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In the Making

Traversing the project exhibition:

In the Desert of Modernity. Colonial Planning and After.

Marion von Osten

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION
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Fine and Performing Arts, Lund University, Sweden.
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In the Making

Traversing the project exhibition:

In the Desert of Modernity. Colonial Planning and After.

Marion von Osten

DOCTORAL THESIS

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DOCTORAL STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN FINE AND PERFORMING ARTS,
MALMÖ FACULTY OF FINE AND PERFORMING ARTS,
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Abstract

The principal aim of my PhD research is to think through practices involved in the making of *In the Desert of Modernity. Colonial Planning and After* (Berlin 2008, Casablanca 2009), that constituted as well as traversed the exhibitions and went beyond. The project developed through a transnational constellation of culture producers, scholars, and activists from Berlin, Zurich, Paris, Delft and Casablanca and started on my initiative without the intention of becoming an exhibition. In the process of its experimental study mode the finding was made that European ideas on architecture and urbanism were projected onto postwar French North African colonies, where they underwent change, modification, and testing before being re-projected back onto architecture and urban planning in France and Switzerland in the late 1950s. But colonial urban planning was not conducted without protest in the colonies. Through the creation of a transnational network, including architects, activists and local inhabitants from Casablanca, it became evident that the construction sites of the architectural cases under investigation became sites of anticolonial revolt in 1952 in Morocco. This event, marking the beginning of independence from French colonial rule in 1956, related the liberation of Morocco with the modernist housing projects under study. These insights revise existing assumptions by Western scholars of modernist architecture history. With *In the Desert of Modernity* large scale housing projects in Morocco and France have to be read today as a form of governance conducted under French colonial rule and in relation to the associated struggles against it. The projects findings called for the decolonializing of the European episteme on modernist housing and urbanism. Likewise, my own knowledge production and that of my colleagues had to be constantly questioned. Practices of decolonializing are open-ended and make a long-durational, transnational, and dialogical mode of exchange necessary to critically reflect on given knowledge and presumptions. This was true for the Casablanca study cases and also for my own curatorial and artistic practice, which—as I will analyse in the thesis—transformed in the making of the project.

Completing this PhD research made me see the project exhibitions of *In the Desert of Modernity* in Berlin and Casablanca not as endpoints. Instead, this thesis addresses practices as *in continuation*, rather than *completed* through events and curatorial methods. With this I also critically reflect my own curatorial practice and my writing on project exhibitions so far. The production mode of the project exhibition became, when *In the*

Desert of Modernity was taken to Casablanca in 2009, too limited. The exhibitions depended on documents from archives in France and Switzerland as well as the Moroccan state archives. Against this backdrop and against my intentions, the exhibitions in Berlin and Casablanca argued for the most part from a top-down perspective. This did not at all match my experience on site or with the conversation with inhabitants of modernist housing project in Casablanca. It also did not match the self-articulation of inhabitants witnessed through personal encounters, the self-constructed annotations to the modernist architecture, or the YouTube videos filmed in modernist housing estates that I started to study in the context of the project and beyond. Moreover what happened after Moroccan independence was narrated mainly through building initiatives in and postcolonial migration to France. Reactions by intellectuals, artists, and architects in Morocco were not taken into account yet. This shortcoming made it also necessary to continue. The need to establish a mode of thinking that allows constant revision thus created temporalities, socialites and forms of culture production that revealed exhibitions as a too-limited frame for analysis and for a decolonializing practice. The focus of this thesis is thus on the before and beyond of the spectacle event that is the exhibition. With this perspective I include activities, discussion, exchange, and thinking processes that transcend the "show" and also overarch it.

The PhD is organized in six chapters: "On the Outskirts," "On Site," "On Screen," "On Display," "In Public," and "In Conversation." In them I take into account that findings are developed in diverse stages as well as through different forms of materialization and practice. These include the physical experience of a site and unexpected encounters with non-scholarly knowledge beyond given methodologies and disciplines. In focusing on the making, I validate as well marginal activities such as walking, talking and listening, gathering, relating, searching, and thinking. These activities reached from the project's rather unexpected beginning in chapter 1, over to sites visits and strolling in chapter 2, an artistic and collective online project in chapter 3, a process of document finding that created obstacles in chapter 4, and site-specific contextual thinking and practice in chapter 5. Each chapter analyzes a specific practice, site, or document. In chapter 6, further research undertaken between 2014 and 2017 through conversational dialogues with editors of the magazine *Souffles*, published in 1966–72 in Rabat, reach beyond the above-outlined project frame.

In the epilogue, I conclude by explicating why the conversational dialogues with editors and authors of *Souffles* was necessary in relation to contemporary discussions on decolonializing culture. I conclude that the PhD research allowed me to think through my parainstitutional practice that aims to take long durational, dialogical and material approaches and local agencies into account. From the perspective of "in the making," I imagine a new understanding of culture production that also asks for supplements of our existing institutional infrastructures.

Mural, Hay Mohammedi District, Casablanca, 2008
Photo: Marion von Osten

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Prologue

In the very first PhD seminars I engaged in, in 2013, I expressed my concerns surrounding research-based exhibitions as a critical medium. The number of biennales, shows, and venues in which research-based projects are developed had increased immensely.[1] Debates on "artists as curators" had become a major issue in art criticism, discussed not so much as an exception to mainstream production but rather as a form that had found its place inside the field of contemporary art.[2] The artist-curator has become an integrated and accepted role as part of a reform of exhibition making, rather than as part of a critique of the division of labor, the "power of display," and Western-centered histories of the "exhibitionary complex."[3] Research-based exhibition projects by artists and curators—a field of practice I have been associated with for two decades—had by 2013 become a known format.[4] Moreover, the number of exhibitions and institutions that started to engage with issues of coloniality began to rise after 2013, as was to be witnessed prominently at the Venice Biennales of 2015 and 2017.[5]

But it was not the increasing employment and popularity of the project exhibition format that my critical comments targeted (as any popular medium can still generate critical thinking and a variety of practices). What I saw as the lack of the project exhibition's critical potential was rather based on the experience of making them and was related to its foundational base, in particular the research aspect. My concerns were an expression of discomfort with the specific production conditions of research-based exhibition making in the contemporary art field. The long-term processes required to produce collective knowledge within the production mode of a research-based exhibition, its

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[1] This has happened in parallel to the growing institutional acknowledgment of artistic approaches as research-based practice. See, for example, the discussions in magazines like *Art & Research* (http://www.artandresearch.org.uk).

[2] See: Elena Filipovic, "When Exhibitions Become Form: On the History of the Artist as Curator – THE ARTIST AS CURATOR #0," *Mousse Magazine*, no. 41 (December 2013–January 2014); and Ruth Noack, "Curator as Artist?," talk given at the Afterall symposium *Artist as Curator* (Central Saint Martins, London, November 10, 2012), http://afterall.org/online/artist-as-curator-symposium-curator-as-artist-by-ruth-noack/#.VTZBm4vyf94&gt. In contrast to the concept of the artist-curator or curator as artist, and the curatorial "signature" as an authorized work by one individual producer, the representation of cooperation on a conceptual or practical level is, in my work, the result of a feminist critique on the invisibility of reproductive labor on the one hand and, on the other, against the myth of the "single male genius artist," which was still to be experienced when I was at art school.

[3] The exhibitionary complex is discussed in, for example, Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne, eds., *Thinking About Exhibitions* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

[4] It was employed in particular by international curators like Maria Lind, Anselm Franke, and Binna Choi, to name some of the outstanding contributors to the field.

[5] As, for example, with the work and exhibition produced for the Belgian Pavilion by Vincent Meessen in 2015, or the Dutch Pavilion by Wendelien van Oldenborgh in 2017, to name just a few colleagues who are similarly engaged with this concern within their artistic and curatorial projects.

specific temporality and collectivity, its funding modes, and its organizational infrastructures that I had experienced over the two decades of my practice hardly seemed to fit anymore. Temporal alliances built around exhibition projects over a period of two or three years usually eventually fell apart, even though the practice itself asked for further engagement and a longer duration. This was because the exhibition projects were generally based on unpaid labor and thus financially hard to sustain. Additionally, job specifications related to the division of labor in the institutions that supported the projects were hard to overcome, even though it was the project-based collaborative environment that had created new knowledge rather than the existing institutional one. Even if temporal work groups and social relations are foundational to this very specific form of exhibition making, the institutional frameworks and existing funding models do not seem to be adequately equipped for sustaining this practice on a long-term basis. Another problem arises in situations where, such as in my practice, the collaborative mode includes non-art related experts and everyday knowledge. Questions of how to articulate the relevance of this knowledge at a similar status level as that of artists or theorists immediately appear, related to the hierarchies of how knowledge is ascribed valued in Western institutions and its expert cultures. This aspect has become even more relevant and at question for me as, over the last decade, my field of research has shifted from critiques on neoliberal subjectivation and the creative imperative to architecture and urban planning as a form of colonial governance, a topic that this thesis will focus on. Here, co-learning with colleagues, students, artists, and activists based in Switzerland, Morocco, Algeria, France, and Germany became the backbone of the project and its diverse outcomes, including exhibitions.

The research gained for this project via transnational exchanges resulted only in part in an exhibition; it also found articulation in different formats and media and went beyond the temporal scope of the exhibition dates. As the curator and critic Nina Möntmann has shown in her writing on conceptual and contextual art practices, these types of practices go beyond the physical to also create a social space.[6] This is also the case, as I will show, in a research-based practice such as mine, in which the social space created is an outcome that usually remains invisible within the exhibition format.
For the curator and writer Tirdad Zolghadr, a research-based exhibition describes a comparatively collaborative, study-driven, discursively ambitious, transdisciplinary, and

[6] Nina Möntmann, *Kunst als sozialer Raum* [Art as social space] (Cologne: Walter König, 2002).

trans-institutional query that also often creates a discrepancy between the project and the audience.[7] Zolghadr argues that the extensive investigations and knowledge production undertaken in tandem with planning, discussing, producing, and installing—as opposed to working up to a singular "Big Bang moment" on stage—allows for trial and error, feedback, and fine-tuning. Thus, in his view, research-based exhibition projects are a contemporary form of production but also create new collective working modes. At the same time, Zolghadr questions the translatability of a long-durational common endeavor in the representational format of an exhibition, and further questions whether research processes can become a readable public format accessible to the audience.[8] His criticism that research processes and the sociability produced in the making of such a project usually remain invisible to the public direct attention not only to the limits of the translatability of research into an exhibition format but also to the boundaries of the representational mode of the exhibition itself. It is this question of the limitations of the representational and event-based character of an exhibition that informed the research conducted for this dissertation.

My chosen research focus is reflected in the title of this dissertation—*In the Making: A Research-Based Practice: In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After*. I will revisit the *making of* a particular project, rather than its curated works, method of display, or constellation of exhibits. This decision arose from the fact that research usually stays invisible in exhibitions; so here I will focus on the process and the research itself, rather than the outcome. Thus, where Zolghadr asked whether research processes can become a readable public format accessible to the audience, I flip this around to ask: What is it what we do when we do research-based work? How do we create knowledge? What sorts of specific procedures and approaches are involved? What translates into and what is beyond the representational form? How does research transgress and trespass the production conditions of the cultural field? How can we sustain our interest, accept limits, failures, and revisions, and work with and through them beyond the event? How can we sustain the collective condition and proceed in long-durational and transnational exchanges?

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[7] See: Tirdad Zolghadr, "The Transversal Imperative," in *Marion von Osten, Once We Were Artists: A BAK Critical Reader in Artists' Practice,* eds. Maria Hlavajova and Tom Holert (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2017), 245–46.
[8] Where Zolghadr makes his claim of the audience's non-access to backstage knowledge when it comes to project exhibitions, I contend that "the public" as such is a very general concept that in large part leaves out audiences who are not part of the contemporary art field.

Despite the framework I've outlined above, within this preface I do not want to overlook that turning to exhibition making was once in itself a critical turn for me. As a trained visual artist, I first turned to exhibition making in the early 1990s. It represented a desire to reach out to others, to overcome self-enclosure and the art market, and to work outside the condition of emerging artist group shows. Doubt in linear and two-dimensional narratives, the existing asymmetrical power relations, and the associated roles of the contemporary art field was the background for this turn. The aim was to use the exhibition to intervene in hegemonic discourses and related to the context of feminist artists and art collectives of the 1990s in Berlin and Zurich. It was precisely the transitory and performative character of exhibition making that, following my studies at a German art academy, unfolded alternate methods of visual production beyond single authorship. In the late 1990s, I called the way in which I was making exhibitions "project exhibitions," distinct from a themed exhibition or curatorial art show. In contrast to these latter two, a project exhibition does not research a topic and choose artists to be exhibited in the frame of the curatorial concept in a contemporary art space; rather, the intention is to create experimental conditions in which exhibition making becomes a critical medium in its own right for "extradisciplinary investigations," as Brian Holmes terms it.[9]

In my practice, exhibitions became a mode of research and artwork production within a discursive field and institutional frame. It was not by chance that the programs, events, symposia, and workshops associated with these exhibitions were of similar importance, and likewise the publications and websites that broadened the idea of the exhibition catalogue or promotional brochure. The project exhibition produced new knowledge in a cross-disciplinary and experimental way, as in, for example, the projects *Be Creative! The Creative Imperative* (2003) and *Atelier Europa* (2004). By critically re-examining existing knowledges and trying to create new and useful ones, including useful to groups that are not usually included within the larger idea of the art public, the concept of the "project exhibition" was thus precisely an attempt to grasp the context that directs us inside and pushes us outside the walls of the exhibition space. Expanding the field of visual art into other social realms and transforming subject positions was a form of resistance against the assigned functions that uphold the artist/curator/audience division in late capitalist

[9] Brian Holmes, "Extradisciplinary Investigations. Towards a New Critique of Institutions," *eipcp - European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies*, January 2007, http://eipcp.net/transversal/0106/holmes/en (21.3.2018).

societies.[10] A restless decentring of one's own practice is a mode that also has informed this PhD.

By putting focus on the making of a project, I critically reflect on what is left out in the existing production conditions and infrastructures of the contemporary art field when developing a research-based exhibition. For example, because of the specific representational mode and narrative form of the exhibition, only a small part of the research process, conceptualization, co-learning, and their outcome is usually presented, whether in the frame of the exhibition or in its associated events. This also leads to the partial forgetting of important insights that only later can be reactivated, or that might never reach public attention at all. Most importantly, after the short-term duration of the exhibition, the knowledge and materials generated disappear. This is due in part to a lack of institutional infrastructure that can properly support the immense effort required to produce the necessary knowledge for a research-based practice as well as to make the knowledge gained publicly accessible beyond the temporal performance of an exhibition or event.[11] These points are also relevant for the practical portion of my PhD project and the infrastructural interventions developed for and with the Inter Arts Center in Malmö.

With this thesis I propose to take an alternate path to thinking through my project work. With an emphasis on a temporality other than that of the exhibition period, and its communication and installation agenda, this thesis's focus lies on duration, long-term engagement, and collective modes of project making. With this, I also acknowledge that not everything in a project is planned or follows a strict line or disciplinary order, as we are not only directed by will or intention but sometimes subject to the whims of the world, and must allow for unexpected occurrences to shape our work and lines of action. As such, the thesis stands partially in opposition to what I previously claimed in regard to

[10] It is precisely this practice and line of thought that brought about a re-evaluation of the term "cultural producer," which I reflect on in the epilogue. Even though the debates on the curatorial (Beatrice Bismark), the post-curatorial (Vasif Kortun), and the paracuratorial (Simon Sheik) are highly informative for my work, embracing the term "curating" or its expansion into the postcuratorial would overlook the long-term, collaborative, and dialogical engagement of a research process. Most importantly, it would overlook the social relations and thus the "situatedness," to use Donna Haraway's words, of the collective knowledge produced, which reach, as in my projects, beyond the institutional frame or the job description of the curator. For discussion on the post-curatorial, see: "The Post-Curatorial Turn, " *Springerin*, no. 1 (2017): https://www.springerin.at/en/2017/1/.

[11] It is interesting to see that in the period of writing this thesis, this above-mentioned set of questions has been taken up by institutions like BAK (basis voor actuele kunst) in Utrecht and the Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW) in Berlin, where knowledge production has so much become the center of activities that the institutional paradigm has been put into question, as seen in the fellow program of the BAK or an upcoming archive project of the HKW.

the project exhibition as a medium in its own right that acts intentionally. This is not to say that my writing about project exhibitions, which I started in the early 2000s, is invalid, but rather that it has its limits. As I did not reflect concretely on the fact that exhibitions are only one part of a research-based practice, and I only vaguely referenced all the other activities involved. Even though I understood exhibitions as transitory spaces that always produce more than initially intended, my reflections treated them as the central result. I overlooked the fact that I, with my own writing, was (unintentionally) creating a hierarchy of less and more public "works." The most public and reflected upon were exhibitions and books, and the lesser the social relations, diverse approaches, conversational dialogues, and research videos and photographs utilized while navigating spatial politics, power relations, and social struggles.

For this doctoral thesis, I decided to analyze the making of the project *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* (2008–09), which examines the built environment of working-class neighborhoods in Morocco and their social, political, physical, and discursive constitution within that country, as well as their role in relation to the high-modernist urban planning discourses at the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) and to urbanism in Switzerland and France.[12] The fact that the project *In the Desert of Modernity* was mainly associated with its research results—a large-scale exhibition in Berlin and Casablanca and the accompanying book *Colonial Modern: Concepts of the Past, Rebellions for the Future* (2010)—made it both a recent and a challenging case for my thesis. Challenging because I had to uncover and unfold what for me had stayed partially unconscious and to analyze the ways in which knowledge came about. Thinking from the point of view of making included asking how I came to the conclusions I did in the projects. In critically examining the projects from the angle of research, I recognized the processes, studies, and approaches, as well as the interim outcomes, differed from an art historical methodology, but in ways I had never fully thought through before. The new knowledge in the field of colonial urban planning that was gained through making the project was, on the one hand, situated in a specific form of collaboration and in a specific discursive field, and on the other, it was open-ended and clearly did not fit fully into one format, the exhibition, but expanded into various outcomes,

[12] The project was initiated by myself in 2006, after an invitation from Bernd Scherer, the director of the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin. From 2007 onward, the project was directed and later curated in collaboration with Tom Avermaete and Serhat Karakayali, with assistance from Elsa de Seynes, Jesko Fezer, Andreas Müller, and Anna Voswinckel. It also resulted in the publication *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future* (2010), co-edited one year after the Casablanca exhibition together with Avermaete and Karakayali.

socialities, and futures. It was, from the beginning, contingent. But how did this knowledge inform the exhibition, and what did it bring out beyond it?

Looking back from the perspective of today, the *In the Desert of Modernity* project had much more diverse outcomes than exhibitions, ranging from a special edition of *An Architektur* magazine to the online project *THIS WAS TOMORROW!,* as well as a whole series of photos and videos that were conducted in the frame of research. Ultimately, the long-durational character of the project meant that it was not at all finished when the exhibition ended or the publication had been launched. In particular, my own thinking and writing reached far beyond the exhibition and its duration. This aspect is partially implicit in the project's subtitle, *Colonial Planning and After*, where the "after" already indicated that there is something to be investigated beyond urban planning in the French colonies. It was in particular the "after" of colonial planning—the resonance of colonial architecture and urban knowledge and practice in France and Switzerland as well as the local resistance against the colonial powers—that asked for further work to be done, work not associated with the exhibition context but rather with the open concerns and questions on coloniality and the transnational network that had been established. Collective knowledge left the frame of the exhibition and became productive elsewhere, such as in the series of follow-up projects in Paris, Zurich, Stockholm, which I will reference in the following chapters and the list of works.

Although there are these related projects, I decided to critically reflect for this thesis the concrete sites, practices, documents, and artistic productions that are mainly associated with *In the Desert of Modernity*. They are analyzed across six chapters to form an understanding of how the unfolding of a subject points us in various directions and toward open thinking processes. Information and insights about concrete cases, documents, and findings related to what we have termed the "colonial modern" are analyzed in each chapter as a case study; taken together as a whole, the chapters aim to create lines of interlinked arguments. With this approach, I reinforce that thinking through, conceptualizing, content, site, social relations, and practices cannot be abstracted from one another when making a project. It is not possible to abstract the content and context—that is, colonial planning and the projects of resistance against it—from the various forms of comprehension, exploration, and study that emerge when one starts to investigate this topic. The modes of research and study as well as the research

outcomes also needed to be discussed in relation to my own work modes. Thus, I decided to create a hybrid not only in the practical but also in this written portion of my dissertation; each chapter follows a concrete example to understand how sites, artifacts, visual cultures, and political and social contexts are formative for a practice. This is why in the revisiting of the making of *In the Desert of Modernity*, the diverse forms of materialization and manifestation, be it visual or textual, factual or fictional, are taken into account alongside the insights gained. The expansionist mode of collective knowledge production also ultimately asked for a shift in practice, on the level of content as well as on the level of organizing research.

Another aspect of the project I will explore is how insights into colonial planning in Morocco and the resistance against it arose through a collective study but also due to unforeseen events and from relating to a variety of sources, beyond documents, historical photographs, and scholarly research. It was realized through both spoken and written words and different ways of doing research together. Through the focus on the built environment, the sociopolitical, material, and visual cultures that have formed the physical sites are similarly understood in my writing as agents that informed and co-produced the project's knowledge and moved me and my colleagues across the Mediterranean. Sometimes understanding appeared through coincidence. Linear coherence is thus not always a matter of procedures that follow cognitive maps of interest, affect, and materiality. Dérives through cities, chance conversations, and late-night discussions have been similarly important to understanding the entangled histories of colonial modernity. Thus, non-scholarly encounters were as important as the conversations with local experts and inhabitants of the modernist buildings. It is precisely this messiness that asks for other forms of narrating when individual perspectives, skills, and social backgrounds come into dialogue.

Coloniality is embedded in the material form of architecture projects, but this was only understood through the making of the project. Coloniality became a subject not seen just as a case elsewhere. Instead, with the findings of urban schemes that had been tested in Morocco that travelled as a discourse and praxis back to France and Switzerland, coloniality is part of our own every day lives too. It was through this understanding of the relationship between the colonial modern and Euro-urban planning that a decolonializing practice developed in stages, step by step in the process.

In the following chapters 1 to 6, I guide the reader through different angles of practice that both use and traverse disciplinary boundaries to create alternate viewpoints on architecture and urbanism, as well as, in the later chapters, art and politics. In the first chapter, I cover the role that intervention and self-publishing played in the project, before arriving at the background of the circulation of urbanist and architectural concepts between Morocco, Switzerland, and France as well as the social stratification associated with them. Through initiating a transnational research network, our explorations in postwar urbanism and architecture were understood not as matters having effects "elsewhere," but as concerns that one has to deal with and that we are confronted with also in Germany, the Netherlands, France, and Switzerland.

In the second chapter, I outline how I related to the physical sites in Morocco and the materiality of architectural forms through understanding strolling as a mode of study. Photo works, video recordings, and various intentional and unintentional encounters with people from different locations and disciplinary backgrounds generated new insights into the resistance against the colonial modern planning initiatives of the French protectorate after World War II. Site visits in 2007–09 led to a complete revision of existing interests and research angles. Knowledge gained from the usage of the housing estates and the street triggered new explorations of modernist architecture ensembles and the involvement of architects who had been crucial to modernist architecture planning in the 1950–60s in France, Algeria, Tunisia, and Switzerland.

In the third chapter, I describe another mode of production employed with the media art collective Labor k3000 that is a non-scientific form of study: a two-year period of online research into popular video productions by inhabitants of modernist settlements that express everyday life experiences of racism in such modernist housing estates as well as counter mainstream perspectives. The artist collective Labor k3000's strategy of relational mapping created with these videos an associative imaginary between urban projects built both south and north of the Mediterranean in North Africa and France. Relations were created through the YouTube videos posted by people living in modernist settlements, which was a topic and medium that hadn't until that point been taken up by scholars.

Chapter 4 discusses how I was able to understand ways of governing through colonial knowledge production by finding a lost document, the GAMMA Grid panels from the ninth CIAM meeting of 1953, which were subsequently republished in *An Architektur* magazine and shown in relation to other CIAM grids from 1953 in the *In the Desert of Modernity* exhibition. The evaluation of the GAMMA Grid as representative of a shift in modernist architectural planning and colonial governing attitudes also questioned contemporary epistemological conditions under which the study of the other is still taking place within parameters of "transparency" and control. The call for transdisciplinarity to give value to scientific complexity also had to be critically reflected upon, specifically that research under this heading is not a neutral activity but embedded in the colonial modern epistemology. Moreover, I physically experienced through several archival investigations that the colonial archive is a limited, inconsistent, ideological construct built on racial categories as well as Western capitalist ideas of progress. It operates still today to naturalize and conceal the violence against peoples and lands under occupation. This fact also made necessary the creation of supplements to the colonial archive, which were also reflected within the making of the conceptual framework for the Berlin exhibition of *In the Desert of Modernity* in 2008, as analyzed in chapter five.

Last but not least, it was this process of co-learning that also necessitated an investigation into the aftereffects of colonial planning. This shift from the initial research interest in colonial governance during the 1950s to anticolonial resistance has led my research in new directions regarding the role of art and politics in the 1960s, some years after Morocco's independence. The turn from governance and spatial politics to the critique of the colonial modern and after has become central in my practice over the last years. This is reflected in chapter 6 and the epilogue in relation to the study of *Souffles* magazine, published in Morocco beginning ten years after its independence, from 1966 to 1972.

The diverse intersectional activities and disciplinary crossings made it possible for me and my collaborators to open our own horizons in a transnational process of co-learning about coloniality and to think about ourselves differently. It was a creative mix of approaches, archival findings, the building of transnational alliances, and conversational dialogues that also changed my view on my own environment and my own practice. That is, the very content I consider in my practice also asked for a new approach, thinking through, and co-

learning process. Without wanting to diminish its productive force, the project exhibition as a mode of critical production is relativized as a critical medium in this thesis, which will go on to show that a parainstitutional, self-organized form of knowledge production that constitutes and also finally realizes a project also asks for the creation of new organizational forms beyond existing institutional infrastructures and their temporalities.[13] The long-durational engagement and varied fields of activity in which I was involved also led to thinking of new organizational infrastructures that could help to sustain this practice. Exchange between different actors with and without a university background—a fact that was constitutive for a whole series of projects after *In the Desert of Modernity*—created and asked for new organizational forms and production modes beyond the temporal event. Finally, this dissertation formulates a proposal for the kind of extradisciplinary investigations, as exemplified by the Centre for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC).

What was understood through the critical review of the making of the *In the Desert of Modernity* project as well as the study of *Souffles* magazine was that the creation of the Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC) is one of the project's major long-term results. It also marks a shift in my own practice in regard to the research processes I am involved in. CPKC represents a micro-organizational form to realize the experimental mode of collaboration required to work across diverse fields of knowledge and expertise and within a long-durational mode beyond a given project frame. This self-funded micro-organization allowed a move away from the requirement for research projects to be framed within authorship, professions, and project formats. In 2008, Serhat Karakayali, Peter Spillmann, and I founded CPKC in Berlin to create projects beyond scholarly research formats and singular authorship with diverse actors engaged in questions and struggles surrounding migration, citizenship, and the decolonialization of culture. The center acts parainstitutionally, beyond the research agendas of universities, and toward new forms of research with and without existing public infrastructures. It consciously produce creative commons. However, the creation of this micro-organization was not meant to create an entity completely independent of public institutions either; rather, it works consciously to bridge institutional and non-institutional practices, art, theory, and design through a hybrid inter-arts and theory practice. This turn toward an instituent practice, as theorist Gerald Raunig has put it, was something to be learned

[13] Marina Vishmidt, "Beneath the Atelier, the Desert: Critique, Institutional and Infrastructural," in *Marion von Osten, Once We Were Artists*, 218–36.

within the PhD research. And it was also this insight that called for a reflection on my previous practice and writings on it, as expressed earlier.[14]

With an emphasis on making and the long-durational character of a project, the temporal coalitions and alliances that created other ways of working together are understood as constitutive for the critical knowledge and thinking that they produced, and thus I would like to here summarize the diverse actors, institutions, and networks that made the project possible. *In the Desert of Modernity* started from within an informal network of cultural producers based in Zurich, including Daniel Weiss of the gta Archives (Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture) at ETH, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, and the Labor k3000 media art collective, as well as students of the Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK). The next stage of research involved the architecture historian Tom Avermaete, a professor in the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at Delft University of Technology, with whom I collaborated for the exhibitions, and the architect Wafae Belarbi, part of the Architecture Faculty at the International University of Rabat and the École Supérieure d'Architecture de Casablanca. From 2007 onward, the project was supported with new ideas and institutional help from Abderrahim Kassou and Horia Serhane of the local Casablanca organization Casamémoire. In Berlin in 2008, the project further involved collaborations with the local activist organizations Remember Resistance and An Architektur. In a later stage, together with students at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, I conducted research in Casablanca, and last but not least, in 2009 the exhibition was handed over to Casamémoire in Casablanca, where it remains situated today and is used for various purposes.

New long-term coalitions were created with Mogniss Abdallah from the Agence Im'Media, a film collective and alternative media agency in Paris, itself a long-term project documenting the struggles against racism in the French banlieues. In Casablanca, the civil society architecture organization Casamémoire also works with a long-term perspective, advancing a critical position on urban renewal and real estate speculation in the city precisely by revalidating high-modernist architecture to protect it from

[14] Gerald Raunig, "Instituent Practices. Fleeing, Instituting, Transforming," trans. Aileen Derieg, *eipcp - European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies*, January 2016, eipcp.net/transversal/0106/raunig/en; and Gerald Raunig, "Instituent Practices, No. 2. Institutional Critique, Constituent Power, and the Persistence of Instituting," trans. Aileen Derieg, *eipcp - European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies*, January 2007, eipcp.net/transversal/0507/raunig/en.

demolition, and in Berlin alliances were created with the activists of Kanak Attak, especially with Serhat Karakayali, who reflect on migration as a force and obstacle for city planning. Inquiries and insights of *In the Desert of Modernity* continued in the research project *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernism* in Vienna, funded by the Viennese Science and Technology Fund; this was the first time that research processes were funded through a public funding institution, which enabled me to conducted research in Israel in 2010-12.[15] The project *Action! painting/publishing* started with an invitation from Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers in Paris in 2010. One of its outcomes was the formation of a research group, and with it a public event and research room in which anticolonial magazines were debated and presented by the group. The project again had a productive afterlife: together with my Berlin collaborators from the *Colonial Modern* project, sociologist Serhat Karakayali and artist Peter Spillmann, with the additional engagement of the curator Maud Houssais from Rabat and the historian Kenza Sefraoui from Casablanca, we began a dialogue about the transnational history of the postindependence magazine *Souffles* published in Rabat, which was also later studied in diverse formats in workshops in Zurich, Casablanca, Paris, and Rabat in 2014–17. Moreover, out of these independent research formations and coalitions formed through the above-listed projects, the online journal *tricontinentale.net* was founded to make possible the long-term exchange between a cross-border, transnational group of culture producers.

To all the people involved in these initiatives and with whom I have worked and collaborated over the years, I express my deepest thanks—without your exchanges, collaboration, comradeship, and friendship, neither the projects nor this doctoral thesis would have been possible. I would also like to thank my supervisors, Dr. Sarat Maharaj and Dr. Gertrud Sandqvist, both for their engaged support and for their critical reflection and intellectual rigor, which helped to shape my central concerns and research questions. I additionally would like to thank my external examiner, Lucy Steeds, and my fellows from the PhD seminar—Rosa Barba, Alejandro Cesarco, Lea Porsager, Andrea Rey, Imogen Stidworthy, and Apolonija Šušteršič—for their productive critical comments. Last but not least, I'd also like express special thanks to my colleagues and friends who have supported me along the journey of thinking through my research-based projects, which resulted in this thesis: Fahim Amir, Lotte Arndt, Martin Beck, Regina Bittner,

[15] See: Model House Research Group, ed., *Transcultural Modernisms*, publication series of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, vol. 12 (Berlin: Sternberg, 2013); and Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten, eds., *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future* (London: Black Dog, 2010).

Rosi Braidotti, Annette Bhagwati, Nadia Chabâa, Binna Choi, Dana Diminescu, Zvi Efrat, Eva Egermann, Emily Fahlén, Luca Frei, Olivier Hadouchi, Moira Hille, Maria Hlavajova, Tom Holert, Jörg Huber, Nikolaus Hirsch, Christian Kravagna, Jocelyne and Abdellatif Laâbi, Susanne Leeb, Élisabeth Lebovici, Maria Lind, Christina Linortner, Angela McRobbie, Toni Maraini, Mohamed Melehi, Doreen Mende, Doina Petrescu, Katarzyna Pieprzak, Karin Rebbert, Kathrin Rhomberg, Regina Römhild, Irit Rogoff, Felicity Scott, Simon Sheik, Peter Spillmann, Catherine Queloz, Joanna Warsza, and Tirdad Zolghadr.

Inspection of the Carrières Centrales by the Résident Général Francis Lacoste, Casablanca, June 18, 1954
Contact sheet of Jacques Belin / Centre d'Archives Diplomatiques, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France

Chapter 1

On the Outskirts

With a focus on making and the temporality of a research-based practice, the first question that comes into play is one of duration. Long-term engagement includes questions of when and why a project actually begins, and when and why it ends, if it ever ends entirely. To make this point is not to say that a long-durational practice is something exceptional in research practices, but rather that its duration trespasses into the context of contemporary art and culture and reaches beyond an exhibition, an event, or an artwork. Research does not end with a temporal performance and condensation into a public format. Inside the given production conditions, research phases are taken for granted. The growing awareness of research-based practices in the arts has not yet impacted at large the way we produce culture in the existing framework. These concerns have guided me through the writing of this thesis by thinking through the making of the *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* exhibition project.

With this first chapter I will try to locate a beginning, even though this is a construction too, as origins themselves are questionable. Nevertheless, with this chapter I want to highlight a deferred impact, or a delayed unfolding, of the project's later outcomes and concerns. I will also direct attention to the transnational relation of postwar urban planning and its spatial organization of city centers and working-class neighborhoods in Morocco, France, and Switzerland. Its discourses and practices unfolded in the making of the project, but this was not a presumption of it. When, where, and how does a project start? Is it because one has a research agenda, an outlined methodology and time frame, and a public output? For my research-based practice I would firmly answer this in the negative. In the majority of cases, my projects have not been commissioned but rather constituted within contemporary discussions and debates, mainly those that have taken place in my near surroundings. This means they grew out of intellectual friendships and debate and activist networks in parainstitutional contexts. But they also profited from the engagement found within institutions and co-learning with students, as well as a salary that sustained me, as I was a professor and researcher of artistic and curatorial practice, from 1999 to 2012, before I became a PhD candidate. Still, the impulse that constitutes my projects often starts from the simple fact that we each are living in a physical, material world and a specific sociopolitical condition. And it is this condition that expresses in front of our eyes without us needing to have fully acknowledged it before. Thus we also stumble over a problem, as we are acting not outside of this condition, but in its midst. We might possibly be a central part of the problem, as we

have not understood it as such and act blindly. An interest in a matter can thus start as a *becoming aware of*, as a process of cognition and comprehension that starts slowly and then catches our curiosity by chance or because we are in an intellectual network in which we share our concerns as something that needs to be unfolded. It even might be that others are fully aware of the problem and have extensively written and studied the phenomenon, and only we are not aware of it but nevertheless had to find the link. [16] This in short might be the impulse to unfold a matter; in the case of this dissertation, that matter is the relation between colonial and postwar urban planning and the resistance against it.

The context of this specific unfolding started with *In the Desert of Modernity* in a field of conflict. It was in 2003, when the city of Zurich and the School for Art and Design Zurich[17] initiated the temporary use of a high-modernist housing estate the Bernerstrasse settlement, in the suburb Grünau in Zurich Altstetten, as studios for art students. For three semesters I worked with students in the modernist compound in Grünau, where we were confronted with political events connected to the eviction of inhabitants and finally the demolition of the building.[18] The estate, designed in 1958 by the Swiss architecture firm Sauter and Dirler, was a prototype building constructed on a road connecting the cities of Zurich and Berne. It was built far from the city center, atop a green meadow with no bus or tram connection, and situated behind the former freight train station of Zurich Altstetten. It was constructed as housing for rural migrant workers, who were imagined to be Swiss farmers from the Appenzell region, a national hinterland for the

[16] In this way I understand my research-based practice as a process of learning and unlearning. I have to accept that in such a process what was not perceivable for me does exist and has been debated without me knowing about it. Or sometimes it has been debated in practice and discourse, but has been forgotten in recent debates or been concealed, as seen through the existing visual culture paradigm and means of production. In the moment I become aware of something, in which it has become part of my perception, I have the possibility to learn and unlearn from and through it. This might cause me to critically examine existing knowledge and presumptions. It might be that I become aware of ideology and power relations in play. Already as a singular person I will be able to situate myself in this context. I can become actively involved within the problematic to shift and change the perception beyond my singular viewpoint. Then it is about the next stage, which is about sharing and making it into a broader issue, debating with others, being in conversational dialogue with others, and finally also making this unlearning and learning process publicly accessible.

[17] The School for Art and Design, HGKZ, is today called Zurich University of the Arts, ZHdK.

[18] At that time, the School for Art and Design had a temporary branch in the same suburb, and I had by chance been living and working in that neighbourhood. Alstetten is the final stop of the tram no. 4, so it was the last station of the city's public transport network. I often used the train station to cross to the other side of the tracks, passing by the IBM Switzerland headquarters, the UBS backstage offices, a construction firm, a gasoline station, and a bridge built in the late 1950s over the *autobahn* to finally reach the temporary space of my institute.

industrialized city of Zurich, especially the steel industry of the Escher Wyss factories.[19] Residents first moved into the complex in 1959. The compound's architecture was unusually arranged for its late-modernist period as a *Hofrandbebauung*, a courtyard-shaped housing development, and not in the classic row order typical for modern housing estates. The building also had an ornamental appearance, as each apartment was equipped with a little balcony. In September 2003, the Bernerstrasse settlement was demolished, forty-five years after its construction, and replaced with a new housing complex. Primarily middle-class Swiss families moved into the newly built apartments. Since the nineteenth century, the working-class neighborhoods of Zurich have been constructed in the west of the city, along Limmat Valley.[20] This is part of a hierarchical organization of space based on class boundaries. The spatial politics are perceivable as a material outcome as well as a discourse on the centre and periphery in European city planning since the nineteenth century. Here the modernist estate at Bernerstrasse was an interesting phenomenon, as it was positioned even farther away from the center than Zurich's other working-class neighborhoods of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Located in a village that later was integrated as part of Zurich's outskirts, the modernist compound was finally connected to the tram network in 1970, when an even larger modernist block, designed in a passé Le Corbusier style and colloquially described by inhabitants as the "Chinese wall," was erected next to the 1950s white-walled workers' home. The nearby train station was, from the 1960s onward, also used for night trains to and from Brindisi in southern Italy, a line used by so-called guest workers. On the other side of the tracks stood temporary housing shacks. For a long time these structures were inhabited by migrant workers. Altstetten has been a migratory space for decades: of Swiss peasants from the mountain regions, and in the 1960s until the '80s, of workers from Italy, Yugoslavia, and Turkey. After 1989, Altstetten became a living space for war refugees from former Yugoslavia and at the same time a site for backstage offices of global finance companies.

[19] The division of the city of Zurich created class boundaries through spatial relations and also ethic ones, as Andreas Wimmer argues in *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[20] The historical working-class suburbs related to industry and production is located nearer to the city center. The so-called Kreis 5 district, which has been slowly gentrifying from the 1980s onward, is known as an expensive district, home to loft-style apartments, art galleries, and food boutiques. The cost of living in Zurich ranks alongside that of London and Tokyo, making it one of the most expensive cities in the world. It was not by chance that I, in the same year the Bernerstrasse building was torn down, was renting a flat in the suburbs of Altstetten, which still offered affordable rents at the fringes of the city.

The Altstetten neighbourhood is an "agglomeration," as it is called in the Swiss urbanist context, which is defined as "a large group of many different things collected or brought together." The term expresses the fact that in such places the urban fabric grew more or less unplanned: villages, industrial areas, suburbs, single houses, sports facilities, and other buildings form a kind of city that is more like a messy mixture of countryside, co-ops, working-class housing, modernist compounds, and postindustrial landscape. The district consists of fragmented, unplanned, and diverse architecture styles, small-scale businesses, superstores, migrant coffee shops, a gasoline station, car wash facilities, a small shopping mall, and, finally, *Schrebergartens* (garden allotments). When walking through the neighbourhood today, it seems to have preserved its unplanned, migratory, and petit-bourgeoisie charm. But the suburban island has in fact become the invisible backstage office and finance center of the global city of Zurich. Today, international firms and banks do their accounting business next to the train station and the Bernerstrasse.[21]

When the students group moved into the already emptied flats of the Bernerstrasse modernist housing complex in 2002, the intention, as identified by the city and the school, was to use the building as interim artist studios. But moving in as art students meant witnessing how the former inhabitants were forced to move out. Families were scattered throughout the city, mostly into other flats also located on the outskirts of Zurich. We experienced how friendships were torn apart, and so were households that had been notable for their lively interactions and acts of solidarity. This unbearable experience forced us to take the location, as well as our unwilling role in this violent process, very seriously. Slowly we were able to dig out, piece by piece, the larger puzzle of what one could call the post-Fordist transformation of a city into a hub of the global finance economy.

