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Agamben's Gesture of Profanation and the Politics of Play in Urban Design

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ABSTRACT Positioning a broader conception of design along the thematic context of the informal squat-occupation urban realities, this article contributes to the search for an alternative narrative of urban design. It presents a conceptual elaboration around Giorgio Agamben's spatial ontology and political aesthetics as an aggregate source toward (re)calibrating the approach to urban design research and practice. Playing with the *topos* and the gesture of neoliberal urban design, and framing it into the wider background of the current trends of gated urbanisms, the article explores the notion of profanation as act capable of unlocking and enhancing new modes of politics. The centrality of the act of profanation is seen – through the lenses of a design research initiative in Rome – not simply as a

productive antidote to the "sacred" phenomenon of urban design and its gesture imposed on humanity from above, but as a site of resistance in reclaiming, above all, a capacity of *logos* (*speech*) for an otherwise displaced and silenced urban subject and, along with it, the intellectual productivity of urban design theory and practice themselves.

KEYWORDS: Agamben, urban design, profanation, Rome, squat-occupation, design research

The *Sacredness* of Urban Design

The initial scene of the science-fiction action blockbuster *Independence Day*[1] shows a sleepy Will Smith who, after grabbing the newspaper from the front lawn of his suburban house, "notices" that above his head there is an alien starship almost as big as Los Angeles. If you remember it, you will laugh when watching the promotional video for CamKo City,[2] a new satellite city being built on the outskirts of Phnom Penh. As in the film, the new civilization arrives from the sky, with a shade of technological perfection and a supernatural aura, a design gesture of an urban artefact as quasi-supernatural phenomenon. This new life feeds on the ancient past and wisdom of disappeared cultures, flying above Khmer ruins while the text evokes the "mystical Khmer culture [and] the legacy of Angkor Wat,"[3] re-enhancing the myth into a new history: shining towers and glass pyramids appear from scratch to symbolize "the new civic pride of Cambodia."[4] The truth is – paraphrasing Shakespeare – somehow stranger than fiction: the recent literature on satellite cities,[5] urban renewal, and massive urban design development[6] in general tells us that the global city is being designed as an array of *augmented* gated communities, *fenced* developments that are mushrooming everywhere; inaccessible alien starships come from a supernatural reality and maintain their sacredness once landed on the ground.

The article looks precisely at the sacredness of urban design – at its being removed from the free use of men, at its products lying often beyond a fence, separated from the city – and, conversely, at its profanation, the act that can return urban design and its spaces to being at the disposal of mankind, opening up its fences and erasing that separation. The fence is seen here in its archetypical function of tool for enclosing spaces and in its historical role of prominent signifier of the material condition of urbanism.

Nothing new in its historical evolution, urban design gestures, tools, and discipline aim to enclose, protect, or hide something that was "sacred" (often the space itself), removed and separated from the direct availability of uses of the everyday man – from the cromlech of Stonehenge to the Temple of Karnak in Egypt; from the

Figure 1
CamKo City under construction. Photo: Giorgio Talocci.

concentric fences of a Greek temple to the vestals' enclosure in the Roman age. Today's practice still produces *sacred* fences, and it has become sacred itself, displaced from the domain and control of the users of urban space – whose lives too seem to be overwhelmed and saturated by the sacred character of the fence they will inhabit.[7]

Urban design therefore seems relegated, and at the same time celebrated, in its role as an instrument of quick revenue for developers[8] through the delivery of their sacred products for "perfect" inhabitants. Nonetheless, in the current practice and critique, an alternative narrative is being written, contesting the mainstream attitude and highlighting[9] forms of design that come not only from design firms but also from groups such as urban social movements, artists' collectives, workers' cooperatives, community associations, and governmental and nongovernmental organizations, whose motivations spring from their ethical stance, ecological reasons, a pedagogical approach, as a result of professional challenges, and from their political beliefs.[10]

Stemming from such debate, this article contributes to the search for an alternative narrative of urban design and, in so doing, elaborates the theoretical constructions of Giorgio Agamben as a source toward (re)calibrating the approach to urban design research and practice. It centers on the idea of profanation[11] as a theoretical construct to investigate the potential of a contestation of mainstream production of urban space and to meet the completely different agenda that urban space nowadays requires.

Sacred Fences and Other Spaces in Contemporary Urbanisms

Agamben, in *In Praise of Profanation*,[12] defined the gesture of profanation as one that can give back, to the free use of mankind, what had been previously taken away from it, confined to the inaccessible sphere of the *sacred*. Profanation for the Italian philosopher occurs through an act of play, a particular form of negligence toward the sacred and the *religio* of its norms. Early traces of this powerful and suggestive concept can be found in the author's discussion in *State of Exception* around the status of the law after its "messianic fulfillment," where he suggests: "One day humanity will play with the law as children play with disused objects, not in order to restore them to their canonical use but to free them from it for good."[13]

It is clear that the "end of the law" requires that a change of use occurs – a use that Agamben associates with the activity of children "at play." In this light, what follows is an initial exploration of the political function of the relationship between play and the sacred in Agamben's thought, adapted to urbanism and urban design processes and set up as a stake with the contemporary challenges of the urban whole. Agamben has not discussed architecture per se, but he has been greatly inspired by Aristotle and Plato's reflections on the *polis* as spatial reference. His philosophical inquiries contribute to the evolution of topological studies[14] and yield an optimistic rediscovery of *potentiality* in relation to architecture and urban design, especially if framed in the current debate on urbanism and urban studies[15] – looking at the contemporary city as a collection of gated environments, a multitude of fences with different thicknesses and degrees of permeability, visibility, and porosity. Urban design and architecture have always produced fences – temples, agoras, arenas, mausoleums – environments and artefacts employing a set of mechanisms of filter between what is included *inside* and what remains *outside*. And in so doing, creating the conditions for the former to acquire, inevitably, a character of otherness, albeit in a state of potential connection with the latter. This article, partially intersecting Agambenian literature with a Foucaultian one, builds on such a "heterotopic"[16] interpretation of fences, though reading them through a governmental and biopolitical lens.[17] In doing so, fences become not simply spatial and physical but rather complex objects made of discourses, technologies, texts of their actors, norms and codes of behavior, and regulatory statements which oblige us to think of urban design and architecture practices as embedded in a wider mechanism of government of the city and its bodies. Such an analytical strategy of widening urban design to the "bodyness" of cities is articulated over the analysis of two complementary gestures: the one of *gating*, in the first part, centered on an elaboration of how the production and the government of *fences* effectively occurs; and the one of *opening up*, in the second part, whose conditions of possibility will be explored by looking at the act of *play* in its Agambenian language.

The Gesture of Gating Territories: The Creation of Sacred Spaces

The work of Giorgio Agamben outlines a spatial approach to understanding urban dynamics of contested spaces and territorial partitioning.[18] Agamben makes the paradoxical assertion that today the state of exception is the rule when elaborating a theoretical template for the existence of a realm of human activity not subject to the rule of law.[19] He stresses that, with time, the realm of lawlessness has become spatialized through the figure of the *camp*, highlighting the inherent spatial qualities bred from exception.[20] The camp could be assumed, then, as the paradigm par excellence of an urbanism founded on the gesture of gating subjects beyond the "archetype" fence – a fence with a door to guarantee access and control, enclosing a spatiality that develops to a certain extent as *other*, separated from what surrounds it.

