference volunteers and participants. (see figure 4)

Menu

Coffee (unlimited)

Water (ditto)

A variety of fikabröds (sweet Swedish pastries that accompany coffee)

Knäckebröd (crisp flat unleavened rye bread)

Swedish cheese, sliced fine

Clementines

Sweets: liquorice torpedos (sugar coated liquorice)

Chocolate and sugar coated almonds

⁹ **taking place 7** was a performative intervention at *Sexuate Subjects* (University College London, December 2010). For more on FATALE’s work which has run in parallel alongside our own, see Meike Schalk, Brady Burroughs, Katja Grillner and Katarina Bonnevier, ‘FATALE Critical Studies in Architecture’, *Nordic Journal of Architecture* 2 (2011): 90-96; Katja Grillner ‘Design research and critical transformations: Situating thought, projecting action’, in *Design Research in Architecture*, ed. Murray Fraser (London: Ashgate, 2013).



Fig. 3 Photo: Sue Ridge



Fig. 4 Photo: Sue Ridge

As Julia commented:

“I am convinced that the sensual nature of eating is and has been really important to some of our interventions. I think too that what was noteworthy about TP8 was how the physiological effect of having so much sugar and coffee first thing played out during the conference that day alongside the more enduring effect of having those conversations in that setting.”

Questions

Our contribution to ‘Feminism Is On the Agenda’ at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) in London, 2008, was also organised around food and discussion, and around putting a series of questions to participants. There our questions included: ‘What is feminist critical practice?’ ‘What is the relationship between art and architecture in a feminist approach?’

‘What is the relationship between authorship and feminism in art and architecture?’ ‘What is particular about feminism in the context of other kinds of socially engaged political and critical practices?’

¹⁰ For an excellent collection of reflections on gender in and around mainstream architectural practice and pedagogy see Ruth Morrow, Harriet Harriss, James Benedict Brown and James Soane, eds., *A Gendered Profession: The question of representation in space making* (London, RIBA Publications, 2016).

¹¹ See <http://archiparlour.org> (accessed 08.10.2017).

¹² See <http://architexx.org> (accessed 08.10.2017).

¹³ For examples of feminist practices in architecture see two excellent collections; Lori A. Brown, ed., *Feminist Practices Interdisciplinary Approaches to Women in Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2011); Meike Schalk, Thérèse Kristiansson, and Ramia Mazé, eds., *Feminist Futures of Spatial Practice: Materialisms, Activisms, Dialogues, Pedagogies, Projections* (Baunach: Spurbuch Verlag, 2017.)

At each of these events, the kinds of questions we ask and the concerns we have are informed by developments in feminist theory and practice, and there have been significant changes in the years since we organised **taking place 2**, as well as countless returns to the same problems. Particularly notable is the degree to which feminism – at least in so far as it concerns the equal representation of women in practice - has become a concern for the mainstream architectural profession. In the US *The Architectural Review* and in the UK *The Architects Journal* both host an annual ‘Women in Architecture’ award.¹⁰ They recognise women’s achievements within the profession without asking how their presence, or indeed how feminist values, ethics and ways of working might challenge it. More importantly, the past decade has seen the emergence of internationally known activist groups such as Parlour¹¹ in Australia and ArchiteXX¹² in the US who, through research, communication and campaigns, take a more critical stance on the status quo and provide spaces that allow for re-imaginings of the discipline whilst still operating within it. And since we started opening our discussions to the public and exploring methods such as temporary spatial intervention and participation, it has been invigorating to see so many innovative groups and practices bringing similar ways of working to sites outside the academy and the arts institution in many regions of the world.¹³

In this sense, as Teresa put it:

“By repeating the breakfast here at *Architecture & Feminisms* in 2016 we are taking the opportunity to use the conference as a research tool to re-examine positions of architecture and feminism fifteen years later.”

At the same time we recognise that it is not just the context in which we work that has changed, but also our own subjectivities and positions, as Katie described:

“None of our lives and ‘positions’ are the same as they were 15 years ago. Our careers have changed, some of us have children or care for others, or deal with health issues. In short, a young intergenerational group has become an older one. I’m particularly interested today, amidst many generations of women and men, in how these changes affect our feminism and our relationship to space – from the margins to more of a centre; from powerlessness to sometimes having some power; from ‘nomadism’ to ‘tied-to-one-place-ism’? Are our feminisms ‘out-of-date’? Which feminism fits us? If life changes doesn’t our relation to space change too?”

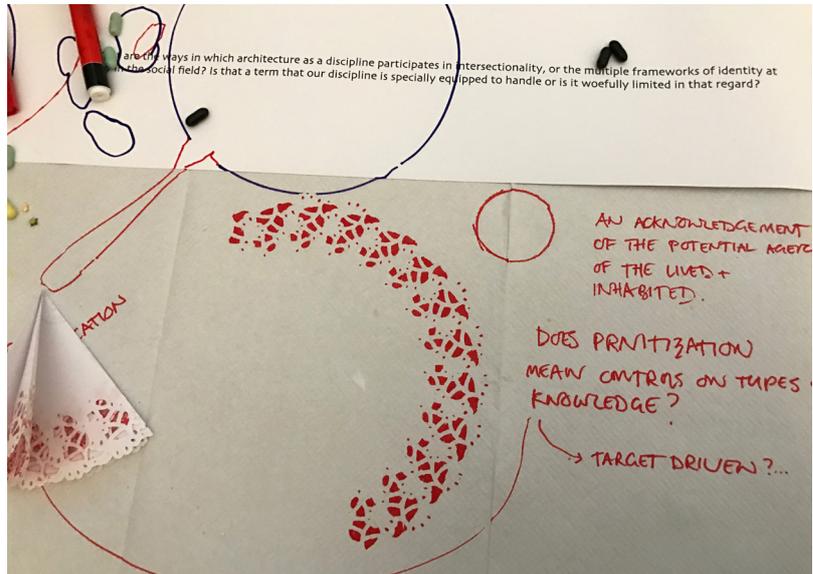


Fig. 7 Photo: Sue Ridge

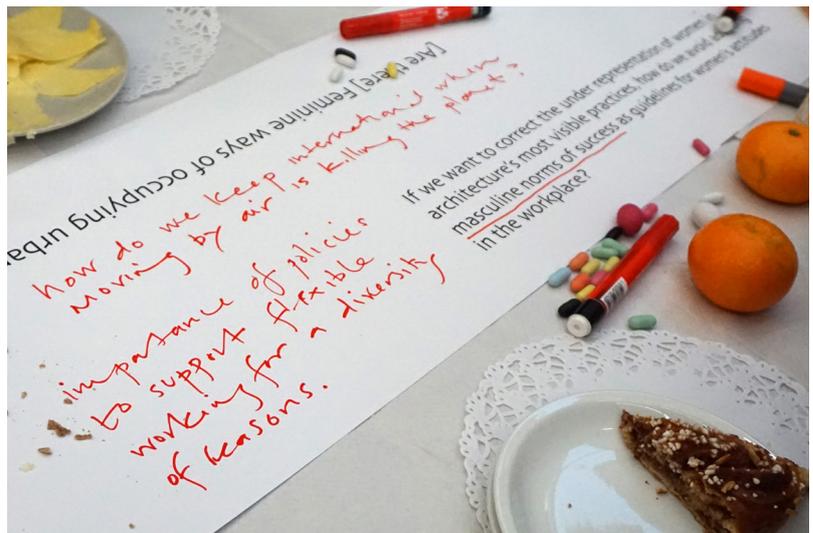


Fig. 8 Photo: Sue Ridge

Within the packed schedule of *Architecture & Feminisms taking place* opened up a generous space of dialogue, and came together again over food with conference participants to discuss key questions for today. The questions were submitted by the conference participants themselves during registration and were printed on table liners and placed onto paper tablecloths as part of the table dressing (see figure 5). During the breakfast we found that many of the questions and concerns from fifteen years ago remain.... Questions about how to address the under representation of women in architectural practice... questions of childcare and working conditions...(see figure 6). One table asked: 'what does feminist architecture look like? and can we have a feminist space?' in response to the question 'Do we need separatist groups to change the norm?' (see figure 6). The question, 'why do we keep having to relearn our past?' implied that

feminism and architecture is not necessarily progressing. Other questions reflected grave political concerns: 'how can feminism, within and about, architecture engage effectively with our politically unstable times?' 'Can feminism survive resource conflicts?' 'How can feminist teaching survive the on-going privatisation of universities and the marketization of knowledge?' (see figure 7) A difference from 15 years ago was that women were not discussing public commissions and how to make work in the public realm. There was instead a kind of new urgency in the feminist practice discussion that was placed more in the realm of activism, action and basic women's rights. Questions about the environment and climate change were also on the agenda and the question of: 'how do we keep international when moving by air travel is killing the planet?' led to discussions about creating a virtual feminist space. (see figure 8)

Difference

Whilst we hoped that the breakfast would allow some of the conference's key questions and concerns to be voiced and recorded on the tablecloths, our intervention at *Architecture & Feminisms* was also intended to provide a space in which a collective event could emerge out of the differences between the individuals participating in it. The question of difference has been central to our work as **taking place** and has tended to manifest through structures where each member produces individual work within a collective project. We have each used **taking place** in different ways as a platform for exploring our own ideas and about feminism and space. However our methods have been shared and so has the core concept, that place can be taken through feminist spatial practice. As Katie put it,

"We have been, from the start, an intergenerational group. Julia was part of Matrix (the UK's first feminist architectural co-operative/collective?), Teresa started out in construction, before coming into architecture, and I heard of Jos when I was an undergraduate and she was already writing about women, architecture and space. Helen and I met through studying Jane Rendell's ground-breaking gender and space module (and Jane has been a member of the group too, along with many others...). We always had shared questions about feminist spatial practice although we approached them from very different backgrounds, perspectives and theoretical frameworks. Difference was a source of stimulation for us – a means to generate work from a variety of positions."

As Jos explained:

"I wanted to explore a bit more a central idea of **taking place** from the beginning, the aim of starting from difference: what that means and how you do it. This idea has led us to a process and

a method. Events and other projects are generated from the concerns of, and responses to, a specific situation by individual **taking place** members (with who and how also a fluid coming together, dependent on circumstances). Collaboration and design development comes out of an entangled combination of these responses, but does not try to unify or make consistent the various perspectives or proposed engagements.”

“I have found this a very powerful and resonant mode of operation. It feels like a positive moving on from some aspects of second wave feminism, replacing oppositional positions and demands for certainty with a model of change that works through the accumulation of many small and partial actions. In the current political moment, though, as many groups find themselves under attack (refugees and asylum seekers; benefit ‘scroungers’ and the disabled) we need to make sure that starting from difference does not just reside in the particular trajectories of individual women. We need to also challenge our own positions of privilege, and think more about starting from differences that are not just ours.”

The potential of opening a space such as Interstitial Breakfast within a packed conference schedule, may not be so much the identification of common concerns and purpose to be taken forward at the event itself, but instead as Julia put it, in the new actions and collaborations which emerge out of these fragmentary interactions as participants return to their lives outside the event:

“Conferences have a (slow) potential to empower: **taking place** was hugely enabled by the participation of many of its then only loosely connected members in the Alterities conference in Paris in June 1999, which provided, as does this event, spaces in which feminist theory and practice could be explored; but also where the foundations of future collaborations and working relationships were laid.”

“Therefore **taking place** here builds on an aspect of this conference, shaped as it is in part by activism, which is its latency, wherein its participants seize on the opportunities it provides to generate new actions, often collaborative, that are not only enacted in academic spaces.”

“Breakfasting together while simultaneously discussing what we all have identified as the underlying issues of the conference creates memorable interactions, often quite sharp and truthful, which endure, to be disseminated later in our other places of work and action.” (see figure 9)



Fig. 9 Photo: Sue Ridge

Ultimately, then, the breakfast was just one of many multiple and momentary events and encounters at *Architecture & Feminisms*, one that we hope continues to accumulate towards crucial social and professional change around gender and architectural practice.

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**“We don’t have leaders!
We’re doing it ourselves!”:
Squatting, Feminism and
Built Environment Activism
in 1970s London.**

Christine Wall

The Feminist Design Collective, which later became the feminist architecture practice and discussion group Matrix, was founded by a group of women architects in London in 1978. It aimed to develop a feminist approach to all aspects of architectural production and also to wider built environment issues. A significant number of founder members were living in squats or short-life housing in response to a housing crisis, which emerged in the late 1960s, and as political statement against housing inequality. By the mid-1970s London housed over 30,000 squatters, the majority in nineteenth century terraces owned by local authorities and earmarked either for demolition or rehabilitation, and which became vacant during prolonged planning and funding negotiations. In the 1980s squatting became regulated by a number of progressive Inner London Authorities as a way of mediating housing shortage and small grants were made available to organised groups of squatters for repairs. These large numbers of squatters were connected in what Vasudevan (2017) has termed ‘a radical urban social movement’. This paper uses oral history testimony to reveal a link between squatting, which allowed women to directly engage with and shape the physical fabric of their housing, and the emergence of feminist architectural theories and practice in late twentieth century Britain.

Introduction

Squatting has long been a response to both housing need and social injustice. Defined as an occupation of property or land without legal claim it is a global phenomenon typified by shanty towns and settlements; from favelas in Rio to tent cities in the U.S.¹ Historically, in Britain it is exemplified in the Communist Party organised squats in London of the late 1940s when homeless ex-servicemen and their families took over abandoned army camps and empty central London properties in protest at inadequate council housing provision.²

Figure 1, dating from 1951, graphically summarises the extent of London's post-war housing problems. It illustrates vast swathes of war damaged, inadequate and outdated housing earmarked for slum clearance throughout the inner city.³ These areas understandably coincide with the main areas of Inner London where squatting became prevalent. Throughout the 1960s thousands of properties built before 1915, mainly Victorian terraces, and deemed 'unfit' were scheduled for demolition and emptied of their occupants, boarded up by local councils and, in some cases, deliberately vandalised to prevent re-occupation. At the same time a succession of grandiose London plans were published, aiming to restructure the city into zones and build new housing for the working classes in the form of flats.⁴ However, post-war reconstruction plans were slow to materialise, council house waiting lists became hopelessly long and the squatting movement that appeared in London in the late 1960s arose as a direct response to housing need among young people and families.⁵ Not surprisingly, the vast numbers of empty council owned properties across inner London became the sites for direct action, as squatting not only provided homes but also highlighted the inadequate housing policies of many local councils.

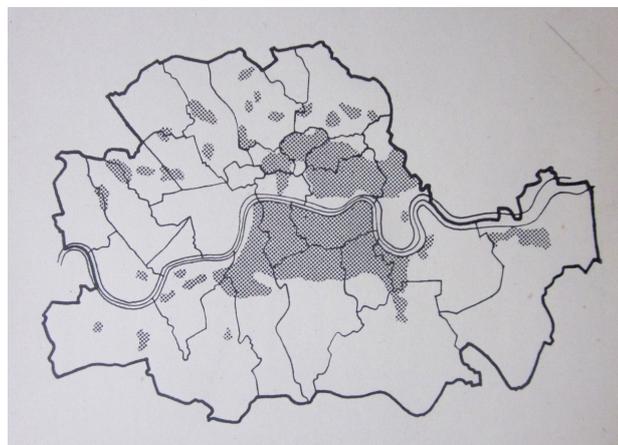


Fig. 1 Areas containing a substantial amount of war damaged, slum or obsolescent property. Source: Administrative County of London Development Plan 1951, reproduced with permission from the London Metropolitan Archives

¹ See Alexander Vasudevan, *The Autonomous City* (London, New York: Verso Books, 2017) for an excellent overview.

² James Hinton, "Self-help and Socialism The Squatters' Movement of 1946," *History Workshop Journal*, 25 (1988): 100-126.

³ *Administrative County of London Development Plan 1951*, London County Council, 33.

⁴ The key document for reconstruction was J.H. Forshaw, and Patrick Abercrombie's 1943, *The County of London Plan*, followed by frequent revisions and iterations such as above and the *Greater London Development Plan. Report of Studies, 1969*, Greater London Council together with plans put forward by individual boroughs.

⁵ See Ron Bailey, *The Squatters* (London: Penguin books, 1973).

⁶ One of the best accounts of squatting in this period is found in Nick Wates and Christian Wolmar, eds. *Squatting: The Real Story* (London: Bay Leaf Books, 1980); and Nick Wates, *The Battle for Tolmers Square* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012). See also, Kesia Reeve, "Squatting since 1945: The Enduring Relevance of Material Need," in *Housing and Social Policy: Contemporary Themes and Critical Perspectives*, ed. Peter Somerville and Nigel Springings (London: Routledge, 2005), 197-217.

⁷ The genesis of feminist architects and architectural practices in the UK is not yet fully documented but existing accounts can be found in Susan Francis, "Women's Design Collective," *Heresies* 11, *Women in Architecture* (1971): 17; Janie Grote, "Matrix: A Radical Approach to Architecture," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 9, No. 2 (1992): 158-168; Julia Dwyer and Anne Thorne, "Evaluating Matrix – Notes from Inside the Collective," and *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*, ed. Doina Petrescu (London and New York: Routledge, 2007): 39-56; Matrix, ed., *Making space: Women and the Man-made Environment* (London: Pluto Press, 1984). Fran Bradshaw, a founder member of Matrix together with Anne Thorne and Sue Francis, gives an account of the early days of feminist architectural groupings and practice in her chapter, "Working with Women" in *Making Space: Women and the Man-made Environment*, ed. Matrix (organization) (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 89-106.

⁸ The extracts used here are from transcripts of author interviews in London with Jos Boys on 5th February 2017, and with Julia Dwyer on 15th February 2017.

⁹ For a full account of this community campaign which resulted in Brian Anson losing his job as an architect with the Greater London Council (GLC) see Brian Anson, *I'll Fight You for It!: Behind the Struggle for Covent Garden* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1981).

The movement was largely run on left libertarian and anarchist lines although there was very effective communication between different communities of squatters with local groups producing newsletters and, in 1975, the Advisory Service for Squatters setting up an office in Islington to provide London-wide, legal and practical advice.⁶ While squatting developed as a grassroots and spontaneous response to housing need at a local level, it was also inextricably part of the radical social and political movements of the 1960s and 1970s. To squat is a political act with a range of meanings including challenging ownership of property, the process of capitalist development, the gentrification of areas of the city, and inadequate and unfair housing policies. A number of young squatters hailed from London's architecture schools, where radical and political critiques of architecture and city planning were taught in units at the AA and the Bartlett, known then as the School of Environmental Studies. By 1975 the New Architecture Movement, a loose coalition of students, architects and other built environment activists, were publishing SLATE magazine, a forum for spirited discussions on the social and political role of architects and architecture under capitalism. By the late 1970s a number of women from NAM began to meet separately to pursue an explicitly feminist agenda. They organised conferences and exhibitions resulting in the formation of the Feminist Design Collective, which later split into the feminist architecture practice and discussion group Matrix.⁷

Squatting as a way of life

The following section is based on extracts from interviews recorded with two women, Jos Boys and Julia Dwyer, both educated as architects and who were active in feminist groups working on architecture and the built environment in the 1970s and 80s.⁸

Both women recounted the radicalising experience of being architecture students in the 1970s, Julia studied at the AA in 1977-78 where she met Sue Francis in Tom Wooley and Hugo Hinsley's Diploma Unit. Jos studied architecture at the Bartlett 1974-77 at a time when students were allowed to choose a modular degree and opt out of RIBA Part 1. Urban planning was taught by lecturers involved with community based action groups, and while still a student Jos joined a group of friends and students squatting in Covent Garden in central London. They occupied one of a number of large Georgian houses in Long Acre and James Street, which had been deliberately damaged by developers hoping to demolish the whole block and re-build at higher densities. An earlier campaign, led by the activist architect and AA unit leader Brian Anson, had succeeded in stopping major demolition and new road building but developers were still hovering.⁹ While the squatters objected to the desecration of these architectural significant properties they were primarily attempting to maintain a vibrant, mixed community within an historic area of central London in the face of profit-driven developers. An abandoned warehouse and a number of terraced houses became home to a mix of around 90

¹⁰ By the late 1970s many London borough councils were formalizing squatting, partly as a means to ease the housing crisis, by issuing licenses allowing a household to legally live in an empty property until reclaimed by the council. This usually involved paying a very low rent.

¹¹ See Jos Boys, "Is there a Feminist Analysis of Architecture?" *Built Environment* 10, No. 1, *Women and the Environment* (1984): 25-34.

¹² Stephen E. Hunt, *The Revolutionary Urbanism of Street Farm: Eco-anarchism, Architecture and Alternative Technology in the 1970s*. 1st. (Bristol: Tangent Books, 2014).

young people for two years. Many people involved with the squat were also involved in NAM and other revolutionary groups as well as there being a substantial number of drug users, alcoholics and homeless people. Jos remembers it as being very rough and ready and 'not all salubrious' but the rooms were large, beautifully proportioned and sparsely furnished with the ubiquitous, wooden pallets and mattresses – a staple of squatted interiors. From Covent Garden she moved to a licensed squat in a nineteenth century terraced street in Islington.¹⁰ Here she lived for five years in a communal household consisting of two adjacent houses linked by a common, self-built 'conservatory' connecting the rear living rooms. The household again was mixed with architects, painters and builders but functioned in a manner far more comfortable and domestic scale than the large squats of Covent Garden. Upon gaining her degree Jos had trained as an architectural journalist with *Building Design* and used office-space in a group of studios in Dryden Street (around the corner from the squat and itself an early example of collective offices). From this base she free-lanced and was, for a time in the 1980s, the feminist architecture correspondent for both *Marxism Today* and the *Architects' Journal*, as well as writing and publishing longer academic articles on feminist architecture.¹¹ This office also served as a meeting space for the Feminist Design Collective:

"Squatting meant that I had access to this other space that was free and was very easy to rent, and so we used to have our meetings there, and Matrix, both the practice and the book, grew out of it."

Jos Boys

Julia Dwyer also studied architecture at university in Sydney, during a radical period in the early 1970s when Colin James was a tutor. She remembers James' involvement with aboriginal housing projects and a number of hands-on projects including a third year project to build an autonomous house with a group of 15 students. After graduating and travelling through Africa for a year, Julia arrived in London and went to the AA where a large noticeboard held an invitation for people to join a squat. This resulted in a brief encounter with Graham Caine and the Street Farmers, a collective of AA tutors experimenting with urban eco-living in south London. Julia heard about nearby squats at St. Agnes Place at a community-run print shop on the Camberwell Road.¹² St. Agnes Place was a street of mid-nineteenth century terraced houses earmarked for demolition by Lambeth Council in order to create a park. The squats were started by a group of stone carvers and sculptors, all students at the City and Guilds School in Kennington Road, and rapidly expanded as the Council proceeded to evict its existing tenants to clear the street. The squatters soon became a highly organised group, which included lawyers, architects, journalists, artists, builders, and at one end of the street a group of three houses squatted by a group of Rastafarians.

Julia remembers her house as architecturally 'dull' and not as grand as the nearby Villa Road squats but it was in quite good repair. Her household made one major architectural alteration by knocking down the dividing wall to open up the basement rooms. When the brick cross wall was found to be load bearing, imminent collapse was averted by scavenging an RSJ from a nearby building site and propping it up with acrows, a type of adjustable steel prop. These were left in situ and later bricked up. Julia was working on an unemployment scheme as a plasterer labourer at the time and was introduced to bricklaying by a fellow squatter who came to help with the acrows an experience that led to her taking a course in basic bricklaying at Brixton College of Building.

Lambeth Council owned St. Agnes Place and, in the early 1970s, employed a confrontational approach to squatters. They refused to negotiate or agree to licenses and demolished or partly destroyed houses immediately after council tenants vacated them, in order to discourage squatters. Julia recounted how one of the houses in the street had already been partly destroyed by council workmen who had sawn out all the floor joists causing the collapse of three floors. This enraged the squatting community and Julia was part of a voluntary workforce of 20-30 people who cleared out all the rubble and repaired the house so it was again habitable.