In 1999, a new form of neoliberal governance, called City Forum Zurich (Stadtforum Zürich), was created as a participatory instrument to reanimate the former industrial area of Zurich West, which included gathering the opinions of civil society organizations and

[21] See: Georg Kreis, *Städtische versus ländliche Schweiz? Siedlungsstrukturen und ihre politischen Determinanten* [Urban versus rural Switzerland? Settlement structures and their political determinants] (Zurich: Verlag NZZ-Libro, 2015); and Ueli Mäder, et al., *Raum und Macht. Die Stadt zwischen Vision und Wirklichkeit. Leben und Wirken von Lucius und Annemarie Burckhardt* [Space and power. The city between vision and reality. The life and work of Lucius and Annemarie Burckhardt] (Zurich: Rotpunktverlag, 2014). The term "global city" was introduced by Saskia Sassen's publication *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (1991) to mark cities' role as centers for the global economy. Zurich is highly active in the global finance sector.

seeking the involvement of neighborhood residents and shop owners.[22] This instrument opened up a series of interventions into the urban fabric and real estate speculation in the former working-class district. Over the course of this opinion-seeking process, inhabitants of the housing complex at Bernerstrasse were accused of undertaking "criminal acts," which were not provable by police records but regularly claimed by the right-wing Swiss People's Party (SVP). This was also happening at the same time as the violent and racist political tactics in the Parisian *banlieues* under the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy. The diverse inhabitants of the Bernerstrasse compound were used as scapegoats for racist and paranoid projections inside the discussions of City Forum Zurich, where the idea developed to displace the people and tear down the building. Around the same time, Altstetten was declared a special building zone, in order to make demolition and new construction possible. This was at a moment just over fifteen years ago when right-wing and populist politicians arrived in the public arena and impacted people's opinions and many people's lives.

When the art students arrived to settle in the emptied flats, half of the former population of the building had already been displaced, but some people still lived there or were in the process of resettlement. An office was installed to create a "smooth de-renting process," as it was termed in bureaucratic language; meanwhile, students were invited to settle for "interim cultural use." What we encountered were not only traces of lives lived, but a violent process of displacement, overt racism, and the exploitation of migrant workers under the flag of neoliberal governance and participatory city planning. The interim usage by art students was meant as a pacification strategy. The political motivation of the city was to prevent squatters from occupying the vacant property. The motivation of the school was wide ranging; it was not wholly affirmative, and nor was it markedly critical. This was because the School for Art and Design went through its own neoliberal transformation and thus was grateful to offer more studio space for the students at a time of its own restructuring and displacement. In 2007, the entire school would move from the city center into the newly built office district of Zurich West, which indicated the expansion of the city under very specific speculative parameters as well as the role of the arts in these specific processes of real estate speculation and neoliberal city planning.[23] The ambivalent situation

[22] Angelus Eisinger and Iris Reuther, *Zürich baut - Konzeptioneller Städtebau* [Building Zurich - Conceptual urbanism] (Munich: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).
[23] See also the study of Patrick Rérat and Loretta Lees, "Spatial capital, gentrification and mobility: evidence from Swiss core cities," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no. 1 (January 2011):

into which we had fallen as the profiteer of the eviction process at the Bernerstrasse, and to still be a witness to it, made the idea of using the provided flats as individual studios seem like a dead end. In this field of tension and conundrums, we started to think about how we as artists, students, and teacher would be able to relate to the displacement: How to intervene into the normalization of this politicized process triggered by right-wing politics? Against this backdrop, I offered a seminar series entitled "BANLIEUE Zurich. Living in the country. Living on the edge," for which urbanists and architecture theorists were invited to lecture, discuss, and think with us. Referring to the city outskirts, which mainly feature modern multistory complexes, as "dangerous," and often stigmatizing them as "ghettoes," defines the public discourse surrounding the suburbs, especially those in France.[24] The activist and filmmaker Mogniss Abdallah since the 1980s has been working with Agence IM'Media in Paris to fight against these sorts of attributions and to amplify the voices of the inhabitants of housing estates. The film *Douce France. La Saga de Mouvement Beur* (1992), which Abdallah created with Ahmed Boubeker, Said Boumam, Ken Fero, and Kaissa Titous, gives voice to the inhabitants and the struggle against racism and segregation in the Parisian banlieues. *Douce France* thus became, for our group, the jumping-off point for the questions: How can we come to understand how a peaceful district like Zurich Altstetten can be called a dangerous banlieue? How is the media involved in creating racist assumptions connected to modernist housing estates?[25] In which ways are so-called feedback processes and participatory instruments neoliberal governance tools to manage unpopular interventions in the city and to encourage real estate speculation? With this set of questions, the group started to examine the urban environment and hold talks with politicians, architects, and local inhabitants, in order to comprehend and reflect on the different motivations for the demolition, in solidarity with the former inhabitants.

When the group started to partially live in the Bernerstrasse, a series of conversations began. Inhabitants still living in the housing estate began sharing their dwelling

126–42, https://www.uzh.ch/cmsssl/suz/dam/jcr:00000000-68cb-72db-0000-00005a3c8fe0/05.07_rerat_lees_11.pdf.

[24] See: Lois Wacquant, *Parias urbains. Ghetto, banlieues, État* [Urban outcasts. Ghetto, Suburbs, State] (Paris: La Découverte, 2006), 332.

[25] See: Alain Touraine, "Face á l'exclusion" [Facing exclusion], *La France des Banlieues*, Revue Esprit 169 (February 1991); and Domenique Vidal, "Casser l'Apartheid à la Francaise" [Break the French Apartheid] *Manière de Voir. Banlieues. Trente Ans d'Histoire et de Revoltes*, Le Monde Diplomatique 89 (October–November 2006): 6–10.

histories. The residents reported on the specific social composition of the complex, which after so many years was no longer composed of workers from the Appenzell region but mainly of renters without Swiss passports who worked in nursing services, in hospitals, with cleaning crews, and on construction sites. Because both parents of families who lived in the settlement usually worked in low-wage sectors and their limited incomes did not allow for paid childcare, a model of self-organization emerged as a way of managing these living conditions. Childcare and home tutoring, senior care and social visits, communal feasts, and hobby groups became well established over the years as self-organized practices and a way of survival. Inhabitants further highlighted that the courtyard layout of the residential complex supported interaction between everyone who lived there. Thus the compound functioned as an island within the island of Altstetten, and had functioned well as a communal space while also being a bit cut off from the rest of the surroundings. Another group of students began to dig up radical-left histories related to the compound and district, and with my help initiated connections to the leftist autonomous scene in Zurich. Moreover, the everyday activities of the inhabitants caught our attention too, and students began to visit the knitting, singing, gardening, and soccer groups of people still living in the compound, as well as an elderly lady, a family with two children, and a pensioner in his *Schrebergarden* with different national backgrounds, to mention just a few. Reflections on what a creative activity is became an important issue when becoming involved in the community of the remaining inhabitants. The creativity of the everyday included not only the practices of those of us with artistic backgrounds, but also the diverse forms of civil self-organization and creative work made collaboratively by the people of the neighborhood. This understanding of creativity stands in opposition to the rising discourses that frame creativity as essential for the contemporary labor market and as a resource for the worldwide marketing of consumer goods.[26] It was also a very different understanding compared to the creativity associated with artists and designers in the rising discourse on the "creative industries."[27] Thus the onsite practices of the everyday reached

[26] In 2002, I initiated and curated the exhibition *Be Creative! Der kreative Imperativ* at the Museum of Design in Zurich, which was at that moment still part of the Art and Design School. It explored the shift from self-creation as a utopia to self-creation as a social obligation, using various developments in design discourse and in everyday practice.

[27] Two publications came out of the *Be Creative!* exhibition: *Be Creative! - Der kreative Imperativ* [Be creative! - The creative imperative!] (Zurich: Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, 2002); and *Norm der Abweichung* [Norm of deviance] (Vienna: Schleebrügger, 2003). Both publication were edited by myself in the context of my engagement at the Institute of Theory (ith).

beyond these assumptions. These creative practices point beyond given project frames.

All in all, I stayed one year in the suburbs, and some of the students stayed until the very end, when the estate was demolished. This engagement over two years time made me and the student group understand the material, social, and political field into which we had been artificially placed. It was not only the residents who were in a process of relocation, as we had also been relocated from the school to the half-empty Bernerstrasse complex. The cultural-political context and the increasingly critical discussion around the demolition of Bernerstrasse, propelled by the lectures given by the invited urbanists and activists, then became the catalyst for a collective project: the appropriation of an existing free newspaper. We called it *Filterfeld*.[28]

The tram no. 4 had its terminal stop in Altstetten, close to Bernerstrasse and the Werdhölzli sewage treatment plant. From there, a tram left every ten minutes to go through the former workers' district of Zurich West, past the School of Art and Design, and through the inner city, finally ending in the upper district of Tiefbrunn at Zurichsee, where it would then go back to Altstetten. We decided to perform an intervention. The free newspaper *20 Minuten*, available in the tram every day, was replaced for some days by our newspaper *Filterfeld*, designed in the appropriated style of *20 Minuten* by the students.[29] Our newspaper published conversations, insights, and debates around the modernist housing complex and critiques about the evictions. Through the distribution of *Filterfeld* in the tram no.4, we intervened in the everyday life habits of commuters who regularly read free newspapers while traveling. Through this action, the outlying district was connected with the center of the city. The passengers were confronted with another view on the demolition events at the tram's final stop, a demolition that in the mainstream media was being celebrated as an improvement for the district. Ultimately, the distribution of the paper was left to chance, as we simply filled the empty *20 Minuten* boxes at the last stop of the no. 4. A notification from the police, sent to me as the responsible party, did not fail to appear. But what also did not fail was generating a citywide debate, which was turning us all into part-time specialists of city planning instruments and media politics. In contact with the

[28] The name of our newspaper referred to the filtration and sewage treatment plant in the outlying district of Zurich Altstetten and to the process of filtering as an editorial process.
[29] *Filterfeld* editors were Barbara Broder, Francois Blatter, Martin Meier, Barbara Ramer, Rodolfo Sinopoli, and me.

most diverse experts in the field—residents, cultural anthropologists, historians, journalists, activists, and urbanists—the students wrote articles and columns, developed various photo series and fake advertisements, and invited guest columnists to the paper. The layout worked and played with newspaper genres. Inhabitants had their say in the collaborative endeavor, as did the architects of the new buildings and the students. Thus, due to the publishing of the newspaper, a space of production and the distribution of knowledge developed, in which various participants had become experts on the location and its history. The *Filterfeld* project was, on the one hand, a temporary action, an intervention, and a platform for self-articulation. On the other, it had a long-term relation to the local environment and articulated previously unheard and divergent opinions on the eviction process, and thus created a counterpublic.[30] The art students' perspectives also shifted in understanding their own roles as editors, publishers, and designers, as well as their ability to create a new narrative with the newspaper and to intervene in the larger mainstream public's opinion-making process. The self-published newspaper as a medium to inform as well as to manipulate public opinion was shifted and turned, and became a matter of collectivized production and action.

The young artists who participated in *Filterfeld* became neither publishers nor designers following their studies, but the skills and abilities learned through this common process were nevertheless immense. The possibility to create a critical voice of one's own as well as with and for the local inhabitants, to be able to alter the public image, to intervene in normative governance processes, and to learn to create alliances beyond the art field, along with the shifting of roles from interviewing, writing, editing, designing, and ad busting, were all abilities learned in common through this process. The *Filterfeld* project thus stands as a multifaceted example of how a countercultural production offers an alternative beyond the existing divisions of art, design, and theory and the neoliberal call for creative industries that asks for the optimization of economic performance.[31] Instead, the tools of applied art and journalistic study were turned into a means of countering real estate speculation and the violent processes that it tries to conceal.

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[30] See: Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002).
[31] For discussion on the neoliberal demand for creativity, see also my article: "Unpredictable Outcasts. Unpredictable Outcomes," in *MyCreativity Reader: A Critique of Creative Industries*, ed. Geert Loving and Ned Rossiter (Amsterdam: Institute for Network Cultures, 2008), 49–58.

While our action did not prevent either the eviction or the demolition, the critical voices that before had been drowned out by consensus for the demolition became audible. Moreover, another vision of design and usage was created together with the remaining Altstetten compound inhabitants, in which the modernist ideal of a living space was altered and appropriated in ways never intended. The specificity of *Filterfeld*'s layout also made interactions between students, inhabitants, and urbanists possible and became a communal way of organizing life under precarious conditions. The fact that the students and I were on location—physically present, sharing time, processes, and experiences—created a situation where different forms of practical knowledge were exchanged but also acknowledged and valued. The *Filterfeld* project created a critical action space and a critical public already in the making. It finally questioned the role of the artist in gentrification processes, where artists are often portrayed as an exceptional figure that helps neoliberal governance to become a reality.[32] Instead, the hierarchy between practices of the everyday and the arts was rejected. Moreover, unintentionally, the intervention connected the precarious situation of art students with the larger precariousness of the non-Swiss inhabitants and elderly people with small pensions who lived in the buildings. Without necessarily meaning to, we worked within what we had in common and did not accept being segregated from one another. These embodied interactions and shared time made us aware of the segregated reality we continue to experience today. But it was also this specific local experience on site that, in a second step, triggered a relation to a location elsewhere—a location that would become the focal point for *In the Desert of Modernity*.

Despite the common action, my own question surrounding the demolition of the modernist estate had remained unanswered: How was it possible that the architects and historians of the city—with ETH Zurich having one of the most well-respected architecture faculties in Europe—had not paid attention to the Bernerstrasse complex and noted its courtyard layout as being special and atypical in the context of high modernism? For the *Filterfeld* newspaper, I invited local experts to reflect on the spatial specificity of the buildings. Still, city architects failed to declare them as deserving of protection. The question of whether there had been other examples of this particular building type, with its courtyard layout and specific arrangement of balconies and

[32] Gentrification is described as a process of increased interest in low-cost neighborhoods by people with higher incomes and/or social statuses. In this process, artists and low-income bohemian communities are identified as triggers that increase the attractiveness of a certain quarter.

walkways, led me to research contemporary architecture debates around high modernism. Reading on postwar modernism became a practice of my everyday.
To my astonishment, I found in my readings an architecture ensemble that structurally had something in common with the Bernerstrasse ensemble, discussed in the reader *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Post-war Architectural Culture* (2000), in an article by the French architecture historian Monique Eleb.[33] This article called my attention to a housing complex in Casablanca: the Cité Verticale, built in 1953 by the American architect Shadrach Woods and Greek architect George Candilis. There seemed to be at least formal similarities, particularly concerning the arrangements of the buildings in a kind of courtyard structure with balconies and walkways. Wanting to link the Bernerstrasse estate to this earlier architectural example, I decided to design an advertisement with pictures of the Moroccan building and place it in the *Filterfeld* newspaper. In that particular moment, I was neither aware of the complexity of the example, nor was I intending to create a further project from this association. It was a loose reference.

Two years after the newspaper action, I was invited, in the frame of the project *From/To Europe* and its symposium *Rock le Casbah* in 2006, curated by Jochen Becker at Shedhalle Zurich, to guide a tour in the former industrial neighborhood Zurich West together with the architectural historian Daniel Weiss of ETH Zurich. I had informally turned into an expert on this unrecognized and hidden quarter. After arriving at Bernerstrasse, Daniel Weiss stumbled across the Casablanca reference in the *Filterfeld* newspaper and noted that the gta Archives, in which he works, had recently received documents by the Zurich-based architect André Studer, including models, sketches, and writings from his building activities in Casablanca.[34] With this hint and the reading on the Casablanca building activities my project began. But it was only due Daniel Weiss and visits to the gta

[33] Monique Eleb, "An Alternative to Functionalist Universalism: Écochard, Candilis and ATBAT-Afrique," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Post-war Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 55–74.
[34] André M. Studer occupies a special position within the postwar Swiss architecture scene. In addition to housing estates and churches, he also designed from the 1950s onward futuristic holiday resorts and was involved in the design and construction of the Sidi Othman settlement in Casablanca from 1952 to 1955, together with Jean Hentsch. Studer had an internship with Le Corbusier in 1948. He participated in the construction of Casablanca in the context of Le Corbuiser's ATBAT-Afrique office, which also engaged other young architects to develop new building schemes in the French colonies. See also: Daniel Weiss, "A Morocco Habitat: Building within a Colonial Context," in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past-Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog, 2010), 272–87; and Sascha Rösler, *Habitat Marocain Documents. Dynamic between Formal and Informal Housing* (Zurich: gta Eth Zürich, 2015).

Archives at ETH Zurich that I understood that my analogy drawn between the Bernerstrasse estate and the Cité Verticale building on a morphological level was a highly interesting intuition. My montage of two housing estate references built in very different localities guided me into a field of hitherto unexplored relations of modernist housing projects in the former French colonies, France, and Switzerland.[35]
It was precisely the gentrification activities in the outskirts of Zurich that led to findings that Swiss architects were involved in city planning and building processes in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco under French colonial rule. The fact that Switzerland is French, German, Italian, and French language speaking, and that many modernist architects who were active in non-European contexts, like Le Corbusier and Hannes Meyer, were Swiss, does explain some of the activities abroad. But Switzerland and its relation to colonialism has only become a topic of interest in the last decade, and the project *In the Desert of Modernity* can be considered as a specific moment of this rising awareness. Daniel Weiss's further investigations at this time also led, for example, to research about the history of the ETH Zurich, as many architects building during the Algerian War were foundational figures of the Department of Architecture at ETH.

To learn of the relation between the high-modernist building activities in Switzerland and the building activities in the Maghreb under French colonial rule became, from that moment, an unexpected journey that has lasted more than ten years, and is still ongoing. It has found its expression in a series of projects on the forgotten or concealed paths of the origins of modernism in the colonies, such as *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernism*, conducted at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, and the project *Architectures of Decolonization*, hosted at Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers in Paris. Highlighting that this interest started outside of an official research framework—and not because of an invitation through an art institution as a commissioned work—draws attention to the fact that I have positioned my activities not solely within exhibition making or university research projects, but also within a larger set of societal and intellectual thoughts, and political concerns.
It was in the encounter between colleagues that my curiosity began to move me further into this project. But it was also due to the Bernerstrasse experience—the field of conflict in which I acted that I was not able to forget, and which also became a major concern in all

[35] Knowledge about colonial and postcolonial building activities in Casablanca was in large part available in publications by the architectural historians Jean Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb.

further projects, including in an artistic take within the *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* online project, which I conducted with the media artists of Labor k3000 in Zurich. Thus, the awareness of everyday racism, eviction, and injustice and the right wing's projection on modernist housing estates as sites of migration and crime that I experienced at the Bernerstrasse complex created a need to intervene in existing power relations and neoliberal forms of governance. At the same time, reading the existing literature on the Cité Verticale in Casablanca and colonial city planning by Tom Avermaete, Zeneyp Celik, Jean Louis Cohen, Anthony King, Mogniss Eleb, Okwui Enwezor, Gwendolyn Wright, and Paul Rabinow made me aware of a structural similarity in spatial politics, as both settlements in Switzerland and Morocco had been placed on the fringes of the cities. Reading on urban planning became a major activity of my artist residency at Iaspis,[36] in Stockholm in 2006. Tom Avermaete had just published a comprehensive study on George Candilis, one of the central architects of the Casablanca settlement, and he was also involved in research on Candilis's role in Team 10.[37] Without knowing him, I contacted Avermaete at Delft University, and we started to discuss the planning initiatives in Morocco and their connections to Europe. I also debated a possible collaboration with Daniel Weiss on Cité Verticale and on the Studer Archives at the gta Archives. The direction and intended outcome of this research was not clear at that moment, but the urge to create a network around this case had become clear, and both Weiss and Avermaete also saw a similar urgency to going deeper into this topic to study the relation between the Swiss architects' involvement in the French colonies. Interests and investigations that later became exhibitions, symposia, film screenings, videos, and publications on postwar architecture projects in the Mediterranean did not start with research on modernist building sites in Morocco under French colonial governance, as the exhibition and publication *In the Desert of Modernity* might have suggested, but in the outskirts of Zurich in Switzerland, where I had experienced actual forms of class segregation, racism, and displacement. Both cases express that one does not just live in a city district, but in a power relation.

The Cité Verticale in Casablanca, designed by the architects George Candilis and Shadrach Woods, both former interns of Le Corbusier, is a still-existing prototype settlement in the outskirts of Casablanca. It was built in 1952 not far from a large phosphate factory and

[36] The Swedish Arts Grants Committee's international program for visual art, architecture, design and craft.
[37] Team 10 was a group of architects who dealt with the continuation and transformation of the tradition of modern architecture. The core group consisted of Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson, and Shadrach Woods. See also: *Team 10 Online*, http://www.team10online.org, and Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Post-war Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005).

next to one of the largest shantytowns of its time, the Carrières Centrales. The two young architects were among a group from Europe and the United States who moved to North Africa with the ATBAT-Afrique (Atelier des bâtisseurs) office to work on experimental housing projects in the 1950s. Similar to the Bernerstrasse complex in Zurich, Cité Verticale has large outdoor spaces and is organized around a courtyard with a stacked balcony structure. The settlement was part of a larger city development program by the French protectorate based on the measures of colonial city planning, as outlined by Paul Rabinow and Anthony King in their comprehensive studies.[38]

As Monique Eleb and Jean Luis Cohen summarize in their book on city planning in Casablanca, the new housing programs in postwar Morocco—of which the Cité Verticale was part—were an attempt by the French protectorate to build modern settlements for the colonized workforce from the middle of the 1940s onward.[39] In Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, these programs were a response to the growing influx of migrants from the countryside into the colonial city after World War II, for whom the French protectorate and colonial government had built fenced settlements far from the city centers.[40] Within the perimeters of Casablanca, Moroccan settlers began building informal huts, which were termed *bidonvilles*, after the materials used to build them (the term literally means "tin can cities"). Two of the largest shantytowns of the time in Casablanca were the Ben M'sik and the Carrières Centrales. These constructions were not spontaneous, as is assumed in the colonizer's thought, but rather a reaction to limited access to the formal city center as well as to the specific perimeters delineated for the local settlers. In the late 1940s, the informal settlements, and in particular the shantytowns of Ben M'sik and Carrières Centrales, became the subject of the urban planning office Service de l'Urbanisme, which was implemented in the last decade of French rule in Morocco and led by Michel Écochard, the head of the Service de l'Urbanisme.[41]

The strategy of the French protectorate was to build numerous housing estates within the framework of a large-scale extension plan of the city, one of the largest planning operations of its time. The governance strategies of the Service de l'Urbanisme varied

[38] See: Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); and Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development. Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge, 1976).
[39] Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca. Colonial Myth and Architectural Ventures* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2002).
[40] Janet Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980).
[41] Eleb, "An Alternative Functionalist Universalism: Écochard, Candilis and ATBAT-Afrique," 55–74.

from the reordering of the slum settlements (*restructuration*), to temporary rehousing (*relogement*), and finally to the creation of new low-income housing estates (*habitations à loyer moderé*, or HLM) based on a standardized grid. The urban and architectural schemes developed by Écochard and his team were called Cité Horizontale and Cité Verticale and conceptualized as "test settlements." The Cité Horizontale was developed as a series of low-rise estates based on the standard Écochard Grid of small, quickly built, single-floor patio houses, while the Cité Verticale was designed as a series of high-rises.[42]

It does not seem unusual that both housing projects, one in the outskirts of Zurich and the other of Casablanca, reacted similarly to the influx of people who came from rural areas; it is an urbanization process that forms cities all over the world. Both were placed a large distance from the city center. But the difference in the planning schemes for Casablanca was that the new housing projects were implemented not just alongside different city zones (that is, living, consumption, and industrial zones, as in the Swiss example), but also on the basis of a segregating regime under colonial rule. As Zeynep Celik and Janet Abu-Lughod articulate in their research, the planning scheme in Casablanca was based on a specific colonial zone, the *zone sanitaire* (sanitary zone), which created spacing and distance around the European quarters.[43] The Carrières Centrales housing estates for Muslim workers were built at a distance to the city center inhabited by French, Italian, and Spanish settlers. The estate was bordered by circular roads and a motorway, and likewise the Bernerstrasse ensemble. But in Casablanca this spatial division was a legacy of the colonial regime, under which Moroccans were forbidden to enter the protectorate city unless they were employed as domestic servants in European households.[44]
In Morocco, architects of Service de l'Urbanisme also cooperated with ethnologists, geographers, and sociologists who had intensively studied the living and dwelling

[42] Mogniss Abdallah writes in *Colonial Modern* about the struggle against transit housing in Paris, which shows that similar relocation technologies have been used to govern migratory societies in France. Mogniss Abdallah: *The Transit Housing Estates' Struggle: Stop the Permanently Provisional!,* In: Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten. *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the past Rebellions for the Future.* (London: Black Dog 2010) p.117-125.
[43] See: Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*, and Zeynep Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers Under French Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
[44] Although the term *zone sanitaires* emerged with Ebenezer Howard around 1900, the planning typology was used in earlier British colonial settlement planning to separate town and countryside with a building-free zone around the town, with the aim of segregating European and non-European settlements. One of the most popular *zone sanitaires* was the green belt. The width of such a green belt differed depending on its purpose and concept. It was argued to be a tool to defend against all things coming from "outside," such as robbers, wild animals, fire, migration, and diseases, with a goal to "encourage a high standard of living and promote a sense of citizenship, pride and enterprise." See entries by Fahim Amir on the online project and archive *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernisms*, http://transculturalmodernism.org/.

patterns of the rural population as well as of the hut settlements in the shantytowns. These studies I will reflect upon by discussing one of their central outcomes: a presentation at the ninth International Congress for Modern Architecture (CIAM), which I critically examine in chapter 4. The studies were conducted because Écochard's extension plan applied the new method of "cultural-specific" study, which took existing dwelling practices as a point of departure for new planning initiatives. They were designed by the protectorate to learn how the local dwellers were organizing their living environments.[45] The studies also resulted in different building typologies for different categories of inhabitants—categories built upon already existing definitions of cultural and racial difference. These categories and perspectives were replicated in the study of the colonized population.

In his large resettlement and building plan for Casablanca, Écochard divided the city into different residential zones for European, Moroccan, and Jewish residents, as well as for industry and commerce. Écochard's team also developed a special housing estate for the Moroccan Jews known as the El Hank district, which is one of the largest of this kind in Casablanca. The El Hank buildings were placed in an intermediate zone within view of the French citizens, located on the seaside, the corniche, between the exclusive residential area of Anfa and the old Medina, both very near the colonial city center of Casablanca. This spatial organization of the 1950s residential and urban planning projects was hierarchical. It divided the Moroccan population into religious groups (Jews, Muslims), while the Europeans remained a universal category placed at the core of the city. The concept of cultural-specific planning reinforced the French protectorate's assumptions of cultural and racial difference. Under colonial rule, these categorizations were turned into a means of exercising governmental power and were manifested in the new urban planning scheme.[46]

The Cité Verticale settlement was from the outset enmeshed in the tension between the emancipatory aims of improving inhabitants' everyday lives and the search for governing tools that offered strategic measures that could facilitate military operations against

[45] These studies of the shantytowns in Casablanca and their planning solutions were later presented at the ninth CIAM congress in Aix-en-Provence in 1953. This so-called GAMMA Grid in its afterlife had a critical function in the architecture discourse of its time, as I will discuss in chapter 4.

[46] See: Serhat Karakayali, *Subject Citizen: The Ambiguity of Citizenship and its Colonial Laboratories* (Münster: Lit, 2011).

possible resistance struggles.[47] Contemporary scholars like Janet Abu-Lughod, Zenyep Celik, and Regina Göckede have discussed how cities such as Algiers and Casablanca functioned as testing grounds and blueprints for modernism. Western architects' turn from architecture to expanded building plans and urban planning, including Le Corbusier's Plan Obus of 1933, was tested and implemented on colonial ground.[48] Likewise, some of the key architects who had been regularly meeting at the CIAM since 1928 developed and created their discursive and practical tools for large-scale housing projects and urban planning in the 1930s under German, Italian, and Spanish fascism and/or amid the dying breaths of colonialism. The new urban plans in the French colonies following WWII were also an expression of a specific economic condition, as Frantz Fanon states:

> In the early days of colonization, a single column could occupy immense stretches of country: the Congo, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast and so on. Today, however, the colonized countries' national struggle crops up in a completely new international situation. […] After a phase of accumulation of capital, capitalism has today come to modify its conception of the profit-earning capacity of a commercial enterprise. The colonies have become a market. The colonial population is a customer who is ready to buy goods.[49]

During the first round of research, it became clear that in the 1950s, with the political attempts to modernize European and non-European countries and the decline of European empires, the hegemony of the Fordist project not only in Europe but also in the French colonies had started to unfold. These histories of a new socioeconomic relation were still inscribed in both housing projects in Switzerland and Morocco. They shared similarities not only on a morphological level, such as features like a courtyard layout and balcony structures. Both were also built in a similar era, on the fringes of a city, far from the city center, and both estates, in Zurich's Altstetten and Casablana's Hay Mohammadi districts, were built to trigger a process of modernization, industrialization, and cultivation of a Fordist consumer society.

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[47] This ambivalent role of modernist urban planning was also active in other French colonies at the same time, including in Algeria, as discussed in Celik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations*.

[48] See: Regina Gödecke, "Der koloniale Le Corbusier. Die Algier-Projekte in postkolonialer Lesart" [The colonial Le Corbusier. The Algiers projects in postcolonial reading], *From Outer Space: Architekturtheorie außerhalb der Disziplin* 10, no. 2 (September 2006), http://www.cloud-cuckoo.net/openarchive/wolke/deu/Themen/052/Goeckede/goeckede.htm.

[49] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 51.

My being present in a working-class neighborhood built in postwar Switzerland triggered the conceptual frame that later was implemented within the production of the *In the Desert of Modernity* exhibition at Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin. It started in the suburbs of Zurich and within the practice of teaching and learning, as well as in exchange with a project at Shedhalle Zurich that referenced the struggles in the Parisan banlieues at that time. It was this situatedness and political condition that both generated a working context as well as a radicalization of my thought. At the same time, the beginnings of the *In the Desert of Modernity* project were also led by experience. When on site, the architectural projects as built environment and material fact, their emergence as part of a modernist vanguard movement, and their governmental implementation could still be experienced. It is precisely this physical experience and bodily engagement in Zurich—the fact that I stayed at the Bernerstrasse compound for quite some time before its demolition, that I witnessed the reality of mass eviction and racist propaganda, and that I experienced the possibility of acting in solidarity with the inhabitants, who were evicted and suppressed—that made me aware of the rejected histories that lie dormant in urban and architecture discourses. Both the housing project in Zurich and the Cité Verticale in Casablanca represented a certain mode of governance and of social exclusion. To experience the housing estate in Switzerland and its function and contemporary condition allowed me to think in terms of relation when reading about the Casablanca settlement—a relation between colonial planning in a North African city and in a European metropolis. Parameters and motifs for the erection of the buildings as well as their transcontinental relation called for the establishment of a working group in order to understand the various facets of their connectivity. This connectivity and circulation, the exploration of a transnational relation between urban developments in different locations, was my starting point to initiate the research group.

Projects start as *dérives* and have messy beginnings. They can emerge from various forms of engagement both inside and outside the public institution. A project's start cannot be easily explained within the binaries of curatorial or artistic practice, as projects often start in a dialogical situation that also traverses different disciplines and diverse expertise and knowledge. They can be constituted within manual, cognitive, visual, political, and/or theoretical thinking. Site-specific relations and shared time and collaborations with students, artists, inhabitants, activists, and other colleagues in the case of *In the Desert of Modernity,* had not been reflected on far by myself in any detail. Relations were usually listed in an appendix

or by including collaborators and their productions in publications or the exhibition without being able to identify the constitutional character of a situated knowledge production.[50] With the focus on the making I thus step into partially unconscious terrains that were taken as given or overshadowed through existing writing formats, where collaborations and research insights are often reduced into one-page statements ready for a press conference.

Moreover, modernist aesthetics have appeared in my artistic practice since the 1980s, including in the exhibitions I curated during my time at Shedhalle Zurich in the '90s, but my subjective perspective is too limited an explanation for clarifying the motives behind creating a collaborative research environment for *In the Desert of Modernity*. Even if an impulse for the project might have been embedded in artistic concerns, the drive through and toward an understanding of the function of high-modernist working-class architecture, and the travels and encounters that accompanied it, were ultimately triggered by the entangled histories of modernism and the erasure of its colonial and transnational histories from European memory. I proceeded with the project without knowing in that specific moment that I was already in fact relocating the coloniality present in modernity and in European contemporary societies.[51] This meant that with the films, artworks, publications, exhibitions, and events that were produced during the process of making *In the Desert of Modernity*, we started to expose the marks left by colonialism in our contemporary societies, and likewise we began looking for other knowledges from social, anticolonial, and antiracist struggles. Without claiming or realizing it in the moment, we were thus beginning to be involved in a project of epistemic decolonialization, as Walter Mignolo terms it, as a matter of relocation of thought, in order to unmask the limited nature of modern knowledge and its link to coloniality.[52]

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[50] Here I clearly reference Donna Haraway's foundational article: "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1988): 575–99.

[51] "Modernity/coloniality" is a concept used by Aníbal Quijano and taken up in the works of Walter Mignolo. It is a concept in which modernity and coloniality are thought inseparable from a Latin American point of view. See: Aníbal Quijano, "Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina" [Coloniality of power, Eurocentrism and Latin America], in *La colonialidad del saber: eurocentrismo y ciencias sociales. Perspectivas latinoamericanas*, ed. Edgardo Lander (Buenos Aires: CLACSO, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, 2000), 201–46.

[52] In his writings, Walter Mignolo does not use "decolonization" and "decoloniality" in a very defined way, and sometimes they are even interchangeable. Still, he draws a historical distinction between political decolonization and liberation between 1947 and 1970 and what he has called epistemic decolonialization. Regarding decoloniality, Mignolo highlights as well the radical political and epistemological shifts of various important figures from Asia, Africa, and Latin America such as Gandhi, Amílcar Cabral, and Frantz Fanon. See: Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs. Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Series: Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/ History (Princeton University Press, 2012).

It was through this process, in the making, that I came to understand how coloniality continues to act, and the question of what form this project would take next was completely secondary to me; the most important issue was to build a working group on this matter that utilized all the members' different professional backgrounds. Because of the insights gained into coloniality, the participants involved were ultimately impelled to step out of the secure terrains that we had been operating within before. We had to change our positions and also critically examine our disciplines. The project required us to become somebody else, and the temporal and informal research group constituted around it can also be understood as a self-organized learning environment in which we had to self-teach ourselves about the entanglements of modernity, colonialism, and the transnational relations of anticolonial struggles and their role in the constitution of the New Left in France and Germany.[53] In multidisciplinary situations such as the one built through my initiative around this project, the diverse roles one takes on as a cultural producer are fundamental for the form of creation. This assumption reaches far beyond ideas of an artist producing material or immaterial works or research that leads to an artwork. It also reaches beyond the idea of research-based curatorial work, as there was no project or exhibition request when I started to be involved in this matter. To teach and to work with students; to have a background in urban studies, activism, and interventionist approaches; to be part of a network of cultural producers who at that time were working critically in art institutions, including Jochen Becker, Sönke Gau, and Katharina Schliepen at Shedhalle Zurich, as well as critical migration study scholars and activists like Mogniss Abdallah, Serhat Karakayali, Brigitta Kuster, Vasilis Tsianos, Bernard Schmid, and Regina Römhild, with whom I shared the experience of *Projekt Migration*, brought about the insight of the entangled histories of urban planning and coloniality. The project unfolded also as I shared concerns and acted in solidarity with people evicted from their homes. All this enabled a production that was not developed as a node or alliance around common concerns and political urgencies.

[53] This exchange and learning process was also taken up in the diverse research and co-learning environments that Peter Spillmann and I created with the micro-organization CPKC by using, in part, the internet to exchange and create counter-archival work, via transculturalmodernisms.org and tricontinentale.net. The idea of *becoming* in critical project work has also been addressed in my essay "Movements That Matter: 'Project Migration,'" in *Performing the Curatorial: Within and Beyond Art,* ed. Maria Lind (Berlin: Sternberg, 2013), 115-33.

Position of the Bernerstrasse in Zurich Altstetten in 2018
Graphic: Marion von Osten

Position of the Carrières Centrales, in Hay Mohammadi, Casablanca, in 2018
Graphic: Marion von Osten

Chapter 2

On Site

I.

Being on site, learning about neighborhoods by walking through them, and speaking with inhabitants and local experts was mentioned in chapter 1 as being embedded in a teaching position I held in Switzerland. My interest in the Casablanca settlement and my contact with the two architecture historian Tom Avermaete from Delft University and Daniel Weiss from ETH Zurich, began with a series of trips to visit the Cité Verticale settlement.[54] During the trips, I met scholars and researchers from Casablanca and Rabat and visited university faculties and civil society organizations in both cities. Early on, Tom Avermaete and I made contact with the architectural association Casamémoire, and in particular with the architect Abderrahim Kassou and the urban theorist Horia Serhane, and the artist Hassan Darsi, who brought other modernist housing projects to our attention, which I had only recently learned about in Monique Eleb and Jean-Louis Cohen's publication on the modern architecture history of Casablanca, as referenced in chapter 1. With Casamémoire's guidance and equipped with video and photography cameras and the assistance of the artist Peter Spillmann, I started to study and document the city and its different layouts in its contemporary condition.[55]

The Casablanca site became an embodied experience through a different path. The series of site visits to different parts of the city and its neighborhoods was a physical experience. It created a bodily understanding of its districts and layouts. This experience of time and space cannot easily by translated into a textual representation and it was not by chance that video recordings and photographs became tools of notation. Strolls through the suburbs as experiences in time and space also provided insight into the number of planning and building initiatives undertaken by the protectorate. We were able to witness the social stratification materialized in space and architecture that went along with the protectorate's urban plan: the luxury villa neighborhoods, which were built by and for the French rulers; the Old Medina in the city center, which has been turned into a tourist area with souvenir shops; the New Medina, built by the protectorate in the suburbs,

[54] From 2007 to 2009, I visited Casablanca together with several colleagues: architecture historian Tom Avermaete, sociologist Serhat Karakayali, Haus der Kulturen der Welt director Bernd Scherer, artists Peter Spillmann and Eva Egermann, curatorial assistant Elsa de Seynes, and graphic designer Anna Voswinkel, as well as with a group of students from the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. With my first team, Avermaete, Spillmann, and Karakayli, we started out with trips to visit the Cité Verticale buildings by George Candilis and Shadrach Woods as well as the Sidi Othman estate designed by the Swiss architect André Studer in the early 1950s.

[55] The aim of Casamémoire is to create an understanding and appreciation of the modernist heritage of the city, as, with the recent status of Morocco as an investment site for the Emirates, many buildings from the 1940s and '50s are being demolished. See the group's website, http://www.casamemoire.org.

which has become the local goods market; and the large high-rise housing districts, which were built in the early 1950s away from the city center. The former European core of Casablanca and the different suburbs built for the colonized workforce and internal migrants around the highway belt were constructed several kilometers away from the city center. By driving and walking through the city, we understood, in relation to both time and space, how the city fabric was designed according to spatial segregations based on class and race attributions that had been collected by Michel Écochard's urban planning office and materialized in its extension plan for Casablanca, which was completed in a short period of time between the mid 1940s and 1956. Site visits and driving tours also helped us understand later extension plans of the city following independence in 1956, which included the closing of the colonial *zone sanitaire* and its reurbanization.[56]

The walks and drives were accompanied by a mixed practice of reading, recording, visiting, talking, observing, discussing, and photographing. Finding and conversing with local experts became the approach to comprehend what we had seen on site. Theories on appropriation and inhabitation had to be reconsidered.[57] But—and this is of utmost importance—some of our previous insights gained from reading the aforementioned publications had to be revised, too. Finding documents and sources on the neighborhoods and negotiating with officials as well as with people we encountered on the streets and inhabitants of the housing estates became a necessary step in the exploration. This mix of approaches did not happen in a disciplinary manner, that is, as an art historical, sociological, or anthropological mode of research whereby one followed research aims, milestones, protocols, and note-taking conventions. The approaches in part included a *dérive* or stroll, in the terms of strollology (*Spaziergangswissenschaften*), as developed by the urban and design theorist Lucius Burckhardt. As Burckhardt states, a locality itself unfolds unknown and unexpected issues and relations when we walk through it and when we closely read it in its material outcome.