Such spatialities are defined by Foucault[21] as *heterotopias*, the "kind of places that are outside all places, even though they are actually localizable"[22] and maintain connections with them, at all possible scales, relying upon mechanisms of filtering. "Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and make them penetrable,"[23] or in other words they allow the passage of someone or something in particular, at given times or through specific rituals. It can be possible to argue that contemporary cities are made of many heterotopic urbanisms and impregnated with such rituals: highly connected spaces – at the center of flows of capital, knowledge, and people – become, day by day, *sacralized*, and penetrable by fewer people on fewer occasions. Dehaene and De Cauter[24] reinforce such tension opposing heterotopias and camp-like situations, with the latter founded on the paradigm of exclusion and control,[25] and grounded in the state of exception in which the city – rather than present and "linked" – is theoretically annihilated.[26]

Such annihilation manifests in products of the contemporary practice of urban design – inaccessible condos, gated communities, exclusive gentrified central neighborhoods, and satellite cities, all traded according to their level of sacredness and safety (i.e., exclusivity and *fenced-ness*) – which are just one of the many symptoms of a wider "sickness" of contemporary urbanisms. The urbanisms are portrayed in the literature as *military*,[27] *splintering*,[28] or even *carceral*[29] and tangible when looking at cities such as São Paulo, Singapore,[30] Los Angeles,[31] Istanbul,[32] just to use the more evident. At the core of such urbanisms lies the mechanism of fencing itself, whose wall "is a reminder of how spatial typologies and social tensions contribute to shape an urbanism of exception."[33] Types, typologies, and typological urbanisms – emerging (or reemerging) precisely from a flow of energy and pressure[34] – certainly lever on the concept of heterotopia while at the same time hardening both its fences and content, making it inflexible, impenetrable, and governed

exactly through principles of exclusion and control. As pointed out by Grahame Shane, the type "offers designers the advantage of a speedy response and a standardized product,"[35] being at the same time uncontrollable and unshapable by the users, a heterotopia whose *use* has been displaced toward a higher level, "sacralized."

An example of this shift is Campo Boario in Rome,[36] born as a fenced space for breeding animals destined for the nearby slaughterhouse, which then got further heteropianized after its abandonment by the municipality in the late 1970s. Kurds, Palestinians, Gypsies, Roman activists, and a group of *cavallari*[37] squat-occupied either its borders or its courtyard – a very serious parody of the archetype of the Persian garden cited by Foucault, "a sacred space that was supposed to bring together inside its rectangle four parts representing the four parts of the world."[38] In the current climate of speculation, authorities, investors, and developers are levering on both the heterotopic character of such a fence and on its typological one: the fence is destined to become a citadel for the arts and the alternative economies, again a garden where many cultural traditions will meet, and the transformation has already led to the eviction of both Roma and Palestinians and to partially weaken the activity of the cultural center (linked to the antagonist Left) run by Italian activists whose name, inspirationally, is still *Villaggio Globale* (Global Village). In Agamben's words, it is an example of coming community[39] *in nuce*, stemming from highly heterotopic space and later normalized through the "application" of a type.

Beyond this operation, not only is there an inevitable tension toward urban capital-driven development, but also an attempt to "cleanse or decant"[40] city differences away from the center of the city. The same city was keeping such differences hidden, in a spatially segregated situation of social discrimination and oppression.[41] Development pressures, and their urban design "tools" are therefore only the most visible cause of an urban transformation that is made of conflictive discourses and ideologies, racial and ethnic discrimination, and apartheid logics, which overlap security- and private property-obsessed urbanisms.[42] Following Bridge and Watson we want, though, to remark on how the city can no longer be read as a field where dominant groups and institutions in cities are attributed "the prerogative to allow or disallow difference from the so-called norm,"[43] but rather, in the definition of Alsayyad and Roy,[44] read as a domain of multiple overlapping and competing sovereignties, whose exercise translates into an agglomeration of spaces whose degree of permeability at both social and spatial levels is ultimately very low. Along with the *privatopias*[45] of secure types indeed – gated communities, shopping malls, entertainment complexes, hotels, luxury housing, and office towers,[46] representing a capitalistic hegemony over urban space[47] – we find slums, blighted neighborhoods or, extremely, camps in all their declensions. The degree of openness of these spaces is also very low, and where the different and conflictive

Figure 2
Campo Boario, Rome, 2012. Photo: DPU summerLab.

Figure 3
La Città dell'Altra Economia at Campo Boario, Rome. Source: http://www.lc-architettura.com/.

sovereignties – because of their need to exercise their power and control over space – most clearly establish the *State of Exception* in its military, splintering, carceral character. In the following section we clarify this using the *dispositif* model, which we deem to acquire particular relevance in such a context.

Urban Design and Governmental *Dispositifs*

Urban design is a handy tool for the perpetuation of such *exception*, for the separation of spaces from the rest of the city, and for their consecration to the use of people whose behaviors, income, and social status (or ethnicity and political orientation) are deemed as complying with certain codes. It is, though, only one of the many statements, discourses, and practices that contribute to the "*Janus* face"[48] of the governance arrangements that have solidified over the last two decades. The necessity for an urbanism to calibrate freedom against security gives rise to intersecting and overlapping configurations of gestures, design, and control on the "complex interlinking that takes place between discourse formations, technologies of the social and technologies of the self."[49] In reality, back to Foucault, these are an aggregate of physical, social, and normative infrastructure – among which is urban design – put into place to deal strategically with a particular problem that Foucault himself terms *dispositif*.[50] The dispositif is a very powerful theoretical model for our argument, not only to explain the current governmental condition, but also, and more importantly, because in its very essence it already contains the germ to overcome its governmental power, allowing room for obsolescence and flight[51] and for allowing that special form of negligence that Agamben calls "profanation."[52]

The original definition of "dispositif" put forward precisely by Foucault reads: "A thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions" whose network is the dispositif itself, and whose nature is "essentially strategic, which means that we are speaking about a certain manipulation of relations of forces …"[53] Agamben traces it back to what Foucault himself called "positivities," referring to what is enforced, obligatory:[54] dispositifs – as fences – are then read as mechanisms of entrapment and defined as "literally anything that has in some way the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviors, opinions, or discourses of living beings."[55] A fence is ultimately an elementary form of dispositif, and it is not a case that Agamben speaks of contemporary heterotopias such as prisons and madhouses, schools and factories as such. A dispositif, though, does not relate simply the spatial and physical dimension of control, but rather to all those measures that contribute to the exercise of controlling life itself: ultimately, biopower. With such emphasis we could, then, certainly describe the contemporary city as a set of

overlapping dispositifs as well as a collection of nested fencing mechanisms,[56] whereby a single fence can be read as an enclosed (arche)type representing a critical challenge to that dispositif itself, and a sense of estrangement[57] from it, typical of the "single, multiform, ceaseless process of separation that assails everything, every place, every human activity in order to divide it from itself."[58]

Profaning the Gated

Such separation, according to Agamben, can be erased through means of profanation. He presents profanation as an act of contestation toward the *religio* of the norm, suggesting that the term *religio* does not derive from *religare* (the binding together of the human and the divine) but, rather, comes from *relegere*, a term that "indicates the stance of scrupulousness and attention, … the uneasy hesitation (the rereading [*rileg-gere*]) … that must be observed in order to respect the separation between the sacred and the profane."[59] The paradigmatic shift from the profane to the sacred is, in the religious context, a *sacrifice*, an act that removes the victim from the profane sphere: for Agamben, sacrifice represents separation in its pure form, and in this sense it can be understood as an apparatus that founds and maintains the division between the sacred and the profane – in our case the fence that marks an emplacement.

