special study document

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<mark>>>> introduction</mark>

"We can't do anything to change the world until capitalism crumbles, in the mean time we should all go shopping to console ourselves" (Banksy, 1997, p.24)

I intend to explore the current epoch of late consumer capitalism, how our ideologies of success in a hierarchical society, and the totalitarian tendency of capitalism / globalization is producing non-place, voids in our seemingly dense urban fabric, slices, scraps, areas, zones, buildings, dereliction, remnants and residuum.(fig_01)
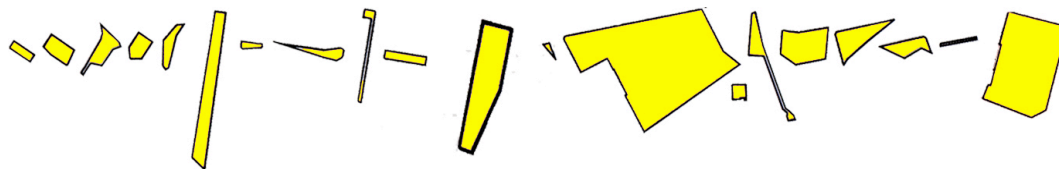
((fig_01) X-fig_01)) Urban Residue, some of the 55 sites of left over space identified in an exploratory project for The Birmingham School of Architecture, scale ≈1:5000, Ian Douglas – Jones 2005.

(note: X-Fig refers to supplementary illustrations to the text, contained in a separate book in the final special study document, for this format, X-fig's are to be found at the rear of this document.)

Can these spaces be appropriated, commandeered, colonized, reedited or recomposed? In an era of reckless urban sprawl, and the excess production of space, surely re-use and re-appropriation is more sustainable?

Through research and analysis I first define the context within which I have located this study, that is, Hierarchy. Secondly I oppose hierarchy with the introduction of the concept of 'Hetrarchy' (Woods, 1997) as a means for appropriation of residual space.

It is first necessary to define the terms with which I am working. The exact meaning of hierarchy is; a system or systems which grades of authority rank above one another. As will be revealed in later chapters, the precise nomenclature of the systems, or modes of living I describe is complex, and an issue to be taken into consideration. During the first chapter of this study I discuss the society we live in, the western world of capitalist consumerism, where motives are for profit. In this mode of living there is a hierarchy of authority, as a means of control. It can be said that the hierarchy of control is linked to a hierarchy of capitalist power,

which can be translated as money, or profit. It is for this reason that for this study I use the term hierarchy to describe authority, and capitalist profit motives. Hetrarchy is a term derived from heterogeneous, meaning diverse, or composed of diverse elements. The term hetrarchy is used by Woods (Woods 1997) to describe modes of living which occur devoid of hierarchical authority as we know it. I understand the term hetrarchy to mean a system or systems in which the rational, irrational, objective and subjective no longer have meaning. They may be described as autonomous, self determining, self organising systems of control or more pertinently, lack of control. Grasping the true meaning is most difficult, because that meaning describes something so varied, something which is not fixed, something that is neither rational nor irrational. In chapter two I explore the idea in greater depth. Broadly I understand hetrarchy as a means of describing a system, or systems which involves the autonomous appropriation of space, the space in this case being the urban residue I briefly introduced earlier. I wish to reiterate that exact nomenclature is difficult, and caution is urged with the broad application of these terms: Hierarchy/Hetrarchy.

I shall examine several case studies, two of which display systems of hetrarchy out of control, and further examples whose autonomy has been suppressed. The difference between the two sets of case studies / examples are the social, economic and political climates within which these modes of living, or ideas have been fostered.

It is my intention to draw conclusions from a comparative case study, and discern whether or not the appropriation of space within western cities can occur, using ideas common to the case studies; hetrarchy. Can this space appropriation occur with new constructions, within the framework of hierarchical capitalist cities? Or is there too much inhibiting control?

Running in conjunction with this study will be an exploratory design project, which I shall use to further examine and test theories of space appropriation.

>>> chapter_01_hierarchy

In this chapter I intend to 'set the scene', firstly defining the commodity led culture we live in, defining the hierarchy of authority and power by which we are led, and describe the urban 'junk space' that is a by-product of our current society.

> capitalist_consumerism

Capitalist consumerism first tapped into the possibilities of mass production, negating individual expression through production in doing so. *"consumerism was great at creating and meeting transitory gratifications; but for all the rhetoric about consumer power, the direction of consumerism was really decided by capital"* (Sadler, 1999, p.38). It can be said that the human needs for spontaneity and creativity would suffer, with the one way battery of goods from capitalist to consumer.

It can be said that our society can be and is controlled by the capitalist. Capitalist hierarchy can enforce this control by means of pacification. Consumers are reduced to a type of passivity foreseen by Aldous Huxley in *'A Brave New World'*, whereby people are controlled not by pain, but with pleasure. *"Through the predictable entertainment of television and movies by which the growing number of consumers feel they are in touch with themselves and one another, and by fashions in everything from clothing to buildings, which gives a reassuring illusion of cultural unity and vitality, consumers are encouraged to suppress their inherent differences and conform."* (Woods, 1997, p.13). (A sentiment shared by Freak Power and their 1995 record *'Turn on, Tune in, Cop out*`). Mass production, mass media, mass consumerism, capitalist consumerism is now seen as a triumph of the western developed world, yet through the maintenance of this culture there is a maintenance of this passivity woods talks of, and as a result everywhere has been reduced to a predictable sameness. *"There can now be a Disneyland in Dresden, a mafia in Moscow"* (Woods, 1997, p.13.)((fig_02) X-fig_02), capitalisms unrelenting march for profit is most evident with monopoly companies like Wal-Mart and Microsoft, to name a few.
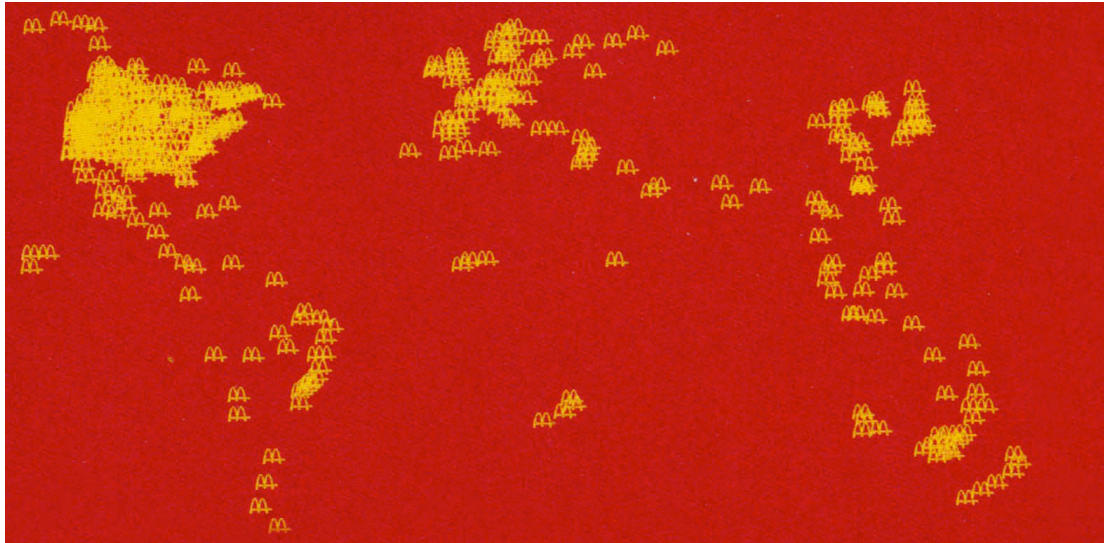
(fig_02) The unrelenting march of globalization, 'McDonalds' diagram', Koolhaas, 2004 p.96

It can be said that this consumer culture is maintained by passivity, and this culture prevails in harnessing creativity in the service of capitalist consumerism, this does not mean that our urban landscapes are reduced to homogeneity, but it can be said that globalization and late monopoly capitalism is demanding, or edging towards greater *cultural* homogeneity, a sameness that is efficient for profit, a sameness for exchange, not use, spaces for exchange that are so finely tuned for the exchange of goods for profit.