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[56] The closing of sanitary zones became an urgent need in former colonial cities across the globe after gaining independence. The city fabric had to be connected again, in defiance of the layout of urban segregation installed by colonial powers. This also marked a shift in international politics from colonial city planning to development aid programs. Some of the same architects were involved in these postcolonial projects, along with new thinkers like Yona Friedman, whom I was able to interview in 2012 in the frame of a follow-up project entitled *Architectures of Decolonization* at Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers in Paris, which ran from 2010 to 2012.

[57] The notion of making the city through social interactions most certainly references the work by Henri Lefebvre, such as *The Critique of Everyday Life* (1947) and *The Production of Space* (1974) as well as the 2011 rereading of his theories by Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*.

As a counterscientific approach, Burckhardt's strollology attempts to train planners to realize that current self-evident facts are not always so self-evident and that current environmental perception is subject to historical conditions.[58] In our case as non-planners, driven by interest in the Cité Verticale and directed by our local colleagues, we were not intending to test a critical methodology. Nevertheless, strollology comes nearest to the character of the visits as a praxeological approach that understands space and architecture not as stable entities but as a lived space, expressing and negating social hierarchies. Unknown and unexpected relations of the neighborhoods we initially wanted to visit were experienced in part as stumbling blocks or as openings to a new understanding of the material and sociopolitical landscape that they are entangled with and situated in. These explorations in the city by walking were conducted to understand planning issues by being involved in everyday situations, but they also triggered new ways of thinking. The reflexive walks were connected with questions of what we see, why we see it, and what we do not see, as the perception of the environment turns out historically to be changeable.

Our strolls spurred thinking and discussion, and with this we gained new insights and various forms of knowledge that later became central to the formulation of the concept of the exhibition in Berlin. The shuttling back and forth between our different backgrounds and the sites in Casablanca's suburbs brought to light alternate aspects of the architecture ensembles we came to explore. As physically experienced actual locations and contexts, the housing estates, and their partial appropriation by their inhabitants as well as the inhabitants' opinions, changed our opinions and presumptions on the matter. The journeys brought about an understanding of the spatial, social, and political dimension of the urban layout in its historical and actual dimensions. During the drives, we also passed by chance the shantytowns Ben M'sik and Carrières Centrales, which exist at the same size as is indicated on maps from the 1950s. We could witness how they still functioned as informal grounds for the local population working today in the old factories and the harbor as well as in global enterprises like Holcim's concrete factories or IKEA, which has production branches in Casablanca.

[58] Lucius Burckhardt, *Wer plant die Planung?* [Who Plans Planning?] (Berlin: Martin Schmitz Verlag, 2004); and *Warum ist Landschaft schön? Die Spaziergangswissenschaft* [Why is a landscape beautiful? On Strollolgy] (Berlin: Martin Schmitz Verlag, 2006).

Strolling as a form of exploring the Hay Mohammadi neighborhood over a period of four years, including revisiting buildings and districts and also finding new architecture ensembles not registered in the history of architecture, helped to understand in new ways the colonial and postcolonial planning schemes that we had previously only read about. Becoming aware of the usage of existing building structures, as well as their alterations and add-ons, was another important element for understanding the sociopolitical conditions. We spoke with families living in the housing complexes of architects George Candilis, Vladimir Bodiansky, and Shadrach Woods that our project began with, as well as those by the Swiss architects Jean Hentsch and André Studer built in the early 1950s. Through being physically on site along with conversations with inhabitants and our colleagues from Casamémoire, our comprehension of the sites began to shift.

Most of my own photographs depicted the usage of the architecture ensembles and their surrounding public spaces as well as their gardens, balconies, and/or roof extensions. Peter Spillmann, a founding member of the collective Labor k3000 since the late 1990s, and I recorded most of the material on video. The media Peter Spillman and I generated were never referred to as "artistic projects"; this is notable because not only are we two trained visual artists, but similar strategies are oftentimes used for artistic ends.[59] In our case, the visual production started as a form of study and note-taking. But as we came to understand more about the neighborhoods and their representation in architectural discourse, the body of photos and videos became, in addition to their documentary function, an important trigger to challenging the existing visual canon. Initially, the aim of the photos and videos was to create visibility of the outskirts—as a visual fact, proof, reminder, and contextualization. Secondly, with the photographs I wanted to shift the historical building projects' representation away from their existing visual culture into a contemporary reading of their actual status. This other perspective also included the contemporary usage of the buildings and their surrounding public spaces. Notably, the official city map of Casablanca does not include the outskirts. Everything beyond the highway is left off, and thus not registered publicly and as such rendered inaccessible to both local and external groups. The existing layout of the Casablanca city map reproduces the concept of the colonial core city and stops at the *autobahn* belt; everything beyond this is blank. Moreover, architectural historians typically refer to historical

[59] In this respect, it is interesting to note that the Paris-based artist Yto Barrada in 2013 shot similar photos from the Cité Verticale five years after I did, in 2007–08. These images are dealt with as artworks and are sold by her gallery.

photographs when reflecting on the modernist ensembles in Casablanca. These historical images mainly show architecture without any dwellers, photographed right after the moment of their erection as untouched monumental statements. The buildings are often shown as singular architectural projects, authorized by a well-known figure of architecture history (as, for example, in the case of Candilis), and thus become idealized as modernist architectural treasures due to their photographic representations. Other photographs circulating in architecture history originate from the French colonial archives and have a clear ideological function.

A well-known photograph published in Monique Eleb's article in the 2000 volume *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Post-war Architectural Culture* circulates still today as a major reference for the Casablanca settlements. It shows the exemplary building of the Cité Verticale with a donkey, his rider, and rocks in front of the famous high-rise building designed by the young Candilis, Bodiansky, and Woods. The building is shown just after completion in the year 1952. The photograph attempts to promote the building and to depict the locality in which it was built by placing an animal with a rider in non-European clothing, sand, and some stones in the foreground, with the newly built modernist structure in the background. Local animals, people in traditional clothing, and a rugged terrain are central signifiers of the photographic tradition of modernist architecture in non-European contexts. This imagery became dominant in the 1950s and '60s when several new towns were built all over the world. It appears in representations of modernist projects realized in Israel, Iraq, and India, as well as in the famous photo series by Ernst Scheidegger of Chandigarh, India.[60] At the level of form and content, European cameras in their depiction of modernist architecture showed contrast by placing a donkey, cow, or camel in front of bright shiny facades. Sometimes the animals stand alone. Sometimes they form a group with a farmer, kids, veiled women, nomads, palm trees, or cactuses. In some of the photographs, the local population is seen only from behind. They seem subjected to the modern future, without playing an active role in it. This orientalist repertoire also links back to European painting traditions, whereby the formal language of landscape painting of foreign locations was kept intact while small signifiers of difference were pasted into the Western visual canon to mark the non-Europeanness of the locality. This orientalist tradition appears to have been maintained

[60] The photographs by Ernst Scheidegger were recently republished in: Stanislaus von Moos, ed., *Chandigarh 1956. Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Jane B. Drew, E. Maxwell Fry* (Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2010).

in modernist photographs. Moreover, the colonial modern aesthetics add a new layer of meaning to the rural animal or local inhabitant. They become a symbol for the premodern, the not-yet-modern, and the ones who have to become modern. Animals, rugged territory, and local inhabitants become signifiers of the past while white walls, an asphalt street, or a car stand in for that which is to come: the future. The past is what the modern project wants to radically overcome by means of industrialization and modernization. Thus, the juxtaposition of the not-yet-modern and the latest modernist project in this photograph of the Casablanca settlements does not just mark the premodern state from that which the modernist project wants to distinguish itself from, but also from the very field of its intervention. The past needs to be transformed by modern means of fast and prefabricated buildings, industrial production, mass consumption, and new living environments and lifestyles. Thus, the photographic representation of the modernist housing estate can be understood as a metaphor of modernism itself, with which it created a colonial modern conception of a "hinterland" that would need to be developed by the rationale of European engineers and urban planners.[61] What the picture clearly leaves out is the context in which this building was situated: the *bidonville* on the one side, and the Cité Horizontale, the low-rise structure next to it, on the other.

Through our walks, drives, and on-site photographic and video notations, the dominant narrative was countered, a narrative that had been in part unconsciously reproduced in architectural discourse and historiography when focusing only on the exceptional high-rises and cutting out the larger planning schemes and their spatial, social, and political context. In opposition to the existing propagandistic representation, my and Peter Spillmann's visual production during our regular visits to the city and the sites created an alternative viewpoint. Our strolls brought about relations and connections as well as divided and entangled histories of the districts and housing projects. The videos and photos created as notations and reminders of the tours became, when reviewing and editing them, major thinking tools to critically reflect upon former assumptions.

[61] This relation between modernist housing estates as exemplary projects and their depiction in photography is also the issue of my article "The Colonial Modern: Of Pylons, Airplanes and Donkeys," in *The Human Snapshot*, ed. Thomas Keenan and Tirdad Zolghadr (Meilen, Switzerland: Luma Foundation, 2013), 71–87.

In the frame of the larger project, photos and videos started to become crucial, as they intervened in the visual culture of the colonial archive. To add other images or to alter the existing canon furthermore became an important aspect for the production of the exhibitions later on. Additionally, this form of production clearly expressed a polyphonic and multiactor perspective, providing different historical and contemporary viewpoints on the same matter. Through our video and photographic series, inhabitants were addressed as what they are—people equipped with knowledge about the sites, as lived experience. This knowledge became highly important alongside the conversations with the local architects from Casamémoire and the architecture historians writing about the settlements. The videos of conversations with inhabitants and architects were shown in the exhibitions in Berlin and Casablanca side by side. Beyond their counter-representational character, the recordings—produced with inhabitants when they were guiding us through their daily environments—lend insight into the social composition and colonial and anticolonial histories of the sites that have not appeared in scholarly writing.

Another important aspect of our trips was, as mentioned before, the physical experience on site. When visiting the settlements built by George Candilis and Shadrach Woods and by the Swiss team Jean Hentsch and André Studer, I encountered difficulties due to the fact that one can hardly find the buildings or the neighborhoods anymore. This is partly because the inhabitants have appropriated the buildings to a nearly unrecognizable extent. For example, Candilis and Woods' buildings, formerly whitewashed or Le Corbusier-colored, have been repainted in light yellow and bonbon rose, and the characteristic balconies of the Cité Verticale—mentioned in many international architecture and design magazines—had been enclosed to create extra rooms, while on some of the flat roofs, people have improvised terraces. New doors have been introduced to the ground floor of the Cité Verticale, as have little front gardens with shade trees and flowers.[62] In one of the ground-floor apartments, a carpenter custom built modern kitchen furniture, while the interior plaster ornaments of another were sold. One of the young inhabitants living in the Sidi Othman apartment building designed by Hentsch and Studer responded enthusiastically when talking about how interiors and rooftops have been so thoroughly appropriated, by emphasizing that they were understanding

[62] See: Marion von Osten, "Colonial Modern Worlds," in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog, 2010), 19–37.

themselves as engineers and architects, too, when creating add-ons to the existing infrastructure. This articulation has two dimensions: on the one hand, it is true that the families redesigned the apartments and built constructions on the rooftop. These annotations, in the way of bricolage or a housing patchwork, have been executed by inhabitants in the frame of the existing modernist infrastructure without any external building experts. On the other hand, the extensions were possible only through investment by the inhabitants, allowing the house or apartment to change or grow. Thus, these extensions and adaptations are also expressions of an investment, a certain economic and social position. In a European context, they would be read as improvisations, but on site, they are seen as a sign of social mobility.

The disorientation experienced by first-time visitors to the sites can be attributed to the new additions and improvements by inhabitants of the high-rise settlements. This was another important aspect best understood through our practice of strolling; that is, when walking and driving through the neighborhood, the disorientation emerged to a much greater degree in relation to the urban fabric surrounding the high-rise buildings we came to visit, which is what remains of Écochard's industrialized housing plan. His so-called carpet settlement provided the basis for add-ons but also what was to become the major urban fabric of the Casablanca of today. What was striking about the experience of driving through large parts of the city was that it became apparent that they were designed according to Écochard's patio house grid, what he had called the Cité Horizontale. And it is this grid planning scheme that has been changed by inhabitants to such a degree that its original base structure has become unrecognizable.

This understanding of Casablanca's contemporary layout was an important step forward to thinking of city planning as not only a governing tool from above but also a tool of self-articulation of the citizens themselves. From Moroccan independence up until the early 1980s, the urban planning offices of the Kingdom of Morocco continued to build upon this model of the patio grid. Thus the postcolonial powers adapted Écochard's plans to house the proletarian class, which had not experienced any fundamental improvement in social status after the French protectorate left the country in 1956. The trajectories of colonial modernity can still be traced in the politics of space of today, but Casablanca's space has likewise been shaped by its dwellers in ways different than intended. I found the prevalence of the patio grid in Casablanca to be astonishing, as this

structure ultimately and unexpectedly provided much more viable foundations for making a city than the high-rises built by Candilis and Woods and Hentsch and Studer, which we had come to see.

Still, as Tom Avermaete, Monique Eleb, and Jean Louis Cohen have outlined in their publications, from the late 1940s to the mid '50s, Écochard established this patio housing grid as the main planning instrument for new urban neighborhoods of the French protectorate intended to "house the greatest number" of colonized factory workers. This instrument was meant to replace Casablanca's shantytowns. The cleaning and closure of the shantytowns was a pacification strategy, as uprisings were predicted. The benefit of clearing the bidonvilles was also argued using the existing discourses of hygiene and sanitization.[63] Écochard's housing grid for Muslims was dimensioned according to a courtyard dwelling typology, believed to be the appropriate *habitat adapté* (adaptable dwelling) for the future inhabitants—colonized factory workers and former bidonville residents. The Écochard Grid measured eight by eight meters and consisted of two rooms and a large outdoor space, related to his ideas of the Arabic patio.[64] Part of the sixty-four square meters was organized as a so-called neighborhood unit, resulting in a ground-level structure of patio dwellings, alleys, and public squares. The patio grid is a key example of transcultural modernism that was specifically developed in the European colonies. While Écochard attempted to study the Arabic house and its function for his Casablanca low-rise scheme, he likewise adapted the grid structure and neighborhood unit concepts of the contemporary American urban planners Clarence Stein and Clarence Perry.[65] As one can learn from Écochard's writings, he also discovered the discourses, knowledge, and practices of the new building movement and serial production of houses through the "minimum dwelling" debate held in Germany in the 1920s.[66] Travels, studies, and designs he conducted in Beirut before coming to Casablanca are also articulated in his

[63] The bidonvilles as a site of survival are still in danger through an initiative that was called Villes sans Bidonvilles and conducted in 2014. The process of demolition and eviction was visible at Ben M'sik when we were visiting the Sidi Othman complex. See: Ministry of Housing and City Policy of Morocco's website, accessed 05.02.2018, http://www.mhpv.gov.ma/?page_id=956.

[64] This presents a misconception, as Morocco is not an Arab country, as it was never fully occupied by the Ottoman Empire. The Berber and Tuareg cultures have been central and formative to the country. Even though today Arabic is the official spoken language, Berber is still spoken and has for a few years been accepted as another official language.

[65] His references were, for example: Clarence Perry, "The Neighbourhood Unit" (1929), in *Neighbourhood and Community Planning*, Regional Survey of New York and its Environs, Volume 7, Monograph 1 (New York, Arno press, 1974), 21–140.

[66] "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" was a debate held at the 1929 International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM), which discussed the minimum habitable dwelling and gave international attention to Ernst May's ambitious social housing program in Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

horizontal planning schemes. Thus Écochard's patio house planning grid is a mixture of many sources and the condensation of a colonial relation that the French constituted in the Mediterranean region, the Middle East, and North Africa.

It was striking to find on site that the Écochard Grid has played such a significant role in forming the urban fabric of Casablanca, but also to see how its disciplinary and highly segregating character has by now almost disappeared from the buildings that employ it. This shift did not emerge through any process of democratization on the part of the government, but rather through various means of appropriation performed by the inhabitants, as we learned from our local experts. Perhaps most remarkable is how the single-story mass-constructed modernist patio houses, intended to facilitate the control of colonized workers in Morocco, have been altered so significantly that one can no longer distinguish the original base structure. The builders simply used the French planners' original design as a foundation upon which to construct three or four floors of apartment homes. This is by no means an isolated example: one finds that nearly all of the buildings in the outskirts have been appropriated in a similar way.
When reflecting on these serially produced settlements and their application as basic infrastructure, one finds that in spite of the problematic intention behind them, they still prove useful for people. It thus became clear to me that they needed to be much more extensively studied.[67] This led me to engage with a different approach to architecture as urban planning, which was to begin with a reflection upon how the existing needs of inhabitants have been expressed in the appropriation of these infrastructures, providing insight into the possibility of improving the existing ways of living. The inhabitants' many ways of appropriating space and architecture made me think in a different way, not from the perspective of governance power but rather from that of self-organization. This led to the assumptions that neither the colonial nor the postcolonial government ever managed to assume complete power over the population, and that the level of craftsmanship within the population remains very high still today. This is also true for the hut settlements. In the bidonvilles, informal housing becomes small-scale but ever-growing houses, which are no longer made of tin but rather brick and feature modern conveniences such as electricity.

[67] See also: Tom Avermaete, "Framing the Afropolis: Michel Écochard and the African City for the Greatest Number," in "L'Afrique, c'est chic. Architecture and Planning in Africa 1950–1970," *OASE* 82 (October 2010): 77–89, https://oasejournal.nl/en/Issues/82/FramingTheAfropolis.

In one of our recorded conversations with the architect and researcher Horia Serhane, she states that people in the hut settlements learned about building practices in the inner-city quarter of the Old Medina, which already had a multiethnic town structure before France occupied the country.[68] The self-built settlements of the shantytowns were, from the 1930s onward, the locus of the first encounters and negotiations with the modern city for a number of people moving to the city from rural areas. The concept of the medina house is that of a "growing house": a house that is built and added on to according to the needs and developments of a family or community. This building culture is centered not on the architect but on the builder, who plans and organizes the house together with the family who will be living in it. Thus, newcomers to the self-built hut settlements of the bidonvilles applied the strategy of building a growing house, and this is still the case today, according to Serhane. Those huts that are not destroyed by bulldozers or owned by slumlords might—and often do—grow into brick homes over time, and eventually into stable city neighborhoods. It is this building culture that was applied to the modernist architecture and is seen in the expansion of rooms and extensions on rooftops. These add-ons as an organic process of expansion have also been implemented in the concept of the patio grid, as the patio itself was thought of by Écochard as a component of adaptability. Thus, the modernist planners had already integrated the future to come. Still, Écochard's small house design was based on the idea of a nuclear family that was not at all typical of the families who moved into the patio houses. The houses thus became, in a short period, too small for most families and their needs, and they grew their homes on top of the base structure accordingly. Still, the basic infrastructure provided by the patio grid made possible an urbanization process that created connections between parts of the city that were formerly segregated.

Implemented in Casablanca until 1984, the Écochard Grid is still the most prevalent planning structure within the city's suburbs. Only after the exhibition in Berlin and Casablanca did I become aware of the grid's implementation in other cities in North Africa and the Middle

[68] Two of the conversations became short videos shown in the exhibition. The interview with Horia Serhane, architect and member of Casamémoire, "On Clandestine Housing," discusses clandestine architecture and evolutionary building in Morocco, also related to the World Bank program "City without bidonvilles," which aimed to remove all shantytowns in Morocco by 2010. Another conversation with Abderrahim Kassou, architect and board member of Casamémoire, was held on the significance of modern architecture in Morocco as well as relating the colonial planning schemes to the role of architecture in Casablanca after independence. These discussions also led to questions on architecture training in the past and present, as many architects in Africa have their education in faculties of the former Soviet Union since Europe's borders are closing or high fees have to be paid for university programs.

East; I was able to identify it in Cairo, Egypt, and Beersheba, Israel.[69] In the frame of the research project *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernisms*, I started to study the application of the Écochard Grid in the so-called development cities in the Negev desert.[70] The Écochard Grid took me from one place to another, as colleagues pointed out to me different examples that I then started visiting. In the case of Israel, I became a kind of ambassador for the Casablanca cases.

In Beersheba, I witnessed how the layout of the Carpet Settlement, built in 1959, resembles Écochard's in Casablanca. The city's Model Neighborhood, as it is called, consists partly of a modernist patio house grid, which is the section referred to as the Carpet (Hashatia) Settlement. The Model Neighborhood was the first attempt to create an alternative to the standard public housing projects in Israel in the late 1950s. A group of young architects (Avraham Yaski, Amnon Alexandrni , Nahum Zolotov, Daniel Havkin, Ram Carmi, and Theodor Kissilov) was commissioned to find new local solutions for a settlement with three thousand residential units for satellite cities in the Negev desert.[71] Yaski specified that his objective in building this settlement was to create an appropriate solution for a neighborhood in a desert climate. His wish was to develop structural solutions that would facilitate maintenance by the newly arriving immigrant population and materialize the concept of a cluster as a clear-cut physical and social element in the urban fabric.[72] Beersheba emerged within the context of this comprehensive urbanizing program to such "development towns" in the Negev desert in the late 1950s and early '60s.[73] In the early phase, these towns were inhabited mainly by Jews of African descent as well as migrants from countries like Morocco,

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[69] This was possible due to invitations to do two projects in 2011, one at Townhouse Gallery in Cairo and another at the Bauhaus Center in Tel Aviv. During my first trip to Israel, the Tel Aviv–based architect Zvi Efrat introduced me to the Carpet Settlement in Beersheba, which later became a case study in the research project *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernism*, which I was guiding at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. The project was funded by the Vienna Science and Technology Fund (WWTF) and developed in collaboration with my colleagues Christian Kravagna and Jakob Krameritsch from the Institute for Art Theory and Cultural Studies together with a group of PhD candidates (Fahim Amit, Eva Egermann, Moira Hille, and Christina Linortner). Lead by Labor k3000 in Zurich and Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture in Berlin, the project furthermore generated a new form of online platform for its research collaborations. See: http://transculturalmodernism.org/.

[70] I began this study with my contribution to the book *Transcultural Modernism* (2013), edited by Model House Research Group, in which I published the article "Patios, Carpets No Pavillion, Model Housing in Morocco and Israel Casablanca to Be'er Sheva."

[71] Noam Dvir, "Magic carpet," *Haaretz*, April 23, 2009, https://www.haaretz.com/1.5041947.

[72] Anna Minta, *Israel Bauen, Architektur, Städtebau und Denkmalpolitik nach der Staatsgründung 1948* [Building Israel, Architecture, Urbanism and Heritage politics after the founding of the State1948] (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004), 248–53.

[73] Avraham Yaski, foreword to *Occupants' reactions on the planning of apartment and neighbourhood in the Experimental Housing Project in Be'er Sheva*, by A. Hirsch and R. Sharshevski (Beersheba: Ministry of Housing, Unit of Social and Economic Research, 1968), 1–5.

Tunisia, and Algeria, who had also begun settling in Israel. Thus, the patio house grid—a modernist architectural and urban expansion model from North Africa that had been planned under colonial rule for colonized subjects in Morocco—made its way to the new state of Israel at the end of the British occupation of Palestine, after Morocco's independence.[74] The geopolitical condition, disasters, displacements, and forced mobility of World War II, the politics of the colonial empires, and the movements for independence from colonial powers had pushed people out of their localities and required a new architectural language, one of large-scale urban planning. Against this background, one can understand the Écochard Grid as a base model structure that was established from a universal industrialized language for rapidly built workers' homes and large territorial expansions and that was applied in diverse New Town plans around the Mediterranean.

Even though our travels began with the purpose of seeing the Cité Verticale by Candilis and Woods, they ended by acknowledging that the Cité Horizontale—a patio house grid designed by Écochard around the high-rises of the Cité Verticale housing ensemble—was a much more important architectural proposal for the city than the high-rises were. As this low-rise structure is still underestimated as an architectural project, the physical experience when visiting it brought about the most interesting insights and discussions for our group, as well as in the making of the exhibition in Berlin. Later, a symposium in Cairo and an invitation to Israel made me understand the patio grid and its territorial expansion as a model infrastructure applied in diverse contexts for fast expansion by Western architects in non-Western countries.[75]

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[74] In current discourses surrounding the Carpet Settlement of Beersheba, vernacular Palestinian and Arabian architecture and the housing development Interbau in Berlin (1957) have been argued as having had an impact on its general planning discourse, though the roots of the modernist patio house of the Carpet Settlement cannot be traced back to the Hansaviertel district in Berlin. The "old" city center of Beersheba, popularly cited as the reference for the Carpet Settlement's patio structure, is an almost paradigmatic site of transcultural and colonial modernity and its misrecognitions. Before Beersheba became a laboratory of modern Israeli city planning, its "historical" center was planned and constructed as a patio grid structure by civil engineers from the German imperial crown at the beginning of the twentieth century, by order of the Ottoman Empire. Here, German architects translated the spatial order of an imaginary medina to a grid, which is known today in Israel as the Arabic Kasbah. Ottoman and German troops used the ensemble, while it was still under construction, during World War I as a military base. See: Hadas Shadar, "Vernacular values in public housing," *Architectural Research Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (June 2004): 171–81; and Robert Oxman, Hadas Shadar, and Ehud Belferman, "Casbah: a brief history of a design concept," *Architectural Research Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (December 2002): 321–36.

[75] These discussions, generated by our project and exhibited at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in 2008 and Cultural Center in Casablanca in 2009, became important for other researchers on this matter. For example, see: Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, eds., *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (London: Routledge, 2010); Tom Avermaete and Maristella Casciato, eds., *Casablanca Chandigarh: A Report on Modernization* (Montreal: Park Books, 2014);

In the case of the other architecture ensemble that became of interest to us during our travels—the Sidi Othman settlement built by Hentsch and Studer—it was striking that all its inhabitants were well informed about the buildings' recognized status, knew the architects' names and proposals, and were proud to live there. Likewise, they took pains to distinguish their neighborhood from the second largest bidonville, the Ben M'sik. Most of the inhabitants had lived in the Sidi Othman settlement since the buildings were erected or were even born there. Several people, young and old, spoke also of having family members in Europe or the United States who would return to Morocco in the summer. Some of these relatives, we were told, lived in the *banlieues* around Paris that were built just a few years after the high-rise buildings in Morocco.

We knew that the buildings in Casablanca were built in the early 1950s to address the influx of people from rural regions, like the Atlas Mountains, who started to move into the city, where they worked in domestic and care services, in the French phosphate factories, at the harbor, and so on. We also knew that the layout of the urban plan was divided into low-rise and high-rise structures. We moreover knew that the low-rise patio structure should have emptied the existing shantytowns, but the plan never succeeded. From the official representations of the buildings in architecture archives in France and Switzerland, it had been hard to immediately understand the specific governmental strategies behind the planning schemes. These strategies further relate to the contemporary social compositions of the buildings, as both the Cité Verticale and the Sidi Othman were conceived as high-rise buildings but still used the patio grid, albeit stacked vertically.

A hint of the buildings' original and still present hierarchical character can be found in another famous historical photo: an aerial view of the Carrières Centrales, published in articles and books in the 1950s as well as in recent publications by Tom Avermaete and Jean Louis Cohen. The right side of the photo, which was taken from an airplane, depicts many small structures—the site where Moroccan people lived in the large shantytown of Carrières Centrales. The picture also shows the newly built housing estates of the Cité Horizontale and Cité Verticale, which appear as a bright white abstract grid structure, perfectly expressing the promise of a modern future. The aerial view—the preferred

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and Cristiana Strava, "Adaptations of Vernacular Modernism in Casablanca," *Polis* (blog), July 2012, http://www.thepolisblog.org/2012/07/adaptations-of-vernacular-modernism.html.

perspective of urban planners since WWII—was the product of a military technology used in a civilian application for land surveying.[76] The Carrières Centrales photograph is an expression of the existing power relations and a signifier of the distance and observation that characterizes the perspective of utilitarian city planning. The symbolic function of the image and the high-rise and low-rise model buildings shape a pattern for new forms of life aimed at creating the "new modern man." But our team only came to understand what else was embedded in the photograph and the abstract structures due to having been on the ground; even though our presence was not on an equal level as the inhabitants' and even though we were from middle-class backgrounds, the solidarity with the inhabitants and the acknowledgment of their expertise made it possible to understand the hierarchical organization that the architecture ensemble had put in place. It was particularly striking that the Cité Horizontale and the Cité Verticale seemed to function still today as a class divider. As a consequence, families living in the high-rise versus those in the low-rise had strong opinions about each other. Additionally, the inhabitants of the high-rise building held low opinions about those who lived in the bidonville and its surroundings, as a way to distinguish themselves from those living in improvised housing. However, the bidonville residents also saw their families as being better off than the people living in the former low-rise structures, even though they remained dependent on the income of one or two relatives working abroad in order to improve and to appropriate their homes.

What was still being articulated in the distinctions the inhabitants made between themselves is that the high-rise Cité Verticale was built for the colonial group the French powers called the *évolué*—the segment of the colonized population who worked in the colonial administration. The high-rise not only was built for the colonized that would become modernized, but also was a distinctive symbol for this "evolution" under French colonial rule. At the same time, the Cité Horizontale was meant as a stepping stone for the shantytown proletariat to become modern in a "horizontal" way.[77] Thus the tension

[76] In *La Decouverte Aerienne du Monde* [The Aerial Discovery of the World] (Paris: Horizon de France, 1948), the French sociologist Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe, known as an important thinker of French postwar urbanism, posits the methodology for "extracting" geospatial information from aerial photographs. Since WWII, aerial photography has also been "scientifically" used as a tool for urban intervention, new town planning, and military cartography.

[77] The *évolués* were treated as a privileged group by the French colonial administrators. In their understanding, the *évolués* spoke French, followed European laws, usually held white-collar jobs (although rarely higher than clerks), and lived primarily in the cities of the colony. See also: Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a*

between the high-rise metaphor of becoming modern—imposing and upward—in opposition to the low-rise structure built near the hut settlements is still palpable today, not just because the structures are spatially perceivable but because their social function continues to operate as intended by the designers to separate the population into workers and clerks. The difference between the material and social space, the hierarchical organization and segregation, and the political and cultural interpretation of the buildings by people living in them began to unfold as we continued to track them with different means and methods, such as the video recordings, photographs, conversations, and drives. The ghosts of the colonial past were still speaking through the altered, extended, annotated, and renovated architectural projects. Though strolling and talking, we were able to understand the invisible set of social and economic relationships that tends to retranslate into physical space as its structures manifest in the form of spatial oppositions. According to Pierre Bourdieu, inhabited, appropriated space often functions as a sort of spontaneous metaphor of social space. At the Carrières Centrales, this was observed in on-site conversations as well as in the economic conditions under which the migration of family members and their remittances from abroad are a trigger for investing in the education of children, small businesses, and renovations to the buildings and individual apartments. Thus, the hierarchical organization of suburb versus city center, as well as how the former colonial layout has been partially overwritten by the postindependence government, is only one side of the coin in understanding the social hierarchies expressed at the settlements. Migratory existence between North Africa and Europe, Canada, and the U.S. is another important factor in the creation of the spaces and practices I experienced.[78] The specific relation between contemporary migration and the modernist housing estates was only understood through the conversations with the apartment owners. The feedback of income gained in Europe or North America was being expressed in the building annotations that had caught my interest before, but I had not fully understood them. It was only through the process of immersion that the relation between migration and housing projects was able to unfold. Visits and conversations brought to light what we were not able to see.[79] It is significant that the EU border regime

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Bourgeois World, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 85–92.

[78] The No Border activist network, active in Morocco and the above-listed regions, helped us to understand the contemporary condition.

[79] Pierre Bourdieu, "Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus" (lecture, Department of Sociology, University of Oslo, May 15, 1995), *University of Illinois Archives*, accessed December 20, 2017, https://archives.library.illinois.edu/erec/University%20Archives/2401001/Production_website/pages/StewardingExcellence/Physical%20Space,%20Social%20Space%20and%20Habitus.pdf.

that privileged us to travel freely to the sites hindered Moroccans to do such in a similar way. Thus the EU border regime was also co-producing the study as well as the spaces we visited, as it was implicitly inscribed in the practices of add-ons and apartment annotations as investments.

Moreover, what we started to understand from the site visits, conversations, and records of the actual uses of the colonial modern "heritage" was how it enacted manifold adaptations to circumstance after independence, certainly to regulate people but also to provide a basis for the self-expression of those whom it had sought to govern and to establish a genealogy of building practice that questions the hierarchies between dweller and architect. Though the housing programs did take certain specific local conditions into account, these conditions turned out to be much more complex in the moment of anticolonial uprising and the strengthening of the independence movement than previously accounted for.

Finally, in relation to these site-specific insights and further investigations, my and Serhat Karakayali's conversations with local activists brought about another turn in the understanding of the political meaning of the site. Here we were informed that in 1952, at the time the Candilis and Woods buildings and the Écochard Grid structures were erected, a general strike and several protest demonstrations—mainly organized by anticolonial activists from the Carrières Centrales—were violently suppressed by the French administration close to the sites of the Cité Horizontale and Cité Verticale. In the public memory, the neighborhood stands still today for the pride of the first spark of the resistance against French colonialism. It is known among Casablanca's citizens that the inhabitants of the Carrières Centrales played a determining role in the fight for independence. Since then, the neighborhood, organized under the prefecture of Aïn Sebaâ-Hay Mohammadi, has retained its penchant for radical politics.[80] With the help of Jim House, a colleague of antiracist activists in Paris who was engaged in memory work on the 1960s bidonvilles in France, we were able to find evidence of the military violence against the general strike starting from Carrières Centrales and the construction sites in a historical document that we failed to find in the archives in Morocco. This document, a

[80] Since our time in Casablanca, I have followed events on the Carrières Centrales, and it was similarly important in the short Arab Spring manifestations in Morocco. After these events, a discussion arose about whether the government and king would have it demolished, and plans to replace it with a park went through. Thus people living there will be evicted and the site will transform radically.

magazine called *Marrakech in Pictures* published in 1953 by the Delegation of the Independence and Consultation Party in the East and Committee for the Independence of Morocco, reported how one thousand French troops, including Senegalese and other colonial soldiers, were brought into Casablanca for the "protection" of the city that year. Alongside the large military presence, including tanks and machine guns, the local police carried out their role of repressing and terrorizing the emerging independence movement. On the morning of December 16, 1952, five hundred houses were searched in a police raid on the Carrières Centrales, during which many people were killed.[81] Construction of the new housing development actually continued in the midst of all this military action—the use of tanks and heavily armed troops, arrests and killings.[82] The construction of the Cité Verticale and Cité Horizontale was thus paralleled by demonstrations and violent protest acts, as well as by the ubiquitous presence of the military, arrests throughout the city, and evictions and clearances of entire bidonvilles.

This knowledge about the history of the anticolonial uprising with the first general strike held at the building sites near the Cité Verticale was a turning point for the research perspective and also was foundational to the development of the exhibition concept. It became clear through the conversations, the transnational research network, and its collective findings that the governmental policies where used to create a class of collaborators or assimilators who would live in the high-rises in a modern environment. Placing people from rural backgrounds and the factory proletariat in the too-small low-rise structure next to it (and studying their living patterns) was a symbol of colonial governance itself and called for action from the people still living in the bidonvilles. The general strike can, on the one hand, be read as a protest against exploitation in the phosphate factory and the urban apartheid and underclass creation driven by the colonial regime. On the other hand, it can be understood as a strike against the factory of subjectivity, for which the modernist housing projects stand as a symbol.[83] The stark

[81] This is documented in the special issue of the magazine *Marrakech in Pictures*, "In the Interests of Full Independence: Struggle, Perseverance and Sacrifice." It was available as a bad black and white copy only; still, I decided to reproduce it and to show it in the exhibition in Berlin and Casablanca as well as to republish it in the book. Originally *Marrakech in Pictures* was published in 1953 by the Delegation of the Independence and Consultation Party in the East, Committee for the Independence of Morocco.
[82] See: Georges Candilis, *Bauen ist Leben: Ein Architekten-Report* [Building is Life: An Architecture Report] (Stuttgart: Krämer, 1978).
[83] For discussion on the making of the modern man and modernist ideals in design, see: Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the "New Man": From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities (Perspectives on the Global Past)* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); and Beatriz Colomina and Mark Wigley, *Are We Human?: The Archeology of Design* (Zurich: Lars Muller Publishers, 2016).

opposition between the hut settlements of the Carrières Centrales, their poverty and misery, and the whitewashed architecture of the low- and high-rises next to them meant that for the colonized, any promise of a different future was only possible by subordinating oneself to the powers of the colonizer as an underpaid worker or by becoming a collaborator of the regime. Though it must have been virtually impossible not to recognize the general strike by the local population and the violent acts of the French troops, the architects' optimism seems to have been undisturbed by the conditions surrounding their work. The resistance against the aesthetic, subjective, and governmental regime became a leading concern for our group's thinking. Our conclusion was that, even if the French powers had created an "urban laboratory" in Casablanca, it did not function as such. The Cité Verticale and Cité Horizontale did not become the model of succeeding powers, but rather quite the opposite: a place of struggle, striking, and military violence. Remembered by the people living in the neighborhood as the catalyst for the successful anticolonial struggle after WWII, and, with it, the end of colonial occupation and the independence of Morocco in 1956.

Some years later in Casablanca, these inquiries I have thus far described were able to unfold their meaning. The site-specificity and situatedness of the research was becoming relevant when, in 2009, after the exhibition in Berlin had been finalized, I attended the opening ceremony of the cultural center Les Abattoirs de Casablanca together with Peter Spillmann. Behind the tracks and situated not far from the phosphate factory at the center of the 1952 strike, this emptied former slaughterhouse had become a new urban venue visited equally by young and elderly people from all social groups. The cultural center was co-initiated by our colleagues from Casamémoire. The policy of free entry at the center also drew the quarter's youth to participate in and shape the music and event programs. Les Abattoirs is situated in a working-class district, the Hay Mohammadi, located very close to the Carrières Centrales.

From that moment on, I, in association with Laure Augereau and Abderrahim Kassou of Casamémoire, worked on bringing the Berlin exhibition to Casablanca, where it took its final shape. We managed to overcome the uncertain predicament and long negotiations of moving the exhibition project, related to the fact that the Haus der Kulturen der Welt owned the exhibition, as it was produced with them in Berlin.

Finally, we and the commissioning institution reached an agreement to gift the exhibition to Casablanca and Casamémoire as a present, where it is still housed today.

In September of that same year, the exhibition opened at Les Abattoirs de Casablanca. As with our visits to the settlements, the relation and experience on site was one of its central aspects, which also changed our own perceptions of the visual narratives we had created. Our small team—Martin Boukhalfa, Heiko Hoos, Elsa de Seynes, Peter Spillmann, Anna Voswinckel, and myself—set up the exhibition in Casablanca together with on-site helpers and Tarik Bouali and Aadel Essaadani, the program and technical coordinators of the center; together, we formed what the local partner organization called the *équipe*. Some of the helpers were day laborers, others were permanently employed by the city administration but working as a mobile workforce, and still others supervised the cultural center as security guards. The temporary synchronization of all people in the everyday work of installing the exhibition opened up a space for encounters very different from the ones taken up as the exhibition's central theme. Moreover, since some of the quarter's residents had established a mosque in the old building near to the cultural center, a number of visitors from its congregation turned up while we were setting up the exhibition. When we began provisionally placing photos and documents in the exhibition space in the second week, older men came over and started explaining to the young people nearby what was going to be shown there, elucidating the incidents in the independence struggle and finding the document on the general strike and related events in 1952. In such moments, the historical documents related to the revolt at the Carrières Centrales were translated on site by the elderly neighbors, who made their importance within our project clear, as they provided evidence of the violence of the colonial regime in the neighborhood. The exhibited documents became the stimulus for intergenerational dialogue, with visitors arriving in a continuous stream before the exhibition opened. The photos I took of the sites and the videos we shot also depicted the houses and flats of local visitors, and thus became a site for recognition and exchange. During set up, local members of the building *équipe*, including all local workers, invited friends to the center and also initiated a photoshoot, which soon inspired all of us. One of these was a performative photoshoot series that mocked the photographic representation of European generals and architects standing around architectural plans laid out on tables. Workers photographed each other as if they had been part of the scene and shared the photos with their friends. The main organizers of these photoshoots were the security guards

Tarik Aalamou and Abdellah Hamed. This is important to note, as Hamed later not only came to keep an eye on the exhibition as a guard but also began to voluntarily guide visitors and friends through the exhibition, explaining and commenting on it. This appropriation of the exhibition overcame the paradox of the representative, readable, and optical side of visibility that each exhibition bears, which deals with the visual cultures of the colonial archive.[84] It opened up opportunity for a dialogue that was no longer one-dimensionally mediated by researchers to an audience. Instead, experts and bodies of knowledge quite different from that of architects, artists, exhibition organizers, and institutional representatives were creating this dialogue—namely, the residents of the Hay Mohammadi district.