This shift, however, is not a one-way avenue: virtually any object can be made sacred and, conversely, profane. Profanation, in contrast with secularization, "neutralizes what it profanes … deactivat[ing] the apparatuses of power and return[ing] to common use the spaces that power had seized"[60] – and all Agamben's voluminous body of works, through a transversal architectural and spatial reading, reveals at its core the pursuit of the deactivation of devices of power in the interest of a *coming community* that is present but still unrealized. Separation is pushed to the extreme, Agamben suggests, through the sphere of consumption, in contemporary capitalism – the economic form of modern biopolitics. He therefore takes profanation as an urgent task, as "the political task of the coming generation."[61] We have seen already how these patterns of capitalistic consumption turn urban design into a commodifying machine and at the same time into an object of commodification[62] – creating environments which are separated from the free use of men, of all citizens.

Profanation, we will see, is what can neutralize this *cesurae* and its sacrality, at the same time not entailing an abolishment, an erasure, of the religious core itself. Drawing again on the example of Campo Boario, the practical intervention made by Stalker (a collective of artists and architects from Rome) with the Kurdish community[63] was levering on the sacred nature of such space, involving the community in a series of games and in so doing grasping its essence from within. The designer places himself inside the fence, understands its sacred character, and plays with some elements of it to restart

connections with the wider urban environment without undermining the nature of the fence, which is needed for that community itself to survive. “Games” such as the making of a flying carpet, growing a garden, setting up a collective lunch, creating alternative borders, materialize and translate in a spatial strategy that Agamben presents as profanation: a very special form of negligence toward the dispositif, or “an entirely inappropriate use (or, rather, reuse) of the sacred: namely, play.”[64]

Play, according to Agamben, occurs in the form of either wordplay (*iocus*) or physical play (*ludus*). Fundamental for our argument here is the dimension of *messianic* time, which Agamben calls for rediscovering. Messianic time hollows out any experience and factual condition, opening it up to a new use; it transforms chronologic time without abolishing it.[65] To profane, in this sense, means highlighting the possibility of new uses for those urban environments trapped in the capture of the dispositif – uses which are made visible exactly working, through the act of play, on the time dimension. The act of play, according to Agamben, is very powerful because it transforms structures of power in events,[66] reshuffling them for enacting a particular situation. This is visible again in Stalker’s work, which elaborates a tension between the *ludic* action that ends up in enacting rites and the almost archaeological endeavor in finding out the

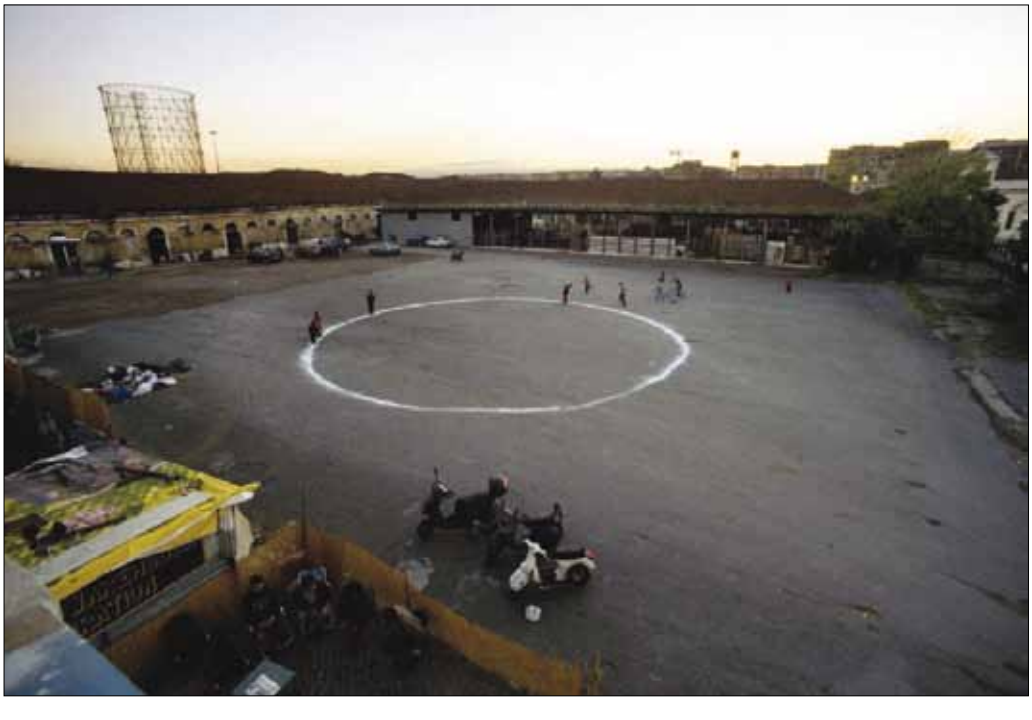

Figure 4
Stalker at Campo Boario, 2005. Photo: Stalker.

Figure 5
Stalker at Campo Boario, 2005. Photo: Stalker.

Figure 6
Stalker at Campo Boario, 2005. Photo: Stalker.

community's past, in writing its myth. The time dimension decreases to zero, in the case of the rite, the event, the ritual which was used to enter a heterotopic space and now instead gets reenacted to open up that space itself; it grows toward infinite, writing a timeless myth which is the same one the rite is supposed to stage, to reproduce. Profanation itself is a *gesture* that separates the two spheres of rite and myth, respectively "drop[ping] the myth and preserv[ing] the rite"[67] or "effac[ing] the rite and allow[ing] the myth to survive,"[68] in this way never erasing the sacred core which profanation targets. Agamben emphasizes the close connection between the gesture of playing and the sacred, a connection seen in the fact that "Everything pertaining to play once pertained to the realm of the sacred."[69] But what does he mean exactly with *gesture*?

A New Gesture as Act of Play: Opening Up the Fence, Unlocking New Uses, and Modes of Politics

For Agamben, poetry and philosophy have a common history and destiny related to the notion of gesture, which we could see as a rediscovery of design and architecture's potentiality. Agamben comes to define gesture via an alternative reading of the two sides of Aristotle's famous distinction between action (*praxis*) and production (*poïesis*), in which gesture is neither a production nor an enactment but is "undertaking and supporting … breaking the false alternative between means and ends."[70] Positioning profanation as architectural and design gesture is stressing it as the display of mediation, the making visible of means as such and its potential for making something other than itself.