In our era, the city we know it has been shaped by the needs of capitalism, our urban environs have been sculpted for the purposes of exchange. Values are put on space not in terms of its use but in terms of exchange value. *"Society itself is being ever more organised for the purposes of the consumption of goods''* (Borden 2001 p.239). The proliferation of mass media advertising means we are more than ever in the strangle hold of a commodity based society, one of self satisfaction, *"…a world where looking good has become more essential than being good; where faking it has become synonymous with making it, and where beautiful lies hide grubby truths"* (Anon, The Daily Telegraph 14th Nov 2005).

> excess_production_of_space

The developed worlds tendency for excess production of space, has led to reckless urban and sub-urban sprawl, most notable in the pursuit of the dream world of suburbia. This massive suburban development requires an infrastructure that is focused around the car, not the user. With the car comes of course pollution. This growth is vastly inefficient and unsustainable, in terms of housing areas and densities, something which Dutch architects MVRDV have explored in numerous publications, Meta City Data Town (MVRDV, 1999)

concerns a contrived city, Data Town formed on a basis of statistics, densities, it explores the possibilities and permutations of housing arrangements for spatial efficiency. (fig_05)(X-fig_03). not to mention the impact it has environmentally. This type of growth can be characterised in western USA in cities such as Phoenix and Las Vegas (fig_03). The growth of suburbia is visible in Britain too, the midlands conurbation encompassing Birmingham, Walsall, Solihull etcetera
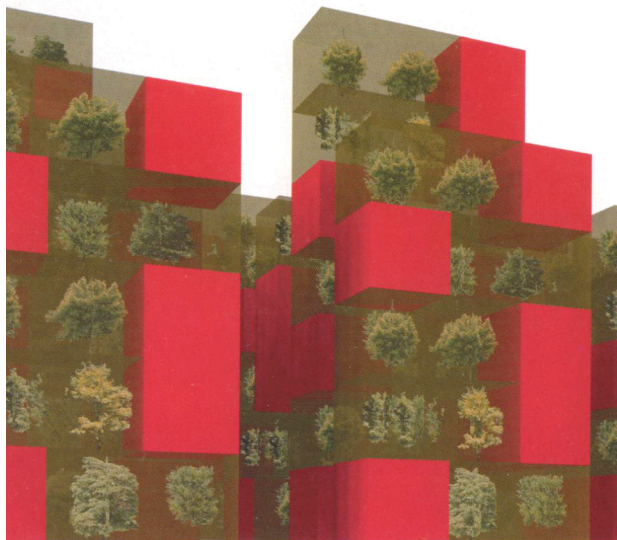

(fig_03) 'Reckless urban sprawl', photo: David Hurn, Magnum, cited in cities for a small planet (Rogers, 1997, p6)

(fig_04) 'Urban exodus', photo: M.Bond, *Cities for a small country* (Rogers, 2000, p45*

In Britain also our suburbs are ever expanding, the populace is in search of the suburban dream. What is occurring is as Richard Rogers describes an 'Urban exodus', Planning system lowered density requirements from 40-60 units pre hectare (post war), to 25 units per hectare during the eighties.(Rogers, 2000, p.149). Developers are building new homes as the housing demand increases, whilst the number of empty houses increases (fig_04) *"There is boarded-up but perfectly sound housing, large scale demolition, the abandonment of poorer inner neighbourhoods and a devastated urban landscape".*(Rogers,2000,
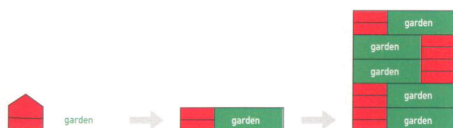
(fig_05) Vertical garden city proposal, (MVRDV, 1999, p.88) p.149)

6

> single_minded space

The modern city can be seen to have become an arena for consumerism. Comparatively, the medieval cites there was the trade of goods, exchange, bartering. But the modern city has become a place for profit motivated capitalism. Urban development has shifted from an emphasis on meeting broad social needs of the community, to meeting the needs of individuals. *"'Single-minded' space, fulfils a single function and are generally the consequence of planners and developers, the residential suburb, the industrial zone, the car park, ring road, and even the car itself"* (Rogers 1997 p.19) (X-fig_04).

The proliferation of single minded spaces can be seen as a characteristic of the post industrialist era, those who are *"'home centred' and who own a radio, a television, a record player, magazines are bypassing the social hierarchy of their community, in order to make direct contact with a broader social realities and values"* (Tourine, 1959 cited in Sadler 1999, p.40). Most of us are aware of the lone surfer exploring cyberspace in the comfort of their own bedroom, negating physical social interactions.

There appears to be this prevalence of self centred, individual places, or *'non-places'* as Agué puts it (Agué, 1995). These are the real places of what Agué terms 'supermodernity', driving down the motorway, sitting in an airport lounge, the shopping mall most of us have experienced, and fail to escape the excess spaces consumerism has forced upon us. These spaces can be known as the flotsam of western urbanism, or perhaps more appropriately *'Junk space'* ((fig_04) X-fig_06) as Koolhaas terms this phenomenon (Koolhaas, 2004, p.162)

(fig_06) 'Junk-space', photo: Ian Douglas – Jones, Girona airport, Spain, 14/11/2005

For what reason is there this excess production of space? Or for what reason is there an inefficient use of the space already created? It can be said that twentieth centaury architects who were aligned to the ideologies of industrialization were too tied into cause and effect conceptions of space, these concepts are flawed, and cannot embody our chaotic new era, an era of pluralism? It can be said that modernisms goal of achieving urban utopias was also flawed, one cannot plan a totalizing system, one of total planning, if cities are a dynamic organism then the current totalitarian tendency of capitalism is also flawed, we cannot plan for every eventuality, the city must be seen as a fluid dynamic being. Architecture was tied then

and is now to hierarchy of authority (Woods, 1997, p.15). Is it therefore for this totalising tendency, or perhaps an inability to carry out the total plan, that there simply is no total plan, and spaces are left over?