With this chapter, I have referred to a mix of study and expertise that might in some cases not relate to study in an academic sense or to a methodology that belongs more or less to an existing discipline. By strolling through Casablanca, including all the social interactions from intended to non-intended conversations it entailed, we were generating insights in unexpected ways. It was a collective mode of knowledge production that takes into account informal encounters and physical experience as well as requires a period of time for thinking through what one has seen and sensed. A process like this has to acknowledge the presumptions one has, to be aware of the filters through which one looks, and to unlearn what one seemed to know.
By reviewing the making of the project, I co-learned that the hierarchy of academic versus knowledge of the everyday was already put into question in the making of the project and was not just a statement made later when announcing the project to the public. This horizontality does not sit easily with contemporary methodological requirements in the human and natural sciences. Formatting knowledge as today's neoliberal university requires has already found its contemporary critiques, which argue that useful knowledge can happen in interaction with the everyday, the non-academic,

[84] See: Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). According to Stoller, "the colonial archive is wood, to be read along or against the grain. The colonial archive is a river, flowing silently through rapids and eddies of interest, enthusiasm, anxiety, and concern. The colonial archive is a body with a pulse that races in response to colonial fantasies and fears. The colonial archive is a palimpsest, inscribed, scratched out, and scratched over. The colonial archive is a leaf of stationary with a watermark, an indelible structure that determines the very shape of empire yet is only visible when turned to the right angle and placed in the right light." Quoted in: Danilyn Rutherford, "Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense" (review), *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 14.

and the daily work of activism.[85] One of the certain side effects of project making outside of academia is that it is able to act freely in an experimental way. This observation is also expressed in the work of Stefano Harney and Fred Moten.[86] Especially interesting are Moten's comments on study that is not limited to, or contained in, the university, when he, in an interview with Stevphen Shukaitis, said that study could also be understood as a form of being, that is, as something that you do *with* other people instead of *about* them. Following Moten's idea, study can clearly involve "talking and walking around with other people, working, dancing, suffering, some irreducible convergence of all three, held under the name of speculative practice."[87]

To take Moten's idea further, the speculative practice that I initiated and was involved in is not easy to discuss under the art historical terms of "curating," the "postcuratorial," or "artistic-curatorial practice." The focus on the making instead of the end product emphasizes not only its long-durational character but also its collective study process. But collective knowledge is gained not just by the curators named on the invitation card or because one was part of a transdisciplinary team. Collective knowledge is based on physical encounters with people with and without academic or artistic backgrounds. It is based on people's empathy and willingness to share and their time spent with us, even if we might have forgotten to record their names, which in a critical revisitation like this puts one to shame. It is people whom we have not met before and who are not part of our core research group or our intellectual circles at home. This is, according to Moten, a

[85] A group of researchers and curators, including Irit Rogoff and Florian Schneider, articulated discontent with recent research practices as they have been instituted in universities, art schools, and academies after the Bologna Declaration of 1999. As a response, they started an informal group that argues openly against norms established for research practices in the neoliberal university. This group has voiced concerns over specific evaluation, formatting, and editing processes of contemporary research and knowledge production as they have been guided by the principles of the neoliberal university. Moreover, the group has formulated a shift from "episteme to practice" and claims that useful knowledge can happen in interaction with the everyday, the non-academic, the daily work of activism, and the cultural field and its practices. Some of these thoughts remind me of the important impact of British cultural studies on the work of artists, including myself, in the 1990s.

[86] Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study* (Wivenhoe, UK: Minor Compositions, 2013).

[87] In "Studying Through the Undercommons: Stefano Harney & Fred Moten – interviewed by Stevphen Shukaitis," Fred Moten goes on by saying that this can also include the "notion of a rehearsal—being in a kind of workshop, playing in a band, in a jam session, or old men sitting on a porch, or people working together in a factory—there are these various modes of activity. The point of calling it 'study' is to mark that the incessant and irreversible intellectuality of these activities was already there. These activities aren't ennobled by the fact that we now say, 'oh, if you did these things in a certain way, you could be said to be have been studying.' To do these things is to be involved in a kind of common intellectual practice. What's important is to recognize that that has been the case—because that recognition allows you to access a whole, varied, alternative history of thought." *Class War University*, November 12, 2012, https://classwaru.org/2012/11/12/studying-through-the-undercommons-stefano-harney-fred-moten-interviewed-by-stevphen-shukaitis/.

way of study. It is an open-ended, speculative, parainstitutional activity, a possible and contingent way of thinking through processes with others, and a dialogical principle that acknowledges the material, social, and political dimensions of space to create in an open way. On site, the time and space that one experiences together with others is a procedure that allows another body of knowledge and expertise to unfold. It is an expertise "from below" that creates a circuit of thinking in which a mixture of bodily experience, reading and recording, speaking and listening, theory and thinking becomes possible as a collective. This also includes the understanding of the ambivalence of one's own position of being in a mode of study. But our presence and the presence of all others involved in the project together were able to articulate a practice and critical intervention within the status quo of the perception and hegemonic reading of the architecture ensembles we were engaged with.

Our urban studies served as a tool of thought and action for us and for people living in the city and the concrete modernist estates. The means of production of architecture and urban planning are, on the one hand, means of control, domination, and power, and, on the other, sites of interaction, resistance, and creation that counter the given material and political conditions. With the project's open-ended study practice and our visual productions, I was aiming to make political tensions and social relations legible. But this was only revealed in the interactions, in the making of the project, when concerns are yet not represented to an audience in a sender-receiver model. It is in the making, when the knowledge gained has not yet become the knowledge of a few, and before the outcome of three people's study in Morocco, which is later exhibited elsewhere. By critically reflecting on the making, it becomes clear that it was the knowledge of the site—its physical and social context—that enabled my co-learning with others about the relation of colonial city planning, self-initiated building, and forms and histories of resistance.

Cité Verticale, Hay Mohammadi, Casablanca, 2007
Photo: Marion von Osten

Cité Verticale, Hay Mohammadi, Casablanca, 2007
Photo: Marion von Osten

Cité Horizontale, Adapted Patio House Grid, Hay Mohammadi, Casablanca, 2007
Photo: Marion von Osten

Carrières Centrales, Hay Mohammadi, Casablanca, 2007
Photo: Marion von Osten

Settlement El Hank Anfa, Casablanca, 2007.
Photo: Marion von Osten

Chapter 3

On Screen

As discussed in the previous chapters, the project *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* started with an interest in a modernist housing estate built in the 1950s in Morocco. The settlement was conceived of during a period when Swiss designers were involved in the French colonies as architects and city planners. The most prominent Swiss actor was Le Corbusier and his office branch ATBAT-Afrique, which was active in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia and for which the engineer Vladimir Bodiansky and the architects George Candilis and Shadrach Woods, among others, created design proposals in interdisciplinary teams to develop new urban schemes on a large scale. The colonial territory was addressed by this French planning initiative as an "urban laboratory."[88] The young architects had in fact already begun their careers in another such urban laboratory—the building site of the Unité d' Habitation in Marseille, as part of the French branch of the Atelier des bâtisseurs (ATBAT), by producing the construction drawings for the building.[89]

This work relation across the Mediterranean of a new postwar generation of modernist architects was my starting point for a series of parainstitutional investigations. Due to travels to and visits on site in Casablanca, this perspective was starting to become more complex and complicated than previously thought. The perspective of a top-down planning initiative had to be relativized, but the resistance against the colonial powers and military violence against anticolonial movements also needed to be addressed. The relation between planning, governance, and resistance had to be acknowledged. With this the research expanded and once more had to take other knowledges into account, in this case from the anticolonial movements in Morocco and the larger geopolitical context the urban plans were embedded in.

It had also become clear that the transit of architects working in the colonies and in France and Switzerland as well as the migration of the local population from the colonies created several resonances and feedback loops.[90] These resonances, as I discuss in the

[88] This topic is also reflected upon by Tom Avermaete in, for example, his article "Nomadic Experts and Travelling Perspectives: Colonial Modernity and the Epistemological Shift in Modern Architecture Culture," in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 130–51

[89] In 1993, Joshua Decter and Oliver Zahm curated *Project Unité, Firminy*, which opened up a discussion on the progressiveness of the canonical building. Artists, including Renee Green and Philipp Müller, were invited to create site-specific works.

[90] After the trips and discussion with Serhat Karakayali from the activist network Kanak Attak, the understanding of migration as a force that, on the one hand, called for new planning initiatives and, on the other, created overflows of people the plan did not account for, needed to be considered as an important

following two chapters, I found not only in archival documents and conversations with local experts but also in the study of self-articulations of popular culture of the time.[91]

My focus so far had been on two building sites that were part of the larger expansion plan of Casablanca. But by taking a more in-depth look at these sites, it became clear that they were integrated into an even larger context of French colonial and postcolonial building initiatives after World War II, in Morocco as well as other French colonies.[92] It also started to become clear that the Moroccan sites also had an impact on building initiatives in France under Charles de Gaulle. Importantly, this knowledge was not gained through my cross-readings on postwar urban planning or document studies found in archives. The question of resonance and feedback related to the building initiatives in Casablanca was mainly understood through the contemporary condition and self-articulation of people living in these postwar housing estates, as I will show in this chapter.

As mentioned earlier, my explorations began during a moment of right-wing propaganda and resistance struggles in the *banlieues* of Paris under Nicolas Sarkozy's presidency from 2007 to 12. It was through the work of the collective Labor k3000, co-founded by Peter Spillmann and me in the late 1990s, that a more critical reflection about this political context was able to take shape. The rising racist propaganda asked for another contextualization of postwar urbanism from a contemporary perspective that would acknowledge what modernist housing projects stand for today.

When filming the informal guided tours led by inhabitants of the Sidi Othman settlement in Casablanca, we were already starting to gain a different perspective from the one presented by architecture history on the Cité Verticale, Cité Horizontale, and Sidi Othman. Additionally, the guides' high level of identification with the buildings and the neighborhood, as well as their connection to relatives in Europe likewise living in

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factor of what we had seen on location. This was also the moment that Karakayali and myself began to closely collaborate on this matter.

[91] Building activities in the French colonies also had an impact on the architecture and planning discourse created within the international CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) meetings, founded by the Swiss architect Le Corbusier and Siegfried Gideon as well as by Walter Gropius and Josep Lluís Sert and others. This international relation will be discussed in chapter 4. It is important to note that this relation was not understood by myself immediately after the visits but rather following the republishing of the GAMMA Grid and its reconsideration.

[92] See also: Ruth Craggs and Claire Wintle, *Cultures of Decolonisation: Transnational Productions and Practices, 1945-70* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); and a collection of documents of Michel Écochard's widespread activities in the French colonies and postcolonies that can be found at *Architect's Archives*, https://archnet.org/collections/29/sites/10124.

housing estates in Belgium, France, or Switzerland, made us think about the self-representation of inhabitants living in postwar housing projects on a international scale. We also began discussing the interlinking of spaces through migration and thus started to think about the relation between neighborhoods in Casablanca and France. Within the *Transit Migration* project, Brigitta Kuster and I had already begun research on filmic articulations that counter official and commonly held negative views on migration.[93] The common (mis-)representation of large-scale housing projects built in the 1950s and '60s as sites of crime, as well as the struggle of their inhabitants, who face inequalities, hierarchies, and disadvantages in contemporary societies, became the field of study in which I started to navigate and continue to do so.

Parallel to this, I had been struck by the culture of YouTube video posts as a mode of self-articulation and everyday creativity. YouTube was activated for the first time in 2005 with video upload options and by 2007 was one of the fastest growing websites, gaining in just two years an average of one hundred million video views per day. This fast expansion of video dissemination also made publicly available what beforehand would have been circulated more or less in the private sphere. Homemade films became publicly accessible and YouTube even began its own awards system, for which the YouTube community votes on the best videos of the preceding year. After the so-called camcorder revolution, when consumers of film were able to become producers, the YouTube revolution went a step beyond, opening up the possibility not only to produce films, but also to distribute them immediately and to address a very different audience than those accessed through museums, art galleries, and even cinema spaces.[94] With YouTube, a feedback system unexpectedly emerged that went beyond the sender-receiver models of the established media and that involved everyday producers of film. It also brought a new dimension to the sphere of researching the everyday, as the articulations found on YouTube are not forced by an interviewer or anthropologist, but rather are self-expressions that originate in another channel of widespread popular culture. This expansion of cultural production caught my attention.

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[93] See: TRANSIT MIGRATION Forschungsgruppe, ed., *Turbulente Ränder. Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas* [Turbulent Margins. New perspectives on migration at the borders of Europe] (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007).
[94] See: Michael Z. Newman, *Video Revolutions: On the History of a Medium* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

In what began as an informal activity, I searched for videos by inhabitants depicting high-rise estates posted on YouTube from 2008 to 2011. The everyday life of people and their daily creative approaches to tactically or strategically deal with the living conditions and negative representation of their homes became accessible due to the new distribution channel. The tensions associated with the postwar modernist settlements guided Peter Spillmann and I to an artistic online project, entitled *THIS WAS TOMORROW!*[95] It was shown at and in part produced together with Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, in 2008 and further developed for the exhibition *Modernologies* at MACBA, Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, in 2010 and the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw in 2011.[96]

The use of modernist housing blocks as backgrounds was already prominent in contemporary hip-hop music videos, and these types of productions began mushrooming at the time of our research. We started to focus especially on non-commercial posts by residents of mass housing settlements in France, Morocco, and Germany to see how the buildings were depicted, used, and interpreted in everyday actions, including posing, dancing, and meeting in the spaces, as well as shooting features on site or telling stories about the buildings. These types of activities of dwellers living in such neighborhoods are usually not taken into account when thinking about architecture discourse. Even in Lucius Burckhardt's *Spaziergangswissenschaften* (strollology), with its focus on the close reading of the built environment and its annotations by different actors when walking through a city, the dweller as an actor stays on the level of observation. They are not addressed as speakers of their own concerns or as creators of space and discourse. The dweller instead often becomes an object of analysis to improve planning techniques, a topic I reflect on further in chapter 4. The YouTube video posts opened up another dimension on urban actors and spatial politics in my research. The project *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* took into account the fact that people co-produce space through their daily activity partly by using symbolic acts that can counter the presumptions of architects and planners on how people use space and what their daily needs are. In the

[95] The online project *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* was realized with the programmer Michael Vögeli, who also collaborated on Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC)'s online projects *MigMap–Governing Migration. A Virtual Cartography of European Migration Policies* (2005) and *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernisms* (2010–12).
[96] The exhibition *Modernologies* in Barcelona and Warsaw was curated by Sabine Breitwieser. Also see: Sabine Breitwieser, *Modernologies: Contemporary Artists Researching Modernity and Modernism* (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2009).

practices of parkour and skateboarding, for example, it is the obstacles that architecture creates, including its dysfunctional elements, that makes it interesting to bodily engage with.

Working collectively on this online project, Peter Spillmann and I found a rich source of productions by people living today in modernist housing blocks built in the 1950s and '60s under very different regimes. The short films that we selected countered existing narratives on housing blocks. Images of everyday life in large settlement projects and the ways in which residents identify with their neighborhoods, as well as the threat of and protests against demolition, remained the subject of our search. The everyday activities, creative acts, and filming of non-artists is a relevant form of contemporary culture production. These everyday forms of creative production alter the existing visual culture discourse on postwar modernist neighborhoods, as they do not speak in an attitude of failure or indicate problems to be solved (as an urban planner does) but rather speak with an empathy and identification as a dweller who relates to her or his home. This perspective taken by the YouTube posts also alters the understanding of who might be called or become a cultural producer beyond the existing institutional frame of art, film, and design schools.

We found, for example, several posts of active parkour groups in Morocco who use the modernist settlements in Casablanca as a playground.[97] Through this usage, they identify the buildings as being special and usable for various purposes. Another popular YouTube genre of the time was videos of youth using the modernist ensembles in Casablanca as a background for Tecktonik dance sessions.[98] In the first decade of the millennium, the dance was so popular in Morocco that even four-year-olds were doing improvisations in the streets. The reference to "tectonic" in Tecktonik was of high interest to us, as this is a term also widely used in architectural theory: in 1860, Gottfried Semper defined

[97] Parkour was practiced in France in the 1990s and became popular globally due to YouTube videos posted in the first decade of the millennium and the emergence of social media. A practitioner of parkour is called a *traceur* or *traceuse*, derived from the French verb *tracer*. It plays on a double meaning of the word: "to trace a path" as well as "to draw a line."

[98] Tecktonik was a dance and music movement that spread across the Mediterranean and remains very popular in French-speaking parts of North Africa. Tecktonik is also known in the street dance scene as Milky Way or electro dance. This electro dance style features a leading hand that is followed by the other geometrically. Hips and knees shuffle around in beat with the music in a random fashion, while the upper body strictly follows the geometric rules of the leading hand.

"tectonic" as the art of assembling rigid, rod-shaped parts into a self-contained system.[99] The reflection of rigidity in this dance and the use of modernist architecture as a set or an appropriate environment to highlight the artificiality of the dance movement relates to our observations on usage and the embracing of the urban environment as a space for self-articulation. The contextual precision of popular culture, music trends, and dance movements were a guiding force when doing further research on the YouTube expressions of inhabitants of modernist housing estates. In addition to dance and music videos, this included amateur crime stories shot on the roofs of the Écochard grid houses, atmospheric films of Casablanca's El Hank neighborhood during sunset, and so on.[100] Our search for amateur videos took into account that a certain notion of content as a preformed and established meaning cannot be limited to and understood as a transmission from sender to receiver. We thus directed the search against unilinearity and instead looked for reading, usage, and the multiplication of meanings.[101]

In the French context, the YouTube videos we searched and selected expressed a very different situation to that of Morocco in 2007. But besides the different political conditions of the two countries, our research on the representation of modernist settlements in amateur films posted online opened insight into the concrete involvement and relations between France and colonial cities in North Africa. It became obvious when checking links between and interrelations of the architecture ensembles depicted that the specific approach to dwelling environments that had emerged in North Africa had migrated with European architects from the North African suburbs to the peripheries of postwar cities after the independence of Tunisia and Morocco in 1956 and later of Algeria in 1962.[102] Colonial migrants also posted memories about their migratory

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[99] Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics*, trans. Harry F. Mallgrave and Michael Robinson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004).

[100] Find these video posts on the *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* website, http://www.this-was tomorrow.net.

[101] For a critique on the sender-receiver model, see: Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–1979*, ed. Stuart Hall, et al. (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 128–38. Hall opposes a deterministic understanding of communication processes. He emphasizes communication's multilayered and multireferential aspects, which can arise in the production of meaning depending on the context. It is important to note here that Hall's work has been highly influential to my work since the late '80s, in part due because his texts have been translated into German. This was also true for his reflections on racism and eurocentrism. Other members of the Birmingham School have also been important references, for example Paul Willis on art education and Dick Hebdige and Angela McRobbie on popular music, fashion, and youth culture. See also: Angela McRobbie, "*Notes on Cultural Production: Marion von Osten, Art, and the Birmingham Contemporary Cultural Studies Tradition,"* in *Marion von Osten: Once We Were Artists (A BAK Critical Reader in Artists' Practice), ed. Maria Hlavajova and Tom Holert (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2017), 172–87.*

[102] Candilis and Woods were not exceptional in this regard. Our interest in inhabitants' video projects caused us to also look into the biographies of the architects behind the large-scale housing projects called

journeys, indicating their relation to new architectural spaces in France. Under the slogan "Building for the Greatest Number," a large-scale planning initiative, the so-called Plan Million, was introduced in France under the Charles de Gaulle government (1959–69) with notions of social and urban technologies similar to those employed in Casablanca and elsewhere. These included the reordering of slum settlements (*restructuration*), temporary rehousing (*relogement*), and finally the creation of new housing estates (*habitations à loyer moderé,* or HLM), the so-called Grand Ensembles. It was through the memory work of migrants that these relations were highlighted, not as a success story but as a story of underdevelopment. Colonial migrants lived in hut settlements around large cities such as Paris and Lyon in similar way as in the colonial context. This understanding was triggered by our colleague Jim House, an antiracist activist and historian from Paris engaged in the memory work of the *bidonvilles'* lived histories.[103]

At this point in the project, I had been able to grasp from previous insights based on research and site visits that the young architects who had their first building experience in the colonial "urban laboratories" under Le Corbusier's guidance were later chosen to build new towns and satellite cities in postwar France under Charles de Gaulle's presidency. The skills needed to build for a large number of people, learned by the young architects in Morocco and Algeria, had an immediate impact on French building activities, as in the making of their projects in the colonies they were able to test out new schemes and ideas that were not possible to easily realize on the French territory due to political issues and property rights, but which they were then able to incorporate into their new plans for French estates.[104] The state of emergency that the French colonies constituted meant that democratic decision-making was not required in those localities. Colonial rule as an unjust form of governance took advantage of its overseas (*outre-mer*) territories as open juridical zones in which land, labor power, and resources were occupied and autocratically controlled.

Grand Ensembles in France, and most of them were active in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco before building the HLMs (low-income housing estates) in postwar France.

[103] See: Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); and Jim House, "Shanty-towns and the Disruption of the Colonial Urban Order in Algiers and Casablanca," in *Francophone Cultures and Geographies of Identity*, ed. H. Adlai Murdoch and Zsuzsanna Fagyal (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2013), 198–215.

[104] See also: Gyan Prakash and Kevin M. Kruse, ed. *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics, and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Princeton University, 2008).

In 1961, the architecture office Candilis-Josic-Woods won the competition for the new town of Le Mirail, Toulouse, a satellite city for one hundred thousand people and one of the most prestigious projects in France. Requiring the planning of not just one settlement, as in Morocco, but rather a completely new town and its social, communication, and traffic systems, Le Mirail was planned to such an extreme that it was as if the architects' experience in Morocco of rebellion and resistance had left no open questions for them about their role in society.[105] The newly constructed urban zones at the peripheries of French cities like Lyon, Toulouse, Marseille, and Paris, ranging from the clearing of shantytowns to rehousing policies to the HLMs, were the result of architects being trained in the colonies amid colonial spatial politics. Colonial modernization and anticolonial liberation struggles triggered migrations from south to north, but it was not only colonized people who moved from the colonial territories to France. Likewise, architects and the knowledge they gained from the "urban laboratories" of the colonies traveled back to Europe and were applied there after the destruction caused by WWII. In conversations I conducted in the follow-up project *Architectures of Decolonization*, hosted at the institution Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers in Paris, with the cultural scientist Todd Shepard and the architecture historian Catherine Blain, this impact was not only verified but rather once again complicated.[106] Postwar planning ideas in France resonated on different levels with the international migration of architects as well as with the conflicts inherent to colonial biopolitics and power structures and to the political constitution of France as a republic.[107] In addition, while new concepts of postwar architectural modernism related to the everyday practices of dwelling, as I will show in chapter 4, it was the population of settlement dwellers that had already become mobile. Planning as a governance tool was used to regulate and control these same groups, employing the discourse and practice of architecture as urban planning in the colonies mainly to govern day laborers, the cheapest workforce in the colonial regime.[108] After WWII,

[105] The Le Mirail new town hit the headlines not only because of its sheer size, but also because, in 1998, large riots broke out after the police shot a youth.
[106] See also: Catherine Blain, "Living a Manifesto: The Second Life of EDF's Housing Towers in Ivry-sur-Seine (Atelier de Montrouge, 1963-67)," in *Adaptive Reuse. The Modern Movement Towards the Future*, ed. Ana Tostoes and Zara Ferraira (Lisboa: docomomo International, Casa da Arquitectura, 2016), 817–23.
[107] Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006). Also see the interview that I conducted in the follow-up project *Architectures of Decolonization* in Paris with Todd Shepard and Mihaela Gherghescu, published in *Le Journal des Laboratoires (January–April 2012): 38–43, available in English at* http://www.leslaboratoires.org/en/article/interview-todd-shephard/architectures-de-la-decolonisation.
[108] As such, improvised dwelling practices (which, like migration itself, are a type of survival strategy) were,

these approaches of "Building for the Greatest Number" were comprehensively applied in France—affecting not only the dwelling environments of numerous people but also large parts of the territory. Massive planning initiatives on the outskirts of large cities were again often erected alongside the hut settlements of now colonial migrants, whose cheap labor force was used to build the compounds.[109] But in contrast to the colonial initiatives, the French housing settlements were not erected to house colonial migrants but rather intended to house the French lower classes, in an effort to modernize France to create social mobility for the national population, and with it, a postwar consumer society.[110] As Paul Rabinow has pointed out, colonial modernization was not only directed at and against the colonized, but it also played a major role within the modernization projects of Europe's metropolises. Regarding the Casablanca urban plan, he states, "If there was a civilizing mission, its target was the French."[111]

The midcentury housing estates both in Europe and in its struggling colonies can also be considered as the spatial articulation of the political implementation of the economic model of Fordism in Europe after WWII. This model held that the organization of labor and the systematic redistribution of wealth to all social classes would engender entrance to mass consumption and thus to a new lifestyle. Housing was believed to play a pivotal role in this access to consumer society. The Grand Ensembles were at the moment of their erection thus a symbol for the larger modernization campaign in French society—a symbol of a projected future to urbanize and industrialize France, which, after the war, was in large part still a rural and Catholic country. The modernist estates and satellite cities were built to create a new middle class. In particular, young French families settled there, which was reflected immediately in 1960s French cinema, including in the films of Jacques Tati and Jean-Luc Godard.[112]

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in France, transferred to new planning concepts for larger architectural and urban environments, such as the satellite city Le Mirail.

[109] This insight that the colonial migrants were misused as day laborers was also understood through a research project and films on the matter as part of an initiative working on documenting oral histories of the Parisian bidonvilles. See: *25 ans de politiques coûteuses et inutiles d'expulsions des bidonvilles*, http://www.25ansbidonvilles.org.

[110] Annie Fourcaut, "Les premiers grands ensembles en region parisienne: Ne pas refaire la banlieue?" [The first Grand Ensembles in the Paris region], in *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 195–218.

[111] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 286.

[112] For example, *Deux ou trois choses que je sais d'elle* [Two or three things I know about her] is a 1967 film by Jean-Luc Godard starring Marina Vlady and Anny Duperey. In the title, *elle* refers to the Fordist gender regime of postwar French society as well as to the city of Paris. The film addresses life in high-rise

Within the collaborations with activists and my film and online research, it became obvious that the visual cultures of the new outskirts and satellite cities left out the construction work done mainly by (post)colonial migrant workers and Portuguese deserters fleeing the colonial wars in Mozambique and Angola, who were living in these new construction sites in France and in shantytowns similar to those in the Maghreb. We soon learned that a group of activists and scholars in Paris, whom we met during the course of our project, were also researching those who lived in shantytowns next to the construction sites of the new housing estates in France. This configuration of workers and housing estates makes it clear that housing politics and the bidonville share a strong interrelation between France and (post)colonial Morocco and Algeria.[113] In the context of this fact, the curatorial assistant Elsa de Seynes and I visited the son of the writer and photographer Loïk Prat.[114] Prat was an antiracist activist and inhabitant of the Parisian suburb Saint-Denis. He founded an association that supported the residents of the first shantytowns of Saint-Denis, which he also documented in photographs, before moving to the outskirts of La Courneuve from 1954 to 1974.[115] Prat's photos became important for the Berlin exhibition. They show solidarity with residents as well as resistance against official powers and depict the survival strategies of extreme poverty in the shantytowns near Paris. The social composition and situation was similar to the living conditions in the bidonvilles in colonial Morocco, and likewise, the relation between the manifestations and organizations of anticolonial groups were similarly formed in Paris. From his son, still living in Saint-Denis, we learned that in the shantytowns of Paris, Algeria, and Morocco, in which inhabitants lived in extreme poverty and often misery, fights for independence in the colonies and uprising in France were also similarly organized. The marches of October 1961 in Paris were, as the historian Jim House

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settlements and the growth of consumer culture in Europe. Moreover, it addresses the Grand Ensembles from the perspective of capitalist critique by leaving out the postcolonial situation after the Algerian War but in part reflecting on the Vietnam War. Godard shows that working-class communities were drawn into the city in search of a higher standard of living, reflected in the apartment of the modernist compound. But even though the nuclear family with a single breadwinner was the new desired norm, this came into crisis because the new living standards and consumption desires went beyond the income of the family structure.

[113] See also the important project *25 ans de politiques coûteuses et inutiles d'expulsions des bidonvilles*, which memoralized the bidonvilles and their struggles in Paris, http://www.25ansbidonvilles.org.

[114] As the son of antiracist advocate Loïk Prat recalled, inhabitants of the shantytowns often called up Prat in the middle of the night to pacify the police who came to demolish the barracks, as when Prat arrived with his camera, it stopped the police from acting.

[115] ATD (All Together in Dignity) Fourth World was founded in 1957 by Joseph Wresinksi, who initiated solidarity actions with people housed in a transit camp in Noisy-Le-Grand on the outskirts of Paris. Today the organization aims to eradicate extreme poverty. It calls on the commitment of every citizen to transform official views and to undertake concrete acts of solidarity.

explained to us, in part organized from the bidonvilles.[116] With this context in mind, I decided to also include a photo series by Loïk Prat as well as a video by a group of students from Nanterre in the exhibitions in Berlin and Casablanca, as both indicated the circularity of people, practices, and governing tools, as well as reflected the solidarity of people without migration backgrounds and their critiques of subordination and exploitation.[117]

A transnational relation between the bidonvilles, modernist housing estates, construction sites, and migration of people and concepts is verified in the work of Abdelmajid Arrif, a cultural anthropologist from Aix-Marseille University. For his doctoral dissertation, he studied the resettlement process of residents of the bidonville Ben M'sik in the Casablanca suburb of Hay Moulay Rachid. He talks about a *dialogue souterrain* (subterranean dialogue) between the bidonvilles of Ben M'sik and the district and modernist compounds of Bethnal Green in London and the thirteenth arrondissement of Paris[118]—places linked through the migration of people from Ben M'sik following the process of shantytown cleansing. Their migration to Paris or London also links the Casablanca site with other large-scale urban housing compounds in Europe. For example, it was in this working-class neighborhood of London that Alison and Peter Smithson of Team 10 not only intensively studied the street activities of the area but later also built the Robin Hood Gardens settlement in the late 1960s, which today, in an era of neoliberal governance in which social housing is vilified, is in the process of demolition.[119] Thus, the migration to Europe, as Arrif states, was in part entangled with the transnational journeys of architects and architecture. And with these movements, it is not only concepts of modernism that circulated, but also people, practices, and forms of resistance. It was this line of thought that finally turned my parainstitutional investigations and first gatherings of various experts into a project. It had become clear

[116] The events of October 17, 1961, are remembered as a massacre on more than two hundred Algerians who were marching into the city from the outskirts in support of peace talks to end their country's war of independence against France. See as well my conversation with Todd Shepard published in *Le Journal des Laboratoires (January–April 2012): 38–43, available in English at* http://www.leslaboratoires.org/en/article/interview-todd-shephard/architectures-de-la-decolonisation

[117] See also the novel by Leïla Sebbar, *The Seine Was Red: Paris, October 1961* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).

[118] Abdelmajid Arrif, "Le passage précaire: du bidonville au lotissement" [A precarious journey: from shantytown to apartment block] (PhD diss., Aix-Marseille University, 1991).

[119] The demolition of this important work by the Smithsons has been highly debated in the media and generated resistance not only from its inhabitants. See: Jessica Mairs, "Drone Footage Captures Brutalist Robin Hood Gardens Ahead of Imminent Demolition," *Dezeen*, June 15, 2017, https://www.dezeen.com/2017/06/15/robin-hood-gardens-brutalist-housing-estate-demolition-drone-footage-movie-alison-peter-smithson-london-uk/.

that it was this reciprocity and circularity that was shaping both the European city center and its peripheries as well as its relation to the colonial subject. It further became clearer to me not only that the contemporary struggles in the banlieues mirrored the colonial past, but that the spatial politics and the creation of underdevelopment in both the colonies and the outskirts of France were two sides of the same coin.

In the early 1990s, in the article "Ghetto. Un mot de trop" (Ghetto. A word of too much), published in the newspaper *Le Monde*, Loîc Wacquant and Sophie Body-Gendrot identified a constant demonization of the French banlieues in the press that went along with racist attributions of people living in the neighborhoods and the use of the "ghetto" identifier. However, the term "banlieue" itself has a negative connotation; it originally designated the territory in which the law of the state has no validity. The word comes from the expression *lieu du ban* (place of ostracism), which freely translates to "on the margins of society." Large modernist estates only began to lose their symbolic role within the postwar French society when the Grand Ensembles went through a social decline and were represented as problem areas in the media. From the late 1970s on, satellite cities, new towns, and social housing progressed through different stages in their representation in the French media, from bad to worse.[120] Their filmic representation became the subject of a program of films that I suggested for screening in 2011 within the frame of the follow-up project *Architectures of Decolonization* at Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers, an art space situated in the suburbs of Paris beyond the highway belt.[121] The films were chosen for their use of a multiactor perspective, going against public news genres and the demonization of the suburbs. In *Rêves de ville* (City dreams, 1993) by Dominique Cabrera, four tower blocks in the council estate of Valfourré, another suburb of Paris, are to be demolished and replaced by an "excellency estate." In this film, inhabitants and local councillors hold contrasting opinions. Another film I screened that shifts the perspective from being *about* the settlements to a perspective taken *within* the Grand Ensembles is *Carnet d'un arpenteur, Les Minguettes, juillet-août 2006* (A surveyor's notebook, Les Minguettes, July–August 2006, 2007) by Michel Ganozzi, Christophe Pornon, Jérome Leguay, Natacha Flandin, and Raphaël Kunt, an impressive political and highly poetic

[120] See also the slideshow by Mogniss H. Abdallah, produced in the frame of the follow-up project *Architectures of Decolonization* in Paris and posted on the Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers website, accessed 05.02.2017, http://www.leslaboratoires.org/en/galerie/architectures-decolonization-mogniss-h-abdallah.
[121] Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers is also part of the Cluster network that links art spaces in the periphery of larger cities. See as well: Binna Choi et al., *Cluster: Dialectionary* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014).

document produced by inhabitants who lived for more than thirty years in Les Minguettes in Lyon, in dialogue with local activists.

Despite the obvious negative media and popular culture representation of modernist neighborhoods built in the 1950s and '60s outside city centers in France, the YouTube videos told quite a different story. The videos accused the buildings of being neither alienating nor dysfunctional, but they did consciously play with the negative attributions found in public opinion, including, for example, the presence of social workers and police to control and govern the population.
In 2007, when Peter Spillmann and I started our research, many YouTube posts by inhabitants of the French banlieues were in part still influenced by the 2005 Paris uprising. In fall 2005, an insurrection in the Grand Ensembles of Paris triggered the implementation of "emergency laws" (*état d'urgence*) under the order of President Sarkozy.[122] The uprising started when Zyed Benna and Bouna Traoré, two youngster from the suburbs of Clichy-sous-Bois, were killed while being pursued by police.[123] From there, the uprising spread to other districts, including Aulnay-sous-Bois, Sevran, Bondy, Montfermeil, Neuilly-sur-Marne, Bobigny, Le Blanc-Mesnil, and Saint-Denis.[124] A few days later, unrest continued in other French cities, such as Marseille, Lyon, Toulouse, and Strasbourg. In 2008, after a long series of youth riots, housing struggles, and other protests, political groups from the French banlieues came together to form the association Indigène de la République (Indigenous of the Republic). They condemn the social conditions in the banlieues as the outcome of administrative techniques analogous to

[122] As Jochen Becker and Sönke Gau announced in relation to their project *On the way to: From/To Europe*, "Now, however, the 'prefabricated buildings' are being blown away or they want to rinse them (along with their residents) with a high-pressure cleaner—as the then French Minister of the Interior Nicolas Sarkozy announced and heated up a rebellion that lasted three weeks. The 'emergency laws,' which are used as a state response and originate from the time of the Algerian war, are no longer put into force in the colonies, but in zones around the French immigrant groups." From "On the way to: From/To Europe", posted on *Shedhalle* in 2006, http://archiv2009.shedhalle.ch/eng/archiv/2006/programm/thematische_reihe/from_to/index.shtml.
[123] The builder of the housing complex in Clichy-sous-Bois was Bernard Zehrfuss, a modernist architect who worked under the French colonial government in Algeria and Tunisia from 1943 to 1953 at the Directorate of Public Works, where he built many housing projects, schools, and hospitals. Upon his return to France, he was made chief architect of public buildings and national palaces. Along with the European headquarters of UNESCO, in collaboration with Marcel Breuer and Pier Luigi Nevi, he was responsible for one of the first buildings of La Défense in Paris in 1958, the Center of New Industries and Technologies. La Défense is Europe's largest purpose-built business district and is located at the end of the historical power axis of Paris and the outskirts of Nanterre, where the May 1968 uprising started and where postcolonial migrants have lived since the early twentieth century.
[124] Graham Murray, "France: The Riots and the Republic," *Race & Class* 47, no. 4 (April 1, 2006): 26–45.

colonial rule.[125] As Pierre Bourdieu has stated, the objectification and naturalization of past and present as well as social relations can be indicated in physical space, and the Indigène de la République made this heard in their actions.[126] The YouTube videos produced in different neighborhoods thus reflect historical genealogies, media representations, and struggles and conflicts, as well as the demolition of buildings and their histories. They document police violence, mock press representation, and record the demolition of housing, but they also show everyday life in the neighborhoods and share historical private footage shot in the districts. But this was not just done in a journalistic way.

Some videos use found footage to create *détournements*, others just document, and others use fiction, as in the case of a video I found posted by children of the Quartier Du Nord in Marseille. The common depiction of that neighborhood in French public media as a disobedient, violent migrant "ghetto" is played with by the children. The video includes the impersonation of police, with kids chasing other kids into dark corners of houses and fake arresting them, while a reporter is performed alongside, replicating the tone of crime reports. In this way, the narrative associated with the Quartier Du Nord is flipped around. The common representation is reaffirmed as an existing text but shifted into comedy; laughter and pleasure abound in the video. It plays with propaganda as well as dislocates it from being a discourse constructed outside the postwar modernist housing estate and makes it into a game inside the interior of one of its homes. This détournement shifts the common perception and hegemonic discourses on modernist housing estates, from an outsider's view to a narrative from within. This intimacy—that is, speaking from within—is a particular quality of this kind of video post, as their actors stand in opposition to camera angles, gazes, and presumptions on the postwar housing estates and neighborhoods they live in.

Even though modernist housing estates were built under different circumstances and political contexts, *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* showed that, for current inhabitants of these settlements, the negative discourses created by the media about life in the settlements generated parallel political processes and social effects. The social composition of the

[125] The critique and actions of the Indigène de la République activists demonstrates that certain techniques of French rule are colonial imports. What they have added to the agenda is the tension in modernity between the governance of people as populations and their nomination as autonomous subjects or citizens. Serhat Karakayali reflects on this dimension in "Colonialism and the Critique of Modernity," in *Colonial Modern*, 38–49.

[126] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power,* ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 28.

neighborhoods—mainly underpaid or unemployed people—was used to turn them into sites for the projection of fears, xenophobia, and racist state measures under neoliberal politics. Though these settlements may represent "failure" from a planner's perspective, the perspective of one who lives in a modernist estate with affordable rent and even partially functional infrastructure is often very different.

When we asked for permission to republish the posts as part of the online project *THIS WAS TOMORROW!: From Hochhaus to Hochhaus*, (From high-rise to high-rise)[127] we also sent out a call for contributions of further videos. Still today, we receive new posts from people from different neighborhoods and locations. With our web project, we thus started a lively archive as well as a meeting point for and network of amateur productions. This likewise created a map of the self-representation of modernist housing settlements and neighborhoods during a decade of youth revolts and uprising. In the frame of the *Modernologies* exhibitions in Barcelona and Warsaw in 2010–11, our original selection of videos and online platform was expanded further. The YouTube videos we found on districts with large modernists housing estates in Austria, Belgium, Britain, Egypt, Poland, and Spain added yet another layer to the previous context.[128] This enlarged the perspective and created another dimension to the project.