Profanation is therefore a gesture or an act of play that can unlock the potentialities of the actual world, and envision a new one. According to Agamben,[71] this could be done only through the work of art – and then allowing ourselves an expansion, through design. Design as gesture acquires the role of an instrument finding cracks and fissures in the narrative of the dispositif and profaning its narratives – opening up its fences, working precisely on the uses of that which fences themselves enclose, protect, or conceal, playing with them and with their content. We must not forget that the "sacred and the profane represent the two poles of a system in which a floating signifier travels from one domain to the other without ceasing to refer to the same object."[72] We put forward a call to reconfigure urban design acts exactly as gestures of profanation, which are able to intersect this floating signifier and to move it back toward the realm of the profane through play.

In Agamben, the centrality of the work of art seems inevitable, as the supreme means to unlock those new modes of politics[73] that for instance constitute, simply, a space. Here, an interesting parallel can be made between Jacques Rancière and Agamben, as we will see later; opening up space means creating politics and new forms of life, forms that do not belong to the existing order.[74] The work of

art as profanation works on the dimension of time, enacting rites and writing myths. In order to illustrate the above, the following part of this article will briefly elaborate on the authors' experience in a squat-occupied space in Rome, *Porto Fluviale*, where design interventions and participatory design research reconfigured new uses of the sacred alluding to a possible "coming community."[75]

Rome and the Galaxy of the Squat-Occupations: Latent Profanations?

Porto Fluviale belongs to the galaxy of squat-occupations in Rome, a network – led by three main social movements[76] – that from the early 1990s onward has kept growing and transforming, not only in its nature but also in its objectives. Nowadays there are about forty squat-occupations in the whole city (whose size varies from a few households to a couple of hundred), and they all take place in previously abandoned buildings, private or public, which allows the movements to lever on the rhetoric of giving back abandoned portions of urban fabric (sometimes very central) to the use of the collective. At the same time, the focus of the struggle has recently moved from housing to dwelling, expanding its breadth exactly from the simple provision of housing units to people in need to one of services for the surrounding areas and to the whole *urbe*. Such a promotional and strategic move aims to make the occupation of the territory accepted, trying to fill the gap left by the disappearance of the welfare state through the creation of – for example – open desks for assistance and care for women, the homeless, and others in need, and at the same time opening up the squatted spaces toward the city with the invention and organization of leisure and cultural activities.

Squat-occupations happen within truly heterotopic fences: they are separated from the rest of the city but at the same time are connected to many other spaces, namely the other occupations in the network, their surroundings, to the places of origin of their inhabitants; they mirror the reality of the outside, too, replicating it in a perfect mechanism, ordered and controlled and comprehensive of many realities and geographies (as, respectively, in the Jesuit colonies and Persian gardens recalled by Foucault[77]); they are heterocronies, since they get more open from time to time, when hosting events, or more closed, when an external threat is approaching (typically, a risk of eviction according to the particular political climate).

They are types as well, often taking place in abandoned public buildings, which once constituted a language in the city's fabric and whose decay had erased them from the city's map: from a condition of semantic vacancy during the period of abandonment, the act of occupying re-signified these types and made them reappear almost as those monuments which Lefebvre described as anchors of a city's fabric, which had become a texture rather than a text,[78] and which at the beginning of this article we deemed as dominated

Figure 7
Squat-occupation Casette, 2011. Photo: DPU summerLab.

Figure 8
Squat-occupation Metropoliz, 2011. Photo: DPU summerLab.

Figure 9
Squat-occupation La Rustica, 2012. Photo: DPU summerLab.

by the *State of Exception* insofar as any possibility of language had got blurred and become impossible. It certainly seems that squat-occupations and their practices definitely represent forms of negligence toward the urban neoliberal dispositif in place, but do they represent actual profanations? We should rather ask whether they truly show new uses and achieve new modes of politics, which deeply contest the original settings in which they were born. And whether they are truly profanations or simply secularizations: have the apparatuses of power simply been reshuffled or has a true re-calibrating action between the several stakeholders been achieved? The actions we undertook during our action-design-research activity in *Porto Fluviale* have tried to answer these questions.

Profanation as *Ludus*: Opening Up Fences through Rites

Being formerly a barracks, fences in the squat-occupied space *Porto Fluviale* are a condition intrinsic to its nature: we tried to understand them through a series of action-design-oriented interventions along with the inhabitants and then to profane them enacting new forms of rituals.

For most of its first ten years of life, *Porto Fluviale* and its community have had to keep Porto's gates closed. In spite of the constant

Figure 10
Porto Fluviale: the outside, 2012. Photo: DPU summerLab.

Figure 11
Porto Fluviale: the courtyard, 2012. Photo: DPU summerLab.

Figure 12
Porto Fluviale: discussing future possibilities over the building's layout, 2012. Photo: DPU summerLab.

Figure 13
Porto Fluviale: the open gate on the final day of the workshop, 2012. Photo: DPU summerLab.

Figure 14
Porto Fluviale: the tearoom, 2012. Photo: DPU summerLab.

risk of eviction[79] the community has recently voted to keep the main gate open during the day so as to let people from the surrounding areas feel free to enter. The process started a couple of years ago by opening a tearoom on the ground floor, and continued with the transformation of many spaces that were once residential and now have become an assembly room, a bicycle workshop, guest rooms, and new rooms for skill-sharing activities. The project finds its main element in the courtyard, to be transformed into a "public square": so far, such a courtyard has been the center of community life and the spatial element that has helped the most in fostering throughout the years a sense of collectivity and everyday life-sharing. What struck us, in an assembly, was the words of one of the leaders, who said: "We don't want to open all the gates and make the new square become a space of circulation like all the other squares around the city, since this would simply replicate the current experience of the city, whose public spaces are meant for the capitalistic consumption."[80]

The vision of the inhabitants sees the new square as set aside from any capitalistic logic, wanting it to be the place for experiment in new activities and ways of exchanging and paying back the services that the community will offer – where proactive citizens can meet and exchange their experiences, where the use-value of space takes

over the exchange value, contesting the realm of consumption which above we have seen as unprofanable. Apart from the desire of the community, the idea of a truly open piazza is yet to be realized: the idea of a post-capitalistic square, whether or not we agree with that, acts as another mechanism of filter, since not everybody would feel welcome to enter – people with different political stances, or pedestrians who are simply busy or refrain from entering because of the depth of the entrance passage, a true spatial threshold). Moreover, Porto's inhabitants' needs for both privacy and security unavoidably let some contradictions emerge, for instance the proposal to leave the gate open but to build new gates in the spaces giving access to the main staircases – a transformation that would have eventually replicated the image of many public piazzas surrounded by highly privatized spaces. The workshop we held along with Laboratorio Arti Civiche helped unpack such contradictions and portrayed possible ways of keeping the space truly open. All the ideas, scenarios, and options were eventually presented in a final event that enacted the rite of opening the space and inviting people from the surrounding areas to listen to the proposals and to share a meal in the meantime. Smaller rites of participation were enacted by students, inhabitants, and a few visitors, simulating how the space could look, using plans to share ideas for the transformation of the piazza, devising menus of what a potential visitor could expect to find when entering the space.