> capitalism_design_&_morals

It was of the Situationist's opinion that the benign professionalism of architecture had, led to a sterilization of the world that threatened to wipe out any sense of spontaneity or playfulness. (Sadler 1999, p.5), this sentiment is compounded by woods as he observes that, the structure of authority which is embodied in institutions of commerce, are supported by architects who accept commissions and clients that affect public life. *"they themselves (architects) believe themselves to be creators, or innovators, when in actuality they are nothing more nor less than the executors of a physical and social order designed by those institutions presently holding political authority and power"* and that architects a protected by professionalism enforced by the very clients who commission, *"who have a profound economic and social interest in maintaining a status quo in which they hold highest authority"* (Woods, 1992, p.9), Architects are thus perceived by some as being subservient to the real creators of cities, those with money and power. Can it be said that architects, in search of their next fee, or the bigger profit (again capitalisms influence) are forced to drop any moral obligations, and undertake commissions led by the client, not the architect?

Lefebvre advocates for the city to be seen as an '*oeuvre',* a place of playfulness, somewhere that transcends the needs of capitalism, somewhere that is for use and not the exchange of goods for profit. How is this possible in today's society? Our society in a stage of advanced monopoly capitalism, it appears to be an ever accelerating cycle of consumption and profiteering. *"Through the production of space… Living labour can produce something that is no longer a thing, nor simply a set of tools, nor simply a commodity. In space needs and desires can reappear as such… spaces for play, spaces for enjoyment, architectures for wisdom or pleasure. In and by means of space, the work may shine through the product; use value may gain the upper hand over exchange value."* (Lefebvre cited in Borden, 2001, p.236).

> mass_medias_imposition_on_society

Effect of hierarchical society, grapple for space, advertising space dominates, ((fig_07) X-fig_06)) *"I grabbed my skateboard, ad started rolling towards downtown. All around me there*

were billboards with new cars, cell phones, fast food, giant heads smoking six foot long cigarettes. Posters advertised movies and TV shows, clothes I couldn't afford being worn by people who looked too good to be human. Everyone wanted my attention." (CSTR cited in Borden, 2001, p.239).

(fig_07) Banksy's commentary on the dominance of advertising, 'Another crap advert', Shoreditch, London, Photo: Banksy (2005), 'Wall and Piece', p.102-103.

'The people who truly deface our neighbourhoods are the companies that scrawl their giant slogans across buildings and buses, trying to make us feel inadequate unless we buy their stuff.' (Banksy, 2005, p.8)

> use

There are other spaces too which remain unfulfilled in terms of use or exchange value. Spaces which, through social, economic or design reasons (lack of flexibility, building typology) have become redundant, or are simply abandoned (eg. old factory), and through a festering longevity, fall into disrepair, dereliction and eventually necessitate demolition. Britain still exhibits signs of its rich industrial past where space (it can be argued) was produced for its use value, for the production of goods, not the exchange of goods. It can be said that redevelopment may only occur if there is sufficient profit to be gained for the developer, for this reason it can be said that perhaps these redundant spaces, are in fact, under the control of capitalism? ((fig_08) Xig_07))

(Fig_08)   abandoned steel rolling works, photo: Ian Douglas – Jones, EIP Metals, Dudley Road, Birmingham, feb 2006

> capitalism_totalizing?

It can be said that, as a result of the attempted totalizing nature of capitalism, our urban fabric is riddled with a certain residue, small slivers of land, anomalies in planning, surveying and zoning, designed urban residuum, *"since these areas, these zones are part of the city, and the city is a planned entity, by definition all its components are part of the system of planning"* (Doran, 1999, p.1).   It maybe said however, that perhaps that capitalisms effect is not *attempted* totalization, but actual totalization, that these spaces are part of a unified whole, that they are in fact planned.

These left over spaces within the city may be categorized: The designed non-place, anomalies in planning etcetera, and those sites which have undergone a transgression of use; the wasteland, derelict buildings etcetera.   The wastelands may be described as either residential or post industrial, inner city areas are experiencing what Peter Hall describes as an *'Urban Malaise'* (Rogers, 2000, p.47), reluctance to be out in the street, encouragement of crime, marginalised communities, an urban exodus as described earlier.

Almost every post industrial city has wasteland, the dead zone, dereliction. This can be said to be as a result, of economy shifting from industry to that of tertiary or service based. (Muir, (2004 P.1). This is evident in Birmingham, and the former EIP metals works, abandoned for many years, and awaiting redevelopment, but at the right price (£9,000,000 - feb,2006). So perhaps it is capitalism that determines the fate of the city.

It is such ideas which Lefebvre first cited, linked to Marx's ideas of dead labour, which transcends space in terms of exchange value. Social space can be seen as such; and should be seen as a centre for knowledge, playful, and subject to the imminent use of its citizens. The city as *Oeuvre* or *La fete* – *"a celebration which consumes un-productively"*, negating the capitalist tendency towards money and commerce.(Lee, 2000, p.92) Social space is heterogeneus and structured around difference. It *"subsumes the produced, and encompasses their (users) interrelationships in their coexistence"* The implication is that the space of the social domain (opposed to single minded space (Rogers, 1997, p.19)) subsumes the hierarchy imposed by capitalist authority, with an emphasis on use-value rather than exchange value. The social domain may be seen as space for resurrecting Marx's 'dead labour' contained in the city's means of production (Borden, 2001, p.234).

> urban_residue

Of gutter space; the road underpass, railway siding, verge, under croft, between the lines of the planners map, lie these blind spots. These blind spots emerge, and perhaps can be said to be testament to the fact that the city cannot be planned in its entirety. If the city is fluid entity in constant flux, then surly everything cannot be designed or planned for. Ill-conceived ideas of planning, or bad design spawn these gutter spaces also, visible in buildings and developments across the city. Often a result of in-cohesive development, planners, surveyors, architects, road engineers, can all be held accountable.

Many pertinent examples of such blind spots, exist in Birmingham ((fig_09) X-fig_08), spaces left behind or unused: 'gutter spaces'. Why is this the case when most of us are aware of city centre land values, and the fight for space? If these scraps are small parcels, perhaps deemed un-developable, there surely must be some use for the space, some form of appropriation?
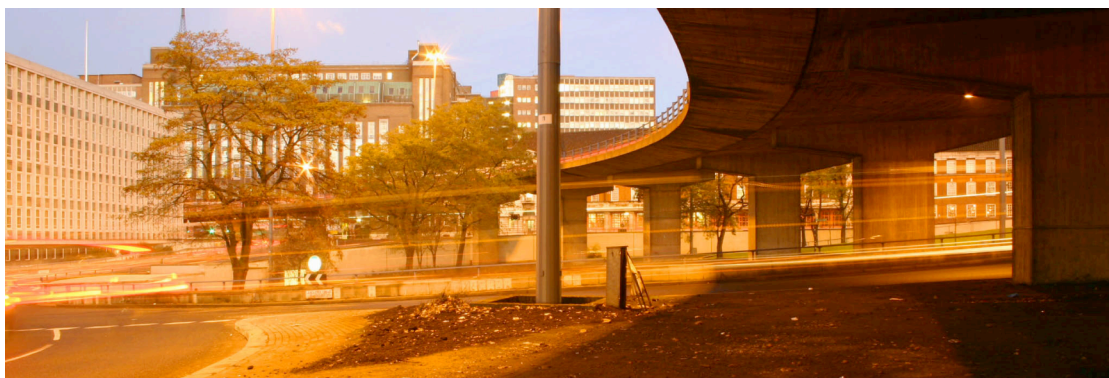
(fig_09) 'Gutter space', St. Chad's Queensway, Birmingham, photo: Ian Douglas – Jones, Dec 2005

There are examples of space appropriation, akin to gentrification, whereby artists of the SoHo region of New York, now Shoreditch in London, through the will of the artists to live in the area to *"salvage, preserve, recycle the once decrepit neighbourhood"* and *"to render the city an oeuvre or 'put it to use' as a space of social praxis in excess of its alienation as zoned property".* (Lee, 2000, p.92)

If our society is to edge towards a sustainable future, of sustainable growth, economically, socially and most importantly environmentally, then surely we must use and re-use what space we have already produced, the gutter space which surrounds us, the dereliction that is present in our cities. Surely our cities must envelope the space within, rather than flee to the ever expanding suburbs?