The idea of mapping and connecting found footage from the modernist heritage of the twentieth century and today's inhabitants became the motif for the design of the web project. It attempts to allow images, voices, and overdubbed sounds to act together and to create a relational space between the producers and viewers. The website is ordered in a grid structure containing video entries from Casablanca, Cairo, and Marseille, as well as London, Liverpool, Vienna, Brno, Brussels, and more. It reflects the principle of the grid that was popular in modernist and colonial city planning, considered to be an infrastructure that allows for an integrated, joint usage of mostly geographically separated, autonomous resources. This was likewise a notion we incorporated into our project as a strategic détournement. Thus, with *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* we worked against a hegemonic approach and as such decoded existing information and meanings; while our own position as editors was still situated within the dominant ideology, in a

[127] The subtitle *From Hochhaus to Hochhaus* (From high-rise to high-rise) was given in the moment we expanded the field of research with the invitation by curator Sabine Breitwieser and the MACBA in 2009.
[128] See as well the project description on MACBA's website, 05.02.2018, https://www.macba.cat/en/exhibition-modernologies.

limited way we created our own basic rules and systems of meaning. Meanwhile, in the YouTube posts, the demonization of modernist housing estates was rejected by their inhabitants, as they were speaking from within their living environment and surroundings and not about it. The rebellion against the dominant code involves, as Stuart Hall would term it, a political dimension. Beyond this, with *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* we sought to enable a participatory form of practice and collective remembrance, in which the project of modernism is understood not as pure domination but rather as a materialized and social form of negotiating with domination by various actors with different privileges and through various means. On the one hand, our own work remained of an artistic-curatorial nature, which redistributed the surplus production of popular culture into the contemporary art field; on the other hand, as we were acting in the same medium as the YouTube filmmakers, we also approached a larger audience beyond our own field of action. We purposefully stayed in the position of mediators rather than contributors; our role was that of creating awareness and space for interaction for the people navigating the nexus of *THIS WAS TOMORROW!.* The user of the web project can move through the virtual archive of visual statements and encounter how each intervenes differently into hegemonic forms of meaning production and/or works against the racist presumptions that contemporary societies have associated with social housing settlements. The relational organization allows the viewer a navigational engagement within the landscape of contemporary counter-productions and popular cultures and enables them to see the ways in which they vary or use comparable narratives, even though produced in diverse cities and countries. This comparative mode that highlights both difference and singularity as well as commonalities also proved productive for those makers who found their postings represented in the online project. This connectivity made the short films available and negotiable beyond the circle of producers involved as well as their audiences. The work on *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* was thus relational, communicative, associative, informative, particular, and interconnected. Viewers became activated and complicit.

This nature of the internet also made it possible for Peter Spillmann and me to constantly reflect on the past through current political and cultural constellations, as well as to situate the local Casablanca cases within a larger transnational relation. In making *THIS WAS TOMORROW!*, we learned that this relation between the settlements expresses the coloniality of power, whereby the colonial past arrived in Europe with innovations that

had been developed under colonial rule. Nearly all of the architects involved in planning in Morocco and Algiers were later involved in large-scale planning schemes in France. Following the decline of the social status of modernist housing estates, the HLM buildings have become global signifiers for societies segregated along lines of race and class. Our use of mapping and the grid structure for the layout of the web project appropriated the architectural and disciplinary use of this power instrument, and thus turned it against itself.

It was my and Spillmann's proposal that the arrangement of information, clues, and stories through networks, categorizations, and relationships guides the user through the negotiation of meanings. The online project thereby creates a kind of coordinate system in which navigation becomes a form of critical reading practice. In this reading practice, future research, actions, and coalitions can be based. Invisible connections are rendered visible. One result of the mapping and rearrangement of existing data is a strategic contextualization in which the presented is shown in connection—from high-rise to high-rise, as we subtitled the project. By using this technique, access to diverse visual cultures, expressions, languages, and attitudes can be organized and archived. The mapping strategy allowed us in particular to add genealogical and transcultural dimensions to the discourse on modernist housing. It also raised the issue of relationships through the introduction and visualization of differentiated connections, in order to open up new perspectives through a large number of narrators who present a multiplicity of possible truths.[129] As such, the strength of mapping is primarily found not in the presentation and publication of information but rather in the artistic-tactical possibilities of generating situational and selective knowledge in order to negotiate this information, and to articulate it together. The multiactor perspective that had already guided the research behind the *Desert of Modernity* project is thus embedded within the conception of the online cartographies that enabled the existence and growth of a learning space for heterogeneity, plurality, and polyphony, in contrast to a monologic textuality.

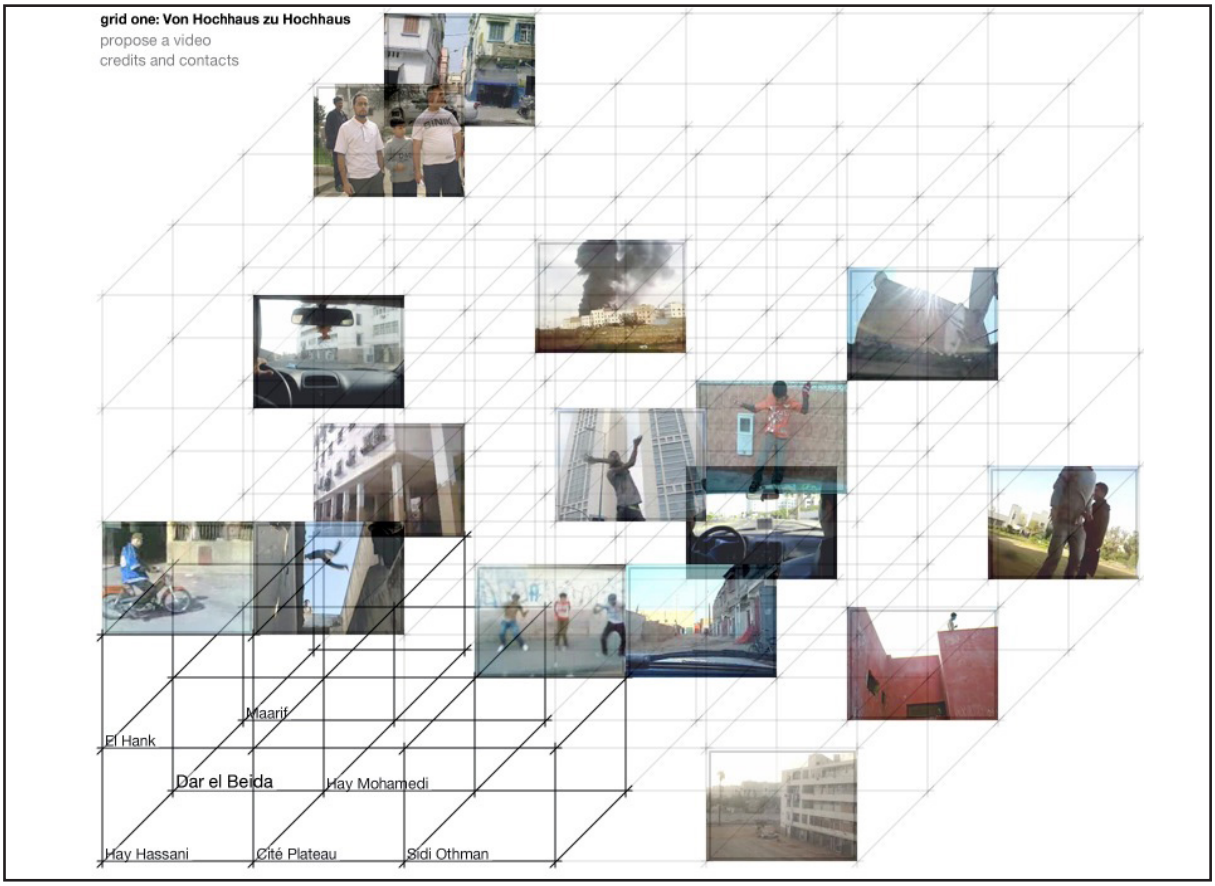
[129] Mapping strategies are of great significance to contemporary artistic and activist projects, as they are relevant for emerging socialities that may otherwise be manifested only in the individual moments of an encounter. Over the past twenty years, mapping strategies have become increasingly used in artistic projects, such as by the Argentinean artist group Gruppo de Arte Callejero, the Situationist International–oriented Spanish collective Precarias a la Deriva, and the French group Sans papiers cartographes. The mapping strategies these groups employ are described mainly as the collective and strategic organization of information and data and are based on a critically reflective relationship toward cartography and its (power) techniques of presentation. The mapping work is done with reflexive knowledge of the functions that acted and continue to act as instruments of domination.

The participatory potential of the internet can significantly promote diverse perspectives, in particular because the (hyper)text is never complete, allowing for a continuously expanding space for a multitude of voices, practices, and perspectives that can be written into a new narrative form beyond single authorship and one-dimensional or unilinear ways of telling.[130] Thus we used the medium in a way that enabled the tracking of changes and involvement in public media of otherwise excluded voices and productions. The democratization of artistic skills, which formerly would have been associated only with a specific art or academic education, is a process already complete today, and it is precisely this general intellect that constitutes the internet itself and that is also exploited by social media. Today, ten years on, this project would no longer be realizable, as YouTube posts have become increasingly commercialized and the use of copyrighted music is censored. In this way, *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* documents a specific moment in time and a specific moment of media usage for self-expression.

Disseminating diverse forms of filmic representations was broadened the scope of our research and artistic practice. Nevertheless, the project had institutional limitations as far as its production. It still functioned in the mode of a post-studio practice, as it was made, worked on, and added to only when a new exhibition invitation arrived as programming needed funding. When I had started online research in the frame of *In the Desert of Modernity*, the web project was bringing new knowledge to the work group as well as opening up our understanding of feedbacks and resonances created through the migration of people, practices, and thoughts. But with the invitation to participate in the *Modernologies* exhibition in Barcelona and Warsaw in 2010 and 2011, this was no longer the case; the project somehow became detached from the above–outlined qualities when it was exhibited in the group show, mainly in the entrance to the exhibition space by the curators as a way to connect the gallery space with the "street." At this point in time, the temporal work group of *In the Desert of Modernity* had disbanded and the space in which the online database operated had also lost part of the social context in which it had emerged. These limitations experienced through the presentations in the *Modernologies* exhibition context are what led to *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* being constitutive for the

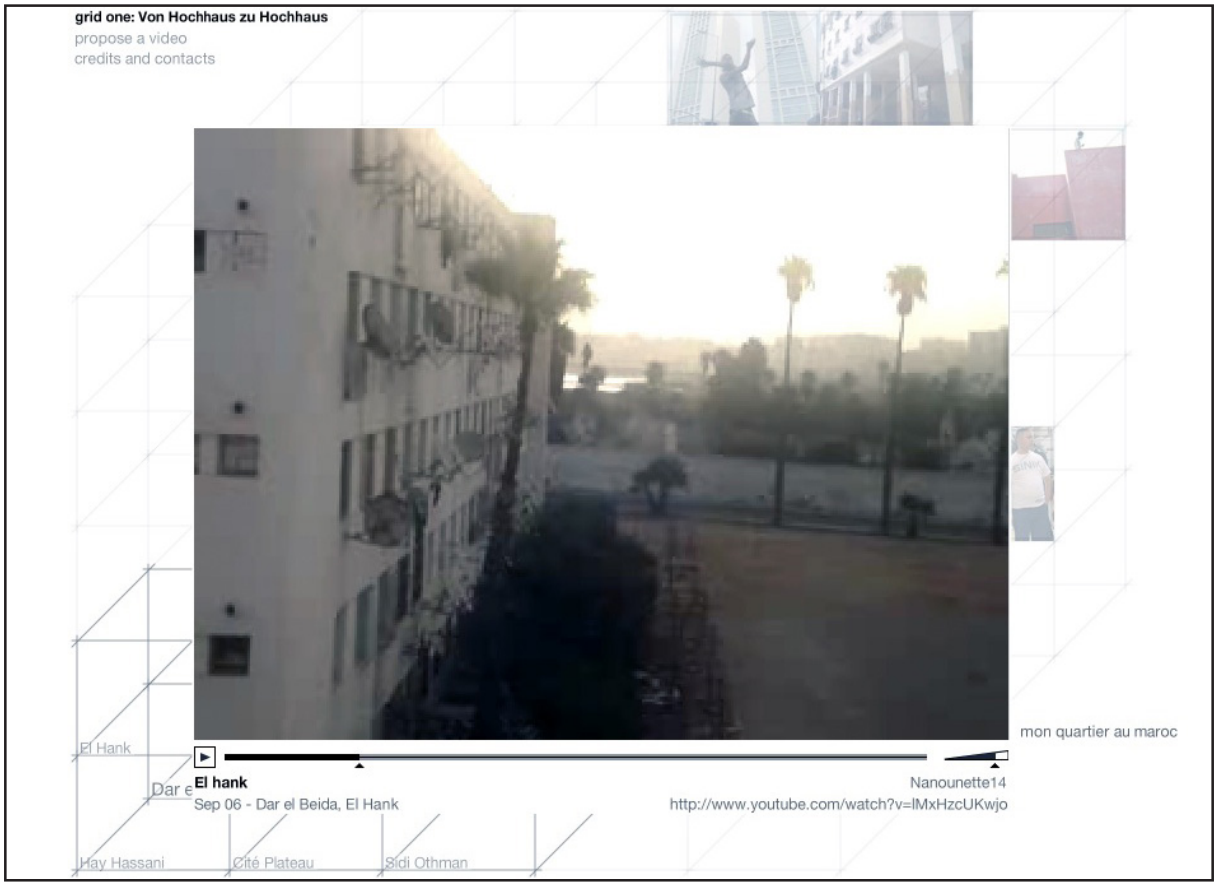
[130] For Labor k3000, the internet offers new modes of research and dissemination. At the same time, it can help to produce new research through dialogue. This was tested and realized in projects such as *MigMap–Governing Migration. A Virtual Cartography of European Migration Policies*, http://www.transitmigration.org/migmap/, and *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernisms*, http://transculturalmodernism.org/.

founding of the Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC). That is, precisely the kind of activity involved in the project, which lies beyond all practices of art, design, and theory, propelled us to form an organizational platform to host and share this mixture of practice outside the disciplinary boundaries of contemporary institutions and to enable a long-durational perspective, rather than to be tied to a practice based around event and exhibition invitations.

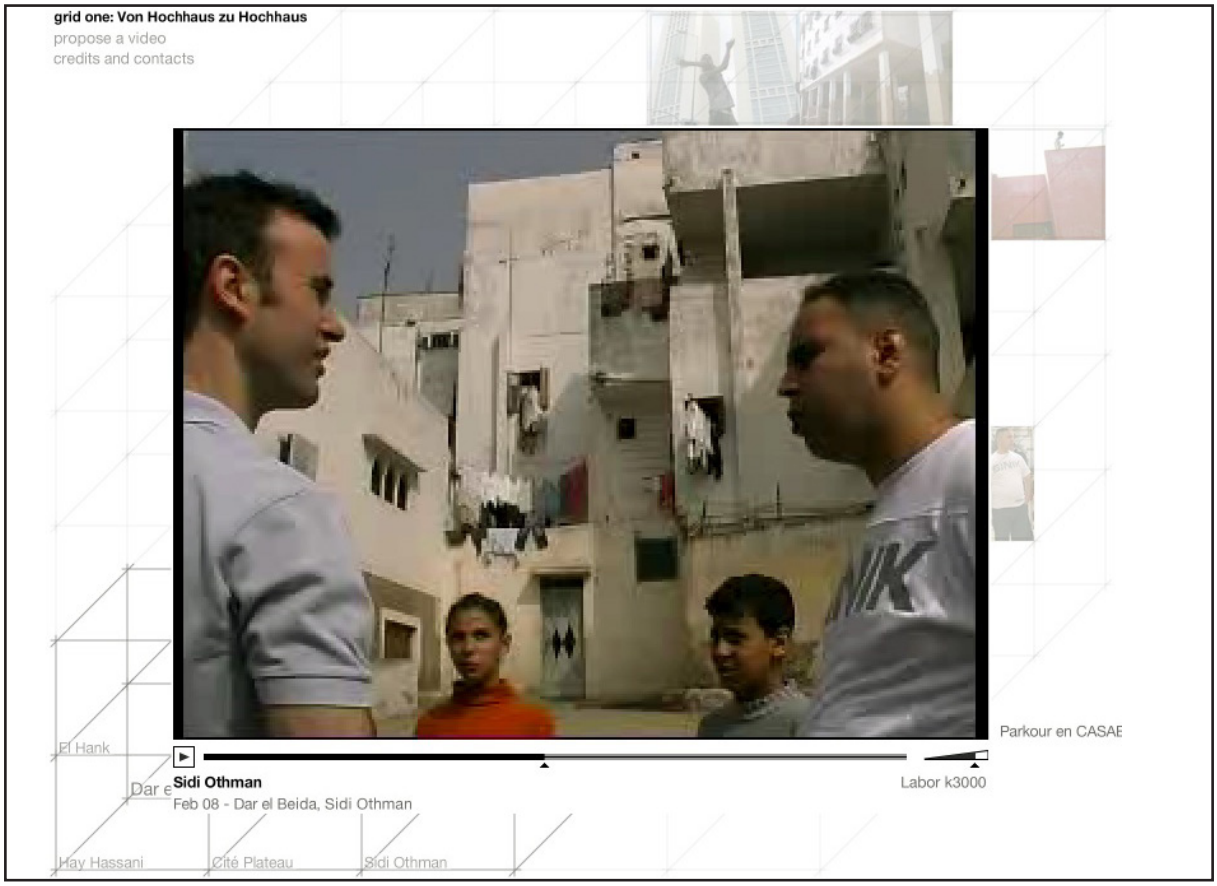


Screenshots from www.this-was-tomorrow.net
Online project and film archive by Labor k3000 (Marion von Osten, Peter Spillmann, Michael Vögeli)

Screenshots from www.this-was-tomorrow.net
Online project and film archive by Labor k3000 (Marion von Osten, Peter Spillmann, Michael Vögeli)



Screenshots from www.this-was-tomorrow.net
Online project and film archive by Labor k3000 (Marion von Osten, Peter Spillmann, Michael Vögeli)



Screenshots from www.this-was-tomorrow.net
Online project and film archive by Labor k3000 (Marion von Osten, Peter Spillmann, Michael Vögeli)

Chapter 4

On Display

The finding that the modernist building complex Cité Verticale was an outcome of colonial governance and its construction site a place of resistance against colonial powers provided the basis for the exhibition concept and the making of the show at Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW) in Berlin in 2008. The insight into the ambiguity of the Cité Verticale project of being, on the one hand, the product of a colonial study on dwelling and, on the other, a signifier of an epistemological shift in European thinking on design and planning attitudes after World War II was another outcome of the collaborative explorations. It was this ambiguity that made the Casablanca housing compounds an extremely rich subject of inquiry. This later discovery that the building ensemble and its surroundings were the product of a colonialist study in dwelling patterns conducted in the *bidonville* Carrières Centrales was gained through archival research, and especially the finding of one particular document, known as the GAMMA Grid. The acronym "GAMMA" stands for "Groupe d'Architectes Modernes Marocains" (the Moroccan Group of Modern Architects), and here the word "grid" is shorthand for "Habitat du Plus Grand Nombre Grid" (Building for the Greatest Number).[131] The GAMMA Grid is a detailed study on the dwelling practices of the colonized workforce living in the bidonvilles produced and presented in 1953 at the ninth International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM) in Aix-en-Provence. But the full document was lost.

Our search for the full document of the GAMMA Grid relates in part to a mix of approaches, which I have referred to in the preceding chapters, that were constitutive for the making of *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After*. This mixture also included a more familiar form of research, at private and official archives, libraries, film centers, and university and museum collections. What was found had to be debated between Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayli, and me, as a team of co-curators. What archival research brings to light is almost always much more than what one is able to show in an exhibition. Every archive has its own logic, blind spots, and narrative construction, and thus is a particular constellation that must be considered in and of itself. Archives are partial and fragmented. Already this constellation that each archive is constructed of is telling the researcher to look beyond evidence. We can ask in this moment what is to be found and what not, and how things are ordered and made accessible. For our project in the making, the fact that the public archives mainly contain

[131] The GAMMA Grid and the transdisciplinary team involved in it are mentioned in: Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb, *Casablanca. Colonial Myth and Architectural Ventures* (New York: Monacelli, 2002).

the narratives and representations of the former colonial powers, and very seldom hold documents related to the histories of resistance, made us aware of the limitations of the official archives and also gave me, as an exhibition maker, a much more central role than I had when I first initiated the research group. Likewise, the Casablanca building initiatives of the protectorate were not presented fully through the documents and plans we found in official archives. Documents were scattered around in different places or were non-existent or lost.

One of the primary lost documents was the GAMMA Grid. Only four reproduced images of the grid circulate in historical accounts; the complete display set was lost. It had thus been erased from art and architecture history what all panels had depicted in full or argued precisely. The existing knowledge about the GAMMA Grid came from secondary sources. The intense research we undertook to relocate the full document and bring it back to public attention can also be thought of as an act of care and sharing: republishing the grid made it possible to critically reexamine and demystify the intentions behind its culture-specific postwar modernist discourse. We also had to contextualize the document as being the product of colonial governance. When starting to study the grid more closely, it became clear that its history was as similarly ambiguous and transnational as the housing projects by George Candilis and Shadrach Woods in Casablanca.

Finding the GAMMA Grid was an enterprise in itself. As I will show in this chapter, the document also opened up a whole new context in which the Cité Verticale and Cité Horizontale had to be discussed. This context was the international debates on postwar urbanism, generated at the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM), as well as by the colonial study, as exemplified and represented in the GAMMA Grid, of local dwellers (living under precarious conditions) and their daily activities. Finding the GAMMA Grid required intense formal and informal searches in both Paris and Rabat to finally track down the grid and to document it.[132] Tracing the GAMMA Grid to the Moroccan archive and bringing it together again into its complete form was the result of

[132] This was done with the help of the architecture historian Wafae Belarbi from Rabat. We went with her to the bureaucratic apparatus of the Archives du Maroc in Rabat. Here, Belarbi had finally found photographic negatives taken from the GAMMA Grid panels representing all texts and images of the original panels that over decades had been considered to be lost. The negatives were scanned in 2008 at the archives by Elsa des Seynes, a curatorial assistant at HKW, and Anna Voswinkel, a graphic designer, with official allowance from the Moroccan state

a collective and collaborative effort. In this way, the transnational social space created though the temporal coalition of scholars, artists, and designers from Morocco, Germany, and the Netherlands made it possible to recreate and critically reflect on the artifact as well as to make it publically available again. This act of provision and preparation, to use time and energy to make a document accessible, seems to be necessary in many research practices and is the function of archives, museum collections, and public libraries. In the case of the GAMMA Grid, the original grid no longer existed. Only the photo negatives taken by the French protectorate in 1953 were still stored in Rabat's National Archive. But these was not easily accessible because of permissions that it made hard to get to see it on site. It was also not catalogued and thus not publicly available.

In one sense, it was these limitations of the local public archive that brought about the republishing of the GAMMA Grid in *An Architektur* magazine. However, my idea to republish the GAMMA Grid in collaboration with the An Architektur collective was also to make it publicly available beyond the spatiotemporal condition of the HKW exhibition.[133] Its finding caused for our research group, as I will show in this chapter, an immense conceptual shift, as we started to understand the GAMMA Grid's function more fully. This also helped to shape the concept of the show in Berlin, but with this first iteration and restaging of the grid, we most certainly were not able to say everything that was to be said. What we did was initiate the beginning of a reflection, and it was clear to me that in the future the GAMMA Grid would be studied and critically examined more fully after us by other scholars. Thus the publication of the GAMMA Grid had a double function: to make it accessible to a public that otherwise knew only four images, and to critically discuss its function and the representational mode of the grid and to contextualize these in a more in-depth way. The collaboration with An Architektur was also initiated by me to insert our discussions into the critical urbanist and architectural environment that the An Architektur collective has been developing in Berlin since the 1990s. With their critical discussion and research into the history of participatory architecture as radical approaches, be it contemporary or historical, the historical document was situated into a contemporary debate. Publishing a special issue of *An*

[133] This idea also emerged out of collaboration on the exhibition display with the architects Jesko Fezer and Andreas Müller, who were both part of the An Architektur publishing collective in Berlin. Thus also the division between designing a show and conceptual thinking is in my work not upheld. The architects of the exhibition design have also been addressed as experts in the matters the exhibition discussed.

Architektur magazine thus highlighted the GAMMA Grid's complex and ambivalent role in postwar planning discourses and placed it into contemporary discussion on participatory architecture and dwelling studies. Thus, republishing—including finding funds and laying out and conceptualizing the grid—was to create a broader context for renewed discussion of the GAMMA Grid's function in postwar urban debates. In this way, the publishing of the panels reached out to a specific audience of architects and designers; meanwhile, the exhibition reached out to a more visual art–centered audience, and the *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* project reached out into yet another public realm. This reintroduction of the full representation of the GAMMA Grid into an architecture context was my main intention when republishing it, as other architecture projects and publications had cited the grid without knowing its full display and argumentation.[134] For example when my inquiries began, a large traveling exhibition called *Team 10: (In Search of) A Utopia of the Present* and its extensive catalogue, jointly organized by the Netherlands Architecture Institute and Delft University of Technology in 2005, had just reviewed the work of the architect group Team 10 and made mention of the GAMMA Grid.[135] The discussions Team 10 engaged with have to be understood in the larger discourse of the modern architecture principles developed at CIAM meetings.[136] It was through my colleague Daniel Weiss, from the gta Archive at ETH Zurich, that I was able to go deeper into the congress's historical documents, as the gta archive hosts the

[134] One member of the Team 10 research team was Tom Avermaete, who researched the architectural collaboration of George Candilis, Alexis Josic, and Shadrach Woods. See: Max Risselada and Dirk van dren Heuvel, eds., *Team 10, 1953–1981, In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005); and Tom Avermaete, *Another Modern: The Postwar Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis-Josic-Woods* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005).

[135] The *Team 10* exhibition and publication was an important base for my understanding of the entanglements of the Casablanca cases with the larger postwar modernist approach on architecture as urban planning. Team 10 emerged in the context of the CIAM congresses and consisted of, among others, Jaap Bakema, Aldo von Eyck together with Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson, and the group Candilis-Josic-Woods. Team 10 criticized the functional separation between housing, work, leisure, and transport in urban planning expressed in the prewar Athens Charter, propagating instead the interconnectedness of housing, street, district, and city. The group acquired the name Team 10 because, at the ninth CIAM in the summer of 1953, they were charged with organizing the tenth congress. Projects by Candilis, Josic, and Woods were on view in the exhibition *Team 10: A Utopia of the Present* at the NAi Museumpark, Rotterdam, 2005. See: Hans Teerds, "Candilis-Josic-Woods: Dialectic of Modernity," *ArchiNed*, December 15, 2005, https://www.archined.nl/2005/12/candilis-josic-woods-dialectic-of-modernity.

[136] CIAM was founded in 1928 and was held until 1959. The CIAM founding architects were Le Corbusier, Siegfried Giedion, Karl Moser, and Walter Gropius, who had mainly European backgrounds. See: Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 5th ed. (1941; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

international CIAM archive, due to the art historian Siegfried Gideon's central role in the organization.[137]

In the Berlin and Casablanca exhibitions, we were able to finally show the GAMMA Grid display in its original panel size from 1953, and also situate it within the complex and conflicting geopolitical relation out of which it emerged. The topic of this chapter is these contextual findings—a context that was understood only through the fact that we had all grid panels in hand. In Berlin, the grid was presented next to the two other grids that were discussed at the ninth CIAM congress alongside the GAMMA Grid. The research into its production and presentation history made us comprehend the larger context and result of the Moroccan planning initiatives that we initially had studied. The housing estates formerly in our focus were seen from another angle, as they once had a much larger impact on postwar architecture discourses than originally thought.

I had already previously been interested in the experimental layout of the Urban Reidentification Grid by the Smithsons, showing photographs of children playing as well as of a child's drawing. This display is well known in the contemporary art world and has been republished several times. Still, I had no idea in that moment that the Urban Reidentification Grid was produced and shown in the same context as the GAMMA Grid, which we ended up searching for in Rabat. This was also true for another even more unknown document, the *Bidonville Mahieddine* Grid of the ATBAT-Afrique office founded by Le Corbusier. It was also presented in the same context as the GAMMA Grid but was found easily, at the Le Corbusier Foundation in Paris, where it was well kept and ready for reprinting, as everything that Le Corbusier has produced has been properly documented.

After tracking down the GAMMA documents in Paris and Rabat and comparing and studying the full textual and visual argumentation of the *Bidonville* Mahieddine Grid and GAMMA Grid and their depiction of their respective local societies, we identified that both studies expressed a specific kind of colonial knowledge production surrounding local living patterns. However this study tended, in the words of philosopher Valentin-Yves Mudimbe, to evidence a defect-based paradigm, which in the case of the GAMMA Grid was the bidonvilles. Negative symptoms are juxtaposed in the grid with "healing

[137] Founded in La Sarraz, Switzerland, in 1928, the CIAM meetings determined urban planning discussions and the development of modern architecture, continuing into the postwar period. Eminent personalities include the art historian Sigfried Giedion (secretary general, 1928–56) and the architects Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Cornelis van Eesteren (president, 1930–47), and José Luis Sert (president, 1948–56).

instruments" of modernist city planning, which would result in the proposal of the Cité Vertical and Cité Horizontale and their specific layouts. Discourses on hygiene are likewise addressed as are the opportunities of modern life in the city, from which "a true proletariat" would possibly emerge from the former slum dwellers. The fact that the protectorate had produced these slums though its racialized spatial politics, as I have argued in chapter 1, is not mentioned in the GAMMA panels. Particularly notable is instead of racist imagery depicting the local population in a state of medieval backwardness, the images used show traditional settlements as well as the shantytown dwellers, and also do not depict already modernized subjects or other classes of Morocco's population. In this context, the GAMMA Grid and its study of the shantytown dwellers and proposals of modern architecture solutions picture an unequal relationship between a healer and a patient, where the patient has not ever asked for help and intervention. The transdisciplinary team of the Groupe d'Architectes Modernes Marocains was enlarged for the production of the GAMMA Grid, employing the expertise of sociologists, anthropologists, and photographers, who, together with the architects and engineers involved, created a knowledgeable authority and a kind of complicit objectivity. It was as if the powers wanted to say, that they have been engaging experts who come from diverse fields to intervene. The grid also created with this approach a recipient who would be ready to submit to the prognosis. This specific relation of objectified visual and textual data is arranged in a special grid and panel structure—one that was developed in the international debates of the CIAM meetings, as I will show in the next part of this chapter. The CIAM Grid structure was a classifying instrument that abstracted empirical knowledge into comparable entities. Conclusions were already inscribed in the format and layout, as the very task of a grid presented at a CIAM meeting was to indicate a problem faced by a group of architects and to find and propose a solution. This was the context in which the GAMMA Grid had been produced and thus a need to further understand its format and argumentation brought me into another archival research process.

I was able to study the CIAM archive over a span of five years, from 2006 to 2011, in the gta Archive at ETH Zurich, where I had already studied the André Studer and Siegfried Gideon estates.[138] Documents in the gta Archive gave me insight into the focus of the

[138] In the frame of the research project *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernism* (2010–12), hosted at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, the research group—and here especially the architect Christina

CIAM congresses before and after WWII. The CIAM congresses shifted over the years from social housing and the standardization of dwellings.[139] The results of the fourth congress led to the codification of the basic principles of modern urban planning in the Athens Charter and to the differentiation of the four essential functions of housing, work, leisure, and transport. After the interruption of the war, the question of rebuilding became the focus of the sixth CIAM in Bridgwater, England, in 1947. The turn to aesthetic and emotional questions (CIAM 7, *Art and Architecture*, Bergamo, Italy, 1949) suggested a softening of the former rationalist doctrine, a process that continued with a focus on the center of the city and the community-building function of architecture (CIAM 8, *The Heart of the City*, Hoddesdon, England, 1951). The last two congresses were dedicated to the comprehensive human habitat (Aix-en-Provence, 1953, and Dubrovnik, 1956).[140] It was in this context that Le Corbusier offered an alternative concept to the Athens Charter, in his introductory speech at CIAM 7 in Bergamo, claiming he would aim to develop a Charter of Habitat.[141] Even though two more congresses were dedicated to the development of the Charter of Habitat, over a period of ten years the CIAM members remained unable to reach a consensus as to how the new charter should be conceptualized.[142] The group had started to rethink what "dwelling" might mean. Is it just the apartment, or does it also include the context of the housing estate and the street and its surroundings? The term "habitat" clearly suggested that it would include interactions beyond the individual apartment where one lives.[143]

Linortner, the philosopher Fahim Amir, and myself—were researching the emergence of the term and concept of "habitat" in urbanist discourse, especially in the CIAM context. We decided to create an alternative habitat map that also includes the geopolitical, transnational, and ideological contexts in which it took place. See: "Habitat," *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernism*, posted in 2012, http://transculturalmodernism.org/page/58?layer=10.

[139] The meeting of the second CIAM, *Minimum Dwelling*, Frankfurt am Main, 1929, was followed by discussions on economic planning of large settlements at the third CIAM, *Rational Building Schemes*, Brussels, 1930, and culminated logically in the analysis of the whole city at the fourth CIAM, *The Functional City*, Athens, 1933. The fifth CIAM congress discussed the relation of dwelling and leisure, in Paris, 1937.

[140] Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

[141] Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 192.

[142] At the CIAM in Hoddesdon, which was titled *The Heart of the City,* the Dutch CIAM members from the Opbouw group had suggested an outline of principles for the Charter of Habitat. One of the first disagreements in the group was the question of how the French term *habitat* should be translated into English and German, as it meant both "the living conditions of any creature" as well as "dwelling or settlement." A second debate was directed at the idea of habitat that addressed modern ideas of dwelling and its environment in particular.

[143] Habitat was thought of as an element of living space, but CIAM members were not sure if "urbanism" would be the correct word, and how a habitat would be organized was not clear. At the 1952 CIAM meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden, it was documented that the new concept of "habitat" was to encompass the everyday space in which both families and working women live, and that it was not restricted to the apartment but extended to social, commercial, health, educational, and administrative services. See: Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 218.

Due to this years-long debate and the differences it fomented among members, a dispute arose at the ninth CIAM meeting in 1953 about the categories and concepts of habitat.[144] In this meeting, younger architects presented new ideas on urbanism and the function of architecture and they argued to retain the goal of urbanism as "the creation of order through form" by combining the disciplines of architecture and planning.[145] All the CIAM member architects and designers from different countries had up until then used a standardized system, known as the CIAM Grid, to present projects by different architects. These grids were hung on the wall and discussed during the congresses. The goal of the CIAM Grid system was to present and compare different modern town planning projects according to set CIAM categories.[146] But, as was found in the gta Archive, Le Corbusier had already started to rework the presentation categories of former congresses, in which urban developments from different international CIAM groups were compared. He developed a grid system with comparable categories that reached beyond the existing ones, aimed at developing the imagined Charter of Habitat to outline categories of comparisons related to the functional separation between housing, work, leisure, and transport.[147]
In calling for an amendment to the 1933 Athens Charter, the younger architects presenting at the ninth congress brought attention to the interconnectedness of the private and public spheres. In particular, the presentation of three CIAM Grids by groups of younger architects who had worked in London, Algiers, and Casablanca caused heated debates on the future of CIAM as an international organization.[148]

One of these presentations, the Bidonville Mahieddine Grid, was designed and presented by the architect Roland Simounet, who, like many French and Swiss architects, was active in Algeria under French colonial rule.[149] The French architects working in Algeria presented a study of the Mahieddine shantytown, analyzing its structure and

[144] The congress in Aix-en-Provence in 1953 was the largest of all CIAMs, while the event in Sigtuna was a major interim meeting with more than 250 members in attendance. See: Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 218.
[145] Mumford *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 7.
[146] Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 219.
[147] See: Sarah Deyong, "Planetary Habitat: The Origins of a Phantom Movement," *Journal of Architecture* 6, no. 2 (2001): 113–28.
[148] See: Mary McLeod, "Le Corbusier and Algiers," in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture, 1973–1984,* ed. K. Michael Hays (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 489–519.
[149] See: Roland Simounet, *D'une Architecture Juste* [A just architecture] (Paris: Le Moniteur, 1997).

characteristic dwellings. A number of the architects involved in these North African studies were also involved in the ATBAT-Afrique office.[150] A second grid that attracted similar attention was the Urban Reidentification Grid by Alison and Peter Smithson, which analyzed daily life in the working-class neighborhood of Bethnal Green in London. The Smithsons argued in their interpretation of the grid structure for a new architectural design that was equivalent to the intuitive and open-ended spatial connections they saw in the way children played on the streets of London. For their grid presentation, they worked with photographer and Independent Group member Nigel Henderson, who had lived in the Bethnal Green neighborhood from 1949 to 1952 and extensively documented its street life.[151] The third study that created much debate at the ninth CIAM had been the GAMMA Grid, conducted in the Casablanca shantytown of Carrières Centrales. For the GAMMA group, "habitat" meant the idea of housing as an evolutionary, adaptive process, especially suited to local climate and technology, beginning with the provision of basic infrastructure and partially self-built housing and evolving—with an expected rise in the standard of living—toward more advanced housing solutions, like Le Corbusier's Unité d´Habitation (Dwelling unit) proposal in Marseille.[152]

Through republishing the panels we were informed that the GAMMA group, under the lead of Michel Écochard, had, as mentioned before, undertaken an extensive analysis of sociological and anthropological studies of dwelling and social interaction conducted by the French protectorate in Morocco for the Service de l'Urbanisme. The studies they produced for the 1963 CIAM presented analyses of hut settlements on visual, statistical, and sociological levels and design proposals based on the insights gained through the

[150] See the online entry by Tom Avermaete on Candilis and ATBAT-Afrique: "ATBAT-Afrique was the African branch of ATBAT, Atelier des bâtisseurs, founded in 1947 by Le Corbusier, Vladimir Bodiansky, André Wogenscky and Marcel Py, with Jacques Lefèbvre as commercial manager. This so-called atelier was conceived as a research center , where architects, engineers and technicians could work in an interdisciplinary fashion. Originally ATBAT was formed to carry out the construction of the Marseille Unité d'Habitation. Due to the tense political climate the ATBAT-Afrique office in Tangiers was closed at the end of 1952. As a result Candilis and Woods became the leaders of the enlarged Casablanca head-office from that moment. However, the changed atmosphere announced the end of ATBAT-Afrique." From "Georges Candilis," *Team 10 Online*, accessed November 20, 2017, http://www.team10online.org/team10/candilis/.

[151] The architectural historian Mark Crinson has analyzed this grid—usually described as an avant-garde study of English working-class districts—as entangled with colonial modernization and knowledge production as well as with the postwar, postcolonial crisis of the British Empire. Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the end of Empire* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

[152] Le Corbusier's major modernist town-planning concepts, like his Plan Obus for Algiers, ignored functioning housing structures or inhabitants who might have had their own logics of settlement, even though the architect took many of his urban and architectural ideas from his travels to the M'Zab Valley in Algeria, as the artist Kader Attia shows in his research on the matter.

various data, which would also find translation into modernist housing projects in the framework of colonial city extension plans in Morocco. The result was—in the eyes of the architects and planners—a design that integrated the bidonville's everyday vernacular practices and local climatic conditions with the modern design concepts of housing and education to promote a new lifestyle and future.

On a formal level, the new buildings promoted in the GAMMA Grid and built in Casablanca were associated in the grid with the idea of a local culture-specific premodern building tradition—the patio house—which was translated by the modernist architects into a stacked block of apartments. It was only the GAMMA group participants at the ninth congress who were able to present completely planned and realized experimental housing blocks—the Cité Verticale and Cité Horizontale—based on the new concept of habitat and the CIAM debates surrounding it.[153] These settlements were the direct implementation of concepts related to the sociological and anthropological investigations, statistics, and visual documentations that the GAMMA group conducted in the shantytown of Carrières Centrales.

All three grids generated by the younger architects at CIAM—the Bidonville Mahieddine, Urban Reidentification, and GAMMA Grids—included not just quantitative but also qualitative methods. All these studies also did not merely present modern urban projects, as their predecessors had, but rather analyzed the everyday activities of people, in the bidonvilles of Casablanca and Algiers and streets of London, as the fabric of social practices. This paradigm shift to analyzing spontaneous settlements, everyday activities, and dwelling patterns radically questioned the existing methodologies for which the CIAM architects stood. The role of architects as "master planners" who knew the needs of the people in advance was relativized. Questions of dwelling were also taken a step further to considering it as a relation between the private and the public use of space.