The ingredients were the same as the neoliberal dispositif: simulations, images, menus, but their original aim here was totally *profaned* and put to a particular use, the one of the counter-city, rising where the dispositif itself is obsolescing. For a few hours, until the end of the collective meal, the square was open in a rite of sharing ideas, foods, cultures, languages: in such a short time frame, new worlds were made visible, and a new mode of politics occurred for real. This happened through a collective work of art – the enactment of the metaphor, which accompanied the entire workshop, of a piazza as a harbor (*porto*)[81] inhabited by many boats, the place where many identities had moored and still were floating and encountering each other. The challenge, though, is to understand how to extend over time such a temporary condition, working on the possibility for such a space to be theoretically open and inclusive at any time. The idea of profanaton as *iocus* can help with understanding a way forward.

Profanation as *Iocus*: Opening Up Fences, Writing Myths

In *A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic*, Robert Smithson de facto describes an apparently empty portion of suburban wasted land as *monumental*, rediscovering and partially creating its mythology from its ruins themselves.[82] In so doing, such emptiness is set beyond a monumentality created by the spectacle: what Smithson does – moving such suburbs toward a center (a geographical, cultural, economic one), making them visible on the map – is an *iocus*, a

profanation, an act of design. In the case of *Porto Fluviale*, a periphery[83] is treated as an archive, acting archaeologically to dig into its layers, to (re)write its stories and unpack the shifts in power relations influencing its spatial transformation and its re-significations. This *iocus* does not aim simply to understand the past to forecast possible futures, but at the same time, as said, it is a *statement of centrality*[84] for such a periphery and its daily realities are the possible germ of what Agamben defines as "coming community."

Such an archaeological approach shows clearly its debt to Foucault's theorization in *Archaeology of Knowledge*:[85] archaeology opposes history, which, creating and entailing a set of official discourses, de facto partakes in the exercise of the homogenizing action over the urban realm deployed by the dispositif. Therefore, if history feeds the appearance of spectacular environments, defining their myth, sacralizing their images, celebrating their events, hardening their fences, archaeology can instead centralize and monumentalize what so far has been left over as marginal, as not obeying widespread norms of conduct, and in so doing profane those norms themselves. With Agamben, archaeology definitely becomes the archaeology of the sign: reality becomes a collection of signatures, operators rather than simply signifiers – "what … displaces and moves … into another domain."[86] As we have tried to elaborate above, design – urban and architectural – can reconfigure as one of these operators, able to intersect a floating signifier constantly moving between the realm of the sacred and the profane. In Porto Fluviale we de facto rewrote a mythology of the place, listening to the life stories of the inhabitants – first collectively and then individually – understanding how the spatial and social relations have changed during almost ten years of occupation. The participants created a set of life-story cards to serve as a representation of identity, designed toward both potential visitors and inhabitants. Such a gesture portrayed heroically their collective and individual emancipations from a situation of housing emergency: the original occupation becomes a new myth. *Porto Fluviale* as a "coming community" emerges from such mythology, where its inhabitants are all heroes.

An intriguing stop-motion movie was made, showing through a changing ground-floor plan how the place was conquered, shared, transformed, enclosed, and then, the day of the projection, opened up through an event. This was the second to last frame: the last one said simply "To be continued." Such a design approach feeds into an ongoing process (the project of the piazza had already started when we got in touch with the community) and writes another chapter. If design manifested, then, through a gesture of profanation as an act of play, writing and representing the history of Porto Fluviale unlocked its potentialities in its "actuality." As such it allows the writing of all the possible next chapters of the story.

Then, if profanation as *iocus* writes a myth and opens up a space pushing the time toward infinite, the next steps to maintain this new

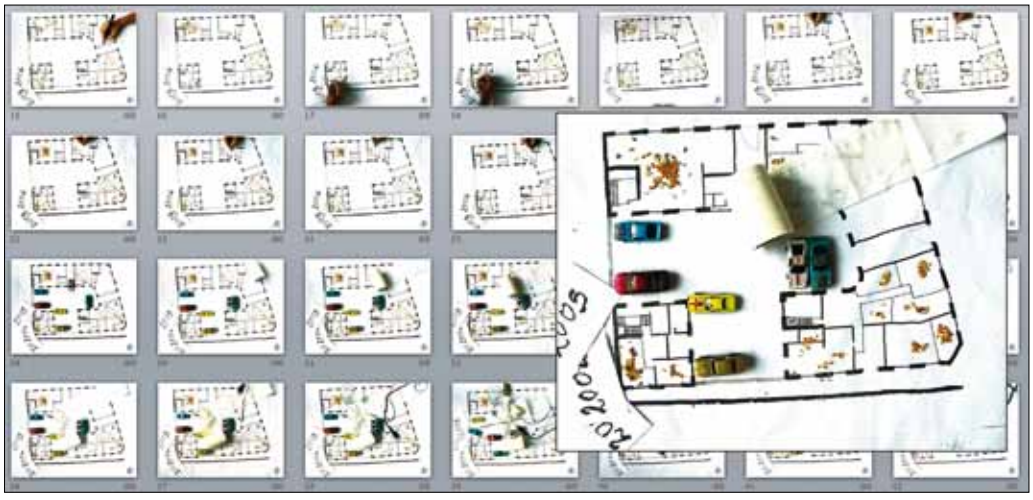

Figure 15
Porto Fluviale: frames from the stop-motion movie on the history of the courtyard, 2012. A close-up of a frame is shown inset. Photo: DPU summerLab.

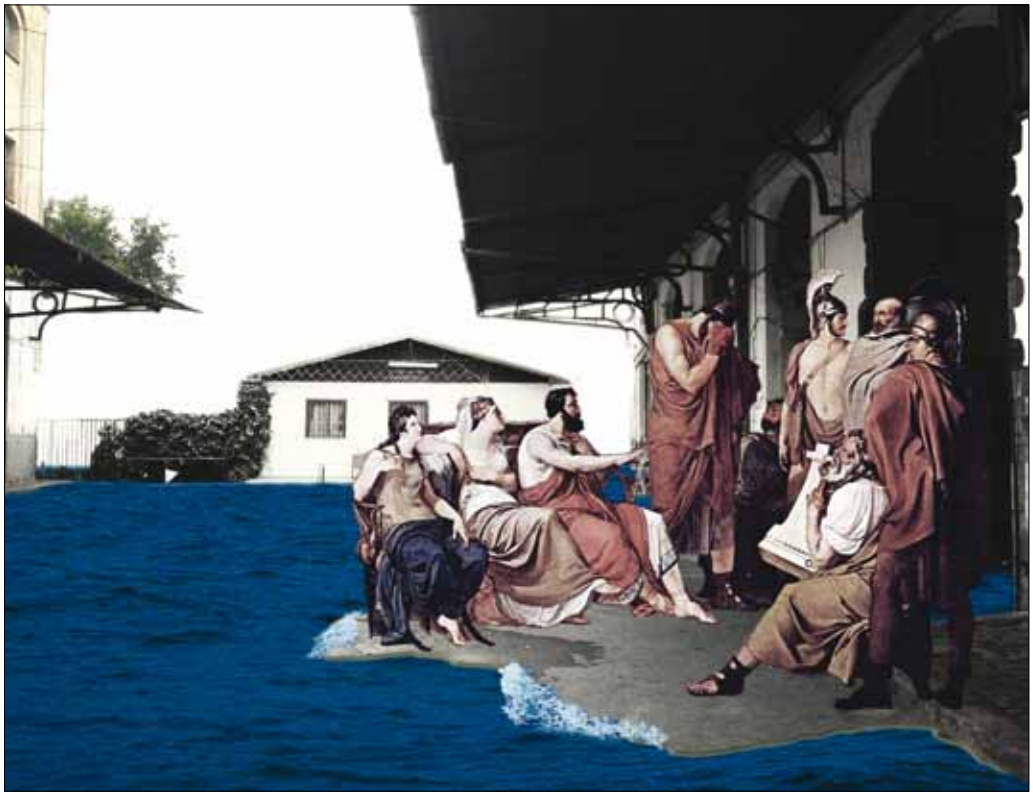

Figure 16
Porto Fluviale: the performativity of the space of the courtyard, 2013. Porto Fluviale's life stories as many odysseys. Photo: Cities Methodologies, Francesca Guarascio.