Fig. 3 Save St. Agnes Place logo, which appeared on all campaigning literature. Source: Julia Dwyer

THE ONLY REGULAR LONDON WIDE SQUATTING NEWS
14 Road St 525, Phone - 701 7644 (DE)
209-8514 (N) & Advisory Service for Squatters, 2
St Pauls Rd 1011, 226-5162 (DE) & SAC Funds.
SAC Bank is Nat West Lanchester St no 2
40-40-011 2330. Make a Standing Order
WE HAVE LARGE DEBIT!

SQUATTERS ACTION COUNCIL NEWSHEET 19 5p
Tue 9 Nov 1976

HOMES & JOBS NOT EVICTIONS & LAYOFFS MARCH AGAINST CUTS WED NOV 17

Next SAC meeting
Sun 14 Nov. Adams Arms Pub, Conway St, W1. (Tube - Warren St, Goodge St.)
Note change of meeting place - pass it on - and be clear. There was a lot of important matters to discuss, including:
* Mobilisation for 17 Nov & Report of LRC Conference, 13 Nov.
* Villa Rd St Agnes Place United Action Front: Sunday Times
* Meeting Tour of squats (SAC/SSACT/SL)
* Student squatting campaign
* Pushing the pamphlet and inquiry into media line.
* Conference Working Group/CACTI, Conference
* Other reports from across the region.
* Money - Bring some!!!! Please!!!!

SCORES OF THOUSANDS will be on the streets on Nov. 17. There will be strike action all over the country.
Homes and Jobs, not evictions and lay-offs! - For a Crash Programme of Repairs and Home-building' will be the slogan on the SAC banner.
It will be in the front of a truly large squatters contingent on the march against the cuts.
YOU will (!) be there and show squatters are fighting the cuts not causing the housing problem - to help sell the paper SAC pamphlet (reprinted with pictures) - "Squatting - What's It All About?" - to give out leaflets - to carry placards.
SPREAD THE MESSAGE!
That way we can build the bridges that we must make to get support for squatting. No-one will do it for us.
It is more vital now than ever. The Government will announce at the postponed "Queen's" speech on Nov. 24 whether it intends to bring in the Criminal Damage Bill. If squatting is demystified the Government cannot use it as a cover for the Bill. So we have to take action, there are no short cuts!
SMASH THE SOCIAL CON-TRICK
The Labour Party National Executive Committee are backing the march. That's excellent, but what do they do about the Social Contract which caused the cuts and the dole queues in the first place? The Social Contract must be smashed by strikes and demonstrations. Squatters - "children of the housing crisis" - should say they fight for an ongoing joint action alliance of Public Service Trade Unions and all victims of the cuts.
WHAT TO DO
* Come along on Nov. 17 and get a group together in your area squatting group to mobilise people! Bring banners and make placards!
* Get a representative to the London Regional Conference Against the Cuts on 13 Nov (Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, 10am Conference brochure and materials - LRC, Ravenshoe Lodge, Delrow St, E1 7PG (041).
* Contact SAC (701-7644/350 8914) for a speaker for your area in the SAC/SSACT/SL speaking tour of squatting groups and colleges, and for supplies of pamphlets and newsletters.
MARCH - 1.30 Hyde Park 17 Nov. LOBBY PARLIAMENT RALLY AT CONWAY HALL

St Agnes Place squatters hitting home their message through posters and graffiti. Now the article has moved forward to occupation.

St Agnes Place & Villa Rd United Action HOUSING DEPARTMENT OCCUPIED - COUNCIL TALKS AGAIN!

LAMBETH COUNCIL'S first floor "Housing" office was occupied and picketed in a united action by scores of St Agnes Place, Villa Road, and other squatters on Wednesday 20 October.
The joint action - one of many more to come - forced Lambeth Council to agree, with media backing on, to start talks with St Agnes Place Squatters on Wed 3 November.
This is just like in the summer when a number of similar occupations forced the Council to negotiate with Villa Road.
ENQUIRY USED AS A PLATFORM
The day after the occupation another huge wall struck against the Council by an organised squatters protest which turned the Public Enquiry of 21-28

October about the closure of Villa Rd into a public exposure of the Council's policies.
At the 3 November meeting with the Council 40 squatters - including representatives of St Agnes Place, Villa Road, Lambeth Self Help Housing and Squatters Action Council denounced the Council's intransigent attitude to the question "How can the Council take responsibility for demolishing 40 houses, 24 of which are listed in news, when the other 16 don't even have a planning permission? The four Council representatives were Cllr North (Chairman of "Housing" Committee), Mr Anderson (Assistant Director of Housing) and the two new councillors Thompson and Quinn. They didn't have any contributing answers. North tried to deny there was an anti-squatting

Fig.2 SAC Newsheet 9 November 1976. Source: Julia Dwyer

"We don't have leaders! We're doing it ourselves!" Christine Wall

Throughout the 1970s Lambeth Council had over 10,000 people on its housing waiting list and Julia was part of a well-organised local squatting group, the All-Lambeth Squatters Group, which published a newsletter and attended Housing Committee meetings to protest council policy. One of the defining moments of the 10 years she spent living at St. Agnes Place occurred early on when, in 1976, the Council attempted to totally demolish a row of houses they had already partly destroyed in a deliberate strategy to undermine the squatters' case for saving the whole street as housing. On a cold, dark, January morning the squatters awoke to find hundreds of police surrounding the houses and protecting a large crane with a wrecking ball while builders were digging up the street to cut off gas and water supplies. Julia remembered it vividly,

“So, police had cut the street off at either end, and they were all the way along the roads, and they were coming in the back and we could see these little stars, and you’d think, “What are those stars?” and they were the tops of bobbies’ helmets.”

Julia Dwyer

She recalled that demolition started in the centre of the street but the activists mobilised quickly,

“...we had already got wind that they were going to do something and had contacted our lawyers who worked for Brixton Law Centre and who lived next-door, the ones with the phone, and they’d already organised a meeting with a QC, and also with North Lambeth Law Centre, who were planning experts. The QC got a judge in chambers, by about 9.30, to block any further action because he said the Council was acting beyond its powers, ultra vires...”¹³

Julia Dwyer

¹³ QC, or Queen’s Counsel is a mark of excellence awarded to either solicitors or barristers for their work in the higher courts. *ultra vires* is a legal term meaning to act beyond one’s powers used particularly in the case of a corporation, in this case Lambeth Council.

In the meantime a photographer from nearby Union Place community print shop had taken a series of superb pictures of the ensuing confrontation between squatters from the street, their numbers boosted by squatters from other nearby areas, and the police. Encounters between police and women and children were photographed as well as the rooftop protests of squatters who had installed themselves by roping their bodies to the chimney stacks. These photographs appeared over the next few days, in both left wing and mainstream press, in accounts of the struggle at St. Agnes Place that supported the squatters and slammed the policies of Lambeth’s Housing Committee. Although this positive coverage resulted in a halt to any further harassment of the residents of St. Agnes Place the council did not support long-term rehabilitation of the street. Some short-life funding was made available to the co-operative formed by the occupants but the street continued to physically deteriorate over the years until most of the houses were finally demolished in 2007.



Fig. 4 Photo of squatters Charlie and Julia, St Agnes Place. *Newsline*, 25 Jan 1977. Source: Julia Dwyer

Housing activism was integral to the life of a very political street, which housed members of left revolutionary parties such as Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) as well as non-aligned socialists and feminists. Most of the households lived communally and Julia's operated on the basis of income sharing after it became a women-only house in the 1980s.



Fig. 5 St. Agnes Place 1978. Image Copyright Dr Neil Clifton and licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic Licence

Feminism and squatting

For those individuals who lived as squatters, and if they had the means to do so, squatting opened a world of possibilities in terms of how to live outside traditional and conventional mores. However maintaining this way of living collectively, at both household and street level, entailed many meetings and discussions to achieve group consensus, and it was this experience that Julia valued as vitally important for her coterminous work as a feminist architect. Throughout the years spent squatting Julia carried

“We don't have leaders! We're doing it ourselves!” Christine Wall

on her career as an architect, training at the AA, working in the non-hierarchical and equal pay architectural practice SOLON, and becoming part of the feminist, architectural co-operative Matrix. She recognised that feminism had always underpinned her politics:

“Well, I think it’s integral to thinking about the world. So, if you’re an architect, then it becomes integral to thinking about the built environment. I think it’s that really – it’s just a worldview ... The first thing that interested me was of course the idea of breaking down barriers with builders and doing things in a much more integrated way.”

Julia Dwyer

She considered the experience of squatting had enhanced her practice as a feminist architect,

“I think some of the things that you do, if you’re organised as a squatter, is [that] you become really good at meetings, with incredibly different opinions and really different people who aren’t all one class. ... organising in a self-generating way was absolutely core to the whole thing. You’re doing it because it’s the right thing to do - that pervaded early squatting... It’s those kinds of things, plus the ‘just doing’ is that sort of confidence around wanting to make the houses better, really hating the way they were.”

In a similar way Jos recognised that squatting provided an alternative community and way of living in opposition to the traditional values and gender relations of conventional, heterosexual nuclear families. Reshaping Victorian terraced housing to fit a communal lifestyle ruptured the physical fabric of houses originally designed to reflect patriarchal and hierarchical social relations. Jos reflected that squatting enabled women to,

“... negotiate our relationship with the built environment in a much more immediate way and that included recognising and claiming spaces that didn’t belong to us, that had been taken from us, and recognising that that was a basic unfairness of capitalism - the way that space is bought and sold, and that you could use your own bodies to do something about that.”

“... it was that brilliant coming together of something that I needed to do, as a kind of escape or a change or seeing other ways of living than the way I’d been brought up, and something that I felt really committed to politically.”

“I think that, for me, the big thing about squatting is it absolutely hits that intersection between trying to live different ways as a person, and not being quite sure what those were, but seeing those things as important, and the politics of it, the really key politics of it, of ... the moment.”

By the 1980s many inner London boroughs recognised squatted communities as a legitimate, if temporary, form of occupation and the granting of small sums of money sufficient to repair houses allowed a great number of short-life housing co-operatives to thrive. One of these groups included a number of young architects who had met at the AA and who decided to design and build their own collective house using mainly recycled materials in the renovation of two derelict workshops behind a row of houses on the edge of Islington. Two of the architects involved, Mary-Lou Arscott and Susan Francis, had both trained in carpentry and joinery and worked alongside other tradeswomen invited by the collective to work on different parts of the project. Most of the tradeswomen involved were also squatters. I was one of them.



Fig. 6 Architects Mary-Lou Arscott and Susan Francis, one of the founder members of Matrix, setting out a floor plate. Photograph used with permission of Susan Francis

Feminist process and practice

By the early 1980s I counted myself lucky to have trained on two government-funded, industrial courses in carpentry and joinery and woodworking machinery. I spent some time working with Susan Francis on the collective house, laying floors and making door linings. I remember her approach to work was a world away from the rough and ready carpentry usual to squats and other temporary housing. Sue worked with a care and precision that assumed a future for her construction and she was eventually proved right. Her house still stands, but she did not know this as she coated screws in soap, to make it easier to change the floor if necessary, before fixing sheets of ply to the underlying joists. We worked methodically and slower than I was used to, but that enabled us to talk, as well as produce a better quality finish. Sue told me about her involvement with Matrix and also about a new access course to encourage more women to study architecture that was starting at North London Polytechnic. These conversations were instrumental to me joining the access course a few years later where I began five years of architectural education and was taught by Susan Francis, Jos Boys and Julia Dwyer among others. After recently beginning a project on the history of my own squatting community in Hackney, and a renewed awareness of how the ways in which we physically and spatially shaped our environment were integral to the way we lived our feminist politics, these interviews expanded to include the experiences of architect squatters.¹⁴ Squatting shaped many future careers in built environment professions and trades as well as academia. When it came to interviewing Jos and Julia, our common ages, shared experiences and political perspectives made the interviews at times conversational and generally, eased the oral history encounter. I circulated transcripts of the recordings and subsequent drafts of this article for comments and amendments, which were returned swiftly and duly incorporated into the text. This process of collective working was once the norm for all three of us and hopefully the final text demonstrates this 'shared authority'.¹⁵

There is not space in an introductory article of this short length to expand on the theoretical connections between squatting and the emergence of feminist architectural practice but these links exist and need further exploration and analysis. The most obvious connection is found in the aim of the Feminist Design Collective to collapse the barriers between designers and builders, an aim with historical antecedents in the Arts and Crafts movement, which had some success in squats but it was, and remains, difficult to translate into the wider construction industry. Grassroots activism and direct action implicit in squatting informed the work of feminist designers and planners aiming to improve and mediate a built environment understood as 'man-made' through designs foregrounding women as users.¹⁶ The constant need for meetings, and consensus, between squatters in order to protect and maintain their housing against the threats of eviction became a forging ground for later design work with community groups. Most importantly,

¹⁴ Some of this earlier research is now published and downloadable in the article Christine Wall, "Sisterhood and Squatting in the 1970s: Feminism, Housing and Urban Change in Hackney," *History Workshop Journal* 83, No. 1 (2017): 79-97. doi: 10.1093/hwj/dbx024.

¹⁵ Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: Suny Press, 1990).

- ¹⁶ See Jane Rendell's overview of feminist architectural practice and theory, "Tendencies and Trajectories: Feminist Approaches," in *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. C. Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns and Hilde Heynen (London: SAGE, 2012), 85. This approach is epitomised by the 1980s work of Matrix and the design guides published by the Women's Design Service.

urban squatting in London of the 1970s enabled a generation of feminist women to engage directly with the built environment: to shape it and adapt it at the level of the household and the community. Julia's phrase 'just doing' contains the kernel of the confidence gained from acting, and in some ways, a turning away from abstract theory to concrete achievements. This physical interaction with the materiality of housing, the bricks, timber, wiring, roofing and internal and external spaces, was also a direct engagement with the city. For these women squatting not only enabled them to determine the terms of how they wished to live but was also their claim to a right to the city and was fundamental to emerging practices of feminist architecture.

Acknowledgements: This paper is a direct result of the engaging and encouraging audience response to a paper on squatting originally delivered at the AHRA 2016 Conference, Architecture and Feminisms, in Stockholm. The title quote is taken from Julia Dwyer's interview and I am indebted to both Julia and Jos Boys for agreeing to be interviewed about their memories of squatting in 1970s and 80s London. Transcriptions were enabled with the help of a grant from the University of Westminster's Strategic Research Fund as part of an ongoing project to create an oral history record of feminist women squatters who lived in the London in the 1970s and 1980s.

Dedicated to the memory of Susan Francis 1952-2017

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Parlour: The First Five Years

Naomi Stead, Gill Matthewson, Justine Clark, and Karen Burns

Parlour: women, equity, architecture is a group whose name derives from a rather subversive feminist take on the 'parlour' as the room in a house traditionally used for receiving and conversing with visitors. In its first five years, Parlour has grown from a scholarly research project into an activist group with an international reach, but a localised approach to working through issues of equity and diversity in architecture. This paper is a lightly edited version of a keynote 'lecture' given jointly by four of the key members of the Parlour collective.

¹ Please note that the order of authors' names are listed by the order in which we spoke – as opposed to a hierarchical account of importance or contribution.

Some readers may be familiar with the work of the activist group *Parlour: women, equity, architecture*.¹ Some might even know the origins of our name: a rather subversive feminist take on the 'parlour' as the room in a house traditionally used for receiving and conversing with visitors. The name itself derives from the French *parler* – to speak – hence, a space to speak. But even if you knew these things, you might *not* realize that what has become an internationally recognized activist organization, working towards greater gender equity in the architecture profession, began its existence as a scholarly research project.

This paper is a lightly edited version of a keynote 'lecture' given jointly by four of the key members of the Parlour collective. It begins with Naomi Stead recounting some of the pre-history of the original research project, which forms a preamble for Gill Matthewson to discuss the research for her PhD, which formed the core of that project. In turn, Justine Clark discusses the Parlour website (which she edits) and a range of other events and initiatives associated with it, and finally Karen Burns, feminist theorist extraordinaire, concludes.

As a collective, we each bring our own distinct knowledge, interests, skills, and approaches to the pursuit of gender equity in architecture. So while we share many demographic similarities, we are constantly reminded of, and challenged by, the *differences* within the Parlour collective. We see these divergences as a benefit: each of us has different strengths and weaknesses and negotiating these is one of the trials, the pleasures, and the possibilities of working together. In a small way we illustrate the advantages of diversity in any undertaking, and this strengthens our efforts as we set out on the next five years of advocating for equity in architecture.



Fig. 1 Keynote Panel of the conference "Architecture and Feminisms," Stockholm, November 17, 2016: "Parlour: Women, Architecture, Activism." From left to right: Lori Brown (chair), Parlour (Justine Clark, Gill Matthewson, Naomi Stead, Karen Burns). Photo: Björn Ehrlemark.

Naomi Stead – In the beginning, a research project

First, some history. In the summer of 2009, I had just taken up a new, research-only position in the School of Architecture at the University of Queensland. It was an exciting time: a moment to begin grand projects (without, perhaps, realizing just how much work would be involved).

One obvious research project suggested itself, although the circumstances were sorrowful. In the early years of the new millennium Paula Whitman, then teaching at the Queensland University of Technology, undertook an important study, published in 2005 as *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession*.² After that, Whitman fell ill and then, sadly, died in 2006 – leaving her important but still essentially preliminary research incomplete. By 2009, and despite the *Going Places* report having included numerous specific and practical suggestions for change towards greater gender equity, years had passed and few of these recommendations had been enacted. I wondered why that was, and how it could be different.

In fact, it transpired that in Australian architecture there was a long history of commissioning and then ignoring reports on gender equity, a lineage of research and policy ideas left to gather dust. The challenge then was to find a way beyond such impasses and obstacles: a way to extend and expand Whitman's research work, in a project that focused not only on abstract knowledge, but also both assisting, and *insisting* on action on gender equity.

It seemed that there was space for a project that brought together the intellectual power of feminist architecture theory with an agenda to set ideas and research to work – not just to understand the dynamics of the situation for women working in architecture in historic contexts, but also to actively seek to change such dynamics.

This would be an activist project, but clandestinely so: a Trojan horse of impeccably respectable scholarship, which could be wheeled into the architectural establishment, whereupon the feminists would all come pouring out.

The team to make this happen was fairly clear: Justine Clark had been editor of the national journal of record for architecture for a decade, and was an amazingly effective person with one foot in academia and the other in media. Karen Burns was indisputably the leading feminist architectural thinker in Australia. The other members of the team were some of the most highly respected, senior women academics in architecture in Australia. The group was rounded out with the interdisciplinary expertise of scholars from political science and business. At that time, we didn't yet have Gill Matthewson – we had a Gill-shaped space, in the form of a PhD scholarship, and she was later to prove the perfect candidate for that position, and integral to the project.

² Paula Whitman. *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005).

This was a team that not only had the interdisciplinary expertise, but also the track record and credibility, to actually be funded by the Australian Research Council. This seemingly minor detail is actually crucial, since the project as a whole has been characterized by a kind of strategic pragmatism, using whatever powers and resources are at hand, to do what it could, however it could. And what we needed, to begin with, was money – enough to do it properly, enough to be taken seriously.

The vehicle was the Australian Research Council Industry Linkage scheme, which seeks to solve industry-specific problems through co-funding between private and public sectors. For this, we needed industry partners, and duly signed up three large architecture practices, a media company, and the Australian Institute of Architects itself.

Activating the research

So, we applied for the grant, and we got the money.³ Now, stay with me as we rush forward three years, to recap the overall findings of the project.⁴ They are, on the whole, staggeringly unsurprising. They reflect earlier findings in Canada and the UK, and indeed Whitman's own findings in the Australian context.

The findings are, broadly speaking, that women are under-represented in architecture in Australia, and that this is particularly apparent at senior levels. We found that the proportion of female graduates is close to parity, but women are not advancing in proportionate numbers, furthermore that women architects tend to follow 'atypical' career paths, with women tending to leave, step sideways, or not return from a break. Women tend not be credentialed in the same way as men in the industry: twice as many women are active in architecture as are registered. There is clear evidence of gender-based pay inequity, while architects working part-time are frequently sidelined. Overall, we found that while low pay, long hours, and difficulty in reconciling professional and family life are also problems for men in architecture, they impact in different, specific, and compounded ways for women in the profession.

So far, so familiar: it is not the *findings* of our research that have been striking. It is the way we have been able to *mobilize* these findings, and translate them into effective action. For a variety of reasons (some to do with the people involved, the resources leveraged, a certain visual and rhetorical style, the ripe historic moment, the growing influence of the internet, sheer luck), this project has been able to 'cut through' in the way that others, in the past, have not.

So, what have we actually done, during the life of the project? My colleagues will shortly address some of these initiatives, but let me briefly summarize them as a kind of introduction: we have produced a gender

³ Naomi Stead, Julie Willis, Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, Gillian Whitehouse, Susan Savage, Justine Clark, Karen Burns, and Amanda Roan, "Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work, and Leadership (2011–2014)" (Australian Research Council Linkage Project LP100200107, 2010).

⁴ Naomi Stead, ed. "Dossier: The State of Gender Equity," commissioned section reporting on findings for the "Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work and Leadership" project, *Architecture Australia* (Sept/Oct 2014): 53–69.

⁵ Gill Matthewson, “Dimensions of Gender: Women’s Careers in the Australian Architecture Profession” (PhD diss., University of Queensland, 2015).

⁶ See Parlour for details on these: <http://archiparlour.org/>

equity policy for the Australian Institute of Architects, and a multiple award-winning web interface and online community. Gill Matthewson has produced a highly commended PhD (soon to be a book),⁵ which includes the most comprehensive statistical picture ever produced of women’s involvement in architecture in Australia. We have run an international conference, staged numerous industry events of our own, spoken at even more numerous events staged by others, curated an exhibition, and almost won the creative directorship of the Australian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale.⁶ We have written scholarly essays, reports, and discussion papers, and run two major industry surveys. We have produced eleven Guides to Equitable Practice, which are now widely used worldwide, and we have founded an incorporated association – the activist collective that is Parlour.

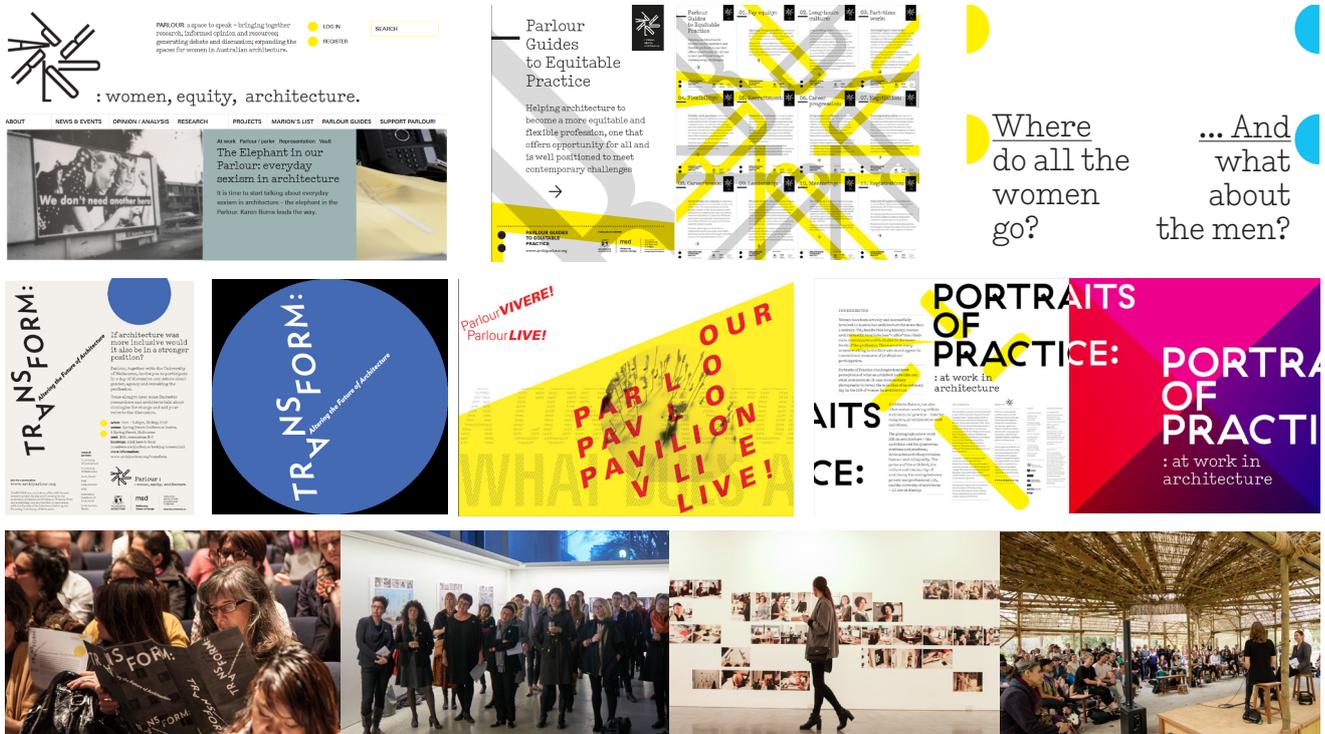


Fig. 2 Overview of Parlour events. By Parlour.