The three grids were also, in the way they were laid out and designed, an intervention into the existing CIAM Grid categories and normalized forms of representation. Photographs were used as an analytical source, some coming from the street photographic tradition established in London at that time, while others, in the case of the colonialist studies, stood in the tradition of anthropological studies or aerial photography conducted by the French

[153] That the young architects were already allowed to build large settlements, working at as large a scale as the masters such as Le Corbusier in the frame of the ATBAT-Afrique office, speaks to the fact that the housing projects in the colonies for the colonized workforce had the status of recently graduated students' projects.

military. In particular, the Urban Reidentification Grid by the Smithsons, which used images of street life and a child's drawing, disturbed the rigid CIAM Grid order and provoked the older generation of CIAM modernist architects and founders.[154]

In the GAMMA Grid, colonialistic photographs were combined with statistics and diagrams that attempted to make sociopolitical conditions legible. Thus, the modes of presentation propagated by the founding members of CIAM were expanded and reworked in all three grids. With this epistemological shift, the younger generation tried to replace the understanding of "dwelling" as a *machine à habiter* (dwelling machine) with the much wider notion of Le Corbusier's "habitat," but they also included everyday living in the space.[155] The understanding of the built environment through the notion of social practice, as evinced in all three grids, caused a radical shift in modernist conceptions of "dwelling."

The discussions that grew out of these studies of working-class districts and shantytowns in the French colonies led to a generational conflict that ultimately culminated in the dissolution of CIAM as an international organization of the European-centered modernist architectural movement.[156] In the gta Archives, I found letters between Siegfried Gideon and Le Corbusier that speak openly about the problems that might arise if the young architects stayed in the group and were able to promote their ideas further. Thus, the three above-described studies presented at the ninth congress marked a radical shift in approaches to postwar modern architecture through their inclusion of self-built environments and the usage of space as a model for understanding the interrelation of the public and private spheres. Their aim was to conceptualize the term "habitat" with empirical findings. Candilis and Woods and the rest of the GAMMA Grid group attempted to engage their modernist architecture projects with local conditions by

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[154] Proof that this is not just a myth of modern architecture discourse can be found in the gta Archives at ETH, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich, which holds the CIAM archives and all the correspondence of its members. In my research at the gta, and with the help of Daniel Weiss, I found letters from the elder members and their reactions to this proposal. One can also see how the strategy to hand over the organization of the next CIAM, the tenth congress, to the younger architects was thought to be a way to pacify the youth and their new ideas.

[155] Already at the beginning of the modern movement, studies of vernacular architecture in rural environments and across the Mediterranean region, along with its aesthetics, functions, and structures, were partially synthesized into the most modern forms of new industrialized building types, but on a much more formal and morphological level. Examples of this are the arts and crafts movement, the studies of the students of Auguste Perret, and the first Bauhaus school phase in Weimar. Though modernism constituted itself out of hybrid, transcultural translations, modernist houses and settlements, with their whitewashed walls, created a rupture due to the idea of a "pure" ahistorical form and a hierarchy between the modern and the premodern. See: Karla Britton, *Auguste Perret* (Paris: Phaidon, 2008); and Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

[156] See: Mustafa Baghdadi, "Changing Ideals in Architecture: From CIAM to Team X," in *Architectural Knowledge and Cultural Diversity*, ed. William O'Reilly (Lausanne: Comportements, 1999), 165-67

synthesizing the colonized people's established way of life—usually described with the hyphenated term "pre-modern"—and the project of modernization into a new and "other" modernism. The architects involved approached premodern construction forms by studying them in an objectified manner. This was intended to make the colonized transparent and to learn from them. The conditions of production under which the grid had been created were not transparent themselves.

By revisiting these three grids and the outcomes of the ninth CIAM, it became clear to me that the erection of the Casablanca building ensemble and the shantytown studies are not simple "side histories" of modern architecture. Candilis and Woods's Casablanca proposals are not just a case of modern architecture in a non-European location. Rather, the presentation of the GAMMA study and its architectural results had a long-lasting and far-reaching influence on a younger generation of Western architects, who witnessed modernism appearing to adapt to local climatic and cultural conditions and deviating slightly from the universalist path that had been established in the interwar years in Europe. The studies of the shantytowns in North Africa as a self-organized form of dwelling have had a lasting effect on global debates about architecture and urban planning.

The 1953 edition of CIAM and numerous articles in magazines and books helped to disseminate these concepts, which focused on day-to-day living practices and do-it-yourself building. From the late 1950s until well into the '60s, construction forms previously considered premodern were accepted into the canon of postwar modernism. The exhibition *Architecture without Architects* by Bernard Rudofsky at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1964 propagated these ideas internationally. In the 1960s, the preindustrial city, self-built construction and self-organization, and the participation of residents in the planning process became learning models, each revealing a connection with a global, colonialized world in crisis. The GAMMA studies of the bidonvilles in Casablanca further impacted a generation of "non-plan" architects who used participatory planning strategies.[157] The Cité Verticale ensemble in particular opened up questions surrounding contemporary forms of alternate design and decision-making

[157] The anthropological view on improvised forms of housing development was intended to question the universalist planning methods of modernist architecture, which had rarely or never taken into account the usage and appropriation of architecture. Still, vernacular practices of dwelling and building were reinterpreted by the modernist architects of CIAM as "essentially human" and simultaneously as "evolutionary."

approaches.[158] Nonetheless, the study of residents' everyday practices often led to serious misinterpretations and the misnaming of what was actually being observed. As Giancarlo di Carlo stated about participatory approaches, "We should be very clear, and therefore it is indispensable first of all to clarify the basic differences between planning 'for' the users and planning 'with' the users."[159]

What was of special interest for me—when understanding the larger context of the architecture discourses and practices through my archival research—is how the young architects from London, Casablanca, and Algiers intervened on different levels in the representational system of the CIAM Grid, but at the same time rearticulated and reaffirmed the colonial episteme inhered in it. The two North African grids and their new categories not only misnamed the living patterns of the people who lived in the bidonvilles, but they also designed solutions for the shantytown dwellers that were far from answers to their living patterns and needs. The newness of the grids' approach was built on the tradition of colonial representation of the colonized, epistemological shortcomings, and violence.

Thus, even though it was provocative to the older generation of CIAM architects, the GAMMA Grid study was not critically engaged in the political context in which it was conducted—that of colonial rule—and in the particular case of the Carrières Centrales, of the exploitation of phosphate and the workforce in Morocco. The GAMMA Grid did not show the toxic factories in which Moroccan day laborers toiled for low wages. It did not examine the perimeters allocated by the protectorate that designated where rural migrants could settle, far from the colonial city center. Instead, the grid propagated modernization, industrialization, and a new consumer society as a solution for the local population. The colonial regime that undergirded the GAMMA group's architectural experiments and studies of the population and its dwelling habits remained invisible in the rationale of the grid's representational system, despite being deeply inscribed in the colonial epistemic procedure at all levels. The architects' view and the authorship of the subject of their analysis and planning were thus objectified. And with the architectural solution proposed in the GAMMA Grid, the architects applied a double action of learning from the vernacular on the one hand and of abstracting it from the everyday context on the other. In

[158] See: Jonathan Hughes and Simon Sadler, eds., *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2000).
[159] Giancarlo De Carlo (De Carlo 1992: 211) http://www.worldcat.org/title/architecture-of-giancarlo-de-carlo/oclc/503449010

this way, the dwelling practices of the people were translated into aesthetic models grounded in colonial perceptions and narratives.

The studies of the shantytowns and their presentation in the GAMMA Grid thus misnamed existing building and dwelling practices as culturally specific, as if essential to the culture, and were placed under study. A shantytown is not an expression of a local culture but a sign of a hierarchically organized city and of internal migration from countryside to city, an urbanization process still happening around the world today. The building practices the GAMMA Grid referred to were not as foreign as they were made out to be in the grid. Similar building practices occurred in many other Mediterranean locations, including European parts of the region. Historically, the Mediterranean region was also strongly interconnected through exchange and trade long before the twentieth century. The building traditions in these various areas were influenced by each other and can be understood as hybrid, transcultural forms based on exchange and sea trade. Architecture in the region, especially in Morocco, varied from diverse rural forms to that of Berber kingdoms, as well as Andalusian styles, some Arabic influences, and Spanish and Portuguese housing styles.[160] In the floorplans presented in the GAMMA Grid, one finds merely these transcultural variations, such as the inclusion of inner patio space or ways of connecting multiple apartments to a communal area.[161] The Smithsons' argument that the Casablanca buildings were planned to accommodate the possibility of appropriation by their residents is linked to the fact that the housing solutions propagated by the modern architects did not accommodate the needs of people with larger families or extremely low incomes.[162] The idea of appropriating the life of the other into the culture-specific planning scheme represented in the GAMMA Grid was an articulation and evidence of the colonial knowledge episteme that created the idea of the colonized population as an entity radically different from European populations.

In a further phase of research, four years later, I was able to compare the Casablanca projects with similar projects in Beersheba, Israel, in the frame of the 2010–12 project *Model House–Mapping Transcultural Modernism* at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. I

[160] See: Fernand Braudel, George Duby, and Maurice Aymard, *La Méditerranée: les hommes et l'heritage* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1978).
[161] As mentioned in chapter 2, the "culture-specific solutions" were still based on a European conception of a nuclear family and hardly incorporated the needs and ways of living of the people for whom they were designed.
[162] See: Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Primer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974).

argued that the GAMMA Grid, as well as the patio solution of Écochard and his team, did not so much represent local empirical findings, as had been argued by scholars so far, but was in fact more a hybrid of the Euro-American colonial modern discourse of its time and represented instead an *imagined* cultural specificity based on presumptions of the colonial administration.[163] The term "culture-specific" as used by the architects and at CIAM thus led to an understanding of culture—as expressed in the GAMMA Grid—as an "essence" of the colonized, which the modern planner needs to study and investigate and to understand as the ultimate unknown. As for the young European architects, the hut settlements and bidonvilles were merely the spatial expression of a culturally specific tradition of unplanned self-organization depicted as unfamiliar to them.[164] The shantytown study was also a call to reorganize a "disorganized" structure.[165] The images and data selected for use in the GAMMA Grid made an argument for the architects' modernist intervention and also legitimized the principles of classification at the same time.[166] It seemed to be inconceivable to the GAMMA researchers that the shantytown might have existed only because the protectorate forbade the people who lived in it from participating in the colonial society on any kind of equal level. Such self-built settlements were the locus of the first encounter and negotiation with the modern city for many

[163] This context of the CIAM debates and the organization's dissolution, as well as the role the Casablanca case took, led to further interest in this matter, which has also informed follow-up projects and articles. These insights helped to deepen my research for the *Model House* research project.

[164] I discuss this further in my article "Architecture without Architects—Another Anarchist Approach," *e-flux journal* 6 (May 2009), http://www.e-flux.com/journal/06/61401/architecture-without-architects-another-anarchist-approach/.

[165] This role of acknowledging, translating, and ignoring was also bound to the idea of "terra nullius," an uninhabited and/or "uncivilized" space, a characteristic feature of the territorial imaginations, practices, and representational policies of colonial modernism. Nevertheless, the idea of projecting concepts and technologies into an "empty territory" to develop, plan, and order it is a central motif in the emergence of modern urbanism and capitalist societies. For more on the conception of time and modernity, see: Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002); and Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and Avant-Garde* (London: Verso, 1995). On the concept of pureness, see: Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995) and Paul Overy, *White Walls, White Skins. Cosmopolitanism and Colonialism in Inter-war Modernist Architecture*, in: Kobena Mercer, Cosmopolitan Modernisms, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005) 50-67.

[166] References to the self-built were also found in several exhibitions in the 1950s and '60s, like *Mostra Di Architettura Spontanea* by Giancarlo de Carlo, Milan (1951), and the *This Is Tomorrow* project at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, London (1956), a collaboration between the architect Theo Crosby and the Independent Group. Theoretical writings by Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, including *Native Genius In Anonymous Architecture* (1957) and *The Matrix of Man* (1968), and John Turner's studies on self-built housing in the shantytowns of Peru, titled *Housing by People* (1976), are vivid signs of a discourse that can also be interpreted as a crisis of universalist concepts of modernist design practices in mid-twentieth century architecture that opened up for the next generation the virulent question of "Who finally builds?"

people moving to the city from rural areas.[167] The specifically urban—and already modern—character of the self-built environment in Casablanca, which was a means of coping with modern city life as well as colonial subordination, was not taken into consideration by the modern architects, and any sympathies they might have had for the liberation movement active in Morocco at the time, like the Front National de Liberation (FNL), are not expressed in their designs.[168] The fact that technocratic planning was also thrown into question by this younger generation of modern architects, who became interested in the discovery of the ordinary—a shift, celebrated by the Smithson as "found" aesthetics—had encouraged a new relationship to the built environment. But this practice also related to the will of the people to speak for themselves and who resisted against being governed as such.[169] But this was a perspective nowhere to be found in the vanguard gestures of the young Team 10 members.

The architects positioned themselves as representing the needs of the local people while the political system barred the same population from participating in political decision-making processes as citizens. For the young architects, learning from the inhabitants was more or less a matter of adjusting their planning and architecture according to ethnological findings as part of a new planning methodology in which different forms of data were merged. Their concept of observing everyday dwelling also related uncritically to already existing ethnological and anthropological studies and orientalist narratives of African space. By asserting a temporal rupture between the contemporary and the traditional, the modernist architects continued to embrace the possibilities of industrialization and standardized aesthetic forms.[170] Even though they were studying the architectural improvisations of people under deeply precarious living conditions, the architects' underlying goal was to modernize, industrialize, and establish a consumer society by promoting new design solutions. The basic capacity for the young architects to

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[167] See the interview with Horia Serhane, "On Clandestine Housing," in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), 207–09.

[168] In his autobiography, the architect George Candilis tells only one anecdote of meeting one of the Front National de Liberation leaders in the Carrières Centrales. See: George Candilis, *Bauen ist Leben, ein Architektenreport* [Building Is Life : An Architects Report] (Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1978), 7.

[169] See, for example: Claude Lichtenstein and Thomas Schregenberger, eds., *As Found: The Discovery of the Ordinary* (Baden, CH: Lars Müller, 2001); and Felicity Scott, *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics after Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007).

[170] In the final marriage of art and technology—of the artist/architect and technomodernization—the modern movement rejected a vernacular and colonial past in its second phase, the interwar years, which is expressed in the Athens Charter. This technocratic and formal approach of the modern movement experienced a deep crisis in the 1950s (which our project was concerned with), when the next generation took into account the dwellers' environments in designing processes and models for urban planning.

fully realize a whole modernist settlement next to the largest shantytown of its time in Casablanca was fundamentally bound to the circumstances of colonial governance, the episteme of which is based on racial difference and the exploitation of the territory and its people.

The polyvalent histories of the GAMMA Grid in which Candilis and Woods's Casablanca housing project was depicted as a model settlement became a basis for my work on the concept of the *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* exhibition in Berlin. Through analyzing the architects' original plans, visiting the actual housing on site, and speaking with local experts in Morocco, it became clear that supplements to the GAMMA Grid's representations needed to be created in order to recontextualize them. It was thus the document itself that called for annotations and a constellation to be built around it, so as to make it publicly available again. This problematic—that the GAMMA Grid needed contextualization, that it could not stand alone without comment or artifacts countering its narrative and depiction—became finally a curatorial task. It has taken until today for the violence concealed in the grid as well as in its architectural representation to be recognized in the public realm. This topic had not previously been explored, not only because the GAMMA Grid is part of French colonial history, but because the grid's studies and their material and discursive outcomes are regarded as the beginning of the postmodern movement, which reaches into the contemporary. Methodological critiques of technocratic modernism have continued to travel into diverse directions and geographies,[171] but these reevaluations of the concepts presented in the GAMMA Grid were made without an awareness of the colonial epistemes, context, and conditions in which these ideas were conceived.

Moreover, the shared concepts and individual works of the Team 10 architects have been widely discussed and researched by architecture historians, who consistently depict them as a young generation of architects that sought to create an adaptable modernist language that went beyond the elitism of star architecture. However, the colonial and anticolonial conditions in which an alternate discourse of modernism arose has been overlooked in the discourse surrounding European postwar modernism. With our research for *In the Desert of Modernity*, we were establishing an alternate position as we were able to argue

[171] See: Lukas Stanek, ed., *Team 10 East: Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Modernism* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art, 2014).

that colonial modern governing strategies were firmly embedded in European postwar architectural and urban projects. The ethnographic regime was confirmed in the GAMMA architects' use of an anthropological and sociological framework as a device for architectural planning, a new practice that emerged from the postwar modernists' early studies of the vernacular, the self-built, and squatter movements in the colonies. *Team 10: (In Search of) A Utopia of the Present*, the exhibition and publication on Team 10 mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, surveyed not only the colonial context in which these projects arose, but also the events in 1952 when the general strike that led to the independence of Morocco was organized at the Carrières Centrales, right next to the culture-specific housing complex that the GAMMA Grid promoted.[172] Our search for, finding of, and reprinting of the GAMMA Grid and its presentation in the Berlin exhibition together with the other two grids shown at the ninth CIAM, the ATBAT grid from Algiers and the Smithsons' grid from London, similarly reconstituted the relation between the European and North African studies and their discursive context. It reconstituted the parallel between studies of working-class neighborhoods in London, Algiers, and Casablanca. The GAMMA Grid and its ambivalent histories called for a complex narrative, one that would be able to show the architecture projects promoted by the grid as *dispositif* measures to control the ways of living of the colonized in a moment of rebellion against colonial governance, partially organized on site and partially organized from the European continent.

At this point, the collaboration with Serhat Karakayali had proven crucial. Not only were Karakayali and I collaborating on the large-scale exhibitions and research projects *Projekt Migration* (2002–06) and *TRANSIT MIGRATION* (2003–05), but we also, together with Peter Spillmann, became the founders of the Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC) in Berlin.[173]

In regard to the republishing of the GAMMA Grid, we had started to discuss the grid's representational politics and intentions not only as an expression of the successful application of power and policy but also as an echospace or a resonance chamber for the

[172] See, for example, the description of Candilis on the *Team10 Online* website: "Due to the tense political climate the ATBAT-Afrique office in Tangiers was closed at the end of 1952"—which does not clarify whether the anticolonial struggle was already pushing the architects out of Tangiers. 14.03.2018. http://www.team10online.org

[173] See: *TRANSIT MIGRATION*, http://www.transitmigration.org/, and *Tricontinentale*, http://tricontinentale.net/. CPKC engages in radical left and postmigratory contexts and practices. We act beyond the fields of existing institutional frames such as universities, contemporary art spaces, and art academies.

worldwide collapse of the colonial empires. This perspective allowed us to situate the study of the everyday of the colonized within the global histories of anticolonial struggles and the independence of former colonies that were marching onward in the 1950s and '60s. Thus, instead of thinking about the urban projects in Morocco as the fulfillment of governmental power as only a top-down approach, we were thinking about them in terms of a rupture in the ability to plan. The idea of adaption of the culturally specific was making its way into architectural discourse worldwide at a time when the empires were declining. The impulse to learn from the colonized, to study their dwelling practices, happened right at the moment when anticolonial struggles were occurring worldwide.[174] Thus we started to see the GAMMA Grid as a signifier of a shift in French colonial governmental strategy at a time when anticolonial uprising was becoming a factual force.[175] The objective of an inquiry into these modernist architectural discourses and practices could thus not be solely that of identifying the colonial roots of the emergence of modernism on the African continent. Instead, we at CPKC started to also establish an alternate understanding. The heterogeneity of colonialism and modernism could also be seen as a field of tension, as in a state of constant flux of domination and resistance, sometimes located in the simultaneity and dependency of the transnational migration of people, thoughts, and practices.

As discussed in chapter 2, the insights that arose on site in Casablanca—that the universal approach of modernism had clashed with everyday practices and had turned into a political question when the uprising was taking place at the construction site—were gained partially due to the transnational social space that the project created between Casablanca and Berlin. But they also arose due to the activist networks that Karakayali, Spillmann, and I are embedded in; for example, the transnational KritNet project (Netzwerk Kritische Migrations und Grenzregimeforschung) was in contact with No Borders activists in Morocco and Tunisia. With the help of antiracist friends in Paris, it was also possible to create a social network for the research in Morocco. Thus we were able to track down documents about the uprising on the construction site of Cité Verticale, thanks to the researcher and activist Jim House, who found evidence of the

[174] See: Douglas E. Ashford, *Political Change in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961); Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007); and John Munro, *The Anticolonial Front: The African American Freedom Struggle and Global Decolonisation, 1945–1960 (Critical Perspectives on Empire)* (Cambridge: University Printing House, 2017).
[175] In the British context around the same time, this has been called the politics of "indirect rule," and in the French context it was applied as the "assimilation" discourse.

military intervention at the Carrières Centrales in an archive in Lyon, as mentioned in chapter 2.[176]

The need to create a complex narrative that would contextualize the new methodologies of architecture, its discourses and representations, and the study of the everyday dwelling practices that originated in the "urban laboratories" of North Africa became our common task. And this needed to be discussed against a background of anticolonial movements and the decline of imperialism, as it was exactly those colonial vernacular spaces from which the architects wanted to learn that became the origins of the resistance against the colonial regime. The modernist mass housing structures and their symbolic function as a governing force might even have been primary in fomenting resistance against the foreign rulers. Simultaneously—and this is essential—the struggles of the anticolonial liberation movements were left out from European history and were also locally expressed only by activists and inhabitants on site, as discussed earlier.[177]
The "Laboratory of Urbanism," as Casablanca was proclaimed by the French government, was also a temporary and conflicting space of the negotiation of modernity, where spaces used to govern a population were also spaces of resistance against this governance, and where the promises of modernity were claimed and challenged in a rather unexpected manner. Due to anticolonial resistance, this "laboratory" lost its laboratory conditions, as its objects of investigation and planning turned into subjects of modernization in their own right and under their own conditions. Conceiving of colonial territories as a laboratory of modernism therefore meant, for Karakayali and myself, reflecting upon this ambivalence within modernism. The relationships and polyvalences expressed above were not to be seen as asymmetrical power relations between two unchanging parties. The inherent emancipatory potential of modernism partially enabled anticolonial liberation movements to constitute themselves successfully in their struggle against colonial powers in the postwar period. In response to the global liberation movements, the critics of imperial Europe in fact

[176] Jim House is a historian who focuses on the history of colonial shantytowns and urban colonial governance (including that of Algeria, Morocco, and France). He has also published on the Algerian War of Independence (1954–62) and its postcolonial memories. Moreover, he has studied the history of antiracism, anticolonialism, and racism in France since 1890 and has been conducting further research into the two bidonvilles in Casablanca and Algiers following the end of my project. Also see his text, co-authored with Andrew S. Thompson, "Decolonisation, Space and Power: Immigration, Welfare and Housing in Britain and France, 1945–1974," in *Writing Imperial Histories*, ed. Andrew S. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 240–67
[177] See: Okwui Enwezor, ed., *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945–1994* (Munich: Prestel, 2001).

started to write a different modernism, namely one that would exist as a utopia outside the realms of dominance, control, and discipline.

This concept of negotiation that Karakayali and I were collaboratively developing and working with detached itself critically from approaches that regard modernism and modernization—even in a colonial context—solely as impositions. This understanding constituted the core of the conceptual frame of the project, which I will reflect on in the following chapters. We claimed that negotiations over colonial modernity have taken and are still taking place, not only in the form of different types of artistic expression, planning techniques, and developments of modern housing, but also as the product of encounters between different actors, architects, sociologists, and planners with (colonized) inhabitants, architects, sociologists, and planners and their equally modernizing modes of practicing and appropriating.

The GAMMA Grid claimed it was the study of the everyday of bidonville inhabitants. This went alongside the discovery of the everyday and the dweller as an actor of new planning ideas. The grid made us ask questions of why and to what ends the everyday is studied and how this study has been historically embedded in power relations that try to control or legitimize the policing of people by making transparent the political powers.[178] In our project, this called for further reflection, as we ourselves had started to be interested in everyday actions, as I show in chapters 1, 2, and 3. The making of the exhibition was thus also concerned with the question of how the study of the everyday, common culture, and the popular can become oppressive or liberating. It is often considered liberating when the everyday aims to generate more and broader access to the means of production, for example, when it is used to rearticulate culture as a terrain for struggles against identity, as Stuart Hall has put it.[179] The finding of, reflection on, and republishing of the GAMMA Grid was key to following these questions, as well as a comment by Valentin-Yves Mudimbe, who states that even though we dislike acknowledging it, the colonial archive and its knowledge production have been created transdisciplinarily. His reflection includes a revision of critiques of anthropological and sociological methods and knowledge production about the African continent. Mudimbe,

[178] See: Hal Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer?," in *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); and Jones Gareth Stedman, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society*, 4th ed. (1971; London: Verso, 2013).
[179] Stuart Hall, "Culture, Resistance, and Struggle" in *Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*, ed. Jennifer Daryl Stack and Lawrence Grossberg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 180–206.

whom I invited as a key lecturer to the opening conference at Haus der Kulturen der Welt in 2008, responded to this invitation not on a meta level but concretely, in relation to the exhibition and the display of *In the Desert of Modernity*. He rightly showed that exhibiting truth claims about historical events is by its nature an artificial construction.[180] This was also addressed in our conceptual frame as well as its spatial layouts, which I will talk about in the next chapter. Still, this artificial construction has its limitations. It also asks for further and ongoing contextualization and new perspectives on a matter that its time-based mode does not often allow.

Nevertheless, it was a visual document—in itself an artificial construction of a reality—the GAMMA Grid, that had called for an intervention into the existing canon, and that also caused a turn from research to analyzing and exhibiting. In relation to a document that was central to our research as well as that of future researchers, we had decided to make it available through republishing. While this republishing of the GAMMA Grid will likely only be read as a side story of the "real" thing, the exhibition, in fact it was much more, as I have shown in this chapter, as it made us rethink and understand coloniality.

As the GAMMA Grid was an expression of a transdisciplinary study under colonial rule, undertaken by a diverse group of sociologists, anthropologists, military and civil photographers, architects, and city planners, the grid also calls for reflection on the call for transdisciplinary research in the neoliberal university. Our collaboration between an architecture historian, a sociologist, and an artist and exhibition maker was likewise a transdisciplinary project, but not one commissioned by our universities or any governmental power. It also did not aim to provide evidence of another culture or claim that we would become experts on Morocco and its living patterns. Rather, we created a transnational social space of exchange between scholars, activists, and artists from Northern Europe and North Africa.

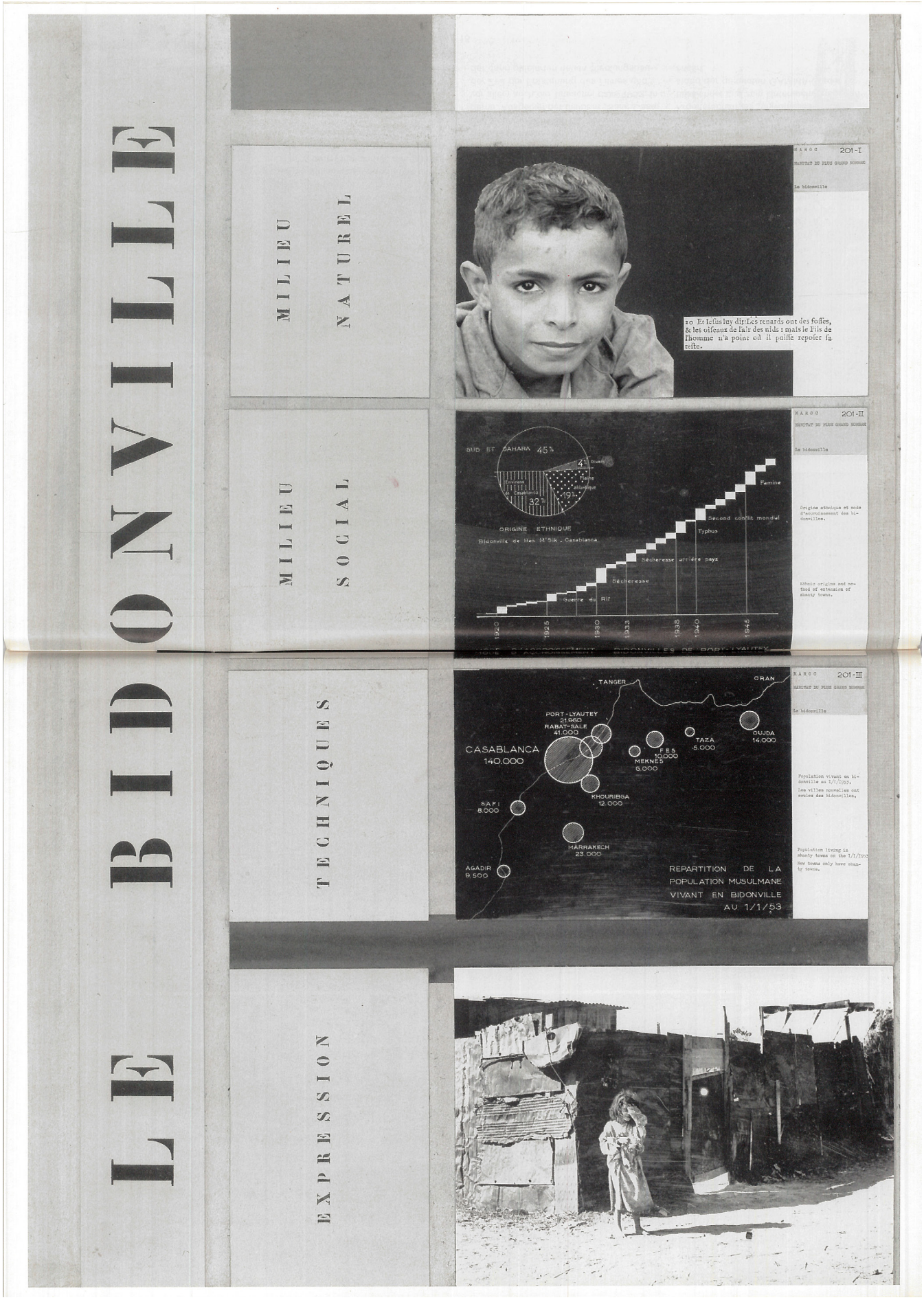
And within the research itself, each of our disciplines was put into question. Still, we were in a privileged position of being part-time researchers and professors of European universities and art academies, and thus able to finance our trips; even if on a precarious

[180] Critiques regarding the rational of anthropological methodology have been expressed since the 1990s, as, for example, in: James Clifford and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

basis, these institutional incomes made our work possible. Moreover, we conducted our travels on EU passports, and thus in the context of our self-initiated research collaboration, we were acting as privileged agents between European and non-European narratives and experts on modernisms and their contemporary readings. Still, our journeys, exchanges, communications, and different backgrounds created a web of relations within different but associated worlds, from architecture faculties, to antiracist networks, to artists and researchers in Morocco, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Algeria. This network was not based on the fixed national identities of its actors but instead founded upon diverse migratory existences. It was also not sustained through a research initiative or funding.

The making of a research-based exhibition takes all these complete activities for granted. It does not create an infrastructure for the process of making, studying, or of collaborative exchange. Thus, the still-existing contemporary condition of making an exhibition holds onto the idea of realized and sellable works to be shown and does not acknowledge and address the precarity of research actors involved. This is even more true when working together with people who are not partially funded through academic jobs or acting in parainstitutional self-organized entities. Thus the informality of the research process on which a project exhibition is based, and its invisibility in the final outcome, creates tensions that today ask increasingly for other forms of organizing research-based project work and making it accessible, even in the process of its making.

PROTECTORAT
TRAFIC TOTAL
EXPORTATION
IMPORTATION
1915
1926
1936
1950
Activité du Port de CASABLANCA.
Activity of the port of CASABLANCA.
POPULATION TOTALE
POPULATION RURALE
POPULATION URBAINE
8.225.000
6.344.900
1.880.100
1920
1926
1931
1936
1947
1952
Evolution démographique et croissante de la population urbaine.
Demographic and increasing evolution of urban population.
1950
1920
1850
30 ANS
Comparaison de la population urbaine et rurale France-Maroc.
Comparaison between french and moroccan urban and country population.
AUGMENTATION
SUPERFICIES
POPULATION
36.466 H
121.198 H
1931
154 Ha
1946
162 Ha
Engorgement des Médinas.
Crowding of Medinas.
MAROC
104-I
MARITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
Introduction
Aujourd'hui CASABLANCA constitue une des plateformes de transport du continent Africain.
To day CASABLANCA constitue one of transport platforms of African continent.
LONDON
FRANKFURT
NEW YORK
EL KAHIRA
DAKAR
ABIDJAN
GAO
MAROC
104-II
MARITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
Introduction
Tanger
Larache
Port-Lyautey
Rabat Salé
CASABLANCA
Meknès
Fès
Taza
Oujda
Oued Zem
K.Tadla
Beni Mellal
Midelt
Safi
Mogador
Marrakech
Tinerhir
Erfoud
Agadir
SITUATION DE CASABLANCA
d'après DESMAZIERES
Les échanges du Maroc Moderne.
Exchanges of modern Morocco.
MAROC
104-III
MARITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
Introduction
PORT-LYAUTEY
RABAT
CASABLANCA
OUJDA
SAFI
AGADIR
ZONE
DE
NOMADISME
Migrations internes.
Internal migrations.
Type de construction en nouvelle Médina
Type of construction in new Medina
Nouvelle Médina
New Médina
Le Bidonville
The Shantytown



Six panels of the Groupe d'Architectes Modernes Marocains (GAMMA) Grid, 1953
Presented in Aix-en-Provence at the ninth Congress for International Architecture (CIAM)
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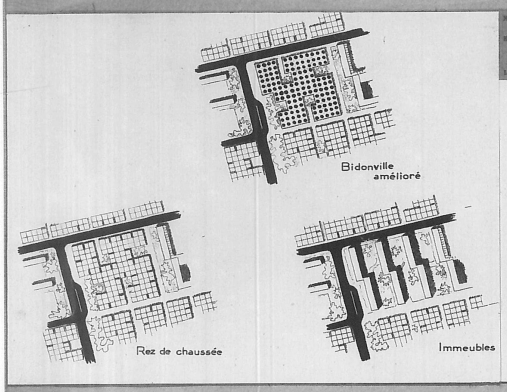
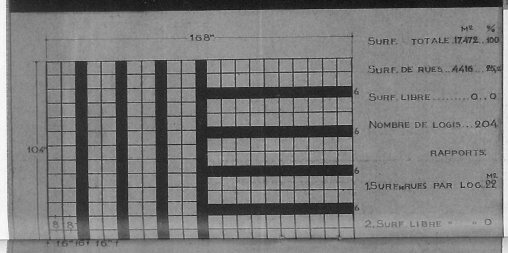
CONCEPT



MAROC 602-I
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Dans le cadre de l'évolution de l'habitat marocain, la concentration horizontale se situe entre le bidonville amélioré et l'immeuble, forme future de l'Habitat.

In the evolution of moroccan housing, horizontal concentration takes place between improved shanty town and the apartment, future form of housing.



MAROC 602-II
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

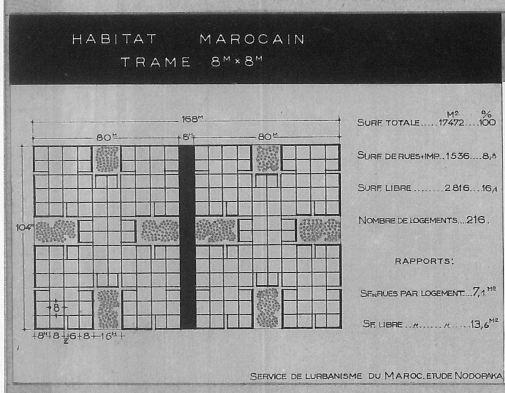
Etude schématique d'une solution simpliste nettement inorganique employée communément par les lotisseurs.

Schematic study of a simple and quite inorganic solution used in the beginning by real estate dealers.

MAROC 603 II
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Image de l'expérience systématique très médiocre sur le plan économique et désastreuse sur le plan psychologique.

Image of systematic experience, very bad on the economic plan, and quite disastrous on the psychological one.



MAROC 602-III
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

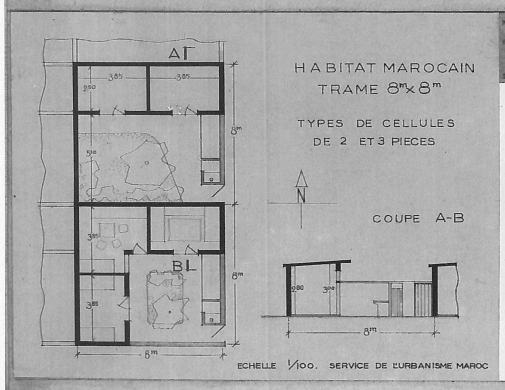
Libération d'une grande partie de la voirie en faveur des espaces verts à l'échelle du bloc, prolongement du patio, embryon d'une vie sociale.

Liberation of a great part of public roads and streets to the benefit of green spaces proportionate of the block ; prolongation of the patio. Embryo of a social life.

MAROC 603-III
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Ici un équilibre règne entre le patio, les espaces libres et la voirie.

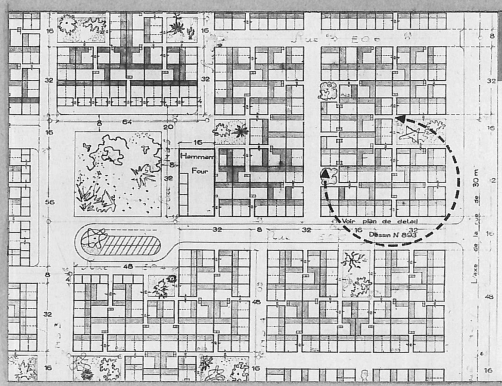
Here, there is a balance between the patio, the free spaces and the public streets.



MAROC 602-IV
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Détail d'une trame 8X8 comportant des maisons à 2 et 3 pièces avec un patio très aéré.

Détail of a frame 8X8 including 2 and 3 room houses with a well aired patio.



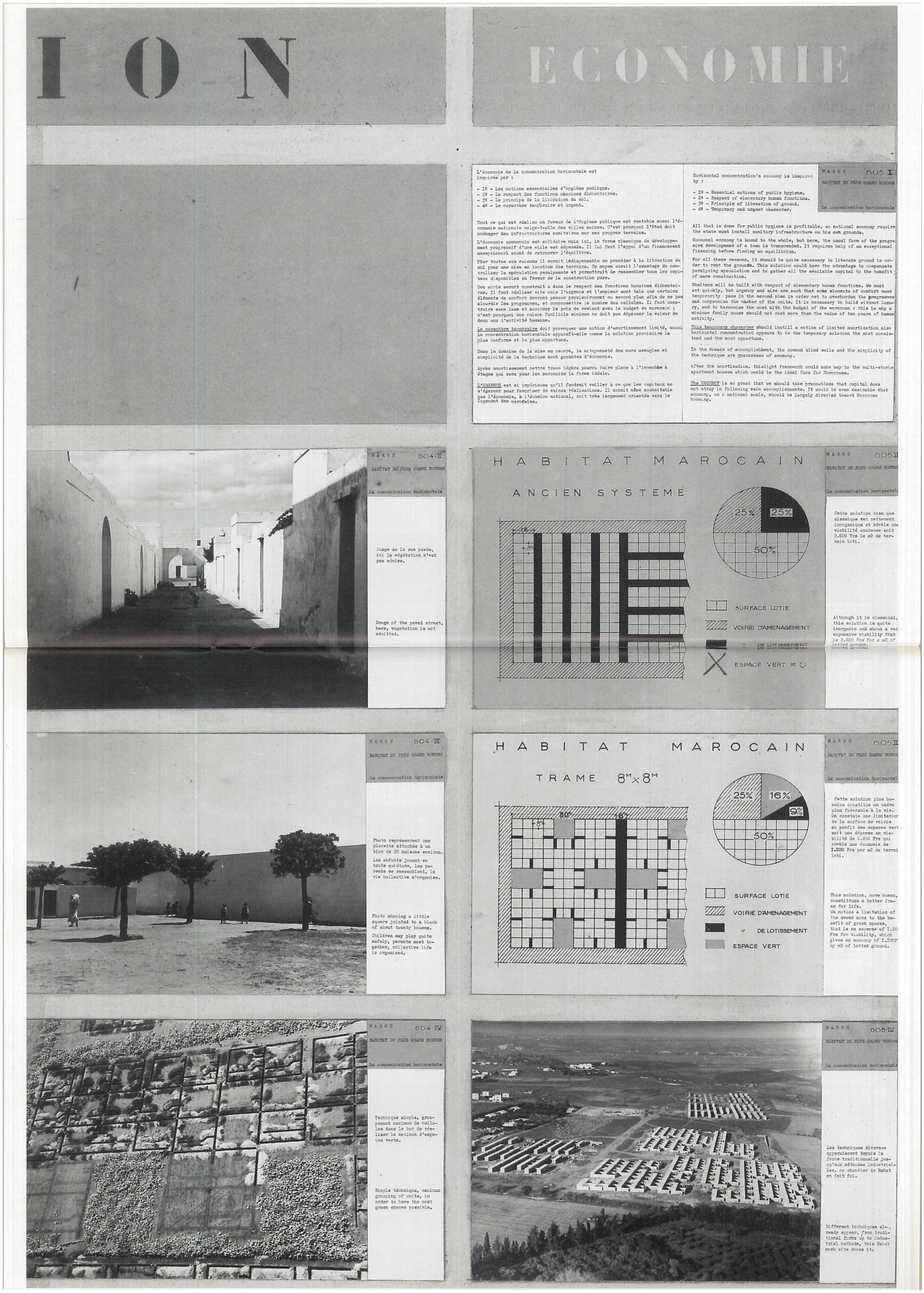
MAROC 603 IV
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Etude d'une trame 8X8 illustrant le rapport entre le patio, la placette attachée au bloc et la place publique commerciale.