>>> chapter_02_hetrarchy

"so long as the concept of hierarchy dominates architecture, architecture will stay rooted in classical models… so long as architecture stays rooted in classical models , it will continue to express the old, even archaic, ideas of knowledge" (Woods, (1) 1992, p.46)

I understand woods interpretation of hierarchy to encapsulate the hierarchy of power and authority present in capitalist consumerist cities of the developed world.

> control

In our society of the self-preserving, the transitory self gratification, a static equilibrium is sought, the maintenance of a status quo, as the founding principle to social coherence, this being the conformity to standards and normalities. This can be said to be society's means of maintaining passivity. The ultimate control is (as discussed earlier), not force (the *modus operandi* of the police state), but pleasure, this could be said to maximise profits whilst minimizing rebellion. This is evident in possibly the most controlled spaces in Birmingham, Brindley Place, the Bull Ring and the Mail Box (X-fig_09), privately owned, but vehemently controlled by security guards, and cleaners etc, all employed to ensure ' your buying capabilities are maximised through the control of the environment.

Space is always occupied by what it ostensibly excludes (Sadler 1999), the chaotic, and the uncontrollable. These actions are not tolerated in the public realm and are suppressed, graffiti ((fig_10) X-fig_10), skateboarding etcetera can be said to be expressions of the self determining, and exhibit chaotic, hetrarchical qualities. The stringent control of our cities (X-fig_11) is evident in the suppression of activities which exhibit hetrarchical tendencies, the suppression of activities of autonomy, or self determinism.
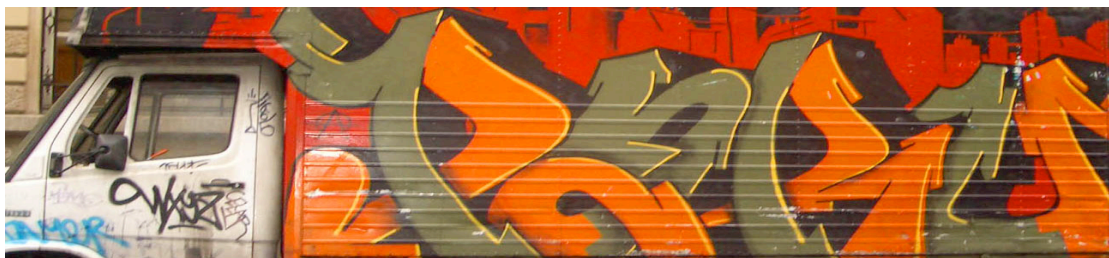
(fig_10) 'Graffiti, autonomous expression', photo: Ian Douglas – Jones, Paris, France, 02/05/2004

> definitions

Hierarchy can be seen as rational determinism, on which basis the authorities actions are objective, that is to say, statically deterministic. *"According to the classical principles of science, Plato's idea, Rene Descartes' "duality" and Issac Newton's "Mechanics" Einstein's "classical Causality" This is a reality in which authority – source of wisdom – resides in hierarchies and in the static balances of rational determinism…   It follows that if hierarchical, authoritarian modes embody objective knowledge, subjective knowledge is only deemed relevant only within the personal sphere, and therefore is embodied in idiosyncratic private works, tolerated publicly as works of art."* (Woods, 1997 p.14).

If hierarchy is an embodiment of the rational, totalitarian, almost utopian, and that, if the city may be seen as an organism in constant flux, a dynamic entity, then hierarchical capitalism's method of planning cannot pertain to every eventuality.

Opposing hierarchy, is the concept of Hetrarchy, whereby *"existence precedes essence, in which knowledge cannot be verified by the assumption of a reality external to the process of human cognition"*, in these systems *"authority moves within dynamic fields of the self-determining, the self organising."* This is according to principles independent of objective processes, *"quantum theory, matrix mechanics, and cybernetics (closed, recursive systems)"* (Woods, 1997, p.14).

Perhaps it is Woods' concept of Hetrarchy that can be employed as means of space appropriation? If the Hetrarchy is the means by which the objective, and the relative may be transcended, then does this enable creative freedom to succeed? *"in such a society art and life flow together, inseparable"* (Woods, 1997, p.14). This concept was also explored by one of the Situationists; Constant Nieuwenhuys in his projects for 'New Babylon', whereby society exists in total automation, the need for work being replaced with creative play. He envisioned that every aspect of the environment could be changed and reconfigured spontaneously.(Sadler, 1999, p.127)

Woods' idea of the Hetrarchy relinquishes ideologies and their inherent nature as inhibitors to freedom, conformity to fixed views and thinking. According to Woods, Ideologies insist on enforced belief, and thus on non-choice, the freedom of choice obviates the conformities of ideologies. So it can be said that in order to employ a system of self determinism, of the self organising, that ideologies and thus enforced beliefs may occur but at an individual level, not at a national, ethnic or religious scale (Woods, 1997, p.14). This has enormous implications, it implies that this existence is possible without ideologies, or perhaps, one could say, faith.

14

The one idea of faith has remained unanswerable for thousands of years, and will undoubtedly remain that way for many more thousands of years. Does this mean that without ideologies and faith, anarchy will reign?

Cities of old were hetrarchies, contrary to the hierarchical, ideological systems that governed them. Made up of complex layers of built and open spaces, used and re-used over time. It is only with the advent of mass technologies that modern cites have been able to absorb the city's complexity, through intimidation by mass media (Woods, 1997, p.14), and through enforcements of the capitalist consumerist society. As before mentioned, our cities are now more controlled than ever, CCTV, supposedly for our safety, are on almost every street corner in city centres.

> phantasmic_evocations?

Woods' concept of Hetrarchy is used within the context of conflict, whether it be war or natural disaster, cites as a means for rebuilding, or radically reconstructing as the title of his book suggests. Proposes the idea of free space, constructions that arise as spaces with no function per say, but exist as a *"set of potentials for occupation arising from material conditions"* (Woods, 1997, p.14). These constructions tend to arise either within existing building, existing almost parasitically, or as entirely new constructions.