But most of all, we have (re)started a conversation about gender, and feminism, and fair work practices, in architecture in Australia, by setting out the terms and concepts for a constructive, critical, frank discussion about gender equity.

Gill Matthewson’s research has been instrumental here: *demonstrating* that there are systemic, structural, gendered patterns in employment in architecture in Australia. Her evidence, especially when presented visually, has proven to be the most powerful rhetorical instrument in the project. Here, she takes up the story.

Gill Matthewson – The importance and the limits of numbers

I became the self-proclaimed ‘numbers nerd’ for the project. This was, in part, because I encountered resistance when I began the interviews with architects that formed the main part of my research, both for the larger project and for my PhD thesis. Architects seemed to think there just wasn’t a problem, because there seemed to be equal numbers of men and women in architecture school and in offices. As one put it: “I’ve never been in an architectural environment dominated by men.”⁷

⁷ All interview quotes in this section from Matthewson, “Dimensions of Gender.”

Others said that there were really much better topics for me to be researching, such as the marginalization of architects within the construction industry. This was a common theme in the interviews, but the position we have taken in the project is that gender inequality is both a symptom and an indication of other issues and problems in the profession.

When I pointed out that there were very few senior women in the firms of my interviewees, they tended to find this mysterious, but explained it by saying either that they didn’t have the women to start with, or women did not persevere. Many believed firmly that there was no larger story about gender bias. However, one senior woman noted:

It’s very bizarre, because up until this point, I’ve been surrounded by women who were brilliant. And suddenly, they’re not there! That’s one of the things that mystifies me. It’s like if I can do this, there’s half a dozen women that I know that can do this too.

Even so, as mysterious as the lack of senior women was, gender was assumed to not be the problem; architecture was seen to be gender-neutral. So I, and the project more broadly, needed to make inequity visible, and some form of statistical analysis is a good way to do this. Numbers help articulate broad patterns that can only be seen when everybody is counted. They are perhaps the most convincing tool available to those advocating for gender equity.

First, we considered some historical data, which showed growth in the number of women participating in the profession. The proportion of female graduates of architecture schools in Australia grew from just 10% in the 1970s to being consistently over 40% since the mid-1990s.⁸ In Australia (and some other countries) architects are required to undergo further study and work experience in order to become registered or licensed, and there has also been growth in the numbers of women registered architects relative to the population. From the 1920s, when registration began, there have always been women architects in Australia, but their numbers have grown rapidly in the last couple of decades. By 2012, women made up 22% of registered architects.

⁸ All Australian statistics in this section from Matthewson, “Dimensions of Gender.” Also see Stead, “Dossier.”

That information generates the most common comparison when talking about women in architecture in Anglo-American countries: the appallingly wide gap between the percentage of women graduating, and the percentage of registered architects. In Australia in 2012, women were 44% of graduates but only 22% of those who were registered. Those figures are replicated in other English-speaking countries with similar registration regimes: in New Zealand the figures were 53% and 18.5%; in the UK, 43% and 21.5%, and in the USA 44% and 19%.⁹

⁹ New Zealand Registered Architects Board, “Annual Reports” (NZRAB, 2013); Royal Institute of British Architects, RIBA Education Statistics 2013–2014 (RIBA, 2015); UK Architects Registration Board, “Annual Report” (UKARB, 2015); Despina Stratigakos, *Where are the Women Architects?* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2016), 21, 26.

These figures are striking, but in the project we also wanted to produce the most comprehensive picture of women’s participation in the profession. We derived data from *Architecture Schools of Australasia, 1988–2015*, an annual combined register of architects; obtained membership data of the Australian Institute of Architects; and, finally, we purchased data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics Census of Population and Housing for the occupation code Architect (ANZSCO 232111).

All this information is summarized in one of our key diagrams, which we refer to as the ‘circle diagram.’ Here, the larger the solid-color bubble, the greater the participation of women in that category. The scale from left to right shows roles and positions of increasing seniority, so the most senior roles are to the right, and they are noticeably much smaller than the junior ones, shown to the left.

In all of these categories of women’s involvement in the profession, historical data shows definite growth across time. However, while growth is good, it also supports those who say: “Just wait, women will get there. There is no problem.”

The response to this is that the growth is simply not as significant as it should or could be. By cross-referencing between data sources, a different picture appears. We looked at the proportion of women architects in each five-year age band from the Census and compared with the approximate graduation rate for that age group. There is a consistent pattern of contraction, which means that more women leave architecture than men. And they begin to do so within five years of graduation. That’s a strong indication of how gender impacts differentially.

When comparing the overall architecture workforce with the numbers of registered architects, more than a third turned out to be not registered. Broken down by gender, nearly half the women were not registered. This means that the direct comparison of women graduates and registered architects, although hinting at the attrition of younger women, actually obscures just how many women architects that are working, but uncounted by registration.

The Census also gives us the most comprehensive data on the gender-based

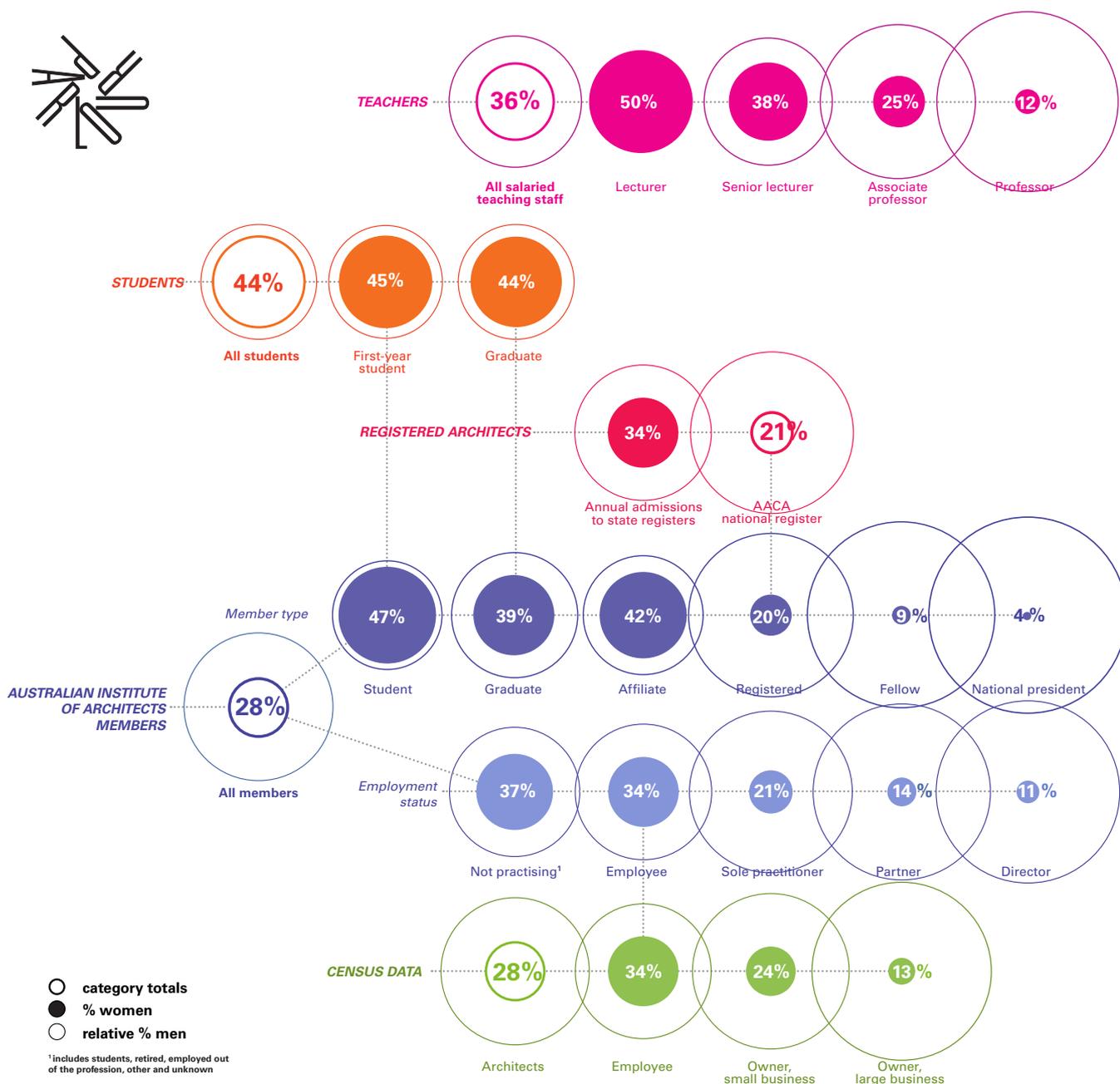


Fig. 3 Women in Australian Architecture – 2012. Graphic by Catherine Griffiths based on original graphic by Georgina Russell and Gill Matthewson. Data collected by Gill Matthewson and Kirsty Volz.

pay gap because it takes into account factors that can cause distortions in calculations. These include the age profile of men overall being much older than that for women and a greater proportion of women working part-time than men. The Census data shows us a gender pay gap for full-time workers that begins straight out of architecture school, and continues to grow. It starts at 6% for those aged 25–34 and rises to 17% for 55–59 year olds.

This empirical quantitative evidence and its visualization (much of which can be found on the Parlour website) made it very clear that gender was an issue that time alone would not heal. And that information gave us traction for policy development and other changes, but importantly it also started people talking.

Listening to architects

Numbers give the big picture patterns but gender equity is about much more than equal numbers. To pick up the nuances you have to listen to architects' stories. I spoke with over 70 architects at all stages of their careers, both women and men. At the time, they were working for large firms, but they had also worked in offices of all sizes, and in locations across the world. Like the counting of architects, collecting their stories shows patterns in how gender silently structures the profession. Quite simply, certain ideologies in architecture determine the culture and structure of the profession and how people are expected to behave. And these impact differentially according to gender.

Sometimes these structural and cultural factors can seem overwhelming, but they are not monolithic and can be changed; this even happened in some interviews. I found people would initially voice the standard line about how architecture *must* be meritocratic, must involve long hours, etc. But in discussion and faced with some of the quantitative evidence, views shifted.

So, one manager began by emphatically declaring that merit determines success, which is a widely shared view in architecture: "It's a meritocracy: you succeed based on your own success, and I think people are genuinely fairly rewarded and progressed for what they do!" But then he started to qualify that statement: "It's about many things, and sometimes it's about potential rather than achievement." Due to gender bias, men's potential is seen, but women's is not; achievement is a much higher bar, and women have to prove again and again their ability to achieve. Then he noted, "There are no tick-boxes that can be filled out, completed, some of it's X factor." This is an admission that the system of appraisals and promotions is not very transparent. Study after study confirms that a lack of transparency in such matters is a sure-fire mechanism for allowing inequity. Finally, he said, "They've upset somebody or whatever." This admission emphasizes the importance of personal relationships in architecture and my observations were that gender played a strong role in

those: I saw senior men mentoring younger ones in whom they could see themselves at that age.

Another sequence involved someone who was not at all sympathetic to the project initially and was adamant that a project-leader role in architecture was highly demanded. Over the course of the interview, this view shifted. First, she described her own experience: “When I was a project architect running teams, I was the last one to leave each day. I wouldn’t feel comfortable setting the team on a task and a deadline and not being there with them.” Then she realized that: “A lot of our senior project leaders who are male have some form of caring responsibility. They’ve done the hard yards and they don’t necessarily feel like they have to be here ’til late every night. They are able to plan.” This is an admission that maybe long hours are not necessary, that ‘proving oneself’ is a strong element of such hours, and planning can remove their ‘necessity.’ Since the interview, this woman has become a champion for equity in the profession.

These were individual changes, but such changes add up and where they add up best is on the Parlour website.

Justine Clark – *Parlour* the platform

I see Parlour as a platform – a space for building community and a site of exchange. We operate in the space between academia and practice, between scholarly and practice-based knowledge, between research and action. This is a place of great possibility and opportunity, and one I am particularly interested in (being myself neither a practitioner nor an academic).

Tightly entwined, these modes inflect and inform each other. Of course, working between these connected but different worlds also brings tensions and complexities. Karen Burns will talk about this further. For now, I am going to describe some of our activities and goals and how we achieved them, from my perspective as editor of the website and associated initiatives.

When we launched Parlour, the website, in 2012, we described our aims as follows:

Welcome to Parlour. A site for active exchange and discussion, Parlour brings together research, informed opinion and resources on women, equity and architecture. It seeks to expand the spaces and opportunities available, while also revealing the many women who already contribute in diverse ways.

As activists and advocates we aim to generate debate and discussion.
As researchers and scholars we provide serious analysis and a

¹⁰ Parlour, “Welcome to Parlour,” Parlour, 2012, <http://archiparlour.org/about/> (accessed November 8, 2017).

firm evidence base for change. As women active in Australian architecture we seek to open up opportunities and to broaden definitions of what architectural activity might be.¹⁰

It is still a fairly accurate description of what we do and why we do it, but things also developed in ways we could not imagine at that time. In hindsight, outlining these multiple roles also set the scene for many of the projects and programs we went on to develop, and provided a coherent approach that has framed many and varied initiatives. There are diverse opportunities for action and distinct types of agency available in different circumstances. This is something we return to consistently – we can’t all do the same thing, but we can all do something. Because everything Parlour does is always, also, a call to action.

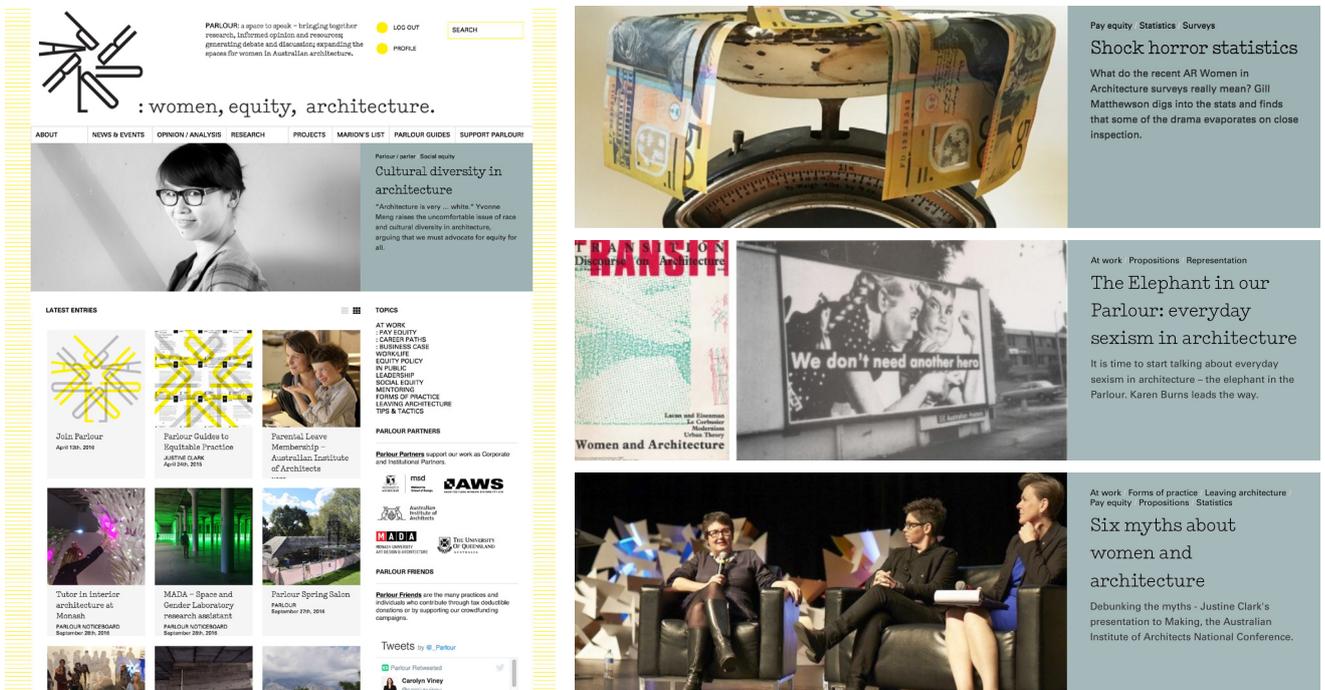


Fig. 4 Website screenshots. By Parlour.

A space to speak

First, Parlour became a ‘space to speak’. The website was launched a year into the three-year research project. The fact this happened while the research was still in process is important. Parlour became a significant tool for disseminating research findings beyond academia. In particular, I can’t overstate the influence and impact of Gill Matthewson’s statistical analysis in demonstrating the need for change, and in forming a community of people emboldened to work for that change.

But Parlour is more than that. It has never been simply a platform for the one-way flow of information from ‘expert’ researcher to receptive audience.

From the beginning we asked our ‘readers’ to participate. We invited our ‘audience’ to become contributors – as writers, as respondents to surveys, as participants in consultation processes, as event attendees and speakers, as guest hosts of our Instagram account, and much more. And in turn Parlour has become an umbrella that also supports and promotes initiatives developed by others.

Since 2012, we have published articles from over 100 contributors. All of this content is carefully and professionally edited. (And that is very important!) Many of the articles offer insight into different means of navigating careers, the variety of challenges faced and opportunities found, and offer suggestions and strategies, tips and tactics. This particularity of experience is an important complement to our own articulation of systemic, structural issues through data and other means.

Recently we have also started publishing material on other equity issues – ethnicity and race, mental health – using Parlour as a vehicle to facilitate important conversations within both academia and the profession.¹¹

¹¹ For example: Yvonne Meng, “Cultural Diversity in Architecture,” Parlour, posted June 8, 2016, <http://archiparlour.org/cultural-diversity-in-architecture/>; Sonia Sarangi, Parlour, posted July 14, 2016, “Who’s Afraid of Ethnic Diversity?” <http://archiparlour.org/whos-afraid-of-ethnic-diversity/>; Sam Perversi-Brooks, “Class and Creed in Australian Architecture,” Parlour, posted July 15, 2016, <http://archiparlour.org/class-and-creed-in-australian-architecture/>; Byron Kinnaird, “An Anxious Discipline,” Parlour, posted September 23, 2016, <http://archiparlour.org/an-anxious-discipline/>; and Naomi Stead and Nicole Kalms “Queering Architecture: Framing the Conversation,” Parlour, posted February 23, 2017, <http://archiparlour.org/queering-architecture-framing-conversation/> (all accessed November 8, 2017).

¹² All quotes in this section are from Justine Clark, “Six Myths about Women and Architecture,” Parlour, posted September 6, 2014, <http://archiparlour.org/six-myths-about-women-and-architecture/> (accessed November 8, 2017).

“Thank God someone is looking at this issue!”¹²

When launched, Parlour tapped into a current of concern that had previously had no outlet. It allowed many women to realize that they were not alone in their experiences, and to recognize these as part of larger structural issues. It allowed many men to say that they, too, wanted change in working conditions in architecture. We know the issues were important, but we were amazed by the almost visceral sense of relief that greeted us:

It’s about time this discussion took center stage. Opportunity, support, and representation of women in architecture is, and has been, abysmal for the 24 years since I started studying architecture at Uni.

Thank you so very much. It is so important to have third party voices out there. I sometimes feel like if I speak up about gender issues, it is perceived as either sour grapes, or an attempt to advantage myself personally.

I was very pleased to see this forum appear. I have been wondering if other women in the profession were having similar issues, or if it was just me...

The rapidly growing, active and very receptive audience opened up new possibilities for us as researchers, and new opportunities for action and activism on the part of the community who drew on this new collective identity to work for change within their own professional contexts.

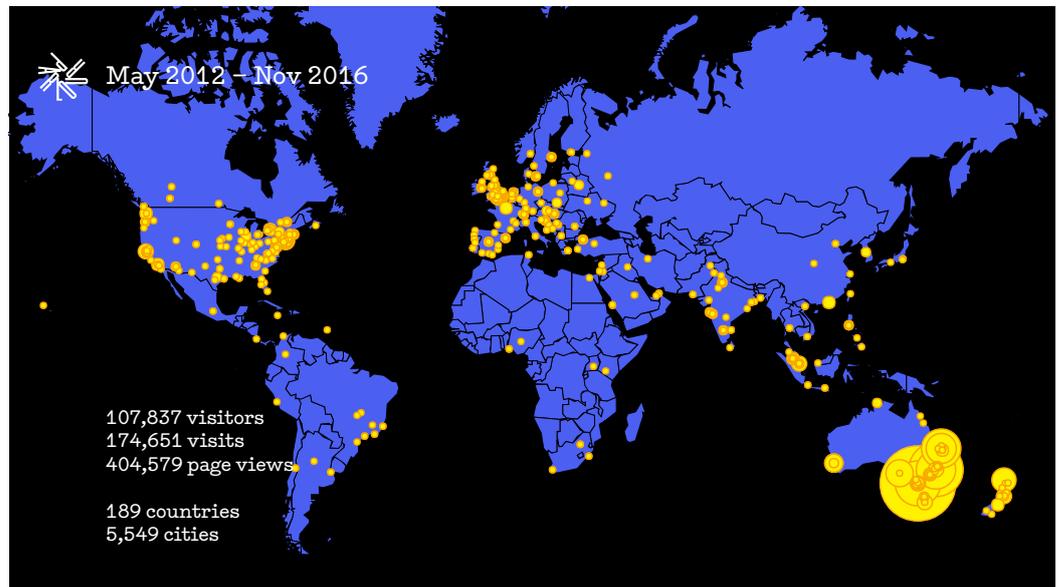


Fig. 5 Parlour website activity. Map by Parlour.

As the site received more and more traffic (both within Australia and across the world), it became apparent that informed, reasonable, productive conversations about equity were needed everywhere. Indeed, they were starting up again in many places. Our online presence enabled us to build and strengthen international networks, which also added further impetus to the campaign within Australia.

Altering the future of architecture

Thank you for doing this work. It could alter the future of architecture, and that's really exciting.

We have worked hard to locate this work at the center of the discussions of the future of the profession, rather than on the margins. Our 2013 symposium, *Transform: altering the future of architecture*, asked, if architecture was more inclusive, would it also be in a stronger position? Equity, we argue, is not a luxury – it is essential to forging a robust profession with some kind of viable future.

We have also worked hard to shift the public conversation from simply telling horror stories. This has worked, in part because we have also provided vehicles for people to articulate the many small and not-so-small experiences that have shaped their careers (for example, in the large-scale surveys we conducted in 2012).