La voirie est réalisée à 2 degrés.

Survey of a trame 8X8 explaining relation ship between the patio, the little square joined to the block, and the public commercial market-place.

Common sewer is at two degrees.



Six panels of the Groupe d'Architectes Modernes Marocains (GAMMA) Grid, 1953
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HYGIENE

. I .

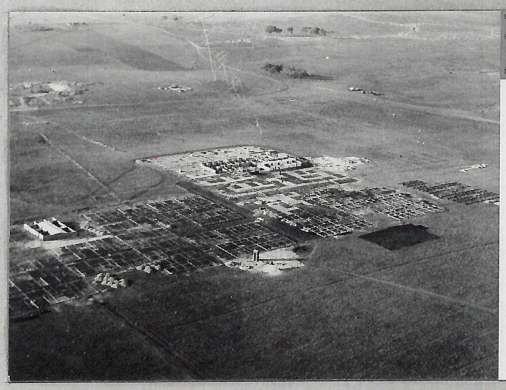
UNE PART CONSIDERABLE REVIENT A L'INSALUBRITE DES VILLES DANS L'ORIGINE DES AFFECTIONS CONTAGIEUSES ET DES MALADIES CHRONIQUES, SOURCES PREPONDERANTES DE LA MISERE ET DES FLEAUX SOCIAUX.

LE LOGEMENT EXERCE UNE INFLUENCE PROFONDE SUR LA SANTE SUR LA VIE FAMILIALE SUR L'EDUCATION ET L'AVENIR DES JEUNES.

IN THE TOWNS INSALUBRITY HAS A CONSIDERABLE RESPONSABILITY IN THE BIRTH OF CONTAGIONS DISEASES AND CHRONIC ILLNESSES PREPONDERATING SOURCES OF THE MISERY AND SOCIAL CALAMITIES.

THE DWELLING HAS A DEEP INFLUANCE ON HEALTH FAMILIAL LIFE EDUCATION AND FUTURE OF THE YOUTH.

MAROC 606 I
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale



MAROC 607-I
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Le choix du milieu est fait, cette réalisation s'insérrit en un lieu parfaitement sain.

Environment is chosen, and this realisation is accomplished in quite a sanitary place.

MAROC 606-II
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

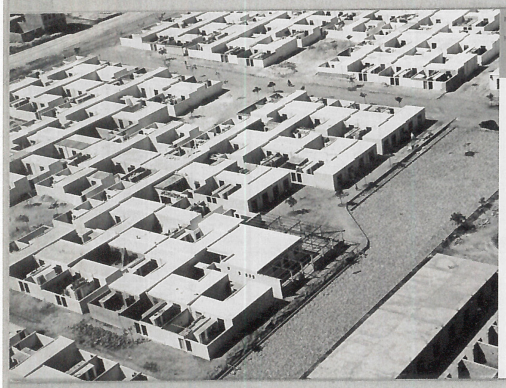
C'est au foyer que se déroule la plus grande partie de notre existence quotidienne aussi un logis sain constitue un milieu social idéal. La sérénité de ce marocain en fait foi.

Most part of our daily life is spent at home. So, a healthy dwelling constitutes an ideal social center. This native's happiness proves it.

MAROC 607-II
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Elever un enfant sur le pavé des rues, c'est le priver de tout ce que la nature peut lui donner de santé, d'éducation et de joies.

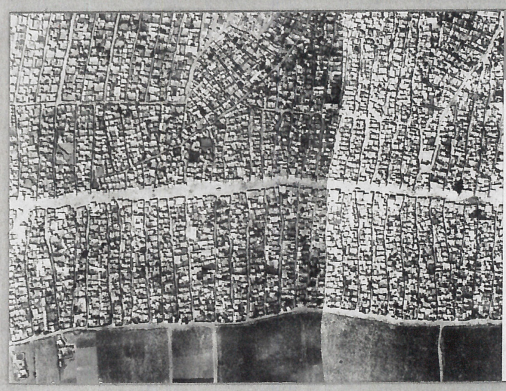
To bring up a child on paved streets deprives him from all the nature could give him of health education and joys.



MAROC 606-III
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
concentration horizontale

Realisation à Casablanca, expression assez complète de la concentration horizontale faite d'harmonie et d'équilibre.

Realisation in Casablanca, fairly complete expression of horizontal concentration, composed of harmony and equilibrium.



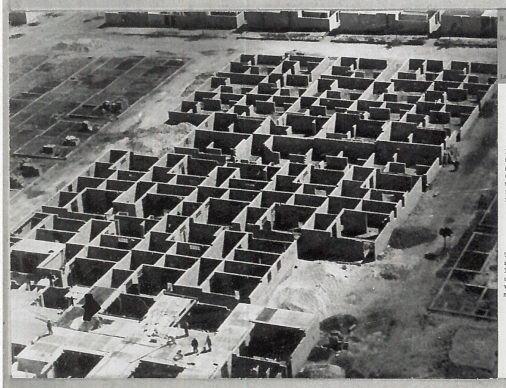
MAROC 607-III
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

L'assainissement s'impose ici.

L'affligeante accumulation de cellules en matières inflammables constitue à la fois un danger pour la sécurité et un péril sur le plan de l'hygiène.

Here, cleanliness is absolutely necessary.

The terrible accumulation of units in inflammatory places constitues a safety hazard as such as a sanitary one.



MAROC 606-IV
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Ici la technique apparait nettement : murs mitoyens générateurs d'économie, construction simple conforme aux possibilités très réduites de l'ouvrier marocain.

The technical is clearly seen here : common walls leading to economy, simple construction according to very small means of the moroccan worker.

MAROC 607-IV
HABITAT DU PLUS GRAND NOMBRE
La concentration horizontale

Ce chantier révèle la réalisation intégrale de l'infrastructure.

This work site reveals integral realisation of infrastructure.

ECONOMIE TECHNIQUE

" Quoi qu'on fasse ce sera toujours trop cher....." V.B.

Les gens habitent des baraques qu'ils ont construites avec les moyens du bord :

- planches
- bidons
- boîtes de conserve
- paille
- fil de fer, etc....

C'est l'éternelle histoire de l'homme qui cherche son abri.

L'homme trouve un emploi,
une boutique s'installe,
l'autobus passe,
la mosquée se construit.

LA VIE S'ORGANISE : C'EST L'HABITAT

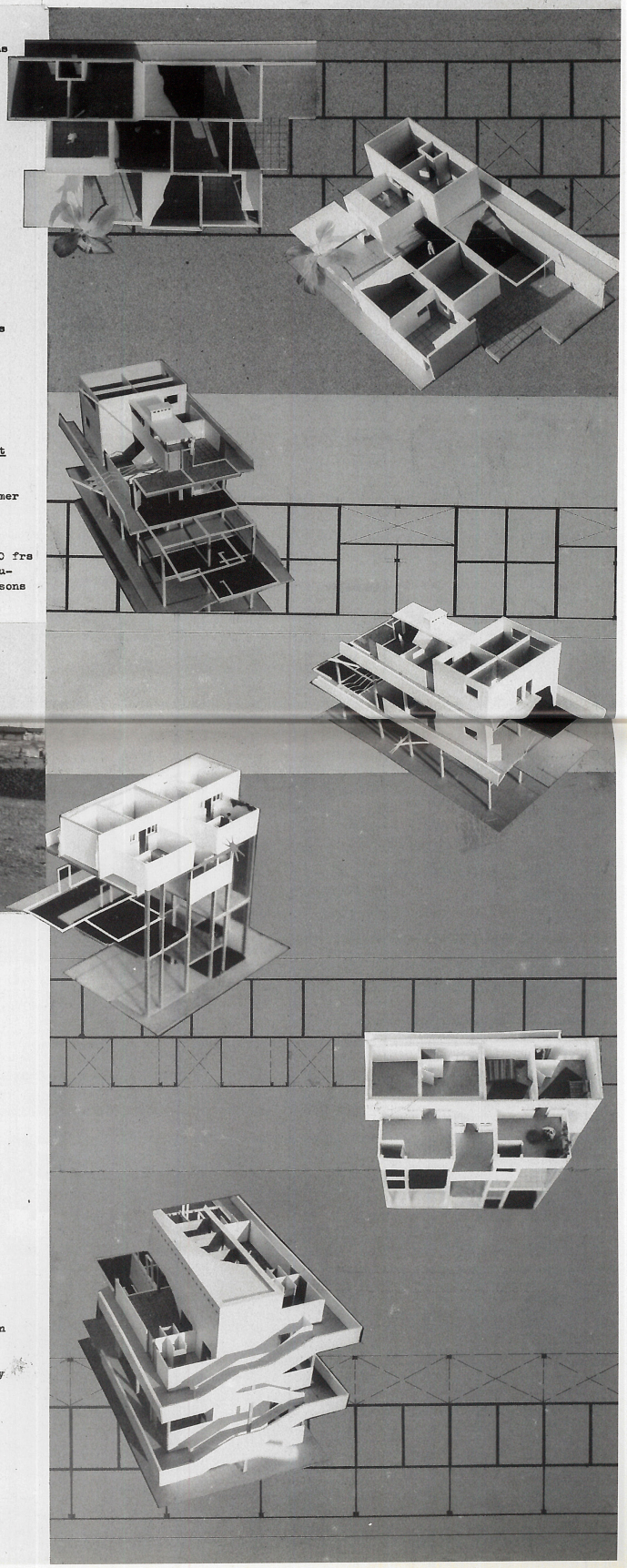
La notion d'abri ne peut plus être considérée isolément : nous sommes déjà en face d'uns structure économique d'un corps organisé et les cellules de ce corps, périmées à peine construites, se transforment en fonction des besoins et des moyens.

Les bidonvilles du MAROC abritent aujourd'hui des travailleurs d'un standard très bas, six fois plus faible que celui d'un Européen.

La transformation de l'habitat des bidonvilles suivra obligatoirement ces données économiques : IL FAUT CONSTRUIRE SIX FOIS MOINS CHER.

Il n'existe pas de critères exacts, mais il apparaît possible d'estimer la valeur d'une cellule familiale au prix de revient des deux années de travail d'un ouvrier.

En 1953, le salaire moyen d'un ouvrier marocain est d'environ 150.000 frs et celui d'un Européen d'environ 1.000.000 de frs; la cellule d'un Européen coûte au MAROC 2.000.000 de frs et la solution que nous proposons coûte six fois moins cher soit : 330.000 frs.



" No matter what is done, it will always cost too much...." V.B.

The people live in shacks that they have made with the means they have at hand.

- boards
- oil drums
- tin cans
- straw
- wire, etc....

It is the old story of man seeking his shelter.....

A man finds a job,
A shop opens,
A bus goes past,
A mosque is built.

LIFE IS ORGANIZED : IT IS HABITATION.

The idea of shelter can no longer be considered individually; we have already before us the economic structure of an organized body and the cells of this body, (scarcely finished before they are outdated) are transformed in fuction with needs and means.

Today, Moroccan shantytowns shelter workers of an interior standard of living, a standard six times lower than that of an European worker.

The transformation of shantytown housing (Habitation) will obligatorily follow this economic rule :
WE MUST BUILD AT A COST SIX TIMES LOWER

There are no exact criteria, but it seems possible to estimate the cost price of a family unit at the value of two years work of a laborer.

In 1953, the average salary of a Moroccan worker is about 150.000 frs (Doll.375.00) and that of a European about 1.000.000 francs (Doll. 2,500.00). The dwelling of an European costs, in Morocco, 2.000.000 francs (Doll.5,000.00) and the solution which we propose costs six times less or 330,000 francs (Doll.825.00).

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Chapter 5

In Public

With this thesis, I am looking beyond the research-based project exhibition as an event and focusing on the making and continuity of its concerns and collective forms of knowledge production. I have so far reflected on the project's emergence within a teaching context located amid a gentrification process in Switzerland, as well as revisited the knowledge gained through site visits, collaborations with public and private organizations, and unexpected encounters in Casablanca. In chapter 3, I discussed the knowledge production generated through an artistic project related to popular cultures expressed within modernist housing projects, as articulated in YouTube posts. Next, in chapter 4, I discussed the agency of a document—the GAMMA Grid—including our team's search for it and subsequent republishing of it, which called for a revision of preexisting viewpoints and presumptions about the settlement project of Cité Verticale and Cité Horizontale, which had provided the initial impulse to initiate our transnational work group over a period of four years. Each of these specific highlighted elements addresses preconditions, approaches, and practices of my extradisciplinary investigation that reach beyond the temporal performance of an exhibition. With this fifth chapter, the focus on making is taken further, as I discuss how gained knowledge and diverse modes of study—even though they can be addressed as existing in a state of permanent incompletion, as Marina Vishmidt has noted—become constitutive for the making of an exhibition.[181] The central focus of this chapter is how the conceptual frame and spatial layout of *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* was created through transforming research into the project iteration exhibited at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW) in Berlin in 2008.

The transfer from research insights into an exhibition is not a given. The act of translation and materialization into an exhibition format is, in my practice, based on the development of a particular conceptual framework that is produced to narrate particular intentions. This conceptual framework—highlighted in the second and third section of this chapter—is constituted through research insights as well as through films, documents, contemporary artworks, republished and reprinted archival material, as well as the site and production conditions of the host institution. The site-specific context in which an exhibition is situated has always been reflected in my practice. An institution co-produces not only through funding and the given timeframe, but also though its

[181] Marina Vishmidt, "Beneath the Atelier, the Desert: Critique, Institutional and Infrastructural," in *Marion von Osten: Once We Were Artists (A BAK Critical Reader in Artists' Practice)*, ed. Maria Hlavajova and Tom Holert (Utrecht: BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, 2017), 237.

infrastructural conditions and the locality and cultural context in which it is situated. This contextual question will be discussed in the first section of this chapter.

Moreover, making research public and translating it into a temporal, three-dimensional narrative also means that the gained knowledge leaves the otherwise invisible circle of researchers and practitioners who worked together to produce it. In making research knowledge public in the form of an exhibition, including its newly made visual works, it becomes accessible to a larger audience. Exhibition making depends here on a contingency, as it speculates that through the publicity of a show, it can become an intervention into hegemonic narratives—in this case, those of postwar modernism. Through the making of *In The Desert of Modernity*, the transnational exchange and the knowledge gained across the Mediterranean could possibly become common knowledge and leave the group's intimacy and single authorships. With the making of a project exhibition, the individualized forms of knowledge production of scholars and artists are partially transferred into a public good, as for the exhibition's duration the knowledge is released from exclusivity and specific forms of ownership. This last point relating to public goods and accessibility and to institutional and infrastructural concerns, I will return to in the fourth and final section of this chapter.

I.

In 2007, Bernd Scherer invited me to one of the first concept workshops organized under his new directorship at HKW. I was asked to present research for a possible exhibition related to discussions on multiple modernities.[182] The invitation and my participation had diverse genealogies. Since Scherer had visited the large-scale exhibition project *Projekt Migration* in Cologne, which I had directed with Kathrin Rhomberg between 2003 and 2006, he was in contact with both of us to think about migration as a social, cultural, and political force that challenges the nation state. When he took the position of director at HKW, he was also looking for a new conceptual program distinct from previous programs of the organization, which had focused on contemporary art and culture production outside Europe. Scherer's idea was to instead address European and German entanglements with global cultures. His focus on transnational relations, including

[182] See: Shalini Randeria, "Entangled Histories or Uneven Modernities: Civil Society, Caste Solidarities and Legal Pluralism in Post-Colonial India," in *Unraveling Ties. From Social Cohesion to New Practices of Connectedness*, ed. Yehuda Elkana et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2002), 284-311.

migration, transfer, and translation, matched my own concerns.[183] Even though existing work relations as well as newer personal encounters were formed outside institutional frames, the open invitation by Scherer in 2007 to develop an exhibition project gave the research and inquiries their presentable and public form. At this time, I invited Serhat Karakayali and Tom Avermaete to be co-curators, as it was clear that expertise from outside the artistic field would be needed to make the exhibition.[184]

Even though HKW was at that time hosting and producing highly interesting shows and events, it was not yet fully recognized as a major player in the international contemporary art world, as it is today.[185] HKW still partially functioned as a site of recreation, as the historical Tiergarten Park was one of the important hangouts for Berliners before it became part of Regierungsviertel; HKW is situated between the Spree and the Tiergarten park. Today, it is located viewing distance from the Chancellery and not far from the Reichstag. The aspect of it being situated both in and outside of the contemporary art world also enabled it to a much wider audience than existing art spaces in Berlin at that time. Because of the openness and the inter-arts nature of the program, hosting diverse discursive cultural events as well as literature, film, music performances, and art and architecture exhibitions, a wide range of people visited. This larger public made HKW an interesting institution to collaborate with for practitioners working in hybrid fields. Preparing the project exhibition in a transitory moment of directors and programming also helped to keep the hybridity of the research and interest angles productive.

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[183] It matched as well the concerns of the informal working group that I was still strongly associated with from the *Projekt Migration* project, which included Regina Römhild, Sabine Hess, Peter Spillmann, Brigitta Kuster, Madeleine Bernstorff, Serhat Karakayali, and Vassilis Tsianos. *Projekt Migration* was a multipronged research project and exhibition shown between October 1, 2005, and January 15, 2006, at Rudolfplatz, Friesenplatz and Kölnischer Kunstverein in Cologne. It was an initiative of the German Federal Cultural Foundation (Kulturstiftung des Bundes) in cooperation with DOMiT e.V. (Documentation Center and Museum on Migration), developed from 2002 to 2006 to establish a common research method that was built on the collaborative efforts of academics, filmmakers, media activists, and artists. Researchers and artists focused over two years on the formation of new European border regimes in relation to Germany and on migration movements to and from southeastern Europe. In addition to publishing research reports and texts, we organized workshops and two international symposia and produced films, sound pieces, and artistic projects as part of *TRANSIT MIGRATION*. See: http://www.transitmigration.org.

[184] Other central collaborators were the architects Jesko Fezer and Andreas Müller from the magazine *An Architektur*, who together with the graphic designer Anna Voswinkel were responsible for the exhibition design. With these new, mainly Berlin-based collaborators, the conceptual layout, creation of narratives, and translations of thought into material form became the central task.

[185] HKW can be seen today as one of the major players in the field of contemporary curating and research-based exhibitions. The hybrid format of a research-based exhibition, one could argue, has become the norm in this context and not a deviation from the mainstream, as had been the case for the project exhibitions of the 1990s.

Already before Scherer's directorship, a series of curatorial projects produced by HKW had been foundational to the changing direction of the institution, such as the ones organized by the artist and curator Shaheen Merali between 2004 and 2008.[186] HKW was also one of the platforms of Documenta 11 in 2002, a fact that also greatly shifted the public perception of the institution. Another important guest project made me especially interested in HWK: the 1999 exhibition and research project *blank-Architecture. Apartheid and after*, realized by the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI).[187] The South African philosopher and architect Hilton Judin, in cooperation with a team of sixty architects, photographers, filmmakers, and writers, directed the research for the exhibition. This exhibition analyzed the history of South African architecture, urban planning, and development during and after apartheid. The exhibition was foundational for my work, as it reflected the social and political function of architecture and urban planning, a topic not common in Euro-American architecture discourse at the time. In my previous artistic practice as well as in my work as an exhibition maker at the Shedhalle Zurich, questions around the sociopolitical function of architecture and the organization of space were central concerns.[188] The collective and political endeavor of *blank-Architecture. Apartheid and after* had thus a lasting effect on my work, which is also expressed in the title of *In the Desert of Modernity*, which references the former in its subtitle—*Colonial Planning and After*—out of respect for and in solidarity with the *blank* project.

For *In the Desert of Modernity*, HKW's concrete building was of interest, as it formerly was the Congress Hall, built in 1956 as a present to West Berlin by the United States. The Congress Hall's purpose was to create public debate, and was intended by the Americans to reeducate postfascist Germans in democracy (even though its architecture was based on a passive sender-receiver model). The Congress Hall is an architectonic statement, a monument of Western powers, built on bombed land in viewing distance of the Reichstag and on the border with the German Democratic Republic.[189] The year it was

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[186] Shaheen Merali curated *The Black Atlantic: Travelling Cultures, Counter-Histories, Networked Identities* (2004), *Dreams and Trauma: Moving Images and the Promised Lands* (2005), *China–Between the Past and the Future* (2006), and *Re-Imagining Asia, One Thousand Years of Separation* (2008) at HKW.

[187] The exhibition *blank-Architecture. Apartheid and after* was produced by the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAi) in 1998–99. See: Judin Hilton and Ivan Vladislavić, eds., *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 1998).

[188] See, for example, my articles on one of the projects, such as: "Sex&Space: space/gender/economy," in *Altering Practices: Feminist Politics and Poetics of Space*, ed. Doina Petrescu (New York: Routledge, 2007), 213–40; as well as the project website http://www.k3000.ch/sex&space/info.html.

[189] In Germany, the *International Building Exhibition* comprised permanent building sites intended to be an international demonstration of state-of-the-art architecture that centralized the modernist movement on German territory. Building exhibitions included the Mathildenhoehe in Darmstadt at the beginning of the

opened, in 1956, was the same year Morocco gained independence. But not only the relevant time period of its construction was of interest to the project; likewise, its near proximity to a high-modernist housing test site was crucial.

The Congress Hall/HKW was erected in the frame of the Interbau Berlin permanent building exhibition, in the neighborhood of Hansaviertel in the Tiergarten district. The new Hansa neighborhood was constructed from 1953 to 1960 as part of the International Building Exhibition (IBA), which opened in 1957. The Interbau was constructed as a kind of fairground to promote modern ways of living and new building methods. It was an exhibition with 1:1 architecture models to be visited and later to be inhabited. The exemplary architecture proposals were still entrenched in the garden-city paradigm, under the promise of a soft modernism.[190] The housing proposals were built in areas that had been completely destroyed during the war, as they were part of the Reichstag and Government districts. Thus the whole area chosen for the postwar building exhibition in Berlin was highly symbolic. Figures invited to make new architectural statements were, for example, Walter Gropius, brought back to Berlin from his exile in the U.S., and members of Team 10, including Jaap Bakema, who was involved in producing modernist "test settlements," in this case for postfascist Germany.[191] Le Corbusier also participated with a test housing project at the 1957 IBA. In the frame of our project, the orientalizing, sexualizing, and colonizing arguments and depictions found in Le Corbusier's notebooks and paintings already indicated his political standpoint. In the context of the Berlin exhibition, we decided to link these notebooks and drawings with his activities for the ATBAT-Afrique office in Algeria and Morocco, as described in chapter 4.[192]

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century, the Weissenhof Estate in the 1920s in Stuttgart, and the Interbau in West Berlin in the late 1950s. The Interbau was also a reaction to new urban schemes developed in the GDR. With advice from Soviet colleagues, GDR architects had formulated sixteen principles of urban development. The Stalin Allee, today Karl-Marx-Allee, was planned to include residential complexes for workers in the style of socialist realism.

[190] This idea is expressed also by the Tel Aviv–based architect Zvi Efrat in an interview with me: "An Architectual Overdose. On Planning Discourse of Late 1950s and Early 1960s Architecture Projects in Israel," in *Transcultural Modernisms*, ed. Model House Research Group (Berlin: Sternberg, 2013), 201–9.

[191] Architects involved in the Interbau in Berlin were: Alvar Aalto, Jacob Berend Bakema, Luciano Baldessari, Paul Baumgarten, Johannes Hendrik van der Brook, Eugène Beaudouin, Le Corbusier, Werner Düttmann, Egon Eiermann, Kay Fisker, Alois Giefer, Reinhold Gotthilf, Günther Gottwald, Walter Gropius, Gustav Hassenpflug, Hubert Hoffmann, Willy Kreuer, Günter Hönow, Arne Jacobsen, Fritz Jaenecke, Johannes Krahn, Ludwig Lemmer, Raymond Lopez, Wassili Luckhardt, Eduard Ludwig, Hermann Mäckler, Wolf von Möllendorff, Hans Müller, Oscar Ribeiro de Almeida Niemeyer, Hansrudolf Plarre, Sep Ruf, Sten Samuelson, Paul Schneider-Esleben, Franz Schuster, Hans Schwippert, Otto Senn, Hugh Stubbins, Max Taut, Sergius Ruegenberg, Pierre Vago, Gerhard Weber, and Ernst Zinsser,

[192] In 2015, studies by young scholars shed a light on his complicity with fascism and the Vichy government See: Xavier de Jarcy, *Le Corbusier, Un fascisme français* [A French fascist] (Paris: Albin Michel, 2015); and

In preparation for the show at HKW, I also started to conduct research at the Bundesarchive (German Federal Archive). Here, I traced an exhibition that once was on display at the Congress Hall in 1966 curated by the art historian Udo Kultermann, which presented photographs of new modern architecture by French and British architects built in Africa in the 1950s and '60s. The black and white photos were presented on simple steel-frame displays. This link to Kultermann's 1966 exhibition brought about further information. It clarified that the architecture projects from North Africa had circulated in Berlin's architecture debates in the mid 1960s, and thus had a historical reception in Germany as well. From the documentation images and papers we found in the Federal Archive, it became clear that the exhibition included photographs that had been published in *Neues Bauen in Afrika* (New building in Africa) in 1963.[193] This finding was also referenced in the design concept of our exhibition, using elements that quoted Kulturmann's exhibition layout.

Kultermann was one of the early art historians looking beyond the Euro-American frame; yet still the building examples included in his exhibition were mainly created by Western architects formerly engaged with French or British colonial powers. However, Kultermann also argued in this early testimony that the geopolitical condition of worldwide liberation movements not only changed the former colonized world, but also questioned the Western hegemony of universal planning methodologies. Moreover, he was the first art historian to acknowledge non-Western architects, in his later studies. Architects like Elie Azagury, Patrice de Mazieres, Abdeslem Faraoui of Morocco, Yasmeen Lari of Pakistan, and more well-known figures such as architects Yona Friedman and Moshe Safdie developed approaches that tried to overcome the segregating conditions of former colonial cities.[194] This finding gave the exhibition at HKW a further anchor for its narrative.

Marc Perelman, *Le Corbusier. Une froide vision du monde* [Le Corbusier. A cold vision of the world] (Paris: Michalon, 2015).

[193] The name "Neues Bauen" (new building) relates to a movement in architecture and urban planning in the period before World War I in Germany up to the time of the Weimar Republic (1910s to 1930s). It is also known as "international style." It is interesting that Kultermann was playing with this title when it was on modern architecture in Africa, since, as one can clearly see in the publication, building practices in the African colonies or postcolonies shifted away from the path that is associated with the Neues Bauen movement.

[194] In 2011–12, I headed a project at the Parisian art institution Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers that asked how the historical process of decolonization has changed the epistemological structure of thought and radicalized aesthetic production. For this I also interviewed Yona Friedman in Paris.

The exhibitions in Berlin and in Casablanca (one year later) were both site-specific contextualizations produced for and with each location.[195] When making the exhibition in Berlin based on the cases in Casablanca, I had to consider that the show would be read in the larger context of German modernism, including Berlin's pivotal role in modernist experiments from the co-op movement to social housing during the Weimar period. In addition, after World War II modern housing and urban planning projects in Germany acquired a symbolic function for the future-oriented reorganization and ways of life under Fordist conditions. In postfascist Germany, this also had a two-sided interpretation due to the competition system and the division of the city. The 1957 IBA and the Congress Hall were clearly both Western interpretations of and ideological statements on new ways of living in a capitalist consumer society. But by the end of the 1960s, modernist housing complexes promoted by the 1957 IBA had already become, and would remain, international symbols of the failure of modernism. Described as inhospitable because of their strict functional separation of work, leisure, and housing and their isolation from city centers, postwar modernist architecture and above all social housing would come to be considered negatively.[196] Thus it was clear that our exhibition would, in one way or another, relate to these popular discourses and local receptions of postwar urban planning. Due to the engagement on site and the site-specific contextualization, it was possible to develop a perspective of transmodernity and connectivity, whereby the modern has been circulating in different forms and concepts and caused diverse interpretations in different ideological settings and local conditions.[197]

II.

One central decision in developing the final layout and concept for the exhibition was to take the above-mentioned site-specific insights into account and to rethink linked

[195] In contemporary artistic practices, a site is a physical and spatial locality produced by cultural and political conditions. In my PhD project, I use the term "site developed" through artistic practices as a material and discursive formation. As Miwon Kwon has also elaborated, the space of representation is no longer only understood as a spatial condition but as an ideological disguise and as a normative convention that serves an ideological function. See: Miwon Kwon, *One Place After the Other: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 13.

[196] A shift in perception that can be found in the French association with social housing as "ghettos," as expressed in chapter 3.

[197] The epistemes and practices that we referred to in colonial urban planning of the 1950s constituted the unjust system of colonial occupation and governance of foreign territory and were built on the ideology of the empire, and in part lived further in third world development discourses. But these planning attitudes were not just employed by European powers in the colonies or non-European locations; they were also foundational blueprints for the social urban fabrics of the French *banlieues* and the postwar working-class housing projects in Switzerland and the postfascist city of Berlin, which still mark the contemporary organization of space and its class hierarchies in these cities today.

histories. The specific way in which this type of research-based practice is translated into an exhibition differs from the making of a thematic exhibition curated with works by contemporary artists or historical works of art. It also differs from the making of a design exhibition, arguing based on design objects or the designer's personality. It is in the process of researching, thinking conceptually, editing, and constellating by which exhibits possibly become able to interact with an audience. For *In the Desert of Modernity*, the task was to make, on the one hand, the colonial modern attitudes of planning perceivable and, on the other, to show how segregating and authoritarian forms of governance have called for resistance against it. The aim was to provide insight into the relation of the power regime of urban planning and architecture and the subject positions of architects and planners who started to study the colonized, as discussed in chapter 4. Last but not least, we also wanted to convey that some of the addressed paradigms and governing tools continue to operate today.

The first decision made with my co-curators was to take the empires' decline as a starting point to discuss the larger epistemological shifts in planning attitudes of the late 1950s and '60s instead of thinking about regional cases. This approach was meant to represent the breakup of a whole visual, conceptual, and epistemological framework that we call modernism in the moment of geopolitical transformations after WWII. Thus, we decided to revise the discourses of modernism and postmodernism by looking at social struggles and transnational relations and negotiations that were taking place during the time of the building initiatives of the French protectorate in Morocco at the moment of rising independence movements. We did this by focusing in particular on the Cité Verticale and Cité Horizontale and the Sidi Othman complexes, as key cases from which paradigmatic shifts in planning attitudes arose locally, as well as focusing on the critique of modernism internally debated at the 1953 CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne).

To clarify our ideas and insights, five concepts were discussed that would focus and structure the existing research so far and help find a way to translate the research into a medium. The five concepts were: the transnational character of architecture; the autonomy of migration; the anthropological turn; anticolonial struggles and solidarity; and negotiating modernity.

The first and second concepts—the transnational character of architecture and the autonomy of migration—which address another understanding of the case and its ambiguity, highlight the transnational relations caused by colonialism and the emerging liberation movements that made people leave their local contexts as well as made architects discard their technocratic planning attitudes. For the exhibition, we reflected on how architects, urban planners, and inhabitants were in one way or another "displaced" for geopolitical reasons, and how they had come to be situated outside their former social and geographical living conditions.[198] The condition of displacement implies the emergence of semantic, semiotic, and praxeologic vacancies in the relation between physical and social space. It is these vacancies, which Tom Avermate, Serhat Karakayali, and I discussed, that make it possible to question, refuse, or adapt colonial modern forms of governance. And it is these vacancies that open up the space for all involved actors to develop alternative and innovative practices and strategies to engage with colonial modernity to produce something different beyond it. Displacement and the transnational relations it creates were thus not understood just as a closure but also as a *surplus* that can produce unexpected encounters and emergences.[199] In the case of our project, displacements were constitutive for new planning attitudes and perspectives on the everyday, as well for the transformation of existing housing structures and self-built annotations. Further, it had become clear, due to all of our preparations and studies on site, that these conflicts were also based on transnational encounters and contacts and the various migrations between Africa and Europe of architects, workers, dwellers, and anticolonial fighters. The misrecognition of migration as cultural identity, instead of acknowledging it as a stage of becoming and/or a social movement that constantly calls the ability to plan into question, became a central concept. This concept does not argue for an imperfect version of modernism, but for something different in which traditional and modern, old and new coexist uneasily in a state of dynamic tension.

The third point, the anthropological turn, was chosen to reflect the acknowledgment of the practice of the everyday as undertaken in the GAMMA Grid and by the Team 10 group. The challenge was to narrate what Valentin-Yves Mudimbe has called the cohesion of history writing, anthropology, and the colonial archive—which already in

[198] The group of architects George Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and later also Alexis Josic had migration backgrounds themselves.
[199] For more on the idea of the surplus of the global, see Sarat Maharaj's remarks in: "The Surplus of the Global / A conversation between Marion von Osten and Sarat Maharaj," *Texte zur Kunst* 91 (September 2014), 132–51.

the 1950s operated transdisciplinarily and created a new epistemology to make the colonized subject transparent to the colonizers. With this, the concept of an anthropological turn has to be understood as ambivalent: translations of vernacular building practices into modern forms became the basis of urban planning in the postwar era and also resonated in Europe with a shift of the colonial epistemology, which feared resistance against its powers. The anticolonial project that acted and networked with subaltern and clandestine knowledge was a danger to these powers. The fact that the architects' studies of living patterns occurred in the moment of upheaval also speaks about the relation between the invisible forces of anticolonial organization and the will to make the life of the colonized perceptible to the planners. The architecture proposals and studies of vernacular building practices were triggered by the colonial government to gain knowledge about the colonized as well as triggered by the fear of uprising, which was in fact ultimately organized from the *bidonvilles* in Casablanca as well as in Paris. The different roles and functions assigned by the architectural culture to "learn from" the everyday and vernacular throughout the second part of the twentieth century as an ongoing will for a "democratization" of architecture had to be questioned against this background.[200]

The fourth concept, anticolonial struggles and solidarity, was related to the conception of colonial territories as a "laboratory of modernism," as the urban planning schemes in Casablanca were called; this required reflecting upon the ambivalence and critique within modernism. Relationships were not to be seen as asymmetrical power relations between two unchanging parties. In our conceptual outline, we discussed modernism as the result of conflict-ridden and contradictory reinterpretations.[201] The inherent emancipatory potential of modernity also enabled anticolonial liberation movements to constitute themselves successfully in their struggle against the colonial powers. It was clear that an exhibition on this matter had to address the lines of conflict between colonial modernity and movements for liberation. In response to the global liberation movements, the critics of imperial Europe started to write a different modernism, namely one that exists outside the realms of dominance, control, and discipline. The aim of the exhibition was to shift

[200] In relation to this context, see also Mogniss Abdallah, *J'y suis, j'y reste!: les luttes de l'immigration en France depuis les années soixante*. [Here I am, Here I stay ! The struggles of migration in France since the 1960s.] (Paris: Reflex, 2000)

[201] A video showing inhabitants of the Sidi Othman building, which I produced together with the art collective Labor k3000, can be viewed via the Casablanca grid on the *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* website, this-was-tomorrow.net.

perspectives and to focus not just on the colonial conditions of modernity as based on traditional distinctions between civilized/uncivilized, ruler/subjects, and specialist/layman, but rather on the historical conjuncture of modernity and its internal critique. With this understanding, modernism is not to be reduced to a medium of joyful emancipation, as was often believed in the 1950s.

The exhibition thus proposed that modernism was an effect of transnational and transcultural encounters. Critics of imperial Europe started to write their own modernities and modernisms in response to the global liberation movements in the postwar era.[202] Many intellectuals from the Global South studied in Paris, Berlin, and London and the anticolonial struggles were mostly organized exterritorially and internationally, as one can witness in, for example, the Tricontinental movement, of which the pan-African thinker and anticolonial fighter Mehdi Ben Barka was a foundational member.[203] Emphasizing these lines of connection and conflict was important for the conceptual outline, not just because they have been overlooked by historiography and its colonial archives, but also because they point to commonalities and to a postcolonial future, which is still unfinished and rife with conflict right through to the present day. In the "short century" of global independence movements, as Okwui Enwezor has phrased it, modernism went through phases of reappropriation that resulted in a heterogeneity of multiple, localized modernisms, which emerged in a constant flux of domination and resistance in the postwar and Cold War eras of decolonization. Thus, the relationship of the West to the non-West has likewise constantly been transformed under colonial, anticolonial, and postcolonial conditions. With the exhibition we aimed to focus on cracks in the colonial modern, and the resistance both against and within it. The exhibition's aim was to reveal the ambivalences in the relationship between colonial governance and the utopias of modernity, showing the degree to which civilizing and modernist utopias are grounded in colonialism, as well as the ruptures within colonialism

[202] See: Okwui Enwezor, ed., *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945–1994* (Munich: Prestel, 2001).

[203] Born in Salé, near Rabat, in 1920, Mehdi Ben Barka became involved very early in the fight against the French protectorate. After independence in 1956, King Mohammed V made him president of the National Consultative Assembly, but Ben Barka quickly took a position very critical of the regime. He founded the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP), which, with Istiqlal, another opposition party, won more than 50 percent of the vote in the legislative elections of May 1963. The ensuing repression against him was massive. Twice, Ben Barka was sentenced to death in absentia. He was exiled in Paris, where he was abducted and murdered in October 1965. Because of the continuing war in Algeria, which the postcolonial elites in Morocco tacitly supported, relations with France were strained, but close ties were maintained. Morocco still depended on French technology and financial aid after independence. This aspect was overlooked in our first iteration of *In the Desert of Modernity*.

and resistance to it. Thus it had to display the events, projects, activities, and visions between North Africa and Europe that, at the time of liberation movements, once played—and continue to play—a role in this relation of a colonial modern.
In regard to the fifth point, negotiating modernity, we developed the exhibition's concept with the idea of negotiation among diverse actors with widely differing privileges. This perspective was already experienced when we began our explorations of the settlements in Casablanca. These negotiations, which continue to take place in the form of different types of aesthetic expression, planning techniques, and the development of modern housing, are also the product of physical and/or mediated encounters between different actors, as in the case of the utopian projects of modernist Western architects and planners with non-Western politicians, inhabitants, artists, and activists. Through close examination of exemplary architectural and urban projects, *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* revealed that the North African region had functioned as a catalyst for European modernity. We were able to stress that key concepts of postwar modern architecture are firmly rooted in the logics and governance of colonialism. Generally, there seems to exist an ambivalent kinship between the emancipatory promises of the modernists and the domination systems of colonialism. Moreover, the architectural and urban projects for Casablanca and Algiers, such as those that architecture offices like ATBAT-Afrique conceived "in a laboratory-like condition," played not only an important role in not only colonial modernization, but subsequently also in provoking a postmodern critique of architecture.

III.

With our project, modernism was understood not as a coherent unity, but as an internally conflicted movement that created a multiplicity of outcomes. With the five concepts mentioned above, my intention was to assemble multiple materials, works, and voices to create an exhibition layout in an open and non-linear manner. Our conceptual layout was already an assemblage, an imagined dialogue between conflicting positions, actors, and parties. This was to unfold in the exhibition, rather than proposing a theme exhibition on a certain case in modern architecture in a particular geopolitical condition. With the open invitation that HKW had offered me, a notion of the "colonial modern" thus emerged out of the exhibition making in a rather unexpected way.

Despite my considered approach to our conceptual framework, the disciplines of art and architecture history, as Kobena Mercer has pointed out, are often lacking this specific perspective in their methodologies and objectives, although modernism always has been transcultural, as it emerged out of contact with a global system of transnational flows and exchanges. As Mercer has expressed, it was in modernist primitivism that (unequal) exchanges became most visible, but the transcultural character of modern globalization "also entails the necessity to question the optical model of visuality that determines how cultural differences are rendered legible as 'readable' objects of study."[204] Readability and the optical model of visuality, as expressed above, are the tools of exhibition making, and likewise when trying to bring transculturality into the public realm. A paradox emerges when trying to grasp transcultural and transnational relations and conflictual encounters of the colonial modern, as encounters, conflicts, and negotiations cannot easily by extracted from an image or an object. With our conceptual framework in mind, the challenge was to find a way of making perceivable the encounters, conflicts, and translations that cannot be read in an image or object. We agreed that the exhibition should be able to draw links between modernism and colonialism whereby both concepts are intrinsic to and for each other, as well as links to the anticolonial movement that created a rupture in the certainties of the colonial modern.