 His proposal for the free space appears tangible, but if only for his highly evocative images, ((fig_11) X-fig_12). There is something quite phantasmic of the scenarios he portrays. It can be said that perhaps the drawings are a means to an end, merely a tool to one's imagination. Are the drawings a tool to draw one's attention to the text, which in turn serves as support for the drawings?
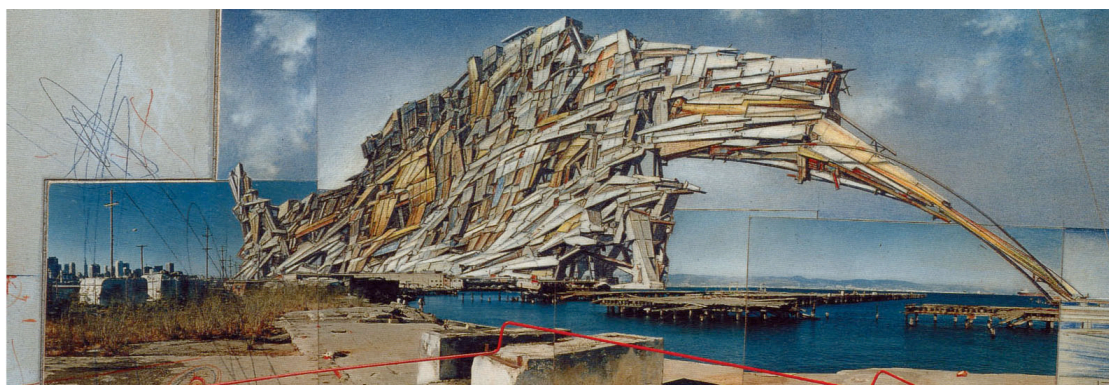
(fig_11) Woods' evocative drawings, 'Quake city', San Fransisco, Woods (1997), Radical Reconstruction p.103

"These drawings are not designs to be implemented, …Any attempt at an explication of these works must be manifold, but even so, it is doomed to failure" (Micheal Menser, cited in (Woods, 1997, p.156),

Perhaps his specially built for no purpose structures are just that, too special to warrant a use? Are Wood's drawings contrary to the ideas that he proposes, the act of drawing is the act of designing is it not? And if they are designed then that obviates the idea of spontaneous growth for a specific use. Or perhaps the concept does away with use-value together with exchange value simultaneously. If that is the case, then what is the meaning of their existence? If these structures arise out of spontaneity, then where does the architect fit in to the equation? If the structures are supposedly un-designed, then there is no requirement for a designer, however, is it true that everything must be designed? If not on paper, then born of the mind? Perhaps we are all architects?

It can be said that, perhaps Cartesian logic of spatial arrangement and representation, or our *"Aristotelian system of building"* (Woods, 1997, p.23) is so imbued in our modes of thinking, that the suggestion of alternative methods, are almost inconceivable at the level Woods' describes. And that it is not until such circumstances arise (conflict, crisis… war) that Woods' notions of hetrarchies can be implemented.

If Woods' hetrarchy's exist, in a time and space of crisis or conflict, as a means to reconstruct, to rebuild society in a new light, then can the hetrarchy exist in a stable environment? Not as means to reconstruct society, but as means to re-inhabit, or occupy from afresh, the forgotten, left over spaces? To what degree can the new hetrarchy exist? It can be said, that the set of potentials for occupation already exist, in the urban residue of our cities. Is now the time to occupy, to inhabit, to appropriate?

In order to attempt to answer or resolve these questions, it is first necessary to examine case studies to broaden our understanding of the possibilities or limitations.

>>> chapter_03_case studies

During this chapter I intend to explore the hetrarchy's manifestation in both the developing world, and the developed world; disparate examples of crisis and stability. I hope to identify the two modes of thinking which have enabled the hetrarchy to flourish, or flounder. I intend to identify traits of the two disparities which could be employed to enable spatial appropriation of urban residue in Britain.

>> hetrarchy's_in the developing world   crisis_macro_scale

In this section I intend to explore and highlight two examples in which appropriation of land has occurred, where colonies have settled which exist outside of the planned economy of the particular city. Colonies which have, no apparent ruling authority and prevail with individual autonomy. These examples are of large colonies, and exist be said to have arisen through conditions of crisis, (Woods conditions/context of conflict/crisis) from massive population and density increases and the interrelationship with poverty, and rural exodus (migration to the cities, or megalopolises).

> case_study_01   kowloon_walled_city   hong_kong

(fig_12)   KWC process of infill, growth etc. until eventually the razing of kwc, park today. 1973-(web-01), 1987 - (maas, 1998, p.153), 2005 - (web-10)

See also: *('Baraka' @ 36mins, Fickle, 1993)*

A political void enabled the existence of the Kowloon Walled City (KWC), thus dispelling with structured, official hierarchy of authority altogether. A super block monolith of ten to fourteen stories (fig_12), hyper densities topped (35,000) 13,000 persons per hectare (1987) (New

York city – 91 persons per hectare), with a super-deep plan, daylight was stifled, thus allowing the negation of natural biorhythms. (maas, 1998, p.154) (X-fig_13, X-fig_14)

First occupied by squatters, the population swelled. Free from context *"mass in KWC behaved in a fluid manner, flowing into cracks between buildings… Chaotic yet continuous organization… a structure of interlocking, self supporting blocks, tenants literally built over, through and around each other… As new structures were erected, remaining space was displaced, running into the nearest empty spot"* (maas, 1998, p.155). ((fig_13) X-fig_15)

Without the presence of a dominant authority, residents of KWC show rampant self-organisation, to the extent that not only space was organised, but time also, blurring conventional building typologies. *"A cafeteria would turn into a mah-jong parlour at certain hours, whilst a plastic toy factory doubled as an illegal drugs den… Ultimately, the power of KWC was its ability to subvert reality over time to its advantage: from customs house to spy centre, from garrison to tourist destination, from rebel base to educational establishment, from refuge camp to vice den."* (maas, 1998, p.156).
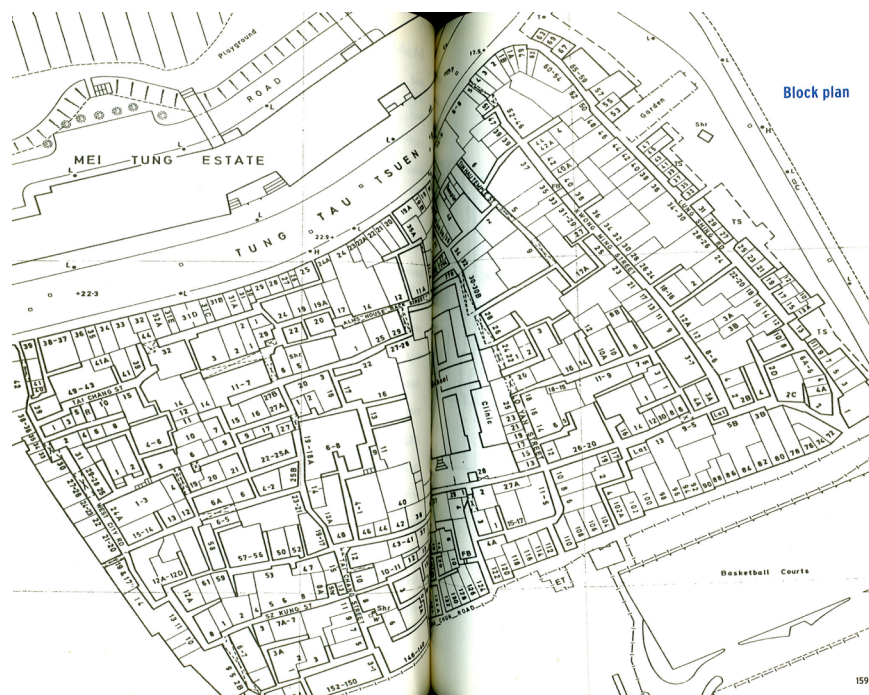
(fig_13) Chaotic assemblage of spaces, access alleyways were little over a metre wide in most places. KWC, Hong Kong, Maas 1998, Farmwx: Excurtions in Density MVRDV, pp.158-159

It is clear that KWC existed as a hetrarchy, individuals acting autonomously, unbounded by western ideas of authority, free from tight regulation of a capitalist consumerist society. In KWC there was no room for non-place as perhaps every nook and cranny had necessitated use-value, perhaps KWC can encompass Lefebvre's idea of *Oeuvre* or *La fete,* since use out weighs exchange?