Indeed, one of the most remarkable things about *Transform* was the optimism and ambition, the commitment to driving change, even as we acknowledge it is a long, hard project. This is a constant quality in the events we have run subsequently. People have fun at Parlour events.

Equitable practice

We also provide the tools to help drive change. *The Parlour Guides to Equitable Practice* consolidate the knowledge developed through the research and locate it within broader discussions of workplace change and the business case for gender equity. They present this in a way that can be put to action in everyday working and professional lives.

The guides address eleven topics. Each guide outlines the issue, why it matters and what “we” might do about it. This last section is addressed to different audiences – individual employee architects, employer practices, and institutional and professional bodies.

The guides aim to dispel the myths and articulate the multiple benefits of a more equitable profession. Importantly, they recognize that different parts of the profession have different types of agency – and suggest that we all have a proactive, positive part to play in facilitating change. They arm individuals, companies, and organizations with the skills, knowledge and systems to activate these varying types of agency. They encourage the profession as a whole to attend to the work and labor practices of architecture.

The Guides were developed through extensive consultations with the professional community (led by Naomi Stead) and an intensive process of redrafting and editing. They are also very well designed. This matters. High quality design is essential if you want to be taken seriously by the architectural community. The guides have been very well received and, although written for Australia, they are now making their way around the world – and seem to be generating particular interest in the US.

WikiD: Women, design, Wikipedia

History is not a simple meritocracy: it is a narrative of the past written and revised – or not written at all – by people with agendas. – Despina Stratigakos¹³

¹³ Despina Stratigakos, “Unforgetting Women Architects: From the Pritzker Wikipedia,” *Places Journal*, April 2013. <https://placesjournal.org/article/unforgetting-women-architects-from-the-pritzker-to-wikipedia/> (accessed November 8, 2017).

Parlour has been an important means to forge international connections and collaborations. Many of these are informal, but we have also developed a particular, concrete collaboration through the WikiD initiative. This was initiated by Lori Brown of the US-based Architexx in response to Despina Stratigakos’s essay in *Places Journal* cited above, where she made a clear call to write women into Wikipedia. At Lori’s invitation we staged an initial edit-a-thon on International Women’s Day in 2015. The results were mixed, with many articles and topics challenged by the Wikipedia community for not being ‘notable.’ As Despina says, such challenges raise important questions about how history is constructed and who by.

¹⁴ Parlour, "The wikiD: Women, Wikipedia, Design Project," Parlour, posted June 14, 2015, <http://archiparlour.org/wikiD-women-wikipedia-design/> (accessed November 8, 2017).

A colleague in Berlin, Eleanor Chapman, suggested we apply for Wikimedia funding to take it further. This was successful and the three groups – Architexx in New York, n-ails in Berlin and Parlour in Melbourne – set about increasing the representation of women architects on Wikipedia.¹⁴ Once again we found that providing a context in which others can contribute – and producing guides to help them do so – was very effective. This is another example of the multi-pronged approach we take to all our activities. We aimed to engage with conceptual matters by seeking to influence 'notability' criteria, at the same time as working practically and pragmatically to increase numbers, and making space and resources for others to work alongside us.

Marion's List

Our latest project is Marion's List, named for Marion Mahony Griffin, an American practitioner, who became one of Australia's most significant women architects. Marion's List is an online register of women in architecture. It has two principal aims, the first of which is to provide a richer picture of women in architecture and the built environment (not only those who would be 'notable' enough for a Wikipedia entry). The second aim is to provide a resource for those organizing events, setting up juries and crits, so that we need never again hear 'we asked a woman, but she couldn't come.'

This is an open list, and all women active within the Australian built environment are welcome to submit a profile. We will use Marion's List to push the conversation about the importance of diversity within the public culture of architecture but, once again, we are also making tools for others to use in their own situations.

In all of this, complex questions of identity are at play as we seek to have direct impact and to make change in the world. Our colleague and comrade Karen Burns will now tease out some of these complexities around identity.

Karen Burns – Between theory and activism

I'm a feminist theorist. My work at Parlour has been theoretical and organizational: helping brand concepts with brand names and language (Parlour, Transform), writing, and helping develop ideas for events and essay campaigns. I'm going to talk briefly about the role of language and theory in a tactical project – which is what Parlour is.

To be both a feminist theorist *and* a gender activist in the architectural profession entails a number of shifts in thinking and language. Once I move outside the bubble of progressive feminist circles (defined by feminist gender theory texts, websites and conferences), I have to think

about a public language for gender discussion, because the knowledge I have about gender cannot be assumed to exist across the discipline and industry. If men are from Mars, gender theorists are from Saturn...?

Gender literacy exists in a condition of uneven development across the profession and discipline. Uneven development, you'll remember, is the term Marx devised to describe dramatic differences in levels of economic development.¹⁵ There are dramatic differences in levels of gender literacy in architecture's geographies. Parlour's project has, in part, been educational; shaped by knowledge of the uneven spatial distribution of gender literacy across different architectural sites.

¹⁵ There are other ideas included in the term as well – uneven development as strategy to increase profits.

There are those who think gender isn't an issue because the Academy and Industry are meritocracies – they don't see hidden gender norms. There are those who think the word gender is a synonym for women and that gender discussion and analysis is women's business, et cetera. The Parlour statistics project was an education in gender literacy; it visualized the gender differential in architectural work.

I see Parlour as a temporal project that gathers pace as it makes gains in gender literacy, gains that eventually allow Parlour to start public discussions around the concept that we know as intersectional feminism, to eventually move beyond the gender binary and to discuss differences within the categories of women, men, sexual orientation, gender identification, and fluidity. Parlour has started a debate around diverse ways of practicing architecture and the plural career paths of built environment professionals. Our 'Transform' workshop focused on this. This concept of diversity – What Does an Architect Look Like? – should build a bridgehead for broader discussions of diversity and inclusion.

Parlour is a double-headed project. At the beginning of its life, it looked like a classic liberal feminist project in its commitment to equity and its apparent 'binarization' of male and female identities and work patterns in architecture. But in fact it was 'difference' that Parlour usually offered as the solution to these structural inequities: different modes of structuring work as flexible or part-time, different identities for the workplace gender agent (employer, employee, institutional), different identities for the architect, architectural career and the profession at our 'Transform' workshop.

I believe that organizing women in architecture around the identity of being a woman in architecture still remains critical, as problematic as the unifying term 'woman' is, for theory. (Because 'gender' can be a neutral and routine description rather than a political mobilization. Gender can be the absent-minded tick box on the information form.) We make identity visible and political through organizing.

¹⁶ Joshua Gamson, "Must Identity Movements Self-Destruct? A Queer Dilemma," *Social Problems* 42, no.3 (1995), 391.

¹⁷ Michelle Kuo, "Introduction," *Art Forum*, issue *Art and Identity*, Summer 2016.

In a fantastic essay on identity and organizing in queer politics, Joshua Gamson describes the dilemma of identity politics, where "the logic and political unity of deconstructing collective categories vie with that of shoring them up; each logic is true, and neither is fully tenable."¹⁶ The challenge for analysts is to cope with the fact that both strategies – a clear category of collective identity and deconstructing the category – make sense. Michelle Kuo puts it this way: "The question of identity is as much about asserting one as it is escaping it. Every form of subjectivity is also a form of coercion and exclusion."¹⁷

We need flexible tactics to address the particular, localized instances of gender illiteracy.

Parlour speaks in a number of languages and assumes a number of guises across a number of places. Parlour writes about women, feminism, and gender issues in a public language for intelligent non-experts. That is, non-experts in gender theory, but with plenty of experience and expertise with the everyday gendering operations of architecture.

Parlour borrows other languages to shape and sell its campaign for gender equity. The most surprising of these languages (for some of my friends) is the language of the marketplace. We borrow from those business analysts who argue that gender diversity improves profits and productivity. (Since I opened with a reference to Marx, you'll understand why some of my friends think this is a hoot.)

Selling gender diversity as a public good, something of benefit to many, is an activist tactic. So much academic writing is about clarity of purpose and procedure, but activism requires certain strategies of dissimulation and disguise. For example, in our campaign for gender equity we are smuggling in labor agendas about better workplace conditions. Equity is decent pay and decent hours for workers.

All feminist thinking is directed towards transformation, but we can usefully spatialize those places of transformation; whether our energy is directed towards change in epistemology or change in institutional policies at universities or change in architecture's long-hours culture.

We use our sophistication with language, our ability to speak – to parlar and parlay – in different voices and guises; in different places depending on our specific, tactical aims.

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Thinking Through Creative Merit and Gender Bias in Architecture

Gill Matthewson.

A number of feminist architecture groups have recently highlighted the precarious position of women in the profession. These groups have mobilised statistics and surveys to convincingly demonstrate that gender impacts negatively on women in architecture. However, in doing so they also demonstrate that architecture is not a meritocracy, thereby confronting a critical aspect of the habitat of architecture: that its 'authority' and ethos depends on the 'fact' of creative merit. This paper utilises some aspects of Isabelle Stengers' concept of an ecology of practices as a tool to unpack architectural ideas around creative merit, drawing on empirical data provided by close observation of architects. The paper argues that the presence of women does not just illuminate the precarious habitats of architecture, but also offers chances for what Stengers calls experimental questions that open those habitats up for what they may become.

¹ *Parlour*, <http://archiparlour.org/>; *Architecture+Women NZ*, <http://www.architecturewomen.org.nz/>; *Equity by Design (EQxD)*, <http://eqxdesign.com>; *ArchiteXX*, <http://architexx.org/>; *Women in Architecture Awards and Surveys*, <https://www.architectural-review.com/archive/this-opens-a-new-chapter-for-women-in-architecture/8687398.article>.

² Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 194.

³ Isabelle Stengers, "Introductory Notes on an Ecology of Practices," *Cultural Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2005): 182–96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁶ Parlour mission statement, www.archiparlour.org.

⁷ Stengers, "Introductory Notes," 186.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁹ Gill Matthewson, "Dimensions of Gender: Women's Careers in the Australian Architecture Profession" (PhD diss., University of Queensland, 2015).

There has been a recent growth in feminist activist groups in architecture across English-speaking countries. They include *Parlour* and *Architecture+Women NZ* in Australasia, *Equity by Design (EQxD)* and *ArchiteXX* in the US, and the UK-based annual *Women in Architecture* survey and awards.¹ This growth has been propelled by gloomy statistics that detail the precarious position of women in the profession more than a generation after they became a significant proportion of those studying architecture. All the groups have mobilised these statistics along with surveys and online capabilities in order to convincingly demonstrate that gender constricts the ability of women to move into and within the profession.

However, to highlight this constriction is to also demonstrate that architecture is not a meritocracy. This confronts a critical tenet of the ideology of architecture that, as a creative field, its 'authority' depends on the meritocratic principle that creative talent determines success,² irrespective of any socio-economic factor such as gender, or race, or class, or sexuality. This paper explores the idea of creative merit in architecture using some concepts originally developed by Isabelle Stengers in her reflections on the science of physics as a practice.³ Stengers writes of how physicists claim the 'truth' of physical reality to legitimise their practice. But she argues that this kind of claim risks locking physicists into reductive judgements that limit their ability to progress.⁴ Something similar, I argue, happens in the practice of architecture with beliefs around creative merit.

These beliefs constitute part of what Stengers would call the 'habitat' of architects. This habitat is generated by many things including architectural education and media; the laws, structures and rules under and with which architects work; where they work; and the beliefs and assumptions that guide the actions and interactions of individual architects. The concept of habitat thus encompasses both the culture and structure of architecture, and how these affect and are affected by individual and collective actions and identities. Stengers warns that any direct confrontation to the beliefs of a practice (such as creative merit in architecture) runs the risk of triggering defensive and denial mechanisms.⁵ For any activist group such as those listed above to progress change in the architecture profession – to "expand the spaces for women in architecture"⁶ – Stengers' concept of an ecology of practices is useful because it provides some tools for constructing new 'practical identities' and possibilities for practices.⁷ Stengers maintains, following Spinoza, that "we do not know what a practice is able to become; what we know instead is that the very way we define, or address, a practice is part of the surroundings which produces its ethos."⁸ What are the ways that architects address their practice in terms of creativity and merit, given that these attitudes and aspirations form the characteristics of their habitat, or ethos?

To explore this, I will draw on a series of interviews and observations of over seventy architects (male and female) in Australia,⁹ which I conducted

- ¹⁰ “Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: Women, Work, and Leadership (2011–2014)” (Australian Research Council Linkage Project LP100200107, 2010). *Parlour* also came from this project.
- ¹¹ Stengers, “Introductory Notes,” 188.
- ¹² David Brain, “Practical Knowledge and Occupational Control: The Professionalization of Architecture in the United States,” *Sociological Forum* 6, no. 2 (1991): 247.
- ¹³ Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 61.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.
- ¹⁵ Graham Winch and Eric Schneider, “Managing the Knowledge-Based Organization: The Case Study of Architectural Practice,” *Journal of Management Studies* 30, no. 6 (1993): 927.
- ¹⁶ Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents: Professional Ideology and Creativity in Architect Work,” *Creativity and Innovation Management* 18, no. 3 (2009): 227.
- ¹⁷ Judith R. Blau, *Architects and Firms: A Sociological Perspective on Architectural Practice* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1984), 46.
- ¹⁸ Laurie Cohen, Adrian Wilkinson, John Arnold and Rachael Finn, “Remember I’m the Bloody Architect!: Architects, Organizations and Discourses of Profession,” *Work, Employment & Society* 19, no. 4 (2005): 792.
- ¹⁹ Matthewson, “Dimensions of Gender,” 128.
- ²⁰ Cohen et al., “Remember I’m the Bloody Architect!,” 792.
- ²¹ Styhre and Gluch, “Creativity and Its Discontents,” 227.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 224.
- ²³ Katherine Sang, Stephen Ison, Andrew Dainty and Abigail Powell, “Anticipatory Socialisation Amongst Architects: A Qualitative Examination,” *Education + Training* 51, no. 4 (2009): 309.

under an Australian Research Council Linkage Project.¹⁰ Stengers argues that by listening to practitioners, paying attention to them and being as discerning and discriminating as possible about the particular situation,¹¹ helps avoid slipping into habits of thinking and allows exploration of nuances in the complex systems of causes, obligations and belongings that entwine people and their practice habitat and ethos.

The creative profession

In general, for architects and the general public alike, architecture is known as a creative profession. The word ‘creative’ modifying ‘profession’ is fundamental as well as historical. David Brain describes how, in the nineteenth century, a growing ideology of artistic creativity based on drawing techniques supported the professionalisation of architecture in the US.¹² Similarly, Andrew Saint argues that in the UK at this time art was the only part of the construction of buildings that another profession had not laid prior claim to.¹³ It was a successful strategy and many studies of architects detail how art and creativity are firmly embedded in definitions and self-definitions of members of the profession and in doing so of course reinforce the association.¹⁴ For example, Graham Winch and Eric Schneider describe architectural practices in the UK as “creative organisations.”¹⁵ Similarly, discussing the profession in Scandinavia, Alexander Styhre and Pernilla Gluch assert that “architects are by definition creative and have the moral obligation to exploit such creative potentials.”¹⁶ In self descriptions, Judith Blau notes that 98% of the US architects she surveyed asserted that art and creativity were central to the profession.¹⁷ Likewise, the architects studied by Laurie Cohen et al. in the UK described creativity as not only core to architecture, but also as the specific expertise that defines them.¹⁸

The desire for a creative career involving art motivated many of my interviewees into the study of architecture. However, it was also very often described as a *modified* creativity or creative *plus*: plus the academic, plus the technical, plus the practical, plus the professional.¹⁹ For a few, architecture was also minus the perceived risks associated with a career in art per se. This modification ‘plus’ becomes significant because the researchers cited above all that their studied architects complained, sometimes bitterly, of the *lack* of creativity in their actual work.

Cohen et al. observe that, although ‘creativity as core’ was the dominant *rhetoric*, few said it was their main day-to-day concern.²⁰ Likewise, Styhre and Gluch describe “a discrepancy between expectation on creative self-fulfilment through architect practices and the actual everyday work.”²¹ They conclude that this discrepancy leads to disappointment and cynicism among architects.²² Disappointment and disillusionment due to a lack of creativity were also recorded by Katherine Sang et al. in their investigation into the socialisation of architects in the UK.²³ Robert Gutman goes further and bluntly claims that “architecture is populated by a higher proportion

²⁴ Robert Gutman, *Architectural Practice: A Critical View* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 110.

²⁵ Isabelle Stengers, "Matters of Cosmopolitics: On the Provocation of Gaïa," in *Architecture in the Anthropocene: Encounters among Design, Deep Time, Science and Philosophy*, ed. Etienne Turpin (Ann Arbor: Open Humanities Press, 2013), 173.

²⁶ Styhre and Gluch, "Creativity and Its Discontents," 226.

²⁷ Cohen et al, "Remember I'm the Bloody Architect!," 782.

of alienated and disappointed men and women than any other major profession."²⁴ This mismatch poses a dilemma for those in the profession: to stay in an alienating environment, or to leave and in doing so relinquish an identity into which they have invested so much. Dilemmas can lead to impasses where we are unable to move, they can "take us as hostages" as Stengers puts it.²⁵ However, she is also convinced that a potential line of escape from such dilemmas involves interventions that 'add' to the situation. I argue that listening carefully to the architects in my interviews adds to the situation and papers like this are small interventions.

Listening to architects

Styhre and Gluch cite their interviewees describing "creative activities [as ...] glimpses of light in a long night of non-creative work."²⁶ But very few of particularly the older architects I interviewed described their work in this way:

There's the whole process of creating something. And then following it through, finessing it and making something that's as good as it can be.
(Female, 16–20 years graduated)

There's always some design – in a kind of broad sense – involved in making something happen.
(Male, 11–15 years graduated)

Details are hard! And if you see how they can be resolved... it's just so good to see. It's really beautiful... totally obsessive!
(Female, 11–15 years graduated)

Cohen et al. conclude that the technical facets of architecture were subsumed within the creative discourse as a support to creativity facilitating its realisation.²⁷ My interviewees instead positioned the technical as creative in its own right, a form of careful creative crafting and finessing. For them, design and creativity were an absolutely integral part of the ability to technically resolve a built work. This is the 'creative plus' that drew these people into architecture in the first place. This wide-ranging process of 'creative plus' also delivered diversity into architectural work that was attractive:

It's nice to be doing some stuff that's technical and scientific or environmental. And then other things which are just completely creative. I enjoy it being diverse.
(Female, 0–5 years graduated)

And so my interviewees described the process and enjoyment of architecture as the intellectual intrigue and creative problem-solving

²⁸ Matthewson, "Dimensions of Gender," 165.

²⁹ Ibid., 179. Caven and Diop also document these social relationships as a major intrinsic reward for architects in their studies of the French and UK professions, Valerie Caven and Marie Diop, "Architecture: A 'Rewarding' Career? An Anglo-French Comparative Study of Intrinsic Rewards in the Architecture Profession," *Construction Management and Economics* 30, no. 7 (2012): 520.

³⁰ Paul Jones, "Putting Architecture in Its Social Place: A Cultural Political Economy of Architecture," *Urban Studies* 46, no. 12 (2009): 2523.

³¹ Christine Battersby, "The Architect as Genius: Feminism and the Aesthetics of Exclusion," *albA: Scotland's visual arts magazine* 1, no. 3 (1991): 16. Also argued by David Watkins, cited in Blau, *Architects and Firms*, 90.

³² Battersby, "The Architect as Genius," 10–11.

³³ Bernard Michael Boyle, "Architectural Practice in America, 1865–1965—Ideal and Reality," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 90; Julie Willis, "Invisible Contributions: The Problem of History and Women Architects," *Architectural Theory Review* 3, no. 2 (1998).

³⁴ Tim Anstey, Katja Grillner and Rolf Hughes, *Architecture and Authorship* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2007), 9–10.

³⁵ Matthewson, "Dimensions of Gender," 145.

³⁶ Ibid., 244.

involved in bringing a building into being. This ongoing 'creative plus' process also included the social skills needed to move and execute a project, and to resolve the myriad of complex and conflicting demands and desires of all those involved.²⁸ Indeed, most of my interviewees, women and men alike, spoke of creative collaboration with other people as not only essential to architecture, but also part of what made its practice interesting and enjoyable.²⁹

Thus, these architects had more expansive interpretations (and practices) of what creativity in the context of architecture was and might be. In particular, 'creative' in the sense of the artistic-only was ultimately considered an insufficient description of the power and attraction of the practice of architecture for them. Instead, systems of obligations and enjoyments entwined them with their practice forming their habitat. But the ethos of this particular habitat is not the dominating one in architecture.