status are a matter of debate. Squat-occupations and housing rights social movements feed on their position of marginality: becoming central is rather an important statement, however it can certainly undermine their potential for novelty and resistance to institutional structures' co-option. Contradictions still remain, and the actions we undertook certainly could not manage to profane the whole thickness of a fence whose layers had accumulated for almost ten years of occupation, exclusion, and isolation.

An Attempt to Conclude: Toward the Politics of Profanation

For us, profanation acts on deactivating the apparatuses of power which the urban governmental dispositif has put in place, unlocking its *fenced* situations, its *medieval* condition,[87] working on a "change of use" – a change that is different from the one capital had "assigned" to that particular piece of urban fabric. The deep causes of such "gated" urban landscape derive not only from the "neoliberal" side of the dispositif (those actors pursuing investment and profit by developing areas), but rather by the continuous and overwhelming exercise of powers that *all* the actors of the urban transformation perform to guarantee themselves access and control over certain spaces of the city. Spelling out the desire for such an overwhelming dominance, we find, among its root causes, far more than the quest for profit, but rather gender, racial, and ethnic discrimination, contrasting political and religious ideologies, drug trafficking, the obsession for security and so on.[88] The attitude of the urban to "gate" therefore depends on much more than neoliberalism, and we might question Agamben's statement on profanation (as erasure of the separation between a product, or a space, and its users) as the urgent political task of the coming generation.[89] In other words, rescuing urban design, shifting it back to the users of the space that is going to be designed, reinventing it as a *sacred* discipline that performs rites and writes myths, might not correspond to rescuing, at the same time, the urban.

Profanation, we have seen, is about "rescuing a use," and it is this act, the one that manages to open up a particular space, to make it become, even for a short moment, an open signifier. The act of opening up corresponds to unlocking new modes of politics that, as in Rancière, are able to resist the givenness of the place, what designates "either some form of social fixity (for example an identity imposed upon an individual or group) or material orderings of space, or even established ways of thinking that draw limits between the possible and the impossible."[90] Politics, for Rancière, is about challenging such limits, shifting a body from the place assigned to it or changing the use (the function, in Rancière's words)[91] of a place, and this definition is terrifically similar to what Agamben writes on profanation as *ludus*. The same can be said for the *iocus*, for the myth that is going to make visible what was unseen, to make

readable or hearable what before was only "noise."[92] Politics disrupts the previous order, is negligent against it, opens up new spaces, or rather inaugurates space.

In Rancière, though, there is a tension toward the *verification* of an *equality* ("of anyone with anyone")[93] in the space that gets opened: the enactment of the "coming community" is accompanied by the enactment of an equality within it – "enactment" because equality for Rancière is not an end in itself but rather a means toward understanding what could be done under the "supposition" of such an equality. Dikeç cites Rancière mentioning the case of undocumented migrants,[94] an example that fits the context of our profanation, Porto Fluviale: the political challenge, according to both authors, is to affirm a political capacity, to retain *a* political *name*, beyond questions of need and survival.[95] Such questions must not be neglected, but, at the same time, we must not neglect the fact that part of the problem lies in the loss of a *name* either: "The immigrant is … a worker who is no longer perceptible as such, … at once the perpetrator of an inexpiable wrong and the cause of a problem calling for the round-table treatment, … caught in a … spiral … of lost political otherness."[96] We believe profanation can help in rescuing such a "name" for an otherwise politically displaced subject. Writing the myths of a squat-occupation while opening it up toward the outside is certainly a complementary action toward an equality that is everyday, already, "supposed" in the activity of right-claiming done by the social movement that runs the occupation itself.

Rome's social movements well interpret the twofold action of "appropriating" a space and "participating" in its transformation that Purcell recalls, referring to Henri Lefebvre, as mandatory action to contrast the commodification of the urban.[97] Social movements, in contesting the order of things enacting an equality that is not yet in place, do not limit themselves within the contestation of building and land speculation, but invite rather a collectivity to "meet" that otherness – political as well as ethnical, racial – which the occupations embody and would otherwise be lost. The needs of today's squatters and the urban poor in general, in an era marked by dystopian visions of the future, are obviously far beyond their political recognition, and invest the whole urban system in a much more complex way. The enduring dichotomy between the economic success of urban centers and the inability of those centers themselves to meet the needs of much of their population – "living in informal settlements on inadequate incomes, with very high infant, child and maternal mortality rates and high levels of under-nutrition"[98] – tells us how today's urbanisms, further than being "opened up" through profanation, should be "associated with greater equality of opportunity [sic], less poverty, good health, local participatory governance, … ecologically sustainable models of production and consumption."[99]

Given the high numbers claiming for basic rights, it seems such a greater equality can only be enacted, and it looks difficult therefore

"to retain … Henri Lefebvre's idea of the city for all, which [nonetheless still] seems the right ambition to have"[100] in the current global call for a perpetual democratization[101] where active citizens struggle to meet the challenges posed by such post-political configuration of cities where "the design of consensus uproots the foundational political impulses that center on disagreement … and the struggles over the Real of different urban possibilities."[102]

We saw, though, that profanation, as *gesture*, neither *produces* nor *enacts* space, but rather breaks that false alternative between means and ends[103] that conceives of urban design simply as a tool to create governable and exclusive space and, on the other side, that enactment of equality only as a means toward an unreachable end. Through profanation, as a design act able to open up space and make visible new modes of politics, not only is the political subject enabled to retain her/his political condition, *conditio* sine qua non to claim her/his possibility to have an agency in urban transformation, but is moved toward a center, closer to that equality that otherwise could only be supposed. Not only does she/he retain the capacity of speech, but she/he is put in the condition to exercise such capacity, not to fall into *bare life*.[104] In repositioning and questioning design, urban and architectural, as a gesture of profanation not only do we wish to offer a critical reading of Agamben's possible adoption into the realm of design, but also to refuse an *aesthetics of praxis* (as production) which would merely negotiate a field of force where one is already embedded into its productive relations, in its sacrality. And, rather to insist on an *aesthetics of poïesis* (as action, art as production of origin)[105] where space and relations are produced and rediscovered through profanations, and thus brought back to *the use of man* and his ability to construct politics.