It can be said that perhaps there was too much freedom, the lack of authority and structure, meant KWC eventually gained a reputation as *"a cesspool of iniquity, with heroin divans, brothels and everything unsavoury."* During the 1950's and 1960's or the *"bad years",* KWC harboured triad gangs, who sort rather dubious methods of fund raising, opium dens, gambling and brothels. Following nearly 3000 police raids in 1973-74, population swelled to its greatest at 35,000 people. Seen as a "blossoming" of KWC crime at this point in time was at a lower level than the rest of Hong Kong. (Web-01, KWC, 2005)

Eventually KWC was demolished, marking the *"lobotomy of a threatening ideology, health and safety was the surrogate excuse invented by the authorities."* (maas, 1998, p.152-169). In the authorities eyes, KWC was seen as a great embarrassment, symbolising everything "undesirable", a scourge, a parasite, to be at first ignored and finally removed. The idea, the concept was to be suppressed at all costs.

Despite the inherent problems associated with a colony of this density, it can be said that there were successes; the fact that a population of this size and density could survive unabated for so long (existing in political limbo, from 1898 onwards, under whose rule KWC fell under neither China nor Britain could be certain. (maas, 1998, p.157), without degenerating into chaos and anarchy. The individuals ability to act as one with no apparent leader per say, and yet those individuals ability survive as a collective is admirable. (X-fig_16) It can also be said however, that without apparent leadership, or authority, that KWC was left to sprawl and "over-urbanize", to the detriment of (what is deemed by normal modes of living) living standards.

""Favela", named after honeycomb, because they are a warren of small dwellings linked together which grows organically over time." (web-02, 'Favelas' 2005) ((fig_14) X-fig_17)

(fig_14) 'Favela's organic growth' , Rio De Janeiro, Brazil. photo: P.Braden, icon magazine #17, November 2004, pp. 94-95

See: *('Baraka' @ 33mins, Fickle, 1993)*

An estimated 20% of Rio De Janerio's six million inhabitants live in squatter settlements, known as Favela. There are some 500 Favela most concentrated in the hills surrounding the central business district. The Favela have developed on steep slopes where land is deemed unusable by many developers. These large areas of occupation can be defined as such: *"…an area, predominantly of housing, characterized by the occupation of low-income populations, precarious infrastructure and public services, narrow and irregular layout and access routes, irregular shaped and sized plots and unregistered constructions, breaking with legal standards"* (Municipality of Rio De Janeiro, 1992 cited on (web-02, 'Favelas' 2005))

Comprised of settlers from the poor rural areas of Brazil, the Favela population is growing at a rate of 7.5% a year compared to 2.7% a year in the city itself. This massive and uncontrolled urbanization has put strain on the cities infrastructure. There are water and electricity supplies to the Favela, but are inadequate. Many dwellings tap illegally into mains supplies, feeding parasitically of the city. (web-02, 'Favela' 2005)

As with KWC there are no apparent governing authorities, as a result the settlements have developed uncontrolled, with only infrastructural and topological constraints. The result is a dense, complex fabric of houses, access routes and services. With such density, temporal configurations as well as spatial arrangements are interwoven, many areas exist known as

"informal zones" (web-02, 'Favela' 2005). Whereby use, shifts over differing parts of the day or night. This trait is common in many cities of the developing world. Appendix A.

The Favela are notorious *"no-go areas"* (Said, 2002) dangerous and violent places, drugs have omnipresence, both gang culture, drug dealers and addicts. This chilling side to Favela life, means outsiders are unwelcome, and struggles between gangs are brutal, as demonstrated in realistic film, by Fernando Meiralles there was pressure from local "associations" and even messages from drug dealers in prison to ensure a true portrayal of Favela life. "…make it real".   See: *('City of God', Meiralles, 2002)* Despite the problems with drugs, the residents share a sense of community and unity, with no necessity to *"lock their doors"* (Scoones, 2002)

> multiplicity

The formalisation of the Favela can be seen as a *"multiplicity"* (Menser, cited in (Woods, 1997, p.159)), the chaotic assemblage of built form, with no apparent order governing the spread of the urban. A multiplicity is a source of transformation that can be likened to the development of the Favela or KWC, whereby space and structure transform and develop indiscriminately.

"In an over organized world – a groaning, decrepit universe of systems – the shapelessness have a new value, have a new allure." These squatter colonies are *"…free from constraints, from selection, from the tyranny of style."* (Koolhaas, 2004, p.263.)

The two examples can be said to be exhibit hetrarchical qualities, that is to say individuals acting of their free will, building, inhabiting and living but cohabiting as a collective, with no apparent overriding authority. Self organisation, and self determining systems of habitation.

The colonies managed to evolve and grow, dynamically, organically, as a bacterium culture might grow in a Petri dish, a natural organic process *(fig_15)*.

(Fig_15)   'Organic growth'   Blowback magazine, march 2004, p.46

The inhabitants exist and coalesce in complex spatial and temporal spheres. This can be seen as a powerful human endeavour, ingenuity and invention; the appropriation of unwanted land in the city, the development and construction of structures which negate the hierarchy of authority, and transcends exchange values. The inhabitants exist as individuals yet express a collective, purveying a strong sense of community, all part of the same struggle.

Seen as unsuccessful by many, the two examples un-doubtedly have their complex problems, is this a result of over-urbanization? It is the rural exodus to cities which cannot accommodate new immigrants, the cities are already swollen. These examples are at a large scale, it can be said that colonies of this scale are perhaps too large, the uncontrolled, unmediated growth puts too greater strain on infrastructure. It also enables crime to exist. Perhaps there are simply too many people in a too smaller space?

Can this type of habitation exist at a smaller scale, and exist, not as a single entity, but as fragments of self determinism which exist *within* the hierarchy of western cities? (fig_16) In environments *outside* of crisis?

(fig_16)   Slum dwellings - sporadic constructions within a rational framework, Sao Paulo, Brazil, Koolhaas (2004), Content pp.274-275.

>> hetrarchy's_in the developed world   stability_micro_scale

In this section I discuss several examples in the text, the examples I feel do not warrant detailed case studies. I shall expand on the previous ideas of hetrarchy. The following examples have occurred in stable environments, examples that have arisen *outside* of crisis.

In doing so, I hope to highlight the suppression of hetrarchical tendencies in a stable, capitalist consumerist society.

> Sk8ing

As briefly touched upon in chapter two, skateboarding is an activity which consumes unproductively, a form of appropriation of space that negates exchange. An autonomous individual means of simply having fun. Yet for all its simple if child like appearances, skateboarding is an activity which defies most of what the modern city is about. *"Skateboarding helps to deny the logic of the city as pre-eminently existing solely for the benefit of global forces and flows of information and capital.* (Borden, 2001, p.232)

Skateboarding therefore, can be seen as La Fete in Lefebvre's terms, and a means of reediting, reformatting what the city is about, it is a critique of ownership and of labour.