Systems of merit

While individual architects may operate in this more nuanced habitat with this interpretation of creative practice in architecture, other constituents of architecture prioritise and position artistic creativity as the major – if not only – ethos.³⁰ This is most obvious in the professional systems of merit within architecture from awards to what gets published, which rely heavily on systems originally developed in the fine art field. Christine Battersby claims that, in order to establish architecture as a creative field in the nineteenth century, the history of architecture was necessarily framed to follow the art-historical convention of emphasising the work of an individual creative genius.³¹ Ideas of what genius is vary from a particular personality to a consciousness to an energy, but in general it resides in a single person – often figured as an outsider – who, through outstanding talent, transgresses and changes the norms in a creative, artistic field. Battersby cites numerous examples of the way in which architectural history and contemporary accounts follow this convention of depicting architecture as the product of individual artistic geniuses.³²

Many commentators describe this convention as both fraught and anachronistic,³³ even to claim single authorship of a work of architecture – genius or otherwise – is highly problematic.³⁴ But it is a powerful and persistent narrative that resonated strongly with the younger architects I interviewed: they wanted to be that architect of singular and outstanding design ability and vision.³⁵ It was also implicit in the way the owner/directors of the firms spoke of those that worked for and with them: 'design ability' was the only measure of value,³⁶ some were described as 'useful' but this was by no means an equivalent value. However, other usually older architects tended not to articulate this convention as an aspiration. They accepted that this kind of architect is a strong

³⁷ Ibid., 239.³⁸ Paula Whitman, *Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005); RAI, *The Career Progression of Men in Architecture* (Melbourne: Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 2007).³⁹ Stengers, "Introductory Notes," 189.⁴⁰ Ibid., 196.⁴¹ Battersby, "The Architect as Genius," 10, 16.⁴² Hilde Heynen, "Genius, Gender and Architecture: The Star System as Exemplified in the Pritzker Prize," *Architectural Theory Review* 17, no. 2–3 (2012).⁴³ Ibid., 334; Anstey et al., *Architecture and Authorship*, 10.⁴⁴ Anstey et al., *Architecture and Authorship*, 12.

part of the habitat of architecture, but it could also be a source of some discontentment. The disappointment and cynicism that others have observed in architects was for many of my interviewees less the absence of the creative within their work (because they defined it more broadly),³⁷ and more frustration that the emphasis on artistic creativity, particularly in award systems, ultimately excluded them and thereby detached them from the professional world. Of note, detachment is also described in surveys conducted in Australia in the mid-2000s where the majority of surveyed architects spoke of feeling "out of step with the profession."³⁸

This detachment contributes to the dilemma for architecture and forms part of the milieu of architectural practice.³⁹ As long as this dilemma is framed as 'either/or' (either architecture is creative in the artistic sense or it is not; either it acknowledges wider understandings of creativity or it does not) with conflicting attachment and detachment consequences, there is an impasse which does nothing to help practitioners construct new 'practical identities' and possibilities for practices. Stengers offers the ecology of practices as a tool for thinking with and through dilemmas, and she does so in her work on the practice of physics by specifically "thinking in the presence of women."⁴⁰

Thinking in the presence of women in architecture

There are profound and complex implications for women in architecture embedded in the convention of the genius architect revealed through creative merit. Battersby argues that the artistic genius is always male – women who transgress the norms are perceived as 'others,' rather than 'outsiders,' and thus their "deviation from tradition" is merely a struggle to be normal.⁴¹ These conventions have structural effects; Hilde Heynen draws on Battersby's work to argue that the symbolic convention of architect-as-genius has effectively excluded women from attaining the Pritzker Prize, the highest international recognition of merit in architecture.⁴² Heynen details how the work of Zaha Hadid – the only female winner – is described in strongly masculine terms, demonstrating how much the jury seemed to need to justify a female winner by emphasising the 'maleness' of the work. In addition, the idea that genius can only reside in one person (man) has contentiously ruled out female collaborators from being co-awarded.⁴³ While Heynen outlines movements that are pushing back against these conventions, Anstey et al. delineate some of the powerful forces that continue to maintain them in architecture.⁴⁴

Without doubt contributing to the power of these forces are the gender-based stereotypes and biases that structure wider society. Privileging higher status to men in architecture and diminishing the work of women is an example of how architecture does not sit outside of the society and culture within which it is located. This culture classically constructs gender difference ostensibly based on biology, but because this act of

- ⁴⁵ Cecilia L. Ridgeway, "Framed Before We Know It: How Gender Shapes Social Relations," *Gender and Society* 23, no. 2 (2009): 152.
- ⁴⁶ Emilio J. Castilla and Stephen Benard, "The Paradox of Meritocracy in Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (2010): 543; Margaret Thornton, "The Mirage of Merit: Reconstituting the 'Ideal Academic'," *Australian Feminist Studies* 28, no. 76 (2013); Margaret McNamee, and Robert K. Jr. Miller, "The Meritocracy Myth," *Sociation Today* 2, no. 1 (2004).
- ⁴⁷ Thornton, "The Mirage of Merit," 129.
- ⁴⁸ Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Postmodern Facade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 134.
- ⁴⁹ Battersby, "The Architect as Genius," 16.
- ⁵⁰ Erin Cech, Brian Rubineau, Susan Silbey and Carroll Seron, "Professional Role Confidence and Gendered Persistence in Engineering," *American Sociological Review* 76, no. 5 (2011): 642.

differentiation typically privileges male/masculine over the female/feminine, it produces inequality in status and material circumstances. This generates gender biases and gendered societal structures where traits, interactions, and behaviours are accepted or not, encouraged or not, and even permitted or not, depending on gender.⁴⁵ Although there is a widespread belief in modern societies that merit is the way the world works and most certainly should work, it is seldom the case.⁴⁶ Any evaluation of merit is made by fallible people who are products of their culture and the gendered systems that reinforce male privilege.⁴⁷

This play of architectural merit conventions and gender biases were writ both small and large with the architects I studied. While all merit evaluations are subject to bias, merit is especially tenuous in artistic/creative fields because paradigms about what constitutes artistic value are regularly overthrown,⁴⁸ or, in Battersby's term, transgressed.⁴⁹ This means that not only is it only men who are permitted to transgress, but that competencies in architectural design are uncertain. Erin Cech et al. argue that professional role identity includes expert confidence – the ability "to wield the competencies and skills required of practice."⁵⁰ When a key competency is so uncertain, it becomes highly vulnerable to negative critique, as reported by some of my interviewees.

It's hard with design because if you're: "Look at this great design idea!" Well, someone might say: "Well I think it's bloody horrible!"
(Female, 10–15 years graduated)

My crises are always not to do with how much I enjoy it—because I love it—but how... whether I'm doing the right thing. I feel I'm not good enough at it.
(Female, 16–20 years graduated)

No man in my study mentioned fragility of confidence in design ability, but a significant number of the women did. This kind of self-critique is a reflection of the internalisation by women of their 'other' status, of at some level knowing that creative genius (or even merit) resides with men not women, and that they therefore don't quite 'belong.'

Gender biases especially affected perceptions of merit within the firms as acknowledged by promotion or assignment to coveted roles on projects. Although the firms maintained that the distribution of these was solely on merit, the consistent perception of staff was of opaqueness and subjectivity. That subjectivity was spoken about as generally based on anything *but* gender, such as personality, the economy, how one got on with those in power, the ability to sustain long hours, et cetera.⁵¹ However, all these are infused by gender bias. In particular, lack of transparency in the distribution of opportunities encourages

⁵¹ Matthewson, "Dimensions of Gender," 252.

- ⁵² Dana M. Britton and Laura Logan, “Gendered Organizations: Progress and Prospects,” *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 1 (2008): 116–17.

bias.⁵² Consequently, there was clear evidence of structural barriers to women’s progression: women were well-represented on the lowest rungs of the office hierarchies, but their presence at the higher levels was markedly thinner. An inequity that was not appreciably alleviated by the promotions I observed over several years.

Fostering practices

The creativity in architecture is consistently emphasised as being an artistic creativity, which has significant implications, especially for women. Ideas of merit in architecture, already undermined by general societal gender bias, are subjected to the instability of artistic paradigms and usher in further gender bias due to the ideological framing of noteworthy architects as individual and male. The emphasis on artistic creativity also contributes to dissatisfaction with the architecture profession that some architects express, both men and women.

- ⁵³ Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 44–45, 20.
- ⁵⁴ Stengers, “Introductory Notes,” 191.

Placing design or creativity as the central element of architecture appears to be important for enabling architects to make sense of their work.⁵³ Integral to their identity, it is part of what ‘attaches’ architects to their habitat. These attachments, according to Stengers, cause practitioners to “think and create in their own demanding and inventive way.”⁵⁴ Consequently, to suggest that architecture is not actually very creative, as some of the researchers previously cited (and some architects) do, is to insult that attachment. Insults, as noted earlier, cause practitioners to mobilise defensive mechanisms. However, as this paper shows, there are more aspects to creativity that attach individual architects to their practice than the artistic. Listening to architects reveals nuances, thinking through women in architecture uncovers lines of escape: rather than creativity being limited in architecture, it is the dominant understandings of that creativity that are limited.

- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 195.

Stengers demands that we consider each practice to be irreducibly different, that a practice cannot be diminished to being just ‘like any other.’⁵⁵ This means that “the problem for each practice is how to foster its own force, make present what causes practitioners to think and feel and act.”⁵⁶ Part of the force in architecture is not just its artistic tropes and traditions, what can be made present are also these more nuanced understandings of the creative profession that individual architects have negotiated – the creative *plus*. The artistic is immensely powerful and seductive but tends to eclipse all else, rendering the habitat of architects somewhat one-dimensional. The struggle of all architects, but especially the women, is the struggle to find both shade and light in this habitat. Expanding the concept of the creative in architecture helps to vary those light conditions.

Stengers maintains that continuous thinking, working, and struggling with fostering a practice’s force can produce an “experimental togetherness”

⁵⁷ Ibid., 195.

within which practices can “answer challenges and experiment changes.”⁵⁷ I suggest that movements that counter the artistic genius model and male dominance in architecture, such as the groups mentioned at the beginning of this paper, are contributors to this experimental togetherness. They provide spaces where the individual can become collective, spaces that can challenge and change collective conversations, spaces where modifications to the propositions that attach architects can be made and, importantly, shared. In this process of proposing and sharing we can transform the ethos of our habitat. However the goal is not to reach any final formulation. The aim is to avoid habits of thinking that can trap us, to continue to think and work towards what architecture and architects might become, and to foster the force of our practice by thinking through those aspects of our habitat that might constrain and limit us.

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From the Closet To the Grave: Architecture, Sexuality and the Mount Royal Cemetery

Evan Pavka

This paper argues that the burials of individuals who engaged, or were speculated to have engaged, in same-sex relations in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were in constant relation to the material and metaphoric closet. Due to limited archival material concerning cases of same-sex activity in Montreal, Canada, I look out toward international grave sites to construct a framework for analysis. Using case studies from French and American cemeteries alongside those in Mount Royal Cemetery in Montreal, I argue that, for those whose memory is directed by the living, the grave functions much like the closet—closing or disclosing what institutions and society deemed “abominable.” However, more powerful individuals were able to subvert the authority of the cemetery by immortalizing their “romantic friendships” in the grave. By navigating the binaries of the closet—closure/disclosure, hetero/homosexual and repression/pride— the grave has the potential to function as an important archive of identity, sexuality and memory.

The article ‘Israeli Supreme Court Rejects Family Petition To Bury Trans Woman As Their ‘Son’,’ published by *Buzzfeed* in 2015, outlines how the parents of trans-activist May Peleg sought to commemorate her as “their son.”¹ Emphasizing burial as an instrument to rectify her gender and sexuality, the spatial realities of the closet embedded in this article parallel the burials of those who engaged in same-sex relations in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.² The article speaks to the continued presence of the closet—closing or disclosing gender and sexuality—in death. ‘The closet is a shaping presence’, argues Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick ‘the fundamental feature of social life’.³ I would like to suggest this ‘shaping presence’ extends to the afterlife as well, revealing unseen and complex entanglements between sexuality, architecture and memory. As I argue, the graves of more affluent individuals— in full control of their memory—reveal potential subversions of these binaries through coded linguistic and architectural gestures.

Secrets, Closets and Graves

The closet is an architectural, social and literary convention interwoven with sexual identity invoking binary oppositions between interior/ exterior, storage/room, pride/repression, and homo/heterosexuality. The grave suggests a similar set of oppositions: public/private, death/ life, city/cemetery, and flesh/stone. Before it was defined as to conceal or cease to conceal sexuality, the closet was described architecturally as a room for privacy, a place of devotion, and a repository of valuables.⁴ It was eventually absorbed with the structure of the home in the nineteenth century as an uninhabitable space—moral property that concealed objects threatening to soil the room it served.⁵

These forms of concealed storage were centers of order that protected the home from disorder and conflict. Hence, the term “skeleton in the closet” denoted a ‘private or concealed trouble, ever present, and ever liable to come into view’.⁶ Thus the skeleton or secret of homosexuality was contained within the closet preventing its extension into the home. This reinforces the closet and grave as relational constructions, specifically concerning what others know or do not know about an individual. If the homosexual body is in constant relation to the architectural closet, it implies the final storage of the body, the grave, containing both the material and metaphoric skeleton.

The old churchyards of Montreal were places of fixed order unlike the new rural cemetery, built in 1854 on the northern slope of Mount Royal—then at the city’s edge.⁷ It was a metropolis; a cosmopolitan space at its core that granted an individual a place in the landscape of memory. Yet, this claim was not always offered to all. The new cemetery was a political and social vehicle for the Protestant English community that restricted spaces for the poor, adjacent religious affiliations, and other unwanted groups to its



Fig. 2 The funerary monuments within Mount Royal Cemetery emphasized heteronormative ideals of masculinity, such as the Fireman's Monument. Those who belonged to benevolent societies that exemplified ideal characteristics of the male gender, such as the Fire Brigade and the military, were designated space within the landscape of memory. Carved from stone, the structure reflects notions of strength, sacrifice, and honour as foundations for nineteenth-century male identity and positions the monument as an icon of masculine virtue. Photograph by author.



Fig. 1 The epitaphs on the McCord Sarcophagus demonstrate the importance of familial relations that reinforced prescribed gender roles. Domestic roles and relationships to their husband or father's define the memory of the female McCords while Institutional titles such as "Founder", "President," and "Honourable" as well as military ranks including "Captain" and "Colonel" immortalize the male McCords. Photograph by author.

fringes as shown in an early plan from 1852 by Sidney and Neff Architects that excluded the common grounds for the poor and adjacency to the French Catholic cemetery Cimetière Notre-Dames-des-Neiges.⁸ Though intended as a space for all to receive a respectable burial, Mount Royal cemetery reflected the order of the city and society; a controlled space with a controlled memory.⁹

The cemetery constituted and organized the bodies of the dead, traces of which can be read through the architecture within. The structures and their epitaphs acted as confessions, affirming sexual orientation and its conformity to accepted standards in stone for eternity. These forms of architectural disclosure follow Michel Foucault's assertion that sex and sexuality became something that had to be confessed—specifically in the religious context that the cemetery served—while simultaneously 'mediating its insidious presence'.¹⁰ The monuments to prominent families, like the McCord Sarcophagus (Figure 1) that celebrates politicians and museum founders, and those of institutions, like the Fireman's Monument (Figure 2), reinforced prescribed gender roles corresponding to Victorian Montreal. This constructed vision often contrasted the family's inner workings, limiting the visibility of working-class women by placing them in constant relation to their husbands or fathers, celebrating working-class male brotherhood and sacrifice as foundations for model masculinity, and establishing a secure family unit by constructing plots as mirrors to the ideal

organization of the home—dragging domestic roles and spaces into the cemetery.¹¹

The new cemetery was not only a place for burial but contained the sexual politics that permeated nineteenth-century Montreal. ‘Churchyards and cemeteries are scenes not only calculated to improve the morals and the taste, and by their botanical riches to cultivate the intellect, but they serve as *historical records*’, wrote John Claudius Loudon.¹² The cemetery became a moral educational environment that emphasized the expectations of sexuality for the Protestant community of Montreal.

Authors, Bachelors and a Demon Angel

What became of those who did not conform to this moral vision? As George Chauncey has illustrated in New York, men in Montreal rarely “came out” but were dragged out of their homes and public places by the police, while the media extended this outing of criminal activity into the social worlds they inhabited.¹³ Yet, within the cemetery, those accused of “abominable” crimes appear absent from the city’s collective memory.¹⁴ Moise Tellier, for example, was a fruit seller who operated out of his home on 222 Craig Street who was arrested in 1868 by a police officer, likely after returning from the noted cruising grounds of the Champ-de-Mars.¹⁵ While a burial record appears in the Basilique Notre-Dame archive, I have been unable to locate a corresponding grave. Men including Alfred Métayer dit St-Onge, Calixte Desjardin, and Ulrich J. Geoffrion were sentenced to varying terms at St. Vincent-de-Paul Penitentiary though appear and disappear from Canadian census data and Montreal’s Lovell directory after the trials or expected release dates—intertwining their biological, social, and archival deaths.¹⁶

Though these accounts are unclear in indicating the final resting places of the men described, Cimetière du Père-Lachaise in Paris, France and Cambridge Cemetery, in Cambridge, Massachusetts—both precedents for Mount Royal Cemetery—were chosen as the final resting places for authors Oscar Wilde and Henry James. The support of an ex-lover commemorated Wilde’s rejection of heteronormativity while James’ memory was left in the hands of his family who sought to cleanse the passions in his work through the medium of his grave. Both authors and their graves reflect two central concepts of closure and disclosure regarding non-heterosexuality in society and the cemetery.

Oscar Wilde was buried in Père-Lachaise in 1909 after a nine-year interment in Cimetière des Bagnoux. Falling ill two years after his imprisonment in Reading Gaol from well-publicized gross indecency charges, it was the author’s executor and occasional lover Robert Ross who commissioned both the removal of the body and construction of a monumental tomb.¹⁷ Upon Wilde’s re-interment, sculptor Jacob Epstein



Fig. 3a and 3b The tomb of Oscar Wilde in Père-Lachaise by sculptor Jacob Epstein and architect Charles Holden. Photograph by Emma Hannaford

was commissioned to design and execute a commemorative sculpture for the author.¹⁸ Epstein's "Demon Angel" drew from the design of the Khorsabad gates displayed at the British Museum and was filled with icons venerating non-heterosexuality, such as a crown containing figures symbolizing pride, luxury, and fame (Figure 3a, 3b).¹⁹ This Assyrian-inspired memorial sharply contrasted the adjacent Catholic monuments in Père-Lachaise. As the author exemplified the price paid for embracing sexual freedom, oppressed by religious and governmental institutions, the tomb commemorated and disclosed the struggles Wilde faced negotiating his social world.

In 1916, author Henry James was laid to rest in the James' family plot in Cambridge Cemetery. After his death, James' literary works and letters came under the authority of his family who embarked on a campaign to purify the potential homoerotic content of the correspondence, even restricting access to the letters of his associates and those held at Harvard. Though James had wanted to distance his literary legacy from his personal life, the multi-generational guard over the author's works and letters continued until 2000 illustrating that the family had a much more influential role in the "closeting" of his memory.²⁰ Like the campaign, the grave functioned as an instrument for the family to veil his suspected desire.

James' physical positioning in the plot, delineated within the cemetery by a brick wall bearing the "James" family name, assisted in concealing the potential non-heterosexuality in his work. He rests beside his mother, father, and brother, consolidating the nuclear family structure while the consistent profiles of the tombstones reflect a biological family connection—shared family traits rendered in stone as similar physical characteristics. Absent of ornament, James' tombstone reads 'Novelist—

Citizen of Two Countries Interpreter of His Generation on Both Sides of the Seas', while the epitaphs of his mother and sister-in-law specify their roles as "wife" to William and Henry James Sr.—consolidating sexual and gender relations. Kosofsky-Sedgwick emphasizes the Bachelor character in James' writings, concluding that he is divorced from discourses surrounding his sexuality.²¹ Like James' Bachelor character, his grave is disconnected from any discussion of sexuality following the argument that Victorian domestic privacy required presentation as 'a visual representation of having nothing to hide'.²² Thus, to rectify his domesticated and feminized nature, the placement of James' tombstone within the plot and relational epitaph physically and textually presents him as a parallel to the patriarchal figure of his father Henry James Sr., void of any secret desire.

The material nature of the closet, in each case, was a significant force in positioning the bodies and memories of the deceased. The binaries of in/out were perhaps the most important forces influencing these commemorative structures. As opposed to navigating the closet, the graves and the bodies within were constituted by it; their material and metaphoric skeletons of sexuality either closed or disclosed.

Siblings, Mothers and Maids

The grave can also complicate, caught between closing and disclosing, like the Redpath monument (Figure 4) in Mount Royal Cemetery, designed by architect Gratton Thompson. The Redpath family, shareholders of the Redpath Sugar Company and well-recognized philanthropists of Montreal, employed architecture to construct a particular family legacy concerning the rumoured sexuality of J. Clifford Redpath and the murder of his mother Ada Mills Redpath. The monument also aids in constructing an incomplete narrative concerning the "romantic friendship" between playwright, and sister of J. Clifford Redpath, Amy Redpath and her servant Mary Rose Shallow. Their grave is not constituted by the closet but oscillates between in and out, never comfortably adhering to either position.

In 1901, the murder-suicide of Ada Mills Redpath at the hands of her 24-year-old son Clifford shocked Montreal. According to the Coroner's report, Clifford 'suffered insanity caused from an epileptic attack'.²³ The insanity and mental illness referenced in the report as well as in the press may have been an oblique reference to his sexuality.²⁴ While these theories are incapable of being sufficiently substantiated, the deaths of Clifford and Ada nonetheless deconstruct the purity of the family unit. Yet, both Clifford and Ada received a high Anglican funeral, which was forbidden for those who had committed suicide. While these events bring the relationships of family members under scrutiny, the burial of Clifford and his mother Ada together in the family plot and corresponding funerary rites reconstituted the safety of the traditional family form following the transgression of matricide.



Fig. 4 The Redpath Monument in Mount Royal Cemetery.
Photograph by author.

While the Redpath monument is a direct reference to the power of the family, being a miniature of the Roddick gates commissioned by Amy Redpath flanking the entrance to McGill University, Sisters Maggie Shallow Coleman and Mary Rose Shallow—maids to the Redpaths at the time of Clifford and Ada’s deaths—are buried alongside their employers. Though the Redpaths had additional live-in servants and employees, none of these individuals received the same form of commemoration.

Mary Rose Shallow, a Newfoundland-born servant of Amy Redpath, was originally buried in Montreal’s Catholic cemetery before Redpath had her body exhumed and reinterred in the family plot in 1944. A burial card indicates the movement of Shallow’s body to the Redpath family plot, illustrating that Amy Redpath went to the trouble of moving the body as opposed to just simply including her name in the epitaph. Therefore, it can be inferred that it was important for Redpath that not only Shallow’s memory, but also her body, be laid to rest alongside her. As the monument projected the lineage of the family, the addition of Shallow and Coleman raise questions concerning their ambiguous relationship with the family. Together, the epitaphs on the monument, photographic evidence and textual documents illuminate the relationship between Shallow and Redpath.

The Redpath’s epitaphs occupy the front surfaces of the monument, beginning with, Sir Thomas George Roddick and Amy Redpath followed by Jocelyn Clifford Redpath, Patriarch John James Redpath and finally Ada Mills Redpath (Figure 5). The epitaphs of Mary Rose Shallow and Maggie Shallow Coleman are carved on the back (Figure 6). The rear of the monument is deliberately difficult to access, with the bushes surrounding



Fig. 5 The epitaphs of the Redpath family on the front of the monument. Photograph by author.



Fig. 6 The epitaphs of Mary Rose Shallow and Maggie Shallow Coleman on the back of the Redpath Monument. Photograph by author.

the monument obstructing the view of the rear from all positions in the cemetery. Coleman's inscription reads "House Keeper & Friend" while Shallows states "Beloved Companion of Lady Roddick."

Alongside the unusual epitaph, family photographs of the two women attest to the complex nature of their relationship. One photograph captures the women on vacation in Egypt, riding camels with the pyramids in the distance, while another shows the two posing for a portrait.²⁵ As Shallow never married nor had children, she appears to replace the standing figure of Redpath's husband, Sir Thomas Roddick, while Amy sits in her wheelchair.²⁶ The photograph presents the two in isolation, possibly as a couple, not merely employee/employer.

In a will produced two years after the death of Roddick, Amy Redpath reveals distinct elements of her relationship with Shallow. The 1925 will stipulates that if Redpath were to pass away, Shallow would receive a monthly income of \$1200.00 along with her clothing—extending beyond the relationship the Redpaths had with other domestic workers.²⁷ The document also noted that Shallow lived with Redpath reinforcing the importance of their burial location as parallel to their domestic lives. As Shallow was described as a "spinster" and Redpath as a "widow"—both childless and living together—their status in the domestic sphere contrasted the expectations of male/female couples. Speculations regarding their intimacy aside, the private lives of the two women contrasted the prescribed nuclear family of Victorian Montreal.

Lillian Faderman has characterized female "romantic friendships" like Redpath and Shallow as neither morally perverse nor harmful and widely accepted by society.²⁸ These friendships, though a mirror of heterosexual relationships, did not necessarily involve the same sexual or gender dynamics. They operated outside of the persecution of acts attributed to sex between men. As both the law and society disregarded feminine desire, with scarce legislation in Montreal concerning female sexuality at the time, the non-heterosexual "friendship" between the women was ignored.²⁹

The two pairings of Amy Redpath on the monument, with Thomas Roddick and Mary Rose Shallow, drag her domestic status as a wife and as a widow to the grave and immortalize the complexities of her sexuality—affirmed and speculated. The grave participates in what Colleen Lomos has called a 'modern impulse to tell what is supposed to be the truth about sexuality, while at the same time, irretrievably complicating and undermining that impulse'.³⁰ As an affluent member of English Montreal, she may have been able to subvert the moral vision of the cemetery, simultaneously revealing and concealing, articulating and complicating, her relationship with Shallow.

Unlike Clifford, Amy Redpath had the capacity to commission her grave as well as organize her position and the position of others. She was careful

to destroy any material regarding the violent events that claimed the lives of her brother and mother, yet deliberately chose to leave these material traces of her desire. This action attempted to disclose sexuality and love relations (the closet interior) through the epitaphs while simultaneously complicating their relationship to the family structure (the exterior of the closet), making an accurate picture difficult to infer from the traces on the monument alone. In full control of her memory, unlike Wilde or James, Redpath was able to challenge the closet—positioning her body neither completely in nor out.