Notes

1. Dean Devlin and Roland Emmerich, *Independence Day*, 20th Century Fox, 1996.
2. *New Design of Camko City*, YouTube. Available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fA09C_uK1Qg (accessed July 16, 2013).
3. *Camko City*, 0' 05."
4. *CamKo City*, 0' 40."
5. For Phnom Penh specifically, see Willem Paling, "Planning a Future for Phnom Penh: Mega Projects, Aid Dependence and Disjointed Governance," *Urban Studies* 49(13) (2012): 2889–912; T. Thomas Percival and Paul Waley, "Articulating Intra-Asian Urbanism: The Production of Satellite Cities in Phnom Penh," *Urban Studies* 49(13) (2012): 2873–888.
6. Tridib Banerjee, "Response to 'Commentary: Is Urban Design Still Urban Planning?' Whither Urban Design? Inside or Outside Planning?" *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31(2) (2011). Marina Lathouri, "The City as a Project: Types, Typical

Objects and Typologies," *Architectural Design* 81(1) (2011). David Grahame Shane, "Heterotopias in the City Modelling and Urban Design," in David Grahame Shane, *Recombinant Urbanism, Conceptual Modelling in Architecture, Urban Design and City Theory*, Chichester: Wiley, 2005.

7. See *CamKo City*. And also, respectively, for examples from London, Dubai, Miami, and Manila: "Reinventing Renting," Fizzy Living. Available online: http://www.fizzyliving.com/ (accessed July 16, 2013). "Culture Village by Dubai Properties Group," Dubai Culture Village. Available online: http://www.dubai-culturevillage.com/about-dubai-culture-village.html (accessed July 16, 2013). "About Resorts World Miami," Resorts World Miami. Available online: http://www.rwmiami.com/project-overview/about-rw-miami (accessed July 16, 2013). "We Got 102 Reasons to Make You Feel Real Good at Home," DMCI website. Available online: http://www.dmcihomes.com/ (accessed July 16, 2013).
8. Alexander Cuthbert, *Understanding Cities: Method in Urban Design*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011, p. 201.
9. Nishat Awan, Tatiana Schneider, and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2011.
10. Awan et al., *Spatial Agency*. On the corresponding website spatialagency.net, alternative spatial practices are grouped answering to three main questions: how (appropriating, disseminating, empowering, networking, subverting); where (the site of a group's action: creation of knowledge, organizational structures, physical relations, social structures); and precisely why, the motivations behind a group's action.
11. Giorgio Agamben, "In Praise of Profanation," in Giorgio Agamben, *Profanations*, New York: Zone Books, 2007. Giorgio Agamben, *What Is An Apparatus?* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009.
12. Agamben, "Profanation."
13. Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 64.
14. Brian Massumi, P*arables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation; Post-Contemporary Interventions*), Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002. Giaccaria and Claudio Minca, "Topographies/Topologies of the Camp: Auschwitz as a Spatial Threshold," *Political Geography* 30(1) (2011): 3–12. Camillo Boano and Ricardo Martén, "Agamben's Urbanism of Exception: Jerusalem's Border Mechanics and Biopolitical Strongholds," *Cities* 34 (2013): 6–17.
15. Alessandro Petti, *Arcipelaghi e enclave. Architettura dell'ordinamento spaziale contemporaneo*, Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2007. Banerjee, "Whither Urban Design." Stephen Graham, *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*, New

York: Verso Books, 2011. Boano and Martén, "Urbanism of Exception."

16. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," in Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (eds), *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, London: Routledge, 2008.
17. Gordana Fontana Giusti, *Foucault for Architects*, London: Routledge, 2013. Paul Hirst, "Foucault and Architecture," *AA Files* 26 (1993). Bernard Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction*, Boston: MIT Press, 1996. Heterotopian Studies, Michel Foucault's ideas on heterotopia, available online at http://www.heterotopiastudies.com/blog/ (accessed July 16, 2013). See also Pier Vittorio Aureli, "City as Political Form: Four Archetypes of Urban Transformation," *Architectural Design* 81(1) (2011).
18. Boano and Martén, "Urbanism of Exception." Giaccaria and Minca, "Topograhies/Topologies." John Pløger, "Foucault's Dispositif and the City," *Planning Theory* 7 (2008).
19. Agamben, *State of Exception*.
20. Bülent Diken and Carsten Bagge Laustsen, *The Culture of Exception: Sociology Facing the Camp*, New York: Routledge, 2005. Richard Ek, "Giorgio Agamben and the Spatialities of the Camp: An Introduction," *Geografiska Annaler B* 88(4) (2006): 363–86.
21. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces."
22. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," p. 17.
23. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," p. 21.
24. Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter, "Heterotopia in a Postcivil Society," in Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter (eds), *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, London: Routledge, 2008.
25. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York: Vintage Books, 1995. Foucault describes how the two paradigms of urban management during the Middle Ages were crafted onto a partition stemming from disease control. On one hand, the extreme measures of control in the city against the plague – through partitions, inspections, and continuous registrations; and on the other, the measures of exclusion against lepers trying to enter the city – through borders and protection from the outside. This dual paradigm has been inherited, in different forms and conceptions, in the evolution and morphology of modern cities: either controlling stability at all costs by purging inner contestation, or protecting the whole from external menaces, but in any case fencing out and partitioning territories.
26. Agamben, *State of Exception*.
27. Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin, "Cities as Battlespace: The New Military Urbanism." *City* 13(4) (2009): 383–402. Graham, *Cities Under Siege*.
28. Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin, "More than Ducts and Wires: Post-Fordism, Cities and Utility Networks," in P. Healy

et al., *Managing Cities: The New Urban Context*, Chichester: Wiley, 1995. Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition*, London: Routledge, 2001.

29. Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000. Soja borrows the definition of "archipelago" from Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (London: Verso, 1990).
30. Marc Angelil and Cary Siress, "Cingapura: Cities in Circulation," *Log* 27 (2013).
31. Soja, *Postmetropolis*.
32. Tansal Kormaz and Eda Ünlü Ücesoy, "Istanbul: Once an Imperial City, Now a Global One," in Tansal Kormaz et al. (eds), *Istanbul: Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*; *Diwan*, IABR, Refuge, 2008.
33. Boano and Martén, "Urbanism of Exception," 3. The authors refer to the wall between Israel and the Occupied Territories, which rises as paradigm of urban fencing mechanisms.
34. David Grahame Shane, *Urban Design Since 1945 – A Global Perspective*, Chichester: Wiley, 2011.
35. Grahame Shane, *Urban Design,* p. 128.
36. Stalker, "The Big Game of Campo Boario," in P. Blundell Jones, D. Petrescu, and J. Till (eds), *Architecture and Participation,* London: Taylor and Francis, 2005.
37. *Cavallari* is the Italian term used in the Roman dialect to name the drivers of touristic chariots (*botticelle* in Italian). The group is traditionally described as politically close to right-wing positions, and hostile to the other groups populating Campo Boario.
38. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," p. 19.
39. Giorgio Agamben, *The Coming Community*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
40. Edward W. Soja, "On the Production of Unjust Geographies," in Edward W. Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2010.
41. John R. Short, "The Social Area: Class, Ethnicity, Gender, Sexuality," in J. R. Short (ed.), *The Urban Order*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. Mustafa Dikeç, "Justice and the Spatial Imagination," *Environment and Planning A* 33 (2001): 1785–805. Soja, "Unjust Geographies."
42. Soja, "Unjust Geographies."
43. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, "Reflections on Division and Difference," in Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (eds.), *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
44. Nezar Alsayyad and Ananya Roy, "Medieval Modernity: On Citizenship and Urbanism in a Global Era," *Space and Polity* 10(1) (2006): 1–20.