"Where managers and owners of abstract space wish that society was solely directed at commodity production, exchange and consumption, by occupying the spaces immediately external to stores and offices, skateboarders refuse to engage in such processes and instead insert use value where is there supposed to be none – in the places of exchange." (Borden, 2001, p.238) (X-fig_18)

"Happiness is a state of mind that takes years to achieve, an equilibrium that comes about after hard work and commitment to following your own directions, and acting on your personal desires, not those thrust upon you by multi-corporate entities. There are only a few routes to authentic happiness left that haven't been turned into theme parks for the brain dead, or criminalized out of existence. Thankfully, skateboarding is one of those alternative routes to fulfilment." (Bowmen – 'comment', cited in Borden, 2001, p.241)(fig_17)

(fig_17)Eric Kirkwood – 'Ollie', photo: Gabe Morford, San Francisco, CA 1996 (Rose, 1999, p.70-71)

So for skateboarders the city is seen as a pleasure ground for enjoyment, reaffirming the Lefebvre slogan *"Beneath the pavement lies a beach."* (Rob Sheilds, cited in Borden, 2001, p.247)

So what does this mean in terms of the principles of hetrarchy? Skateboarding encapsulates most of the essence of hetrarchy, and it is by those principles (albeit inadvertently), that appropriation of city spaces occurs. However skateboarding exists, not as physical built appropriation, but as physical presence, over short periods of time. Skateboarding is temporally discontinuous, appropriation lasting for but a few hours, or minutes, appropriation *"is an alternating rhythm within the regular cyclical rhythm of the city, eg. The long temporality of property ownership, the medium temporality of lease arrangements or the short temporality of the parking meter are all avoided by skateboarders."*

"Any place you have concrete you can excel. You don't need anything else to do it, you don't need teams, you don't need money, and its infinitely adaptable to circumstances." (Stacy Peralta, cited in Borden, 2001, p.238)

It is because skateboarding subsumes the produced, and assigns values of use to the city, that skateboarding is suppressed by society? It is an activity which is seen by the city as so irrational, that it does not fit into the norms of capitalist consumerism. See appendix b for additional writings.

Skateboarding embodies the essence of hetrarchy, yet fails at permanent appropriation, is it for this reason that it still remains in our western cities? Remaining merely as a rebellious counterculture, with no lasting physical presence, the skater can always be moved on by the rent-a-cop.

It is now necessary to examine attempted permanent appropriation of space.

> attempted_permanence

This case study does not represent a system of occupation, merely the *idea* of appropriation or habitation, it stands to highlight the issues of use and re-use.

This small project titled 'i-n-t-a-c-t' ((fig_18) X-fig_19) was carried out by the London branch of the Office for Subversive Architecture O.S.A. Located in on a railway siding in Shoreditch London, a derelict signal box was renovated to look like a dwelling house, complete with window boxes, and lawn, *"turning the concrete box into an ironic icon of half-timbered suburbia."* (Knutt, 2005)

This attempted permanent appropriation occurred in a city 9in advanced stages of consumer capitalism.

No-one actually inhabited this building, the transformation was more politically motivated, *"…more a commentary on redevelopment of the Thames Gateway"* (Dyckoff, 2005). The installation was intended to raise the question, why sprawl in such an unsustainable manner, when there are existing opportunities for habitation in the city? This is a sentiment shared by Menser *"The space for dwelling is already available in the form of millions of square feet of unused office space and abandoned waterfronts"* (cited in Woods, 1997, p.165)

Because the installation was illegal, it was sabotaged, windows smashed, window boxes removed, and walls repainted. The authorities were the saboteurs (in this case 'Network Rail'). This highlights the previous idea that hierarchy of power and authority, capitalists will strive to suppress acts of a hetrarchical nature (individual, autonomous, self determining). The insurrection of these types of installations is not tolerated. Legal appropriation of this building was first attempted, however O.S.A were frustrated by the *"conservative culture that understands reasons to stop things rather than motivations to change them."* (Knutt, 2005)

Running in parallel with this special study has been an exploratory project for the Birmingham school of Architecture, during this project I identified a building (site_55) in a similar state of decomposition and neglect. A lighting installation was implemented in Site_55 ((fig_19) X-fig_20). The aim of the installation was to investigate patterns of occupation, it stood also to highlight the under-use of the building, and to alter one's perceptions of what the buildings use is (or isn't), was, or what it could be.

There are many examples of such installations, installations which serve to raise awareness of the problem at hand. See Artist Michael Rakowitz's Parasite. Appendix c.

(fig_19) 'Perception of use', site_55 , Exploratory design project, Birmingham school of Architecture, Ian Douglas – Jones 2005.

What is clear with the examples of a small scale, and in a stable environment, is that they can be described as having little effect, mere beginnings of an idea. Perhaps it is because of this stable environment within which they exist. Are our cities so controlled, or is there too greater level of passivity, that this type of hetrarchy simply cannot exist. Either the impetus, incentive for such appropriations is so low, or that the all governing nature of the governing hierarchy does not tolerate their existence.

There are examples of successful appropriations, or apparent appropriations, within our western cities. But these have been driven be commercial reasons. Kangol (fig_20), Commes de Garcon, Heineken, to name but a few, have used the appropriation of abandoned shops, and derelict warehouses as retail shops. Coined guerrilla architecture, this form of appropriation serves only as elaborate publicity stunts, and product endorsement. So it seems anything is possible, so long as there is sufficient profit motive, whether immediate (shop) or long term (publicity stunt).

(fig_20) Guerrilla retail, Kangol store, Brick Lane, London, 'to anyone who wants to be a guerrilla designer' icon magazine #20, Febuary 2005, p.52

For additional writings on residential colonies which exist outside of the planned economy, exhibiting hetrarchical qualities, see appendix d (Los Christiana, Copenhagen) and appendix e (Atelier Van Lieshout).

>>> chapter_04_conclusion

The preceding examples were of very different types of space appropriation. The first set of examples both arise out of crisis, abject poverty and influx of population, in this case space is used, taken over, and use and re-use mutates, spilling into the nearest available space. In these cases there is the emergence of structure, of built form. Sporadic and unregulated growth occurs (multiplicity), with no authority to plan or dictate. Perhaps this is architecture at its most free? Since it is sporadic, and appears undersigned then perhaps it is not architecture at all (as discussed in chapter two). Perhaps this type of appropriation is too free? Left to sprawl and develop in this way, these colonies seem to subjugate some of the basic human necessities, light, air, water and food. The freedom from hierarchy of authority, or freedom from profit driven necessity for spaces of exchange value does however, allow for freedom of expression, freedom to develop creatively with no hindrance. However, these types of colonies which exist outside of the planned economy are pushed to the fringes of the cities they inhabit, either physically, or politically as their existence is denied.