Conclusion

Unpacking the relationship between architecture, sexuality and memory in Montreal, Paris and Cambridge offers a way to think about the grave as a critical archival document. The grave appears to conform to what Ann Cvetkovich terms a ‘trauma archive’, resulting from situated political violence, trauma and sexuality.³¹ She argues that trauma challenges what constitutes an archive, pressuring forms of documentation and commemoration. ‘Memory of trauma is imbedded in material artifacts’, she writes ‘nostalgia, personal memory, fantasy, and trauma—make a document significant’.³²

Both the closet and the grave are documents of trauma, becoming central to rectifying absences in collective memory. Situated political violence concerning same-sex activity in Montreal suggests the absence of grave is a continuation of the archival closet. Institutions do not extend the same archival privilege to those convicted of “indecent acts” as the elite families in the cemetery. Their traces appear in newspaper clippings that, like the closet, are not part of the room or museum but located at the edge; present yet concealed. Thus, much of this research focused on more affluent or aristocratic individuals whose memories were not defined by archives that inevitably fail to contain an image of pre-liberation same-sex activity in Montreal.³³

As an archive, the grave may be the last vestige of these men in the city they once inhabited, potentially filled with personal and collective memory. Not part of an institutional collection but an active element of the city, the grave may construct a false history, challenging the authenticity of memory while containing secret truths. Shelley Hornstein has described this challenge to authenticity as anti-memory, or a particular form of remembrance that involves ‘the making of a place that derives its order from the obscuring of its own recollected past’.³⁴ The grave universalizes, commemorating unstable perceptions of sexuality, and it particularises, identifying the memory of a particular individual and their desire. This follows Kosofsky-Segwick’s argument that queer individuals ‘are located within an irreducible set of minoritizing and universalizing views on sexuality. These two views contrast the ideas that people really are gay while simultaneously preserving that desire is inherently unstable’.³⁵ The

need to locate these graves—unpacking their relationship with the material and metaphoric closet—will remain integral to continuing to assemble an image of same-sex desire that challenges existing narratives, both nationally and internationally. Whether it functions to close, disclose, or oscillate, the grave is an important, if not integral, component of queer memory.

In embracing the Redpath Monument as an archive or form of anti-memory that refuses to entirely close or disclose, telling truths and lies, offers a window into the power/knowledge structures that continue to position our bodies and memory. In acknowledging the enduring relations to the metaphoric closet embedded in architecture, the monument suggests how we may navigate these structures from the closet to the grave.

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Endnotes

- ¹ J. Lester Feder, "Israeli Supreme Court Rejects Family Petition To Bury Trans Woman As Their 'Son'," *Buzzfeed*, November 25, 2015, https://www.buzzfeed.com/lesterfeder/israel-supreme-court-rejects-family-petition-to-bury-trans-w?utm_term=.vcDGomdRb#.ohqoYPlwv (accessed November 2, 2017).
- ² To avoid confusion between modern sexual identity and the behaviours of the past, I refer to acts before 1900 as "sex between men" or "same-sex relations" while occasionally titling this "homosexuality" to make my point, though this term was not used. After 1900, these acts between men begin to exist within a "homosexual subculture." The term "queer" became articulated and more prominent after 1920. See for example Gary William Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire: Sexuality in Canada* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890 - 1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983); Joy Park and Mark Rosenfeld, eds., *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd, 1996); Mary C. Hurley, *Sexual Orientation and Legal Rights: A Chronological Overview* (Ottawa: Parliamentary Information and Research Services, 2005); Terry Chapman, "An Oscar Wilde type: 'the abominable crime of buggery' in Western Canada, 1890-1920," *Criminal Justice History* 4 (1983): 97-118; Terry Chapman, "Sex Crimes in Western Canada, 1890-1920" (PhD Diss., University of Alberta, 1984).
- ³ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 68.
- ⁴ OED (Oxford English Dictionary) online, "closet, n.," last modified 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/34625?rskey=UuJfay&result=1> (accessed November 2, 2017).
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⁷ This is by no means an exhaustive list, but these sources have been particularly enlightening regarding cemeteries in society, specifically the nineteenth century. Blanche Linden, *Silent City on a Hill: Picturesque Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007); David Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Dell Upton, "Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 7 (1997): 131-145; Ken Warpole, *Last Landscapes: The Architecture of the Cemetery in the West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003); Meg Greene, *Rest in Peace: A History of American Cemeteries* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2008); Michel Ragon, *The Space of the Dead: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983); Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Dominion of the Dead* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003); Thomas Harvey, "Sacred Spaces, Common Places: The Cemetery in the Contemporary American City," *Geographical Review* 96, no.2 (2006): 295-312.
⁸ Brian Young, *Respectable Burial: Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 30; Thomas A. Lacquer, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2015), 215; Sidney & Neff Architects, *Plan of Mount Royal Cemetery*, map (Pennsylvania: Sidney & Neff, 1852). McCord Museum, UAPT87.
⁹ I owe this train of thought to Brian Young who wrote, "And there is always the issue of the cemetery as a controlled space." Brian Young, email to author, February 14, 2016.

¹⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 32-33.

¹¹ For a more in depth analysis of the methods in which architecture assisted in reproducing heteronormativity see Evan Pavka, "From the Closet to the Grave: Architecture, Sexuality and Mount Royal Cemetery 1867 to 1954" (master's thesis, McGill University, 2016), 54-97.

¹² John Claudius Loudon, *On the Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries: And On the Improvement of Churchyards* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843), 10.

¹³ George Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 8.

¹⁴ In Montreal, the press often referred to crimes of homosexuality as "abominable." See for instance "An Abominable Assault." *Evening Star*, 8 June 1869, 3.

¹⁵ Hamish Copley illustrates the missteps of newspapers at the time regarding Tellier's arrest, favouring a modest view of the events compared to the salacious reporting. Hamish Copley, "Tales from the Champ-de-Mars, Part 1: The Moise Tellier Trial," *The Drummer's Revenge: LGBT History and Politics in Canada*, May 4, 2016, <https://thedrummersrevenge.wordpress.com/2016/05/04/tales-from-the-champ-de-mars-part-1-the-moise-tellier-trial/> (accessed June 28, 2016).

¹⁶ Patrice Corriveau, *Judging Homosexuals: A History of Gay Persecution in Quebec and France* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 65, 208; "Des corrupteurs de la jeunesse," *La Patrie*, September 30, 1908, 1; *Montreal Directory for 1905-1906: Alphabetical Directory of the Citizens* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1905), 996.

¹⁷ Michael Pennington, *An Angel for a Martyr: Jacob Epstein's Tomb for Oscar Wilde* (London: Mrts, 1987), 1-2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁰ Colm Toibin, "Colm Toibin: how Henry James' tried to keep him in the closet," *The Guardian*, February 20, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/feb/20/colm-toibin-how-henry-james-family-tried-to-keep->

- him-in-the-closet (accessed November 2, 2017). For an in-depth reading of the sexual dimension of James' works see "Histories of Sexuality in *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Bostonian*," in Jeffrey Tambling, *Henry James* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 2, 48-77; "The Beast in the Closet – Henry James," in *Epistemology of the Closet*, 185 -212.
- ²¹ Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 202. Sedgwick also argues that James' writing alludes to his attempts to remain in the closet, the secret and submerged subject of his work. *Ibid.*, 250.
- ²² Pamela Gilbert, *The Citizen's Body: Desire, Health, and the Social in Victorian England* (Columbus: The Ohio University State Press, 2007), 67.
- ²³ "We the undersigned Jurors having heard the evidence declare: that Clifford Jocelyn Redpath died at Montreal on the thirteenth day of June nineteen hundred & one, from a gunshot wound inflicted by his own hand while suffering from temporary insanity caused by an epileptic attack from which he was suffering at the time: he being at the time unconscious of what he was doing: Montreal, June 14, 1901." Ed McMahon, Coroner's Court – Jocelyn Clifford Redpath, June 14, 1901, Archives Nationales du Quebec – Centre d'archives de Montreal.
- ²⁴ Adams, Minnet, Poutenan, and Theodore have pointed out that Amy Redpath's extensive diaries make no mention of epilepsy or other conditions attributed to Clifford after the attack. Annmarie Adams, et al. "She must not stir out of a darkened room': The Redpath Mansion Mystery," *Material Culture Review* 72 (2010): 20.
- ²⁵ "Amy Redpath and Mary Rose Shallow in Egypt," photographer unknown, 1924, Collection Amy Linda Redpath; "Rose Shallow and Amy Redpath in a wheeled chair," photographer unknown, 1930, Rare Books and Special Collections Division, McGill University Library.
- ²⁶ Thomas Roddick is often depicted standing in such photographs as "Dr. Roddick and his Daughters," photography by Notman and Sandham, 1876, McCord Museum, II-40843; "Dr. Roddick," photograph by Notman and Sandham, 1880, McCord Museum, II-41260.1; "Dr. Roddick," photography by Notman and Sandham, 1882, McCord Museum, II-63859.1. In contrast, Lady Roddick is usually depicted sitting "Lady Roddick in Her Livingroom," photograph by Wm Notman and Son, 1930, McCord Museum, II-297450; "Portrait of Lady Roddick, 2nd Wife of Sir Thomas Roddick," Oil on Canvas, Robert Harris, 1890-1910, McCord Museum, M969X.76.
- ²⁷ Amy Redpath, Last Will and Testament of Amy Redpath, January 29, 1925, Rare Books and Special Collections Division McGill University.
- ²⁸ Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship Between Women From the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1981), 16-17.
- ²⁹ Corriveau, *Judging Homosexuals*, 67-68.
- ³⁰ Colleen Lomos, *Deviant Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 173.
- ³¹ Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 7.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 7, 243-4.
- ³³ Much of the current image of same-sex activity in Montreal is a result of the ongoing work of Ross Higgins, co-founder of the Archives gaies du Quebec. See also Ross Higgins, "A Sense of Belonging: Pre-Liberation Space, Symbolics, and Leadership in Gay Montreal." (PhD Diss., McGill University, 1997).
- ³⁴ Shelley Hornstein, *Losing Site: Architecture, Memory, and Place* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 51.
- ³⁵ Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 85.

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Reconsidering *Chôra*, Architecture and “Woman”

Louise Burchill

Two strikingly divergent interpretations of the “*feminine space*” Plato designated under the name of *chôra* have been proffered by theorists seeking to rethink architecture from a feminist perspective. Elizabeth Grosz judges *chôra* to be “a founding concept” of the “disembodied femininity,” associated within our tradition with determinations of space as homogeneous and undifferentiated, whereas Ann Bergren maintains *chôra* offers a conception of moving, differential multiplicity that could, in its feminist implications, open up a radically new approach to architecture. Such a marked interpretative divergence in respect of *chôra*—which extends to the interpretation proffered by Derrida—compels attention: is this femininely-connoted space indeed cognate, *or not*, with attempts to rethink architecture from a feminist perspective?

¹ Aristotle criticizes Plato for having made the “same error” as the authors of the Orphic cosmogonies: namely, that of attributing the cosmos to be born from a pre-existing state of chaos. In the Orphic cosmogonies, this state is designated “Night” and qualified as the “mother of all things” and “wet-nurse”—the same epithets as those Plato uses for *chôra*. See: Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Book 12: 1071b 25 sq.

² See, for instance: Ross, *Plato's Theory of Ideas*, 125.

The association of space with “woman” is as old as the world itself. It spans our entire tradition from the very first cosmogonies—whose account of how the cosmos, or world, came to be typically depicts this as originating in a femininely-connoted entity or “place”—up to our contemporaneity, with the last decades of the twentieth century indeed displaying a singular speculative attention to the imbrication of “the feminine” and space. Two texts from the 1990s contributing to this speculative exploration of the space-woman relation are of particular interest here in that their common concern to rethink architecture from a feminist perspective leads both to re-examine the enigmatic notion of *chôra* that Plato was to introduce—under the influence, no doubt, of the Orphic cosmogonies¹—in one of his last works, the *Timaeus* (circa 357 B.C.). Arguably the first concept in the Western tradition of space in general, as distinct from the space occupied by any particular thing,² *chôra*'s consistent qualification by Plato as “mother” and “nurse of all becoming” is one of the reasons for its quite remarkable reinvestment as a concept of preeminent critical concern from the late 1960s on by contemporary French philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva. Both of the 1990s' texts of interest here—namely, Ann Bergren's “Architecture Gender Philosophy” (1992) and Elizabeth Grosz's “Women, *Chora*, Dwelling” (1994)—choose to focus, moreover, on the re-evaluation of *chôra* proposed by Derrida which had served in the mid-1980s as the basis for the latter's collaboration with Peter Eisenman on the architectural project *Choral Works*, thus spearheading the philosopher's subsequent sustained theoretical engagement with the question of architecture. Crucially, both Bergren and Grosz take task with Derrida's interpretation, arguing this—much to the contrary of Derrida's own claims—to ultimately prove complicitous with Plato's description of *chôra* as a “passive,” homogeneous support-space that is capable of assuring the faithful reproduction of the forms “impressed” within or upon it because it lacks any specific properties or characteristics of its own. Bergren and Grosz alike underline that such a conception of “space” as a neutral, impassive and stabilized ground or recipient morphologically reproduces the attributes traditionally associated with a femininity determined as necessarily complementary (or rather, subordinate) to the active fashioning of forms, ideas and, indeed, worlds imputed to male subjectivity. Yet, whatever Bergren's and Grosz's concurrence on the problematic nature of *chôra* conceived as a purely passive space-support without any identity, essence or productivity of its own, their respective analyses of both the failings of Derrida's interpretation in this respect and, more overarchingly, the very value of *chôra* for thinking architecture anew from a feminist perspective could not be more divergent.

For Grosz, *chôra* is the “founding concept” of a “disembodied femininity” that, through its association with the homogeneous, isotropic space traditionally informing the built environment, would serve as the ground for the production of our ever-increasingly inequitable and unsustainable,

³ Grosz, "Women, *Chora*, Dwelling," 124.

"man-made" world. Characterizing architecture as thereby linked in its very concept to the phallogocentric effacement of women and female corporeality, Grosz judges Derrida's "reconceptualization of *chôra*, space and spatiality" to equally perpetuate this appropriation and disenfranchisement of femininity. Theorists seeking to rethink space, time, and dwelling in a manner that no longer erases, or distorts, women's specificity would better turn, she argues, to the work of Luce Irigaray, whose analyses of our culture's *constitutive* non-recognition of the debt it owes to the "maternal-feminine," *qua* the primordial space from which all subjects emerge, underlie Grosz's description of *chôra* as veritably emblematic of the "endless metaphorization of femininity" that serves as "the condition for men's self-representation and cultural reproduction."³ While gesturing towards a possible feminist reappropriation of *chôra*'s maternal dimension, Grosz discerns *chôra* all in all to offer no resources for devising, occupying, or living in new spaces that would, in turn, help generate new modalities of dwelling within the world and with others.

Bergren, on the other hand, all while equally contesting Derrida's and Plato's depiction of the "matrix of becoming," seeks to *re-instate*, as it were, a very different conception of *chôra* in striking contrast with the conceptualization of femininity and space that has dominated our tradition. Contrary to Grosz (and Irigaray), Bergren refuses, that is, to reduce *chôra* to a passive, homogeneous or characterless, inert space—or femininity—serving as "support" for the impression, or reflection, of virile forms. She instead distinguishes this "passified *chôra*" from what she aptly calls the "pre-architectural *chôra*": namely, *chôra* as it exists primordially, in an ever-changing state of moving, differential multiplicity, *before* its subjection to the processes of geometrization, commensuration and domestication overseen by the Demiurge-Architect of Plato's *Timaeus*. For Bergren, this active, (self-)differentiating *chôra* could well, in its feminist implications, open up a radically new approach to architecture.

Such a marked interpretative divergence in respect of *chôra* compels attention: is this femininely-connoted space indeed cognate, *or not*, with attempts to rethink architecture from a feminist perspective? By revisiting Bergren's and Grosz's texts, alongside (however briefly) those of Plato and Derrida, what follows is an attempt to gauge anew whether *chôra*, and the association of space and woman it forges at the very beginning of the Western philosophical and architectural tradition, offers room for reimagining our conceptual and social universe.

Chôra—amorphous and undifferentiated space

It is not until about half-way into the *Timaeus* that Plato introduces the notion of *chôra* as the necessary complement to the cosmogonic system he had hitherto set up in terms of the relation between the ontological sphere of Forms or Ideas, intelligible and perpetually selfsame, and the

⁴ Bergren, “Architecture Gender Philosophy,” 17, and note 68, 47.

⁵ The first occurrences of these terms in the *Timaeus* are found, respectively, at: 50d, 50a-b, 50c, and 52b.

⁶ Plato’s description of *chôra* as “amorphous and undifferentiated” (in 50d7 to 50e4) is, for that matter, contested by *all* the French philosophers having reinvested the Platonic notion in the latter half of the twentieth century: all deem it necessary to wrest, as it were, *chôra* from such a metaphysical determination. I’ve elaborated this point elsewhere: Burchill, “Re-Situating *the Feminine* in Contemporary French Philosophy,” 91sq.

⁷ See *Timaeus*, 91d.

sensible or phenomenal copies that, “coming to be and ceasing to be,” ever-changing, only participate in “being” insofar as they imitate the intelligible sphere. According to this framework, the cosmos (or universe) is to be understood, then, as the material “likeness,” or copy, of the intelligible realm of ideal Forms: a copy that, unlike the Forms, can be perceived and sensed. A divine *démiourgos*—“craftsperson,” “artisan” or, indeed, “architect”⁴—is specified by Plato to have constructed the cosmos, with this a task carried out by taking the eternal Forms as model or paradigm so as to build the cosmos in conformity with reason and, accordingly, as beautiful and as good as possible (28a6-b1, 30c-31a). Plato was to judge, however, this dualistic framework of intelligible model and visible copy as insufficient to explain the genesis of the sensible world as such. The copy required the support of a medium or something “in which” it becomes, thus compelling Plato to add a “third kind” to his two pre-established kinds of “nature.” Qualified from the outset as seeming to defy rational apprehension, this requisite “third kind” is first referred to in the *Timaeus* “as the receptacle and, as it were, the nurse of all becoming” (49d) before then being given a whole series of other designations—such as “mother,” “amorphous plastic material,” “matrix” or “imprint-bearer,” and “place”⁵—in the attempt to circumscribe its eminently elusive, “obscure and difficult” nature.

The term “*chôra*”—variously translated as “space,” “place,” “milieu,” or “room,” in the sense of “volume”—only appears, in fact, at the end of this designatory series, with a number of commentators maintaining “*chôra*” to thereby yield the *meaning* of the chain of preceding names, qualified as metaphoric or non-technical. Be this as it may, Plato’s use of the word *χώρα* in the *Timaeus* does, as already intimated, seem the first occurrence in Greek literature of the term in the sense of space in general. Which is to say that Plato would have created the very concept of space and have done so, crucially, by way of reference to a feminine principle: *chôra* verily *conceived* as “mother,” “nurse of all becoming,” and “receptacle of all bodies.”

The necessity that *chôra* have absolutely no attributes or features of its own—which is, of course, the stipulation both Bergren and Grosz (as well, in fact, as Derrida and Irigaray) condemn as problematic⁶—follows from its role as an intermediary between the Forms, or being, and the phenomenal copies, or becoming. Were *chôra* to possess defining characteristics or a specific shape, it would be improper to its function of ensuring that the Forms imprinted or impressed, in some strange enigmatic way, within or on it are faithfully reproduced. Nowhere is this requirement of *chôra*’s absolute morphological neutrality more clearly set out than when Plato compares *chôra*, *qua* “the receptacle in which all things come into existence,” to a mother—a comparison no doubt informed by the ancient Greek belief that the father alone fulfilled the role of progenitor; the female simply providing a formless, nutritive soil for the seeds therein sown.⁷ In paragraph 50c-d, Plato accordingly states:

We may indeed use the metaphor of birth and compare the receptacle to the mother, the model to the father and what they produce between them to their offspring; and we may notice that, if an imprint is to present a very complex appearance, the material on which it is to be stamped will not have been properly prepared unless it is devoid of all the characters which it is to receive. For if it were like any of the things that enter it, it would badly distort any impression of a contrary or entirely different nature when it receives it, as its own features would shine through.⁸

⁸ I'm citing here the translation of the *Timaeus* by Desmond Lee, 69.

To this metaphor of birth or begetting, Plato immediately adds, moreover, those of the impression or moulding of figures or forms in soft, amorphous materials and the concoction of perfumes by adding scent to an odourless base; all of which underline that the one trait defining *chôra* is precisely its lack of definition—which is to say, its utter impassivity or formlessness.

“Amorphous and undifferentiated,” *chôra* yields a space whose sexual modalization is framed by the oppositions of activity/passivity, intelligible/sensible, form/matter and mind/body ... such that space and femininity are conjoined in the figure of an impassive, ever-receptive, ever-penetrable container-recipient. Bergren and Grosz mutually condemn this determination of space and femininity, yet diametrically diverge on the status they attribute to this—whether it is indeed, or not, all that (the concept) *chôra* contains, all that *chôra* offers to thought. Crucially, this divergence transits through the two feminist theorists' reading of Derrida's *chôra*—which is where one can best isolate, then, the core reason for Bergren's and Grosz's conflicting stances on the value of *chôra* for reconceptualizations of space and architecture.

Chôra's counter-logic

That *chôra*, by virtue of its formlessness and lack of (self-)identity, should furnish the very emblem of disembodied femininity is, Grosz states, in no way surprising since it is itself conceived in terms of all the characteristics that “the Greeks and all those who follow them [...] have expelled from their own masculine self-representations and accounts of being and becoming [...] and] which they have thus *de facto* attributed to the feminine.”⁹ As a receptacle whose function is to receive everything without leaving any impression or taking any shape of its own, *chôra* would, that is, replicate the role attributed to women as the “guardians” of everything—materiality, corporeality, nature—men seek to expel or transcend in their cultural projections, with women thereby the negative mirror of masculine self-reflection. Relegated, as such, “the position of the support or precondition of the masculine,” women find themselves, in short, with “precisely the status of *chora* in the Platonic tradition.”¹⁰

⁹ Grosz, “Women, *Chora*, Dwelling,” 116.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 122.

Denouncing *chôra* for its obliteration of women's sexual specificity, Grosz's "Women, *Chora*, Dwelling" is essentially an exposition and elaboration of certain tenets of Luce Irigaray's understanding of the "feminine-maternal" as having been distorted or repressed within the conceptual and social configurations comprising Western culture since Plato. Irigaray's reconfiguring the feminine (as well as space) in terms of active, fluid relationality rather than a passive matter-support is, that said, championed by Grosz in opposition not simply to Plato's own formulations in the *Timaeus* but equally to the "reconceptualization of space and spatiality" she attributes Derrida's deconstructive reading of *chôra* to entail. Indeed, Grosz signals her intention to stage a confrontation "in the domain of the dwelling" between Irigaray and Derrida at the very outset of her text, with Derrida receiving attention in this respect both as a philosopher whose work has been of interest to feminists and as the representative of one strand of contemporary architectural theory (namely, deconstructivism). Oddly, however, Grosz never specifies what aspects of Derrida's *chôra* this confrontation would, in fact, centre on. While she indicts Derrida's work for both its "obliteration of spatiality and materiality"¹¹ and, more pointedly, its complicity with Plato's production of a concept of femininity serving as the support for men's cultural production—Derrida's reconceptualization of *chôra*, space and spatiality being, thereby, of no (or at least, no unambiguous and non-problematic) value to feminist theorists wishing to rethink space and architecture—Grosz never at any point substantiates these claims by referring to what Derrida actually sets down on the subject of *chôra* and space or materiality, or, indeed, *chôra* and the feminine.

¹¹ Ibid., 117.

¹² Ibid., 112.