45. Evan McKenzie, *Privatopia: Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
46. Banerjee, "Whither Urban Design."
47. David Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
48. Erik Swyngedouw, "Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus Face of Governance-Beyond-the-State," *Urban Studies* 42(11): 1991–2006, 1991, 2005.
49. Ulrich Bröckling, *The Learning Society from the Perspective of Governmentality*, Oxford/Malden: Blackwell, 2007, p. 25.
50. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.
51. Giorgio Agamben, "What Is a Dispositif?" In Timothy Armstrong (ed.), *Michel Foucault, Philosopher: Essays*, New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992. Gilles Deleuze, *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975–1995*, New York: Semiotext(e), 2007. Stephen Legg, "Assemblage/Apparatus: Using Deleuze and Foucault," *Area* 43(2) (2011).
52. Agamben, "Profanation." Agamben, "Dispositif."
53. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge.*
54. Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge, 2002.
55. Agamben, "Dispositif," p. 14.
56. Boano and Martén, "Urbanism of Exception."
57. Dehaene and De Cauter, "Heterotopia in a Postcivil Society."
58. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 81.
59. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 75.
60. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 81. Agamben notes that secularization "leaves intact the forces it deals with by simply moving them from one place to another. Thus the political secularization of theological concepts (the transcendence of God as a paradigm of sovereign power) does nothing but displace the heavenly monarchy onto an earthly monarchy, leaving its power intact" (Agamben, "Profanation," p. 77). Secularization then merely shifts the locus of power, ultimately "guarantee[ing] the exercise of power by carrying it back to a sacred model" (Agamben, "Profanation," p. 77), as Carl Schmitt recognized in his claim that all the fundamental concepts of the modern theory of the state, both historically and structurally, are secularized theological concepts. See Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum*, New York: Telos Press, 2003.
61. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 92.
62. Michael Gunder, "Commentary: Is Urban Design Still Urban Planning? An Exploration and Response," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31(2) (2011): 186. Ali Madanipour, "Roles and Challenges of Urban Design," *Journal of Urban*

Design 11(2) (2006). Emily Talen, "Design That Enables Diversity: The Complications of a Planning Ideal," *Journal of Planning Literature* 20 (2006). Emily Talen, "Response to 'Commentary: Is Urban Design Still Urban Planning?'" *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31(2) (2011). Matthew Carmona, "World-Class Places or Decent Local Spaces For All?" *Urban Design International* 14 (2009): 189–91.

63. Stalker, "Big Game."
64. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 75.
65. Giorgio Agamben, *The Church and the Kingdom*, London: Seagull Books, 2012.
66. Giorgio Agamben, *Infancy and History: Essays on The Destruction of Experience*, London: Verso, 1993.
67. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 75.
68. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 76.
69. Giorgio Agamben, "In Playland: Reflections on History and Play," in Giorgio Agamben, *Infancy and History: Essays on The Destruction of Experience*, London: Verso, 1993, p. 70. Such is the case, for instance, of many games, which originally derive from religious ceremonies, rituals, and practices. Playing with those, turning them into games, creates for them a new use, a free use that is no longer tied essentially to the sacred sphere from which they originally came.
70. Giorgio Agamben, *Means Without End: Notes on Politics*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, p. 155.
71. Giorgio Agamben, "On Potentiality," in Giorgio Agamben, *Potentialities*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
72. Agamben, "Profanation," p. 78.
73. Agamben, "On Potentiality." Claire M. Colebrook, "Agamben: Aesthetics, Potentiality and Life," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 107 (1, special issue: The Agamben Effect): 107–20.
74. Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
75. Agamben, *The Coming Community.*
76. The social movements – Action, Blocchi Precari Metropolitani, and Coordinamento Cittadino Lotta per la Casa – are to different degrees connected to the antagonist Left. The squat-occupation we worked with belongs to Coordinamento Cittadino Lotta per la Casa.
77. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces."
78. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
79. The building is part of a plan through which the municipality is trying to sell out a number of former barracks and the land they are built on to private developers.
80. DPU summerLab, *Rome Occupation City*. Available online: http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/events/dpu/programmes/summerlab/2012-series/rome (accessed July 16, 2013).

81. "Porto" is the Italian term for "harbour" exactly.
82. Robert Smithson, "A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic," in J. Flam (ed.), *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
83. Henri Lefebvre, *La Pensée Marxiste et la Ville*, Paris: Casterman, 1972. Colin McFarlane, "The City as Assemblage: Dwelling and Urban Space," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29(4) (2011). Immanuel Wallerstein, T*he Modern World-System, vol. IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789–1914*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
84. Lefebvre, *La Pensée Marxiste.* Simon Kipfer et al., "Henri Lefebvre: Debates and Controversies, *Progress in Human Geography*, first published online May 29, 2012.
85. Foucault, *Archaeology*.
86. Giorgio Agamben, *The Signature of All Things: On Method*, New York: Zone Books, 2009, p. 40.
87. Alsayyad and Roy, "Medieval Modernity."
88. Dikeç, "Justice and the Spatial Imagination." Soja, "Unjust Geographies."
89. Agamben, "Profanation." See also Walter Benjamin, "Fragment 74: Capitalism as Religion," in Mendieta (ed.), *Religion as Critique: The Frankfurt School's Critique of Religion*, New York: Routledge, 2005. Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle,* London: Rebel Press, 1992.
90. Mustafa Dikeç, "Space as a Mode of Political Thinking," *Geoforum* 43(4) (2012): 674.
91. Dikeç, "Political Thinking." Agamben, "Profanation." Rancière, *Disagreement.*
92. Rancière, *Disagreement.*
93. Dikeç, "Political Thinking," p. 673.
94. Mustafa Dikeç, "Beginners and Equals: Political Subjectivity in Arendt and Rancière," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38(1) (2013): 78–90.
95. Dikeç, "Beginners and Equals."
96. Jacques Rancière, *On the Shores of Politics*, London: Verso, 1995, p. 105.
97. Mark Purcell, "Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(3) (2003): 564–90.
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99. IIED, "A Future," p. 1.
100. Ash Amin, interviewed by Matthew Gandy. Matthew Gandy, "The Scopic Regimes Of Urban Neglect," *Cityscapes*. Available online: http://www.cityscapesdigital.net/2013/05/12/the-scopic-regimes-of-urban-neglect/ (accessed July 16, 2013).

101. Mark Purcell, *The Down-Deep Delight of Democracy*, London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
102. Erik Swyngedouw, *Designing the Post-Political City and the Insurgent Polis*, Civic City Cahier 5, London: Bedford Press, 2011, p. 25.
103. Agamben, *Means.*
104. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life,* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.
105. Giorgio Agamben, *The Man Without Content*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.