The second set of examples occurs outside of crisis states, they are enabled by individuals who want autonomy. Like the macro examples, Christiana (see appendix d) was pushed, or existed, at the fringes of the city it inhabited, pushed to one side, forgotten about. The Shoreditch example (albeit without any actual inhabitants), did not last for long. Was its lack of longevity because its location (within the city not at the fringes)? Or (and) because of its position, within a city which is in an advanced stage of capitalism? (web-04, Spacehijackers 2005) A city whose authority seeks to suppress displays of self determining autonomy. Because it was illegal, against the rules, not allowed to exist in the framework in which we live.

If this is so, then the appropriation of residual spaces within our cities is impossible because of the rules that govern us, and because of the way the city is planned. It can be said that, the residual space of our urban fabric, the dereliction, the strips of zoned land, are a necessity of the city, a natural component of a complex skein of layers. From the explicitly planned, to the seemingly abandoned, and simply ill-conceived, they are all part of the city. If the city may be seen as an entirely planned entity, then perhaps these residual spaces form part of that plan, all be it inadvertently. Logical reasoning can be applied to demonstrate the totalizing nature of capitalism: A derelict building may lie vacant for many years, festering, redevelopment or demolition will more probably occur only if there is monetary return for an investment of time, money and effort. If there is no such reward, or the exchange value is insufficient, then it can be said the building will lie dormant, until such circumstances arise which will enable a profit to be made.

It can be said that the system of the Hetrarchy cannot occur alone. There must be some element of control in every system, without a basis of rules, beliefs, ideologies or what ever, then surly chaos and anarchy will reign? It can be said that authority must be present at some level, if not total ignorance to authority, then perhaps a certain indifference to it.

The hetrarchical mode of appropriation or development cannot by definition occur within the framework of authority, simply because of the rules that govern that framework. The practicalities of such types of appropriation or new constructions are inhibiting. Firstly there is the issue of ownership and the notion of privatization. If a section of land or building is owned by someone then the legal implications of ownership are called into question, if it is not yours to appropriate, then it is illegal, therefore not tolerated (there are few successful 'squats' around the world, because of the legalities.).

Allowing small pockets of autonomy, small pockets of hetrarchies to exist within a hierarchical framework would seem somewhat paradoxical. If it is part of governing authority, to exert control, or the inherent control of the city because of capitalism, then the concept of hetrarchy cannot survive, if it is allowed to flourish in pockets, these pockets are still planned, still rationally deterministic. However it is all to easy to be embroiled in the nomenclature and strict definitions of each occurrence.

What is most evident is that perhaps there is no give or take between these opposing systems. The rules by which we live, or the culture in which we live, has produced this urban residue. And it is by these very rules that the appropriation of these spaces is inhibited, a catch 22 situation. Without outright political, social and economic change then these spaces will remain uninhabited, unless an environment of crisis or conflict develops, at which point, anything could be possible. It is such situations that Woods cites as a point of departure, the impetus for change, to start afresh, a *'tablula rasa'*. (Woods 1997)

>> bagkok thailand_spatial temporal subversions

(fig_21) 'Sidewalk to walk, … to eat, …to talk, … to drink, …to buy, …to sell, …to bribe, …to relax, …to sleep, …to love, …to die…', Rachaporn Choochuey cited in (Jodice 2004), 'What we want, Landscape as a projection of people's desires' pp.138-139

>> skateboarding

Additional notes on skateboarding at it's ability to negate the fixed rhythms of the capitalist consumerist city.

Skateboarding is temporally discontinuous, appropriation lasting for but a few hours, or minutes, appropriation.

"Capitalism is a mixture of production and speculation, alternatively sacrificing long-term social benefits to short-term profits or short-term social needs in favour of programmed investment schedules. Skateboarding time, in contrast, is immediate… "Skateboarding time is discontinuous, composed of a few minutes here and there, spread over space, and in between the socially programmed activities of production and exchange… "is an alternating rhythm within the regular cyclical rhythm of the city, eg. The long temporality of property ownership, the medium temporality of lease arrangements or the short temporality of the parking meter are all avoided by skateboarders" (Borden, 2001, p.236)

>>Rakowitz, M.   paraSITE

Parasitic architecture, and a radical approach to space appropriation.

American artist Michael Rakowitz paraSITE project proposed to take advantage of the exterior ventilation systems on existing architecture to give the homeless a temporary shelter. (fig_22 (X-fig 21))

The deflated structure have handles to be easily transported or can be carried on one's back. Once he has found the outtake ducts of a building's HVAC (Heating, Ventilation, Air Conditioning) system, the user attach the intake tube of the structure to the vent. The warm air leaving the building inflates   heats the membrane structure.

(fig_22) 'paraSITE', photo: Rakowitz. M, (web-09)

While these shelters were being used, they functioned also as a protest device against authorities willing to make their cities "homeless-proof". They made even more visible the unacceptable circumstances of homeless life within the city. (Regine, 2004)

>> los christiana, copenhagen

Los Christiana serves as an example of how the authorities, will attempt to suppress anti authority/society group, if cannot stop it outright, will push it to the fringes, forget about it.

With a population of just over 1000, Christiana *'free town'*, is a *"city within a city"*. A former military barracks which has been inhabited by squatters since the 1970's.   Christiana is peopled by *"the impoverished and the weird"*, *"artists, musicians, tinkers and tailors"*, a *"paradise for losers"*. Near self sufficient colony, formed have their own democracy and abide by their own rules…   *'No hard drugs, no rocker badges, no violence, no weapons, no trade in buildings or dwellings.'* (web-06, Ball 2004)

This colony survives at the fringes of Copenhagen, a place where the government has turned a blind eye. The Government has seen Christiana as a place to contain this 'anti-society' group. It can be said, that self autonomy of this sought in its attempt at self sufficiency, and its indifference to soc

Exist outside of normal governs of society, it exists out of the planned authority. But now is seen as a tourist destination rather than any serious attempt at a redefinition of a system of habitation.

Despite the 'Free Towns' attempt at autonomy, it is still in the clutches of authority, and new buildings are prohibited unless prior consent is given from the local authorities. With all its rhetoric of self sufficiency, and autonomy, Christiana is still just seen as a *'commune for losers'*.

>> joep van lieshout

Artist Joep Van Lieshout, Has created a free state of AVL-Lille @ end of pier in Rotterdam, serving as a social experiment of autonomous living. Not entirely self sufficient, but still manage to have thier own constitution, currency and even flag. This is either a valid idea, or quite simply one man's deranged ideas of social ideologies. It must be noted that a policy of AVL-Lille is that everyone must sleep with everyone else, that may serve to answer the questions of validity, and legitimacy! Clip-on house extension, parasitic addition. (fig_23)

(fig_23) 'Clip-on house extension', Atelier Van Lishout, 1997, icon magazine #29, November 2005, p.95

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X-fig_16 super block monolith*, Kowloon walled city, hong kong, www.twenty4.co.uk*

X-fig_17 favelas, rio de Janeiro, photo: yann arthus-bertrand, the earth from the air 365 days, 2003, p.01/07

X-fig_18 beneath the pavement lies a beach, safiya, new york, 1997, photo: liz rock. Dysfunctional, rose, 1999, p.127

X-fig_19 signal box installation, Shoreditch, London, photo: m.fairs, icon magazine #17, nov 2004, p.17

X-fig_20 use perception, site 55, exploratory design project, Birmingham school of architecture, ian Douglas – Jones 2005

X-fig_21 'paraSITE', photo: Rakowitz. M, http://www.denafoundation.com/index2/1.html