When she turns to Derrida's 1987 essay "Chora"—the text serving, it should be recalled, as the "design programme" for the "architectural translation of *chôra*" Derrida was to undertake with Eisenman—Grosz's concern is, rather, to situate Derrida's interest in *chôra* as in keeping "with the larger and more general features of 'deconstructive reading' that always seeks out terms that disturb [...] the logic, explicit framework and overt intention of the text."¹² *Chôra* qualifies, of course, as such a term precisely because of its status as a "third kind" distinct from both being and becoming, such that, as neither intelligible nor sensible, it effectively opens up an aporia within the very system, or logic, of Platonic ontology. That granted, Grosz charts this counter-logic or a-logic of *chôra* solely with reference to Derrida's analyses of the textual structure of the *Timaeus*, which draw out the way in which the strange topology of *chôra* as an all-receiving, non-self-identical place infiltrates or contaminates, as it were, other apparently unrelated aspects of Plato's narration. As to the specific ramifications of *chôra*'s counter-logic for Derrida's "reconceptualization" of the fashioning of space and femininity Plato would have inaugurated, this is a line of inquiry Grosz never broaches.

¹³ Derrida, “How to Avoid Speaking: Denials,” 174.

And yet ramifications there are. In both “Chora” and “How to Avoid Speaking: Denials,” Derrida argues that this counter-logic—the fact that *chôra* “belongs to neither the sensible nor to the intelligible, neither to becoming, nor to non-being, nor to being”¹³—disqualifies the entire sequence of “metaphors” (with the exception of “receptacle”) that refer *chôra* to space or to the figure of the mother. All these “comparisons,” all these “metaphors,” are, precisely *qua metaphors*, inadequate or improper to *chôra*, Derrida states, since its counter-logic exceeds or unsettles the Platonic metaphysics in which the very concept of metaphor originates, namely in its inaugural distinction between the sensible and intelligible.

¹⁴ Ibid., 184.

Such a disqualification of *chôra qua* space or mother is hardly anodyne, especially given Derrida’s claims that, in distinction to these sexual-spatial metaphors, the “tropes” used by Plato that refer to the impression or inscription of shapes and properties in soft, amorphous substances would exceed, for their part, the opposition of the sensible and intelligible, figurative and proper sense. Indeed, *these* “tropic detours”—as Derrida puts it—along with the terms “receptacle”, “sieve” and even “virgin” (a term Plato never, in fact, uses) must be understood, he states, as “figures of the unfigurable”¹⁴: figures that do not refer, therefore, to any being or referent but remain “beyond all anthropomorphism,” “beyond all ontology.” Which is to say that, far from maintaining, with Plato, *chôra* to be at once space and feminine, Derrida very concertedly disqualifies both these predicates—and these predicates in particular—as determinations of this aporetic “site of inscription,” and does so to the point of even advancing the curious argument that *chôra* cannot be compared to a mother since, as it is not a being, it cannot be a woman!¹⁵

¹⁵ Derrida, “Chora,” 29.

That being the case, what are we to make of Grosz’s claims that it is because of a complicity with metaphorizations of femininity that Derrida’s reconceptualization of *chôra* is of little value for rethinking questions at the intersection of architecture and feminism? Insofar as Derrida stringently denies, in fact, any validity to Plato’s description of *chôra* as a “feminine space” in order to impose his interpretation of the primordial matrix as an originary site of inscription/impression, would it not rather be this *conjoint* obliteration of “femininity” and spatiality (as well, one might add, as of materiality) that should cause theorists interested in rethinking architecture from a feminist perspective to view his reconceptualization of *chôra* with caution?

Chôra—a moving, differentiating multiplicity

¹⁶ Bergren, “Architecture Gender Philosophy,” 27.

It is precisely Bergren’s argument that, by “effacing *chôra*’s gender,” Derrida not only misses the core potential of *chôra* for a deconstructive dislocation of the classical institutions of architecture and philosophy¹⁶ but would find himself thereby in complicity with Plato’s positioning of *chôra* as a homogeneous, impassive space-support—the “founding

concept,” let us recall, of what Grosz designates as “disembodied femininity.” While situating Derrida’s effacement of gender as the core of his metaphorization of femininity seems contradictory, the key to this argument—which is likewise the crux of Bergren’s and Grosz’s divergence on the value of *chôra*—lies in Bergren’s textual attention to the *two* very distinct determinations *chôra* receives in the *Timaeus*. Simply stated: the description of *chôra* as amorphous, with neither shape nor attributes of its own, pertains to the state in which “the nurse of all becoming” exists as a *result* of the creation of the cosmos—which is to say, an ordered whole—out of, or on the basis of, a *pre-existing* state of a disordered universe. Before the cosmos came into being, *chôra* yielded a very different configuration of space and femininity, destined to be “covered over” through the cosmos-constructing operations of ordering, stabilization and commensuration that the *Timaeus* itself describes as architectural.

For the cosmogonic account that is the *Timaeus*, *chôra* does indeed exist before the cosmos comes into being: this “pre-cosmic” *chôra* being described in paragraph 52d4-53a7 as manifesting an active movement in a reciprocal mobilization of itself and the elements—or fleeting traces—found within it. Because these traces—pre-cosmic prefigurations of the four elements, the building blocks of the universe: fire, air, earth and water—are heterogeneous “powers” of unequal weight, *chôra* lacks all equilibrium. Its condition is one of complete and continuous (self-)differentiation: shaken by the elements it contains, *chôra* shakes these in turn. This “reciprocal dynamism” whereby the space and the forces or elements within it impart movement and form one to the other, such that all distinction between activity and passivity is effaced, is aptly described by Bergren as “the ‘choral work’ that must be passified within the circumstructure” of cosmic order.¹⁷ Such, indeed, is the task of the Demiurge—the divine “crafts worker” Plato portrays as an architect deploying mathematics and measurement as the means by which to *construct* the four elements in accordance with the values of rationality and proportion that preside over beauty and virtue. The commensuration and stereometrisation the Demiurge exerts upon the heterogeneous traces equally stabilize *chôra*, such that it meets the criteria of homogeneity and isotropy requisite for it if it is to fulfil its (metaphysical) role as the matrix of a sensible world that is as true a likeness as possible of the intelligible Forms. As Bergren writes: “For these material *mimèmata* [copies] of Being to be born and die true to Type they must enter and exit *chôra* without any threat of maternal (de) placement to distort the resemblance. The pre-architectural condition of *chôra* must be absolutely [relegated to the] past.”¹⁸

Chora remains, however—on Plato’s own admission—refractory to order, reason and measure even after the intervention by the Demiurge, thus thwarting the tentative to subordinate it to the categories structuring Platonic metaphysics. This is the reason why, moreover, not only Derrida but quasi all the French philosophers having reinvested this notion in

¹⁷ Ibid., 26.

¹⁸ Ibid., 25-26.

the latter half of the twentieth century hail it as a precursor of their own notions of “difference” or “differance,” “multiplicity” and “heterogeneity.” All (with the exception of Irigaray, in fact) wish to reclaim, as it were, the infinitely repeatable divisibility and ever-changing configuration that *chôra* as it exists in its pre-cosmic state, before the attempts by Plato/the Demiurge to render it amorphous. As Julia Kristeva makes particularly clear—with her remarks resonating strongly here with Bergren’s—Plato would aim in this way to turn a moving, differential multiplicity into a container or receptacle, and thus construct an architectural, inert space-support out of an infinitely diversified space characterized by constant movement and division.¹⁹ For both Kristeva and Bergren, furthermore, this mobile, heterogeneous space is indeed emblematic of a “feminine modality” resolutely refractory to the imposition and support of phallogocentric structures.

¹⁹ Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, 25sq. and note 13, 239-240.

As for Derrida, he would miss the potential this pre-architectural *chôra* proffers for the deconstruction of both classical ontology and architectural classicism, Bergren argues, because, by disqualifying the attribution to *chôra* of a feminine gender and privileging the tropes of impression and inscription instead, he is led to focus almost exclusively on the “post-architectural” *chôra*—thus corroborating Plato’s repression of “choral instability.” This complicity with Plato’s passification of a moving, “irrational,” primordial space-matrix is compounded moreover, Bergren contends, by Derrida’s surreptitiously *reconstructing* *chôra*’s gender by attributing to the latter, *qua* “inaccessible, impassive, amorphous,” a “virginity radically rebellious against anthropomorphism.”²⁰ Derrida may well invoke a non-anthropomorphic virginity but, as “a sexual and social category of the female” (albeit the term can, of course, apply to both sexes), “virginity” necessarily reintroduces gender, Bergren maintains, and particularly when the term is used, as in Derrida’s case, in apposition with “inaccessible” and “impassive” where the reference to feminine gender seems intended.²¹ What Bergren does not add but which she might well have, is that Derrida is in fact reinforcing here his disqualification of *chôra* as a “mother” in favour of the typographical tropes of printing/impression. For by qualifying *chôra* as virgin, not only does Derrida give us to understand that it is doubly improper to compare this “matrix of all things” to a mother—since it is not only *not* a woman (insofar as it is not a being) but a virgin to boot!—but he substitutes to Plato’s “maternal space,” by the same stroke, a “typographical matrix,” which, as he explains to Eisenman during their architectural collaboration, is indeed what he means by a radically non-anthropomorphic virginity. “Chôra [...] has to be a virgin place, [...] absolutely blank [such that] everything that is printed on it is automatically effaced.”²²

²⁰ Derrida, “Chora,” 17.

²¹ Bergren, “Architecture Gender Philosophy,” 30 and note 149, 45.

²² Kipnis and Leeser, *Chora L Works*, 10.

This being the case, Derrida’s reconstruction of gender, as read by Bergren, proves interestingly to corroborate the two claims advanced (but not textually substantiated) by Grosz in her very different reading of

Derrida's "Chora." There is indeed a "metaphorization of femininity" and "obliteration of spatiality and materiality" in Derrida's reconceptualization of *chôra*, the virginity he attributes to the latter being precisely the metaphorization by which he seeks to assure his interpretation of *chôra* as a blank site of inscription and thus disqualify its spatial and maternal dimension. Had Grosz not equally focused exclusively on the post-architectural state of *chôra*, moreover, she might well have concurred with Bergren that, in its status as a moving, differential multiplicity, actively informing the elements within it just as it is itself informed by the latter, *chôra* offers abundant resources not only for a feminist reappropriation of its maternal dimension but equally for new conceptualizations of space.

What might such conceptualizations look like? One suggestion comes from Bergren herself who was to propose, some twenty years after her article reinstating pre-architectural *chôra*, that the reciprocal dynamism or "perpetual 'loop' of 'shaking' and 'being shaken'" characterizing *chôra* in its pre-cosmic state would find a contemporary exemplification in the "animate form" pioneered by Greg Lynn in the 1990s. Just as pre-architectural *chôra* is simultaneously active and passive, marked by disequilibrium, "so the surfaces of 'animate form' can turn back on themselves, thus erasing the distinction between active and passive movement,"²³ while animation software's capacity to "calculate, measure and construct irregular curved surfaces" creates continual architectural "anomaly."²⁴ Space as conceived/deployed here is no longer a static, immutable whole but, rather, a continuously transformative multiplicity that both internalizes outside events and imparts a fluidity and mutability to the forces or elements it contains. That such fluid, mutable, continuous, "active" space would qualify as "feminine" was in a sense signalled by Lynn himself, moreover, insofar as he attributed such a conception of space to none other than Irigaray.²⁵

²³ Bergren, "Plato's *Timaeus* and the Aesthetics of 'Animate Form'," 351.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 350.

²⁵ Lynn, *Folds, Bodies and Blobs*, 60, 83, 84, 171, 173.

²⁶ I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers of this article for having so perspicaciously summed up my argument's implications for architectural discourse, as I would equally Meike Schalk for underlining the limitations of Lynn's project.

This is not to conclude that Lynn's *Embryological House*—the project Bergren focuses on—would be in some sense uniquely "paradigmatic" of an architecture attentive to space's doubly generative and receptive agency. Certainly, the passage from post-architectural to pre-architectural *chôra*—transiting here through Derrida-Eisenman to Lynn—suggests a shift from deconstructive engagements to constructive (and rather more Deleuzian) projective experiments in architecture,²⁶ but this in no way means we wish to consecrate Lynn as a singular proponent of a non-hylomorphic, "choratic" conception of space. Indeed, Lynn's project is obviously rooted within the American architectural discourse of the late 1990s and, insofar as it is fundamentally about form and program, without any consideration of matter or materiality, it fails to render the intensive, vibratory aspect of this space-matrix of becoming. Simply, what is to be retained here is his recognizing an active, generative dimension to space—a recognition shared, that said, by Eisenman during his collaboration with Derrida when he equally proposed what can be considered (as Bergren again notes) an

²⁷ Bergren, "Architecture Gender Philosophy," 31.

²⁸ Kipnis and Leeser, *Chora L Works*, 70.

²⁹ Rebekah Sheldon aptly remarks that "chora enables us to apprehend with what frequency the plenum or spatium is posed as passive, even in new materialist writing." See her "Form / Matter / Chora: Object-Oriented Ontology and Feminist New Materialism," 212.

apt rendering of pre-architectural *chôra* in its "'circular reciprocity' of formant and trace."²⁷ Space, Eisenman contends here, in its analogy with Plato's "receptacle," would effectively, actively *form* the architectural/built object, with traces of the receptacle being left on the object, while, at the same time, the object forms the receptacle and leaves traces on it. The relation between space and that which takes place within or through it is, as such, "a reverberating, displacing activity."²⁸ It is, in short, this *dynamic* conception of space that makes both Eisenman's "sensible translation" of *chôra* and Lynn's *Embryological House* apt, or able, instantiations of pre-architectural *anômalia*, just as it equally opens up—indeed, demands—"re-imaginings" of our conceptual and social universe. Suffice it to say in this respect that, conceived as active relationality rather than "passive container," space is not only antithetical to the role that instrumental or technological rationality would attribute to it, alongside "matter" and "the earth," of proffering a fundamentally inert and every-ready resource; it also recalls to today's "new materialisms" that matter cannot be thought anew in isolation of that in, or through, which it becomes or crosses, and which exerts its own autonomous force.²⁹

As a re-configuration of "the matricial"—this being now granted a generative power allowing for the emergence of difference rather than passive reproduction of the same—, pre-architectural *chôra* finally sets down the necessity for any rethinking of matter or space to countenance the question of the sexual modalization therein involved. For this reason too, *chôra* can but be judged, in conclusion, as abundantly rich in potential for both feminist re-evaluations and other—still to come—reconceptualizations of architecture and space.

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Of the Urban and the Ocean: Rachel Carson and the Disregard of Wet Volumes

Charity Edwards

This paper examines entanglements between the urban and the oceanic through the lens of Rachel Carson and her lesser-known ‘sea trilogy’: *Under the Sea-Wind* (1941), *The Sea Around Us* (1951), and *The Edge of The Sea* (1955). Although Carson’s famous publication *Silent Spring* (1962) is lauded in the modern environmental movement, her other writings exploring our complex relationship with the ocean have been largely disregarded. I argue for Carson as an important transdisciplinary theorist of scientific knowledge, social relations, and multi-species interdependencies; and address how the neglect of these more-than-human planetary processes mask fundamental relations between the urban, water, and spatial experience – and, ultimately, our conceptualisation of this world.

- ¹ Kimberley Peters and Philip E. Steinberg, "Volume and Vision: Toward a Wet Ontology," *Harvard Design Magazine* 39 (2014): 124-29; Philip E. Steinberg and Kimberley Peters, "Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces: Giving Depth to Volume through Oceanic Thinking," *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space* 33, no. 2 (2015): 247-64.

This paper is concerned with entanglements between the urban and the ocean. I observe that many spatial practitioners typically disregard 'wet volumes' (including spaces such as bays, straits, gulfs, gyres, basins, seas, coasts, and tsunamis), so maintaining a generalised blindness towards the ocean. Here, I address this absence by examining the less well-known oceanic writings of Rachel Carson, and re-situate her work within emerging wet ontologies. The term 'wet ontology' has been popularised by critical geographers Philip Steinberg and Kimberley Peters' in their efforts to conceive of the ocean as a materially-complex and lived space requiring non-objectified theorising. In this discussion, I extend their recent scholarship to reveal historical and ongoing interdependencies between the ocean and cities. In focusing on the work of Rachael Carson I examine the long-standing obscuration of the ocean in conceptions of lived space. Her sea trilogy presents as another moment in the erasure of women from spatial debates, and highlights the overlooked role of women working at the intersection of science, ecology, and lived experience.

Carson was widely celebrated following the publication of *Silent Spring* in 1962, an unlikely bestseller on the dangers of pesticide use. The book is now lauded as a precursor to the modern movement of environmentalism. Although fixed in the public's mind for this singular achievement (as per Fig. 1), *Silent Spring* is an outlier in her writing *oeuvre*. Carson's mostly-forgotten sea trilogy: *Under the Sea-Wind* (1941), *The Sea Around Us* (1951), and *The Edge of The Sea* (1955) focussed on our complex relationship with the ocean. Those other (indeed, 'othered') books helped usher in a critical scholarship of the ocean, and prefigured the development of contemporary wet ontologies across fields as diverse as geography, urban theory, and spatial practice. This conceptualisation of the ocean requires us to rethink our fundamental relations with water: to explore embodied liquid spaces we often choose *not to notice*, even though they are central to how we experience space, time, and climate. I argue practices of disregard towards the oceanic demand the revelation of *noticing*, so that we may more acutely conceive of our collectively lived space.

This argument will be accompanied by *re-presented* imagery that foregrounds Rachel Carson and the ocean, re-situating her within these 'wet volumes' and making the extension of urban processes into the oceanic apparent. Selected images from Carson's history, texts, and her ongoing interests with urban and ocean worlds have been 're-gathered' from online sources, and re-made in conjunction with contemporary images results ranging from reportage to prompt recognition and regard. This image making can be understood as *theorising-through-noticing*, revealing neglected interdependencies between the cities, oceans, ecologies, and feminisms. There are limitations for the image-making involved in this process—not least of all, the difficulty of depicting the constantly re-forming materiality experienced by bodies and objects within the ocean. However, their value lies in demonstrating the conceptual labour required to collapse assumed boundaries between land, life, work, and deep water.

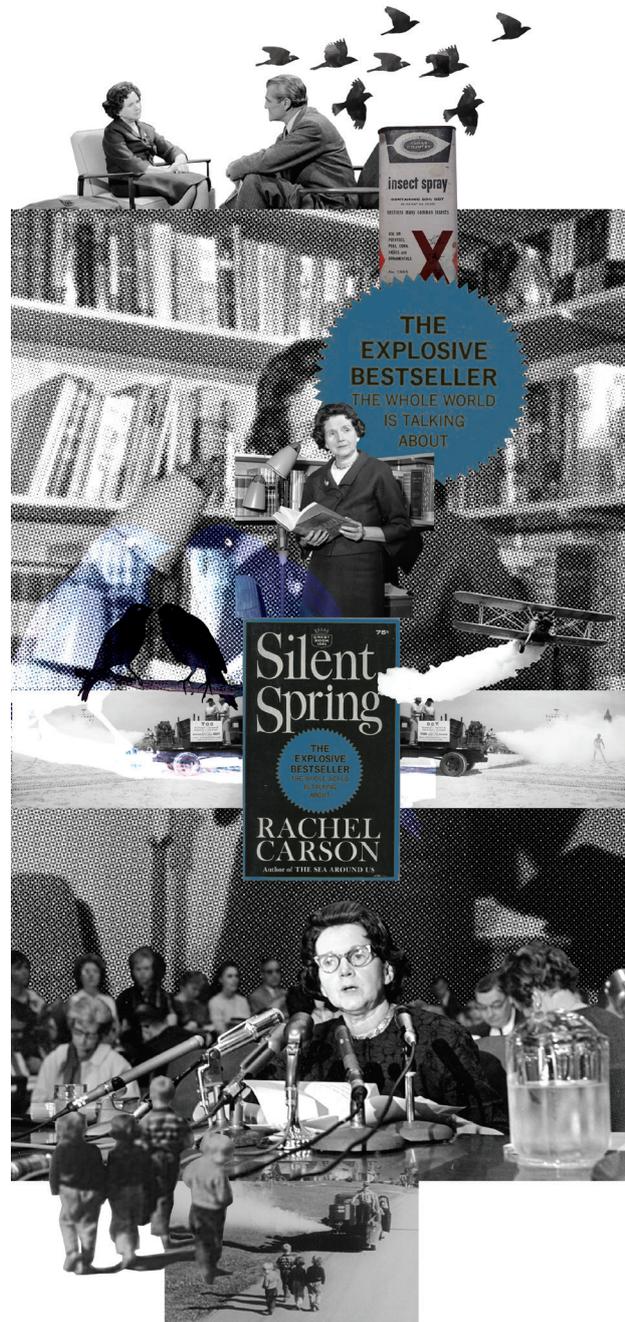


Fig. 1 *Carson, Fixed In Public* (2017). Illustration by Charity Edwards. Rachel Carson as a contested expert figure is fixed – behind a desk, in the chat-show chair, and by congressional committee – for one topic only: *Silent Spring*.

² Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 29. Lefebvre argued for the interrogation of limits to our understanding of ‘the urban’, seeing these spaces as both physical *and* ideological conceptual enclosures.

This paper will examine the rebuff of Carson and her oceanic texts, and the relationship between those writings and concepts of urban life. I will also consider the nature of the ocean itself, and show how this colossal space is excluded from critical debates on the urban. Finally, I will explore the rationale of this disregard, and ask whether the ocean represents a significant “blind field”² in conceiving of spatial experience.

The ocean, and those who write of it

- ³ Peters and Steinberg, "Volume and Vision," 127.
- ⁴ Philip E. Steinberg, "On Thalassography," in *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean*, eds. Jon Anderson and Kimberley Peters (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2014), xiii. Also includes a discussion of the 'statistical narrative' of this figure, and its role in reducing the ocean to an undifferentiated surface.
- ⁵ Statement attributed to the oceanographer Paul Snedgrove, in Jacob Carstensen, "Need for Monitoring and Maintaining Sustainable Marine Ecosystem Services," *Frontiers in Marine Science* 1 (2014): 33.
- ⁶ Christopher L. Sabine et al., "The Oceanic Sink for Anthropogenic CO₂," *Science* 305, no. 5682 (2004): 370.
- ⁷ Linda Lear, ed., *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997); Lear, Linda, ed. *Lost Woods: The Discovered Writing of Rachel Carson* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998).
- ⁸ Lear, *Rachel Carson*; Carol B. Gartner, *Rachel Carson* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1983).
- ⁹ Gartner, *Rachel Carson*. Also see the American Film Institute's catalogue for details of the 1955 adaptation of *The Sea Around Us*: <http://www.afi.com/members/catalog/DetailView.aspx?s=&Movie=51012> [Accessed 02 February 2017].
- ¹⁰ Lear, *Rachel Carson*.

Large bodies of water are typically defined by their (seeming) lack of characteristics deemed intrinsic to spatial experience, but the ocean can be better understood as a dynamic space of "relational becoming"³. Not simply landscape, but a critical lens for reflexive thinking and designing at interdependent urban and architectural scales. Viewing our planet as a series of wet volumes decentres landed bias, and challenges disciplinary norms of space and time. It is worth remembering a few statistics: 71% of our planet is covered by ocean⁴; we have explored more territory on Mars than the ocean floor⁵; and the ocean is our largest carbon sink and key for mediating rising global average temperatures⁶. When we avoid relations with *wet* and *planetary* processes, we mask connections between ourselves, others, and transforming urban practices. Carson's writings hold great value for revealing these entanglements, and this paper will consider the implications of inattention to her work. To do so, I first offer a brief sketch of Carson's life, taking care to identify the moments of disregard within a life of critical inquiry, systemic obstacles, and enmeshed relations.

The disregard of Rachel Carson

Rachel Carson was born in Pennsylvania, USA in 1907. By biographical accounts, she was an inquisitive student who later abandoned dreams of PhD research to work at the Bureau of Fisheries and Wildlife when her father died. Her elder sister died shortly afterwards, so she also cared for her two young nieces⁷. Despite these hurdles, Carson published her first significant popular science article 'Undersea' to wide acclaim in 1931. She continued to write and publish, and by 1951 her second book, *The Sea Around Us*, was serialised in *The New Yorker*⁸. During 1953, Carson was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and an Academy Award-winning film version of *The Sea Around Us* was released⁹. By the late 1950s however, further challenges unfolded: both her mother and niece died, she adopted her grandnephew, and she was diagnosed with cancer. Carson undertook a radical mastectomy however her unmarried status prevented physicians from providing prognosis following surgery at this time¹⁰.

Although in terminal ill health, she left hospital to care for her family and to continue work on *Silent Spring*. When published in 1962, the book prompted concerted attacks on Carson by the chemical industry, scientific establishment, and popular media. Indeed, Carson's preminent biographer, Linda Lear, reminds us that a former department head wrote to President Eisenhower to express his concern that Carson was "probably a communist" and wondered why "a spinster was so worried about genetics"¹¹. Like many women of this time, her responsibilities included maintaining a family, a home, and support for extended relations; as well as forging a career within the hostile sphere of scientific research. Carson

¹¹ Lear, *Lost Woods*, 429.

¹² Paul Brooks, *The House of Life: Rachel Carson at Work, with Selections from Her Writings Published and Unpublished* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973); Lear, *Rachel Carson*; Gartner, *Rachel Carson*.

¹³ Vera L. Norwood, "The Nature of Knowing: Rachel Carson and the American Environment," *Signs* 12, no. 1 (1987): 740-60; David Kinkela, "The Ecological Landscapes of Jane Jacobs and Rachel Carson," *American Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (2009): 905-28.

¹⁴ Kinkela, "The Ecological Landscapes," 9.

¹⁵ Rachel Carson, *The Sea Around Us* (New York: New American Library, 1961), 7.

died less than two years after *Silent Spring's* publication, posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in recognition of her civil service¹². This extraordinary life is difficult to reconcile with our limited recall of her work, underscoring the importance of feminist strategies that uncover interrelationships between 'life' and 'work'.

The oceanic experiences of Rachel Carson

One reason for the disregard shown to Carson may be that she countered the modernist project of disciplinary control and scientific progress throughout her writing. Neglect of her earlier work has been profound but merits closer inspection for what it reveals about spatial experience at the scale of the planet. Her writing fused scientific rigour and empathy, and the sea trilogy concerned interpersonal relations with nature in many forms. These books transformed our sense of being *inside* the home. Carson radically articulates this as the wider environment, beyond the domestic realm – and *outside* as the 'world' (that is, the planet)¹³.

Published between 1941 and 1955, her sea trilogy includes: *Under the Sea-Wind*, which followed migrations of animals ascribed with emotions; *The Sea Around Us*, a catalogue of ocean research and warnings about planetary change; and *The Edge of The Sea*, a handbook of field research and philosophical enquiry into the nature of land and sea¹⁴. In this series, Carson deliberately blurred technical expertise, narrative play, and critical re-imaginings. This strategy has particular contemporary resonance, whereby assumed orders are collapsing and no single event, object, or body seems wholly unconnected from a network of others. She describes the temporality of wet volumes:

Every part of earth or air or sea has an atmosphere peculiarly its own, a quality or characteristic that sets it apart from all others. *When I think of the floor of the deep sea, the single, overwhelming fact that possesses my imagination is the accumulation of sediments* [original emphasis]. I see always the steady, unremitting, downward drift of materials from above, flake upon flake, layer upon layer – a drift that has continued for hundreds and millions of years¹⁵.

Carson transcended typically clichéd anthropomorphism, demanding moral consideration of non-humans – and far ahead of our current Anthropocene critiques:

I believe that most popular books about the ocean are written from the viewpoint of a human observer and record his impressions and interpretations of what he saw. I was determined to avoid this human bias as much as possible.... I decided that the author as a person or human observer

should never enter the story but that it should be told as a simple narrative of the lives of certain animals of the sea. As far as possible, I wanted my readers to feel that they were, for a time, actually living the lives of sea creatures¹⁶.

¹⁶ Rachel Carson quoted in Lear, *Lost Woods*, 55-56.

¹⁷ Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Routledge, 2013).

Operating from the peripheries of power, she was devalued as a ‘spinster hysteric’ by the scientific community even after decades of field research (see Fig. 2). Donna Haraway writes that this disregard occurs often in scientific and cultural domains, where women engage with male-dominated platforms from what is perceived either ‘underneath’, obliquely, or from a position as an ‘amateur’ – but always at a lesser level of accepted authority¹⁷.

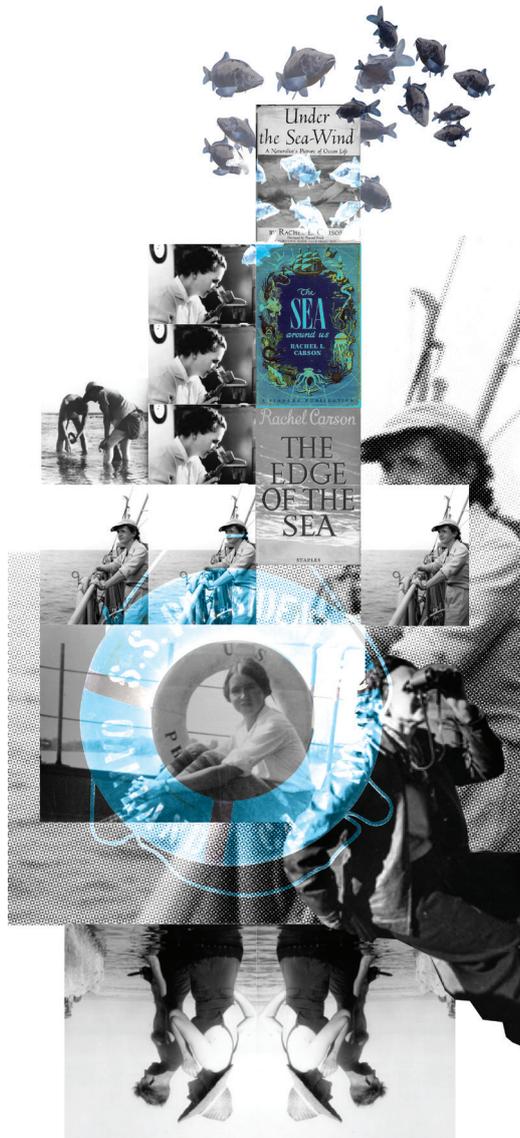


Fig. 2 Carson, *Disregarded* (2017). Illustration by Charity Edwards. Although undertaking decades of research and writing several best-selling science publications, Rachel Carson remains an isolated figure in the canon of scientific knowledge.

Noticing the disregard

Carson's life demonstrates this challenge to intellectual power: she was perpetually *othered* while celebrated as a catalyst for the modern environmental movement. Occupying a circumscribed position today, she reminds us to maintain a critical practice of uncovering the *not noticed*. Indeed, she was fascinated with the smallest of entities within the sea, paying attention to the fleeting, the transitory, and the non-fixed:

Those first living things may have been simple microorganisms rather like some bacteria we know today – mysterious borderline forms that were not quite plants, not quite animals, barely over the intangible line that separates the non-living from the living¹⁸.

¹⁸ Carson, *The Sea Around Us*, 75

As a consequence, I argue Carson is a noteworthy contributor to twentieth-century theorising of technology, nature, and society. Her work highlights that intervention often comes from the margins, and concerns we now declare as markers of the Anthropocene are shown to have much deeper roots in women's writing and transdisciplinary theorising through the sea trilogy. Carson engendered a feminist consideration of our environment that recognised (often hidden) systems as complex and hybrid forms of knowledge¹⁹. This remains a provocation for my own work today: who (or what) else has been erased, and how can they be re-articulated in the entangled relations of our urban environment?

¹⁹ Joni Seager, "Rachel Carson Died of Breast Cancer: The Coming Age of Feminist Environmentalism." *Signs* 28, no. 3 (2003): 963.

Wet ontology and spatial experience

By reconsidering Carson's sea trilogy, the ongoing requirement to dismantle binaries cleaving 'nature' and science, knowledge and experience, and bodies and spaces is further revealed. Pioneering feminist scientists, scholars, and writers as diverse as Jeanne Altmann, Karan Barad, Ruth Bleier, Carol Gilligan, Donna Haraway, Evelyn Fox Keller, Elisabeth Lloyd, Carolyn Merchant, Val Plumwood, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Isabelle Stengers, and Anna Tsing have theorised of engagement with others, and increasingly planet-scaled transformations in our Anthropocene age identify the need for new ways of thinking about the world. By recognising relations beyond positivist distinctions between humans and non-humans, Carson's oceanic writings call out the (literal) fluidity of spatial experience.

²⁰ Peters and Steinberg, "Volume and Vision"; Steinberg and Peters, "Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces."

²¹ Philip E. Steinberg, "From Davy Jones' Locker to the Foot Locker: The Case of the Floating Nikes," in *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, ed. Philip E. Steinberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-7; Peters and Steinberg, "Volume and Vision."

These considerations also stem from an emerging 'wet ontology'—a concept developed by political geographers Philip Steinberg and Kimberley Peters to discard landed bias and explore embodied spaces of water²⁰. Wet volumes are revealed as spaces of urban and socio-spatial conflict, linked to political and economic change, cultural imaginaries, and historical processes of colonisation, conquest, resource extraction, and trade²¹. The missing relations from critical spatial debates are, however, *within* the water, and include the

²² Ruth Panelli, “More-Than-Human Social Geographies: Posthuman and Other Possibilities,” *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 1 (2010): 79-87.

²³ Simon Dalby, “The Geopolitics of Climate Change,” *Political Geography* 37 (2013): 38-47; Steinberg and Peters, “Wet Ontologies, Fluid Spaces.”

²⁴ Carson, *The Sea Around Us*, 97-98.

exploitation of more-than-human bodies²². We must consider—indeed, as Carson did fifty years previously—humans and non-humans as significant assemblages co-functioning within a dynamic ocean-world shaped by ongoing social, spatial, and material processes. For example, this becomes clear when we examine connections between urban growth, consumption, food preferences, coastal fleets, shipworkers, fishing communities, divers, declining fish stocks, coral colonies, algae and other microscopic bodies. The ocean acts as a disassembler of discourses constrained by understanding ‘space’ only as a mappable area or containable unit²³. As Carson remarked, “the boundary between sea and land is the most fleeting and transitory feature of the earth, and the sea is forever repeating its encroachments”²⁴.

The urban experience of the ocean

We should also remember that Carson’s writings provided radical alternatives to imagining urban life for her readers at the time, emphasising new relational modes of multi-species cooperation across the land and sea. Serialisation in *The New Yorker* assured significant exposure for Carson’s work, and engagement with writers newly registering the character of urban interconnections. *The New Yorker* aimed to render the specific possibilities of the city’s social relations, and while Carson’s narratives were an unexpected introduction to ecological thinking, they were suited to the magazine’s attention to co-constituted urban ‘publics’²⁵. When *The Edge of The Sea* was serialised in *The New Yorker* in 1955, she reflected on the networks of organisms returning to the beach each night: “I am always aware that I am treading on the thin rooftops of an underground city.... The inhabitants remain hidden, dwelling silently in their dark, incomprehensible world”²⁶.

Carson wrote during a dramatic shift in understanding of ‘ecology’ across Europe. Her sea trilogy connects with this developing scientific discourse of ‘ecosystems’, itself influenced by an ethos of communitarian socio-cultural models: “life exists in layers – on other life, or under it, or around it, or within it”²⁷. The activity described in Carson’s wet volumes connected readers of *The New Yorker* to new debates of ecology, lived experience, and the interdependency of all things. Her willingness to embrace new media platforms—magazine serialisation, cinema, and television interviews—also speak to her interest in expanded communities of intellect.

Carson also questioned what we now refer to as ‘Big Science’, challenging dualisms separating sensation and perception from ‘knowledge’²⁸, and emphasising the importance of *spatial experience* in understanding our environments:

Now I HEAR the sea sounds about me; the night high tide is rising,
swirling with a confused rush of waters against the rocks
below my study window. Fog has come into the bay from

²⁵ Jamin Creed Rowan, “The New York School of Urban Ecology: The New Yorker, Rachel Carson, and Jane Jacobs,” *American Literature* 82, no. 3 (2010): 588.

²⁶ Rachel Carson, “Profiles: The Edge of The Sea – 1: The Rim of Sand,” *The New Yorker*, August 20, 1955, 45.

²⁷ Rachel Carson, quoted in Rowan, “New York School of Urban Ecology,” 597.

²⁸ Solnit, “Three Who Made a Revolution,” *The Nation*, 16 March 2006.

the open sea, and it lies over water and over the land's edge, seeping back into the spruces and stealing softly among the juniper and the bayberry. The restive waters, the cold wet breath of the fog, are of a world in which man is an uneasy trespasser; he punctuates the night with the complaining groan and grunt of a foghorn, sensing the power and menace of the sea.²⁹

²⁹ Rachel Carson, *The Edge of The Sea* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), 253.

In doing so, she broke with then-current scientific thinking. *Silent Spring* would later link unevenly experienced processes of urbanisation with nature and health outcomes, but Carson fine-tuned this framing of interdependent *lived* ecosystems in her sea trilogy. Spatial practitioners today construct practices of everyday lives while co-creating relations in our environments. As such it is important to better understand connections between nature, society and technology; and, as Peg Rawes argues, how they may operate ethically, with respect to difference, and beyond disciplinary constraints³⁰. Carson herself declared changing environmental awareness required paradigmatic shifts: there was no 'lack' of knowledge, only prevalent ontologies were inadequate³¹.

³⁰ Peg Rawes, "Situated Architectural Historical Ecologies," in *Forty Ways to Think About Architecture: Architectural History and Theory Today*, eds. Iain Borden, Murray Fraser, and Barbara Penner (NY: Wiley, 2014), 204-209.

³¹ Vera L. Norwood, "The Nature of Knowing: Rachel Carson and the American Environment," *Signs* 12, no. 1 (1987): 740-60.

Likewise, the absence of the ocean as an *embodied* volume in spatial debates creates disturbing implications for how we consider 'the urban', and others who inhabit it. Staging a more-than-human existence, Carson's sea trilogy draws back destabilised materialities, planetary forces, and beings almost invisible to the (human) eye, into our everyday lives. Parallels are seen today when we examine our own—or, at least, my own—urban habits. The crispy fried seafood snacks shared with friends at a new rooftop bar in inner-city Melbourne are trucked early from bayside docks that distribute seafood products. Shipped from murky supply chains originating in the South China Sea, they utilise exploitative fishing practices preying on vulnerable refugee communities delivered from human trafficking networks at the Thai-Myanmar border³². The fish extracted from the sea are thus simultaneously part of the catastrophic collapse of marine environments across Asia—fuelled by urban growth, resource extraction, increasing consumption, and scarce policing of goods through the ocean. Mobile bodies jerked quickly from the wet materiality of the ocean, to open mesh, to multi-species enclosure, to ice-packed bag, to stainless steel counter, to a porcelain bowl atop a skyscraper, and subsumed within the body of another without a thought.

³² Ian Urbina, "'Sea Slaves': The Human Misery That Feeds Pets and Livestock," *The New York Times*, July 27, 2015; Ian Urbina, "Tricked and Indebted on Land, Abused or Abandoned at Sea," *The New York Times*, November 9, 2015; Christian Wirth, "Securing the Seas, Securing the State: Hope, Danger and the Politics of Order in the Asia-Pacific," *Political Geography* 53 (2016): 76-85.

That one delicious moment in the city, high above the street and the dark illegality deployed in the cold ocean depths, is a co-constituted spatial experience; replicated infinitely through the increasing convergence of restaurant design trends via social media across the planet. As Henri Lefebvre argued, and as illustrated in Figure 3, 'the urban' doesn't just comprise 'objects' filling an empty space, but is a field enlisting facts, fictions, phenomena, thoughts, actions, and diverse modes of everyday life³³.

³³ Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*.



Fig. 3 *Wet volumes and socio-spatial conflicts* (2017). Illustration by Charity Edwards. The shared experience of ocean depths, bodies extracted, industrial processes, and the distant delights of rooftop dining contest assumptions that the ocean is *not* urban.

The revelation of the ocean

³⁴ Chris Philo, "(In)secure Environments and the Domination of Nature: Introduction to Themed Section," *The Geographical Journal* 181, no. 4 (2015): 322-27; Steinberg, "On Thalassography."

³⁵ Jon Anderson and Kimberley Peters, "'A Perfect and Absolute Blank': Human Geographies of Water Worlds," in *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean*, eds. Jon Anderson and Kimberley Peters (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2014), 3-22; Dalby, "Geopolitics in the Anthropocene".

³⁶ Rachel Carson, *Under The Sea-Wind: A Naturalist's Picture of Ocean Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 271, quoted in Amanda Hagood, "Wonders with the Sea: Rachel Carson's Ecological Aesthetic and the Mid-Century Reader," *Environmental Humanities*, 2 (2013): 61.

³⁷ Neil Brenner, "Urban Theory without an Outside," *Harvard Design Magazine*, 37 (2014): 42-47.

³⁸ Monica Weis, "Encountering Rachel Carson: Environmentalist and Provocateur," in *The Environmental Vision of Thomas Merton* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), 9-21.

³⁹ Karen Burns, "A Girl's Own Adventure: Gender in the Contemporary Architectural Theory Anthology," *Journal of Architectural Education* 65, no. 2 (2012): 125-34.

While the ocean has been rendered opaque in critical discourses of the city, wet ontologies foreground the ocean and uncover practices operating at the scale of the planet—resource extraction, overfishing, biogenetic harvesting, illicit trading, and smuggling to name a few— rather than just the division of landed space. We increasingly turn attention to transformations acting across the planet in this Anthropocene age, and yet theorising our urbanising environments remains blind to the ocean. This disregard conceals the ocean's role in economies, cultural imaginaries, and everyday experience: dispossessing space that will not fit dominant narratives³⁴. Instead, the ocean sustains our lives, even though it moves beyond borders, stable frameworks, and fixed material states³⁵.

Carson projected devastating futures at the close of her first book from the sea trilogy: "and once more all the coast would be water again, and the places of its cities and towns belong to the sea"³⁶. Certainly, uncovering the material space of the ocean today reveals a more-than-human planetary colossus increasingly enclosed by forms of commodification, dispossession, and displacement. Expanding industrialisation and growth is aggressively re-ordering the embodied ocean. This is in direct contrast to dominant critical discourses in architecture and urban theory, which focus on 'global city' metanarratives³⁷ that obscure the presence of 'the urban' in this wet volume. These processes are not, however, removed from our own lives or the urban environments we inhabit. They are driven by design and planning decisions we make as spatial practitioners, and choices we enact day-to-day in our shared experiences. Rejecting the assumed neutrality of this wet space demands thinking differently about everyday life, urban practices, and planetary relations. The desire to *not notice* this is a perceptual crisis³⁸. As Karen Burns has elsewhere noted, 'acceptable' ideologies of spatial theory and urban discourse have long relegated undertheorised spaces as feminised or simply surplus to discussions of 'the city'³⁹.

Conclusion: of the ocean, the urban, and others

Although fixed in public memory for *Silent Spring* only, Rachel Carson detailed complex relationships between the ocean and our everyday life, and prefigured wet ontologies. The neglect of her oceanic writings mirrors the marginalisation of the ocean in our conceptions of the world, and a disregard of planetary relations in general. Linking Carson as a significant figure in transforming conceptions of our environment, and the neglect of her other(ed) writings, to the exclusion of the ocean from our everyday lives reveals alarming gaps in ways we theorise the world.

I argue therefore that we should reconsider Rachel Carson. Not just as a science communicator, but as an important theorist exploring the nature of scientific knowledge, social relations, and multi-species

⁴⁰ Janet Montefiore, “‘The Fact That Possesses My Imagination’: Rachel Carson, Science and Writing,” *Women: A Cultural Review* 12, no. 1 (2001): 4456.

interdependencies spanning from the microbial to the planetary. Her exclusion from critical socio-spatial debates represents yet another omission of transdisciplinary knowledges. The relationship of her later work to new ways of understanding life in cities remains particularly neglected. Sadly, it is worth noting that Carson faced disregard even in death. Her brother refused her will detailing a burial at sea, and insisted instead on a state funeral for his (celebrity) sister. Years later he relented, but had only half the ashes disinterred and scattered at sea⁴⁰.

Carson remains physically divided between land and ocean—a binary she argued against her entire life. Given our new consideration of connections between space, experience, and the ocean, we may perhaps comfort ourselves by re-imagining her entangled in a coupled land-sea biosphere for time everlasting. For all of these ‘blind fields’—Carson’s sea trilogy; her contributions to theorising of life on, and *in*, our planet; and links she drew between the urban and the ocean—actually offer us the revelation of *noticing*, so we too may recognise interdependencies determining our more-than-human spatial experiences of this world.

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taking place (www.takingplace.org.uk) is a group of women artists and architects, formed in 2000 out of a shared interest in questions of gender and spatial practice. Through private workshops and public events we have developed a collaborative way of working where projects are created out of differences between individuals, disciplines, participants, audiences and ourselves. Our development as a group is contextualized by Teresa Hoskyns and Doina Petrescu's, 'taking place and altering it', in *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*, ed. Petrescu (Routledge 2007). For an account of our first public event together see; Helen Stratford with Teresa Hoskyns and Katie Lloyd Thomas, 'taking place 2', *Scroope 14* (2002), and for our longer term participatory art interventions in the Mother and Baby Unit at Homerton Hospital, Hackney, see Katie Lloyd Thomas and **taking place**, 'the other side of waiting' in *Feminist Review 93* (2009).

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How do we reconstruct a legacy of women working in architecture? How do we make them more visible and present in our discourse about architecture? How do we make their concerns heard?

What are the ways in which architecture as a discipline participates in intersectionality, or the multiple frameworks of identity at play in the social field? Is that a term that our discipline is specially equipped to handle or is it woefully limited in that regard?

Can feminism survive resource conflicts?

What is the framework for sexual ethics in a socio-cultural environment that can interrogate gender equity, privilege and heteronormativity?

How do women redefine their practice?

How can feminist thought approach and improve current housing and make it more socially inclusive?

Why do we keep having to relearn our past?

How are feminist principles manifested in built works of architecture?

How can we best address the generational differences between definitions of & attitudes toward the word "feminism" so that it may be a word that joins, rather than separates, all ages?

How can the role of feminine playful spaces contribute to developing new forms of representation in waste urban spaces?

[Are there] Feminine ways of occupying urban space?

Although feminist scholars have greatly increased their work, it does not flow to practitioners or to the public in a way that has caught on. How to integrate feminism and architecture needs persuasive arguments and activism to compete in a profession with many challenges.

If we want to correct the underrepresentation of women in architecture's most visible practices, how do we avoid adopting masculine norms of success as guidelines for women's attitudes in the workplace?

Women Architects are often not mentioned in literature concerning architectural history and/or theory. If they are mentioned than often in passing or as collaborators and wives of male architects. Should it be a goal to 'rewrite' such history books towards a more inclusive history of architecture or are such books obsolete?

'[Architectural and feminist theory, arguably] has shifted from oppositional dichotomies to include and embrace a spectrum of differences.' (Hilde Heynen and Gwendolen Wright) Is this the case today, and if so, what might this diversity mean for architecture and feminism?

How does architecture address the need for 'situatedness' in an increasingly mobile and networked world?

In a period of unprecedented damage to the climate in part caused by flying should not we as feminists and ecologists practice what we preach?

How can we carve out a space in practice where there is room for analyses of power structures, and how they play out in the spaces we create?

How can the architect reclaim a role where we can contribute to a socially and environmentally sustainable society?

How can we move away from a situation where we are passive executioners of commissions from the builders, and take a more active role in what spaces we create, building more inclusive societies that we can actually be proud of?!

How can we move towards a situation when city planning and architecture is based on the idea of an inclusive and sustainable society, where the initiative comes from the town planning office and not from builders looking to maximize their profit?

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