In an exhibition, artifacts, plans, photos, videos, and documents in part take up the role of the written word. An exhibition's task is to narrate through artifacts and visual productions, which usually come with very strict conditions about providing collection and ownership information. Thus an exhibition's whole arrangement is constructed through an ocular-centric perception that relates to a process of borrowing works from private and public collections.[205] As a result, exhibitions in large part depend on the institutional framings and modes of research that have constituted these collections, as already mentioned in chapter 4. With the making of an exhibition, it is not only the issues and findings that are made publicly debatable beyond the scope of scholarly research and artistic authorship, but also the borrowed objects and documents. In a

[204] Postcolonial critique in art history such as Mercer's does bring relational, transcultural, multiperspective, and multiactor thinking into play to stress the limits of the readability of images and objects themselves. See: Kobena Mercer. "Art History After Globalisation." In *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future*, edited by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten. (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010) 235.
[205] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of a Museum: History, Theory, Politics (Culture: Policy and Politics)* (London: Routledge, 1995), 124.

spatial three-dimensional arrangement, loaned items and discourses all have to speak partially for themselves and partially to each other and with each other.

The exhibition attempted to collect in a single space the defining asymmetries and asynchronicities of the crisis of modernity that we had indicated through our research. My intention was that different points of view were to be experienced in space, without extensive explanatory or interpretive texts. Instead of following a chronological structure or a causal chain of reasoning, I laid out eleven material and conceptual clusters that created smaller entities from our five conceptual points. These went under the titles: "Colonial Planning," "Atelier Afrique," "Cités d'Urgences," "Transnational Anti-Colonialism," "Bidonvilles," "Learning From …," "Transformation," "From Machine for Living to Habitat," "Opération Million," "Housing Struggles," and "Traveling Architects." In each instance, the cluster or thematic unit pursued one specific argument. The organization of the eleven entities in the space was not intended to connect them to each other in one causal or chronological chain. With the creation of independent units, my idea was to allow for the reading of not just the information they proposed, but also for a thinking in-between them and the ability to connect the thematic clusters.

Thus the exhibition concept addressed not only what is visible—that is, what can be shown and exhibited—but also what is not seen and cannot be shown. In this way, I intended that the exhibition could become a constructed narrative in its own way. My aim was to allow a process of knowing for the audience that was not governed just by our insights. In that way, knowing would consist of being in dialogue with materials and issues, and also of associating, interpreting, and digesting them in a process of cognition, which also includes walking through a space. This spatial layout expressed the desire to empower the audience to interpret in a way that a didactically designed exhibition would not want to concede: giving power to the audience to discover the relations and antagonisms that the exhibition sets in motion.[206]
My intention with the spatial layout was just the opposite of a didactic-style exhibition; it was not designed to give an overview, but to make concrete engagement possible with each of the eleven units and the connecting or conflicting lines between them as well as the voices in the space. In this way, strolling as a mode of getting to know, of gaining

[206] Valentin-Yves Mudimbe states that this conceptual frame also unfolds the cohesion between history writing and anthropology.

knowledge, was also applied in the layout. It was not possible to critically receive it as one coherent statement or one timeline with one insight, nor through one rigorous argument, such as, for example, modernism being a colonial governing tool. Instead, we decided to conceptualize the exhibition in terms of a polycentric narrative where diverse actors, practitioners, and cultures of knowledge enter into a dialogue that, in turn, *creates* rather than *displays* the exhibition's knowledge. The relations, links, and crosscurrents generated by the assemblages of the exhibits were an approach referencing and informed by Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of chronotopy.[207] Time and space relations were constructed and tried to open another view on the epistemological past.

The exhibition traced histories of inhabitants, architects, colonialists, and scholars involved in the projects of modernism. Recent works of art by Kader Attia and Hassan Darsi as well as my own projects realized with Labor k3000 highlighted contemporary trajectories of these historical developments as conflicting voices. Architectural models, illustrations, and plans by Georges Candilis, Michel Écochard, and Alison and Peter Smithson captured the visions and concepts of modernist utopias and their revisions. Sexualizing and orientalist accounts in paintings and drawings by Le Corbusier provided a marked contrast to paintings by Chaïba, a well-known autodidactic Moroccan painter and member of the CoBrA group in the 1950s,[208] which were placed in juxtaposition to Le Corbusier's fantasies, as a woman with her own voice in art history.

In the section entitled "Housing Struggles," posters of migrants' actions for decent housing were displayed next to photographs of the 1950s and '60s planners' mass-housing projects. In addition to the *THIS WAS TOMORROW!* project, based on voice and filmic statements by inhabitants of modernist housing settlements and antiracist networks from the *banlieues*, as described in chapter 3, we had been able to conclude that the architects who had built in the French colonies and the postcolonies had also been engaged in the urban modernization programs in France and Switzerland.

Photographs by Monique Hervo, Loïk Prat, Robert Doisneau, and Willy Ronis represented the different aesthetic approaches of the postcolonial situation and its

[207] Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).
[208] CoBrA was formed by Karel Appel, Constant Corneille, Christian Dotremont, Asger Jorn, and Joseph Noiret in 1948 in Paris. The group shared an interest in art informel and abstract expressionism as well as Marxism.

political struggles in the 1950s and '60s in Paris, confronting the materials from Morocco with the similar struggles of postcolonial migrants in the capital of the republic. In a selection of poster supplements to the magazine *Tricontinental*, published since 1966 in Havana by the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAL), the link to the wider global context of the anticolonial struggle and solidarity movements was made. Rarely seen film footage of interviews with activists from the former bidonvilles in Nanterre and Saint-Denis and inhabitants of the colonial housing programs in Casablanca connected the struggles against colonial occupation and for independence.

Both exhibitions of *In the Desert of Modernity*, at HKW in Berlin in 2008 and at Les Abattoirs in Casablanca in 2009, addressed the above-mentioned conceptual thoughts. Both presented as well as created new public statements and communications from artistic and political perspectives, which circulated in a historical period but also resonate today. Nevertheless, the fragmentary nature of the material displayed in the exhibition, which rendered it impossible to reconstruct a complete picture, was also a precarious position to take. However, this position was not just our choice, as it was also affected by the archives holding back material selected by the protectorate. Additionally, materials related to the anticolonial movements had been destroyed or was nonexistent. Thus, our exhibition display reflected the sketchy, incomplete character of the material basis available when reexamining coloniality. For each exhibited object and document, a small steel rack was built that determined the spatial dramaturgy. It could only stand upright if it was connected to another exhibit and steel rack, leaned against a wall, or had an auxiliary construction attached to it. Each document, photograph, and projection wall was dependent upon the other elements and upon the space and the context. The empty back sides of the steel racks referred to the gaps in the archive and the construction of narration that aims to decolonialize the materials and their histories.

Moreover, together with the design team, it was decided that information panels should neither explain the exhibits, as in a museum exhibition, nor be read as a fixed resource. The texts were printed on transparent Plexiglas and attached to the same wobbly steel legs as the exhibits. As a result, their setup formed connections with other exhibits and thus could be read as exhibits in themselves. If visitors wanted to read the text panels, they had to take up a particular position in the room. Such an

approach also meant that the audience had to respond to the dissemination of knowledge. This kind of active relationship to the act of reading, together with the montage of images, films, documents, and objects, facilitated the perception of the exhibition in space and encouraged associated references or connections, which were simply impossible to express with solely the eleven groupings mentioned above. Thus it was the public's *dérives* that would, with each visit, create a narrative of its own, not only in the head of the individual viewer but also affecting the way in which another viewer perceives others in the space.

In Berlin these encounters and interactions occurred during installation, the associated programming, and the curators' tours, when dialogue between the public and makers were happening and experienced physically in space and time. In order to open up questions of the exhibition to postcolonial intellectuals and filmmakers from Morocco, Algeria, and France, I invited Madeleine Bernstorff and Brigitta Kuster to curate a film program. In addition to this, the antiracist group Kanak Attak performed their *White Cube* (2008) performance, discussing issues of migration and modern architecture; we organized the launch of the *An Architektur* special issue; and finally republished the GAMMA Grid with Jesko Fezer, Andreas Müller, and Oliver Clemens. These additional events further related the exhibition to the critical scene of architecture and urbanism discourse and made the project's content widely debatable and into a common property. On top of this, the *Colonial Modern Symposium*, which we organized at HKW, was a place for transnational encounters to occur, where international scholars and researchers working on the topic of colonial city planning and the colonial modern participated in an exchange from different translocal viewpoints and professions.[209]

The Casablanca cases with which we started the research journey were thus not revisited or used by us to think about a regional phenomenon or an exception to the modernist path elsewhere. Instead, in our concept they were important cases to articulate the influence of both colonialism and anticolonial movements on ideas and concepts of modernist housing projects also in Europe. This position stated that a specific form of

[209] Haus der Kulturen der Welt's website, accessed January 6, 2017, http://hkw.de/en/programm/projekte/projekt_26186.php. The symposium's contributions are documented in the reader: Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten, eds., *Colonial Modern, Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010).

coloniality sits deeply within the planning attitudes of postwar modernism.[210] Still, these conceptual ideas were the result of the making of the project—the study and the understanding—and not the presumption of it. We did not search for it, but found it. Due to the process of making and studying on our project, coloniality was revealed not only as an episteme and violence conducted by Europe in its non-European colonies—as Latin American thinker on coloniality and decoloniality Walter Mignolo has stated—but coloniality, including colonial epistemes, violence, and practices, arose precisely in the contextual flux between different global territories, knowledges, and periods of war.

But the foundational ideas of modernism as a space of negotiation that were established in the conceptual phase of the exhibition also had their limitations when the show was actually on display. After the exhibitions, symposium, and publication, some questions remained unanswered. For example, we did not take the postcolonial situation fully into account, and as well as visible sources from the anticolonial struggles were missing. Sources were mainly taken from external jorunalists and colonial officials. But also in how we had focused on the colonial time before independence already limited the space given to the postcolonial context and the interventions and struggles by its intellectuals. Thus, even though we were highlighting the resistance against the colonial modern, it was not expressed in a similar way as the critique on planability. The responses to and intellectual pitfalls left by French colonialism after independence were incorporated with the second exhibition iteration in Casablanca, but we were still partially fixed in the critical examination of coloniality. This shortcoming also relates to the fact that I was invited to make an exhibition in Berlin first and that the Casablanca venue followed.

Transferring a multifaceted research process into an exhibition format also means developing a specific thesis that needs to be articulated in the local context, and it was this context in Berlin that contributed to creating a focus on Western planning initiatives and their circulation between France and Morocco. But this was also why it failed to be engaged with the anticolonial resistance in Morocco in a similar way. When I worked together with Abderrahim Kassou and Laure Augereau from Casamémoire on shipping the exhibition to Casablanca, it was important to understand these limitations of the form the exhibition took in Berlin. But it was also important to understand when thinking of

[210] The concept of decolonializing was established in the Latin American context and mainly conceptualized by Walter D. Mignolo. See also his publication: *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

touring it to and reconfiguring it for Casablanca that the ownership of the show was in the hands of HKW. What I had not taken into account was that such an institutional framing sets up another legacy of ownership on the project's subject and outcomes. Thus, by being established within the institution and through the collective endeavor of a team of curators, researchers, artists, and designers, the exhibition itself and its material outcome became finally the property of HKW. Only the artworks stayed under the ownership of the artists. That the material outcome becomes the property of the institution, including, for example, the ability to make a profit out of shipping it to other institutions, was not yet acknowledged by me. In a process of negotiation, Abderrahim Kassou and I were able to establish a different agreement on the right of ownership by convincing Bernd Scherer to donate the exhibition to Casamémoire. Due to this process of negotiating, the show is now kept permanently in Casablanca.

On the one hand, the transfer of the project to Berlin seemed to be an important step in emphasizing the transnational relationship of colonial modernity, in addressing it as a circulation between France, Morocco, and Switzerland. Localization allowed the project to take on a new dimension, linking the discourses of postwar modernity in a reciprocal way. On the other hand, bringing it to Casablanca produced another form of localization, which also in part closed the large gap between a project exhibition and the people affected by colonial governance still today. Here, the project created a debate, which was taken further by younger scholars and opened up a field for investigations and case studies internationally.[211] Possibly the most important aspect was that the project unfolded relations in Casablanca beyond the artistic and cultural field, as mentioned in chapter 2, when the encounters that happened during the installation period with people living in the neighborhoods addressed by the project transformed the exhibition into a social space and intergenerational learning environment, which created dialogue in rather unexpected ways.

IV.

In making the exhibition, I initiated the creation of new thought in material form and allowed for thinking in constellations: to consider diverse materials from popular sources and from archives, from historical and contemporary films and artworks. Exhibition making allowed for the possibility of relating diverse forms of production to the issues

[211] As for example in the online journal *The Funambalist* and especially in Sammia Hennis's work and others': see https://thefunambulist.net, 25.03.2018.

raised. But as mentioned above and in chapter 4, exhibitions are bound to the conditions of lending institutions and the collection principles of archives, as well as to the properties of the material leftovers from various processes that have found articulation in a representational form, be it the written word, a photograph, or an artwork. It is these limits and the ideology of the colonial archive that made producing an exhibition based on loans and documents an almost paradoxical endeavor as the narrative is based on the material outcomes of the colonial archive itself. The limitations and conditions required the creation of supplements that were realized through the productions of Labor k3000 and myself as well as those of the invited contemporary artists Kader Attia and Hassan Darsi, with whom I tried to reach beyond these boundaries. Bringing the exhibition to Casablanca and negotiating its ownership was another step in going beyond the boundaries of the type of exhibition making supported by Western art institutions today.

Another insight I gained was that research-based exhibitions create a limited time frame. It creates a temporal space for the creation of public goods, and thus partially questions forms of authorship established through copyright regulations and ownership. On the one hand, an exhibition and research practice such as mine in part gives away authorship copyrights and opens up culture production within the creative commons by engaging in collective processes and enterprises. Such practices organize materials, thoughts, and insights as open source, to be used and accessed by others. While making an exhibition partially dissolves individual authorship, in terms of texts and objects, ownerships are reinstated after the exhibition closes. Lending, renting, borrowing, and collaborating likewise finish with the exhibition's end and the materials go back to their owners.

On the other hand, this type of collaborative research practice names each of the curators, as crediting everybody involved in the exhibition practice as collaborators is a matter of ethics. But its specific representational mode also creates limitations for collaborative forms of production. However, in my practice I also work with the contingency that the making of an exhibition can become an amplifier for anticipatory politics, unpredictable outcomes, possible becomings, and new forms of togetherness. But this virtuality, or its de facto immaterial results and sociality, usually stays hidden behind the exhibition's material form and is not accessible to the public. It is only communicated through press announcements and curatorial statements, in the form of advertisement for a project.

Last but not least, the performative character of a temporally and spatially bound exhibition, as in the case of *In the Desert of Modernity*, is marked by the very mode of its production. Every exhibition creates openings and closures, as well contingent relations to the audience. An exhibition appears and disappears, and if it comes back to life in another venue, it will be materialized in a different form but remain based on a representational mode that does not allow time to change and transform it, to overwork and shift it, as new insights appear.[212] Between public presentations, the exhibition's research materials are also basically not accessible. On the one hand, an exhibition is a transitory space in which research is condensed into another medium; on the other, every research process is de facto open-ended and not limited to one form. In making research-based exhibitions, I seem to have accepted so far that the virtual archive of collective knowledge production that was created by the temporal work group disappears after the exhibition period. This disappearance of knowledge production is in fact a result of the representational mode that research-based exhibitions continue to be based in, as well as the infrastructural limitations of contemporary art institutions that are not able to fund long-term research processes and that do not have archival facilities in which the knowledge can be made accessible after the show's duration. It was precisely this infrastructural lack of the public institutions where *In the Desert of Modernity* was shown that triggered the need for establishing alternate self-organizational infrastructures, so as to not become too dependent on the existing institutional production conditions.
To address the open-endedness of collective research processes, sharing of knowledge, and collective decision-making, Peter Spillmann, Serhat Karakayli, and I went on to found the Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC) as a micro-organization in the frame of the *In the Desert of Modernity* project. It was founded to free ourselves from institutional conditions on the one hand and of authorship limitations in knowledge production on the other.

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[212] Works shown in the exhibition were by photographers, artists, archivists, and filmmakers. They included Lázaro Abreu, Luis Álvarez, Arsac A., Ascoral des Jeunes, Association les Engraineurs, Atelier Archives Audiovisuelles BDIC, Kader Attia, Élie Azagury, Jacques Belin, Claude Beraud, Vladimir Bodiansky, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo de Carlo, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Chaïbia, Hassan Darsi, Robert Doisneau, Michel Écochard, Pierre-André Emery, Patrick Forest, Jesús Forjans, Gérard-Aimé, Georges Godefroy, Faïza Guéne, Marcel Gut, Jean Hentsch, Monique Hervo, Bernhard Hoesli, François Issaverdens, Romain Jeannot, Alexis Josic, Élie Kagan, Bernard Kennedy, Labor k3000, J. Lambert, Yasmeen Lari, Le Corbusier, Guy Le Querrec, Jean de Maisonseul, Mario Marret, Pierre Mas, Louis Miquel, Janine Niepce, L. Ouhayoun, Henri Piot, Jean Pottier, Fernand Pouillon, Loïk Prat, Bernard Richard, Willy Ronis, Alfrédo Rostgaard, Bernard Rudofsky, Moshe Safdie,

Roland Simounet, Wit Sklias, Alison and Peter Smithson, André Studer, L. Tamborini, Marcelle Vallet, Aldo Van Eyck, Jean Vidal, J. Wattez, and Shadrach Woods.

Video stills from *La Revue Souffles*
In conversation with Jocelyne and Abdellatif Laâbi in Paris, July 14, 2015
Digital video, 12 min, Marion von Osten / CPKC, Berlin

Video stills from *La Revue Souffles*
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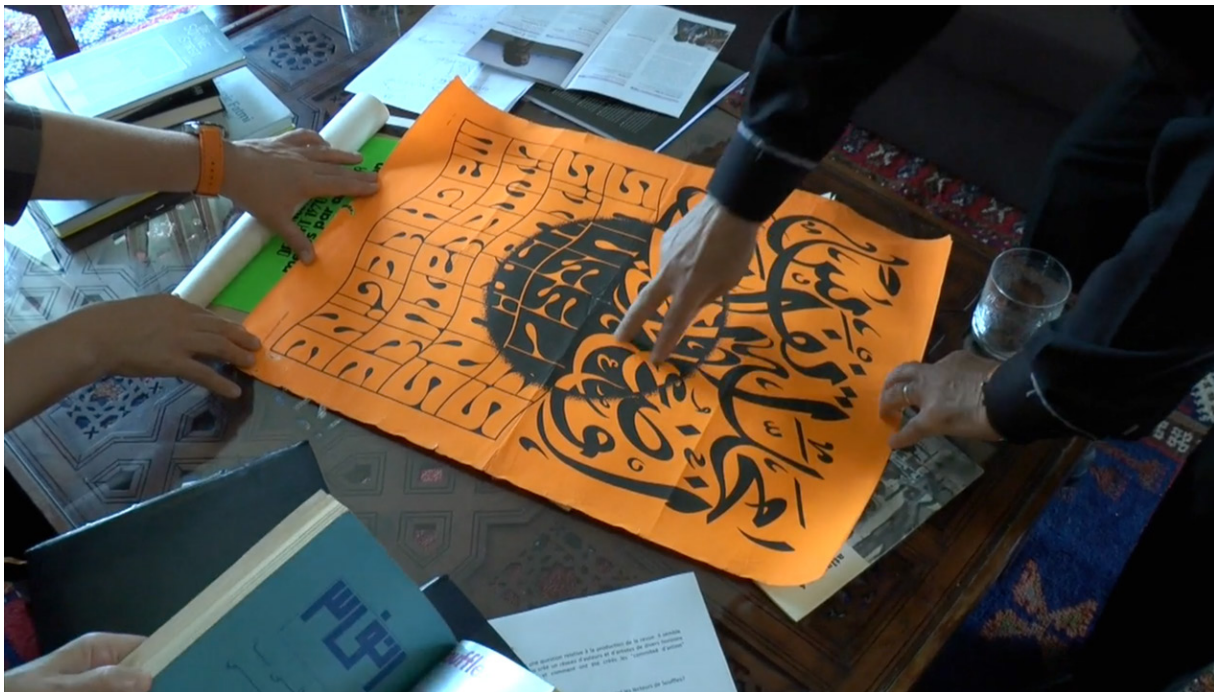

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Chapter 6

In Conversation

I. Transcript and translation of a conversation recorded July 14, 2015, in Créteil, Paris, with Abdellatif Laâbi, poet and editor of *Souffles* magazine published in Rabat from 1966 to 1972.[213]

Abdellatif Laâbi: First there was an understanding that my generation could not move forward without having resolved our problems with the colonial experience. The generation that preceded us, of Moroccan men and women, was preoccupied with the political fight against the colonial system. That generation succeeded, as Morocco was able to regain its independence in 1956. But that generation never asked itself the question of whether colonization was a loss of autonomy and national dignity or if it was a loss of something else. What happens in a colonial situation? Is it simply political oppression, economic, all of that? Or is it something else? It was my generation that concretely asked itself about these problems. What happened culturally? What was the colonial enterprise in the framework of culture? What was the impact of colonial politics on the being, on the psychology of Moroccans, on their identity, on the relationship they have with their past, present, and future?

Our first challenge was: How to decolonize minds? How to decolonize culture? How do we rediscover our autonomy, our freedom of creation, in relation to a culture that was imposed upon us? But with this paradox: all of that must happen in the language of the colonizer. A paradox, a contradiction. It was necessary to deal with this paradox and this contradiction. How to produce a literature that would carry this movement for the emancipation of the human being? We worked with the only language that we had at our disposal. We didn't choose it. I didn't choose to write in French—French was imposed upon me during a history that went beyond me personally. The important thing was to see what I did with this language. What did I succeed in creating within this language? How did I make this language my own?

The second challenge, which came out of the first, was to ask oneself: What does it mean to be Moroccan? Ten years after independence, we asked ourselves the question of

[213] The conversation was conducted by Marion von Osten with the assistance of Olivier Hadouchi. The excerpt was translated by Kathe McHugh Stevenson. The video recording was done by Peter Spillmann, edited by Marion von Osten and Peter Spillmann. The full transcript was published in full as part of the *tricontinentale.net* project *#02 Don't breath normal, read Souffles!* in February 2018. *tricontinentale.net* is an exchange platform initiated by the Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC), Berlin.

identity. And we answered it with a clear response, one very original for the time: we claimed a cultural plurality. To be Moroccan is to be Arab Muslim, Amazigh (Berber), Jewish, African, Mediterranean, Saharan. We claimed our identity as one of pluralism, because Moroccan identity can only be understood if we see all the components that constitute it.

The third challenge was: How to create a new literature? A literature that carries the mark of our memory, of our personality, of our subjectivity. I believe that what was created with the journal *Souffles* was a sort of rupture, a sort of forward flight. We rejected the models that existed at the time, whether that be the Western literary model or the Arab literary model, the Near East. We had to invent our own model. And therefore, inevitably, there was a very violent split at that time. It was necessary to go forth into the unknown. We took a leap into the unknown, maybe not exactly entirely consciously. It was an urge that led us to make this jump into the unknown.
We felt that there was a universal dimension to our adventure. A Maghrebian dimension. Because we knew that in the other Maghreb countries, there were the same realities, the same challenges. But also beyond the Maghrebian dimension. This universal dimension was evident to us right away.

The fourth dimension: When we revolted against the Western models, the orientalizing models, we aimed to create our own concepts, something of the future. Of course, at the time, we found some intellectuals, some creators, who helped us in this process: Frantz Fanon, who went very far, in a clinical way, to analyze the colonial phenomenon as it happened and its repercussions on the identity of peoples and their cultures. Aimé Césaire, of course, an important poet, who was at the time one of our older brothers. And other poets who were kicking at the stalls, as they say. Vladimir Mayakovsky was one of these, for me anyway. Russian poetry from the 1920s and '30s, not just Mayakovsky and futurists such as Velimir Khlebnikov, among others, but also the Turkish poet—whose engagement was not only in writing, but also in politics—Nâzım Hikmet. A poet who paved the way by demonstrating that poetry could be very dangerous, but that it was necessary to accept this danger….

The fifth challenge: In our drive to dismantle the colonial constraints, we paid attention to a domain in which colonial ideology had worked extensively, in order to know

popular Moroccan culture. Traditional art, popular poetry, oral poetry, all of that. We undertook a task of rehabilitating this popular culture. That was very important in our process. And not least for the poets… Thanks to this popular culture, we discovered that popular poetry was not only in writing, but also in breathing and speaking. This heritage of poetry and oral literature in Morocco breathed life into us with the dimension of the spoken word. For painters and visual artists, again there was an enormous heritage. All the popular arts. Therefore we began revisiting this heritage that was considered to be nothing more than folklore or ordinary artisan craft. All the more so, as these popular arts were not only meant for contemplation, like a painted canvas, but were also integrated into our lives, inserted among the objects that we use in daily life, in our homes, everywhere. In Germany, for example, it took time to consider that art could also be functional, that it could be integrated into architecture, that it could be an element in architecture. So [at *Souffles*] we did this work that consisted of getting closer to popular art, to take away the folkloric dimension given to it by the colonial period and to make it one of the driving forces of literary and artistic creation.

And there I've given an overview of the fourth dimension. It just goes to show that an avant-garde movement must go very far into the past in order to make a leap into the future.

II. Letter and questions prepared for Jocelyne Laâbi and Abdellatif Laâbi

Dear Jocelyne and dear Abdellatif Laâbi!

As I have written before, we are sending you our interview questions for better understanding and preparation in advance. As you will see, we are interested in the links between local and international actors and debates for the making of the revue *Souffles* and its different phases (1966–72). Rereading the magazine, it seems that the urgent need to decolonialize culture was one of the driving forces of the production of *Souffles* from the beginning. We also read the recent publications and doctoral work on *Souffles* and are in contact with Kenza Sefrioui in Casablanca.

When starting to reread *Souffles*, I also formed a group that reconnects with Tricontinental solidarity and radical aesthetic practices in the 1960s. Olivier Hadouchi, who will be with me on Tuesday, is also involved in this initiative. CPKC member Peter Spillmann will record the conversation with a video camera and I will edit the material together with him and send it to you for approval.

We thank you for your willingness to speak with us and are looking forward to visiting you in Paris.

Marion von Osten
with Olivier Hadouchi, Serhat Karakayali, and Peter Spillmann
tricontinentale.net / Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC), Berlin

The questions:

1. *Souffles* created a platform and a network of authors and artists from various national backgrounds. What were the urgencies to create a transnational "action committee"?

2. How was the magazine distributed and who were the readers of *Souffles*?

3. Was there a difference in the resonance in the local and international contexts?

4. How and why was the debate on decolonializing of culture developed in Morocco? Where and how had it been discussed internationally at the same time?

5. What role did the idea of negritude and participation in the 1966 Dakar World Festival of Black Arts play for the founding members of *Souffles* (especially for you as a poet and public intellectual)? How was the concept of negritude debated in the magazine from 1966 to 1972?

6. Did the ideas on métissage by Caribbean writers like Aimé Césaire and Édouard Glissant have an impact you and the inhabitation of the French (colonial) language?

7. If one thinks of poetry as a practice of invention, as a way of breaking with the established patterns of language and meaning—with a reference to Jean-Paul Sartre when he wrote about negritude—is the destructive work of the poet to be seen as a reaction to the destruction of colonial culture?

8. Frantz Fanon is quoted several times in the magazine and in your articles. You have also created relationships with Albert Memmi. Can you highlight their importance for your work as well as the need for decolonializing culture? I refer here to the elements mentioned in your article "The Waste" of 1968.

9. Oral narrative forms and other local forms of culture production increasingly came to the attention of artists and writers in Morocco in the 1960s. How has this revisiting of local popular cultures been concretely translated into texts, poetry, and works of art or magazine design?

10. What role did the (epistemic) violence of colonialism, the postindependence violence in Morocco, or the concept of counterviolence expressed by Fanon play in your own writing? How was it translated into literature or in the design of the magazine?

11. Marc Gontard wrote on the "violence of the text," also referring to *Souffles*: Was "violence," whether symbolic or epistemic, a way to break with colonial hegemony over intellectual production?

12. The case of the Palestinians—after the Six-Day War—was very important as a turning point in the development of the magazine toward being a more political organ. What was the relevance of the Palestinian struggle for the cultural scene and the editorial concept of the journal?

13. Many articles on and references to the Tricontinental movement and magazine have been published in *Souffles*. What kinds of cooperation and discussions have taken place with activists inside and beyond editorial practice?

14. Did you or other members of *Souffles* participate in the 1969 Pan-African Festival of Algiers? Was the event another turning point for you and the magazine?

15. Would you say that by looking beyond the national framework, including the stories and struggles of other postcolonial contexts, *Souffles* aimed to reassemble the cultural fabric of the Maghreb—not for heritage and tradition but for a "coming community," for a postcolonial future?

III. A Postcolonial Future

As one can see from the English translation of the excerpt taken from the two-hour French-language conversation with Jocelyne Laâbi and Abdelatiff Laâbi from 2015, not all the questions prepared were fully answered. The published transcript was generated from the video documentation, with the Laâbis' agreement. The short video of the conversation is also hosted online by tricontinentale.net.[214] This short version is a document that clarifies immediately, including for this thesis, how ten years after the independence of Morocco intellectuals were still struggling with the aftereffects of French colonialism.

In the dialogical dynamic, ideas came to light that were outside of our questions about the internationalization of the magazine. Thus, if conducted as an email interview or as a Q&A, the answers would have been different. Giving a person in a first encounter the possibility to think in advance about your concerns also gives her or him the space to react and as well to prepare. It gives the counterpart time to reflect on your intentions. Laâbi constructed a narrative for us, but in the conversational situation in the Parisian apartment, also clearly stepped beyond that frame. Still, with the questionnaire and the translated transcript, a reader can readily dive into the diverse angles of interest of mine and other members of CPKC. The transcript shows how Laâbi deals with this plurality of his ideas and ours and how he reacts to them or not. For him, the questionnaire opened up a possibility to speak more openly about the political dimensions of the magazine. By sending questions in advance, he was able to prepare for this direction, as usually it is the literary dimension of the magazine that is put into focus, rather than the political one. This was also the reason why we did not want to do it as a spontaneous chat or informal exchange, as Abdelatiff Laâbi was in the 1970s imprisoned for his political engagement. Moreover the focus on the concrete interventions of his generation into the burden of the colonial heritage experienced after independence on the political, social, and cultural spheres with the means of poetry and visual arts was of high interest, as it also related to my own field of practice as well as the ongoing concerns of the relation between art and politics.

[214] The full transcript in French, published on the *tricontinentale.net* website as part of *edition#2 Don't Breath Normal: Read Souffles!*, is in part more explicit about the international relations.

After the conversation, I along with CPKC was invited to a panel discussion at the fiftieth anniversary symposium of *Souffles* in Rabat in the spring of 2016, which we attended. This was a completely different form of site visit as the ones reflected upon in chapter 2 that related to colonial planning and its contemporary aftereffects. In Rabat it was to be in an exchange and dialogue with intellectuals who are still radically questioning the Western supremacy of the arts as well as the political condition of Morocco after independence until today. It was their parents who had fought against the colonial occupation. Parents of this generation of postindependence writers and artist, as I learned from the encounters, had lived in *bidonvilles* or the patio grid houses in Casablanca or Rabat and many of them were also illiterate. This intergenerational relation as well as the transnational networks created by *Souffles* were expanded in the Rabat symposium as well as by our own networks that we were bringing with us or that we had established. In this way we created a new intellectual geography beyond the nation-form or identifications that we are all usually addressed with.

In parallel to these dialogues with the *Souffles* magazine editors —an initiative I started in 2014—CPKC created the publishing platform *tricontinentale.net*. Through previous projects and encounters, it had become clear that several contemporary artists, scholars, and activists were likewise interested in the historical Tricontinental production networks of the 1960s and '70s.[215] Instead of creating an artistic or curatorial project, I decided with my colleagues from CPKC to create an organ for exchanging the transnational knowledge on Tricontinentalism and to make it publicly accessible.[216] To be reminded of the internationalization and political commitment of the magazine was also important for Laâbi, as *Souffles* is still today mainly regarded as a Moroccan avant-garde literary magazine. But the magazine was in fact banned in Morocco in 1972 for political reasons and for a long time became untraceable. Laâbi was imprisoned for eight years before being released in 1980 following international pressure, at which time he was sent into

[215] This included, for example, the artists and curators Mathieu Kleyebe Abonnenc, Filipa César, Kodwo Eshun, Maria Lind, Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung, Vincent Meesen, Doreen Mende, Rasha Salti, and many more.

[216] The platform *tricontinentale.net* aims to revisit the Tricontinental movement, organized mainly by activists, theorists, and artists from the Global South, providing a major historical reference point for non-aligned transnational solidarity projects until today. Constituted as an anticolonial and non-aligned resistance, the Tricontinental movement from the mid-1960s onward had direct effects on the constitution of the New Left and various third world solidarity initiatives in the northern hemisphere. By looking back on this contested history, *tricontinentale.net* aims to reflect so-called third world relations and their trajectories. By connecting artistic research projects, film screenings, public viewings, panel discussions, and more, *tricontinentale.net* aims to publicly present and critically debate internationalist movements before 1989 and after that went beyond common Cold War binaries.

exile in Paris. While the assessment that *Souffles* was one of the most important Moroccan literature magazines must be endorsed, the national framing and focus on poetry overshadows the magazine's transnational and interdisciplinary character. It thus leaves out its radicalization and its Marxist turn in the late 1960s.

It was this double interest in the *Souffles* enterprise, to understand the engagement in the field of culture and to politicize culture production through its own means by expanding the scope of what we understand as art or not, as well as the creation of a network of comradeship on a transnational basis beyond and alongside the Western intellectual circles and institutions. This is what I wanted to understand in more depth as well as to highlight with my colleagues from CPKC by establishing the online journal *tricontinentale.net*. One of my initial questions when starting to engage with the magazine was why *Souffles*'s scope of activities was so far positioned by critics and scholars inside one national frame and as a literature magazine only. This was a concern already articulated in the frame of the Parisian project *Action! painting/publishing* in 2012. In Paris, I had initiated a series of gatherings that led to a new informal research group working on anticolonial cultural magazines edited in the French postcolonies and in France in the first half of the twentieth century. This group of mainly Paris-based researchers consisted of Lotte Arndt, Mihaela Gherghescu, Fanny Gillet-Ouhenia, Olivier Hadouchi, Pascale Ratovonony, Cédric Vincent, and myself and was focused on the transnational space of anticolonial movements and the intellectual circles that aimed not only at overcoming colonial governance and gaining political independence but also at decolonializing culture.[217] In a collaborative manner, the group studied and exchanged knowledge about magazines published in Algeria, France, Morocco, and Tunisia in the first half of the twentieth century such as *Alif*, *Black Orpheus*, *El Moudjahid Culturel*, *Esprit*, *L'Étudiant Noir*, *Légitime Défense*, *Les Temps Modernes*, *La Revue du Monde Noir*, *Masses*, *Miroir du Cinéma*, *Novembre*, *Opus International*, *Partisans*, *Présence Africaine*, *Souffles*, *Tricontinentale*, *Transition*, and *Tropiques*. Here we understood crossroads and relations between the different publishing initiatives and a genealogy of debates as well as antagonism articulated in articles.

[217] Some of the Tricontinentale posters, which were inserted in *Tricontinentale* magazine, show Medhi Ben Barka, the leader of the left-wing anticolonial movement in Morocco, who was murdered by Moroccan secret agents in Paris in October 1965. But both the posters and the articles clearly indicate a cultural dimension of the Tricontinentale movement

For the project I had no budget to create a larger exhibition, but it was also not the right format anymore. It was in the dialogues and findings shared between us where the most interest thinking took place and where we discovered interconnections and new perspectives on postwar relations between art and politics. It was the understanding of a postwar continental Europe that was crossed, distorted, and constituted through the radicalism of non-European intellectuals from the Caribbean and the negritude and Pan-African movements as well as the Black Panther and civil rights movements in the United States. I decided to create a research room rather than an exhibition in the entry of Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers, which also has a small café and that you can enter for free. This was also a new step in my practice, creating temporal infrastructural elements instead of a show that aimed to make research insights accessible that showed already finished results or being depended on loans and exhibits to create public interaction. In a sense I was creating an alternative learning environment where co-learning and sharing was at the center. No truth claims were expected but rather a contingent space was created, a room for possibilities and the creation of creative commons. This already clearly differed from the statement character that an exhibition like *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* had still taken. The research room was not based on a sender-receiver model but conceived as a public space that acknowledges the open-endedness of the research process one is involved in. My role was much more that of an initiator, facilitator, designer, researcher, and co-learner than of a curator or artist.

It was in the frame of *Action! painting/publishing* that I for the first time also studied, presented, and compared the magazine *Souffles* with the *Tricontinental* and *Partisans* magazines in a productive exchange with the film and literature historian Olivier Hadouchi. The research and dialogue highlighted the contributions of visual artists and Tricontinental solidarity movements to the magazine's translocal constitution. Out of the broad range of topics covered by the *Souffles* magazine, the question of aesthetics in the realm of visual arts and the repercussions between politics and aesthetics became my central concern. Written by one of the few female contributors to the magazine, the Italian art historian Toni Maraini's article "Black Sun of Renewal" (2010) was of central importance to recalling the fact that *Souffles* gathered an artistic avant-garde. This was equally the case for Issandr El Amrani's article "In the Beginning There Was Souffles" (2008), published by the Middle Eastern art magazine *Bidoun*. Both authors had

introduced the main protagonists of the journal and the historical conjunctures. And it was Andy Stafford who in 2009 focused on *Souffles* as a crossroads of Tricontinentalism. Though Stafford underlines the implication in Tricontinental networks that inscribe the geography of the magazine in the non-aligned movement, aesthetics and politics appear as separate fields that in my understanding had to be addressed in co-existence and as interrelated.
The small-scale project in Paris and research exhibition and its public events further encouraged me together with the newly founded micro-organization CPKC to study the magazine in a process-based, transdisciplinary approach. In doing so, the larger constellation of arts publishing and solidarity movements in the former colonies was highlighted, and I began to understand the links, similarities, and divergences of *Souffles* with the other magazines and documents that were discussed and presented in the above-mentioned research room I had designed for the public encounters in Aubervilliers.[218]

The ongoing will to understand colonial modernity and its opponents from today's perspective can be interpreted as the beginning of understanding the need to decolonialize the ways of knowing and practicing that we were used to. The study and dialogues established with the *Souffles* magazine from 2014 onward also aimed to develop an alternative conception of belonging that is not based on national identity but on affinity, friendship, and intellectual encounters. It is likewise important to consider that in the historical era of decolonization when a worldwide process of new state making and nationalization began, the editors and authors of the *Souffles* magazine expressed a quasi-countermodel to the political developments by creating a transnational network of exchange through their publishing process. To look through and with this process helped me to create a perspective beyond artists/authors and their "origins." Another challenge was not to limit the artist/writer/editor to his or her "products," but to understand their radical engagement as a a form of culture production that always sees itself in relation to other art forms, as an inter-arts practice as well as a societal engagement. It is institution building, influential artistic and political movements, and organizations they were part of. This also includes the relations between writers and artists and their friendships in

[218] Later in 2014, at the Institut für Theorie (ith) in Zurich, I conducted together with Serhat Karakayli and CPKC a series of research workshops on the magazine *Souffles*.

understanding the transnational encounters and transfers as constitutional for the field of practice as such.

I was able to state after a series of encounters and conversations with authors and editors of *Souffles* that the magazine functioned during the time of its publication as a node, medium, and interface in the intellectual, political, and artistic production of Morocco, ten years after independence. By engaging in a close reading of *Souffles*, it became obvious to me that one can describe the publication equally as an internationalist, Pan-Arab, Pan-African, and tricontinental critical culture magazine shaped by Maghrebi, European, and Creole writers, artists, and activists.[219] What unfolds in the twenty-four issues are discussions and debates on the concept of negritude, the Pan-African festivals in Dakar and Algiers, culture and revolution in the Tricontinental and Third Cinema movements, and the 1968 protest movements in Europe.[220] The common view of *Souffles* as having a national focus obstructs—as I stated earlier—the view to the entangled histories and plural prospects of the magazine and its transnational and transcultural approach. It also disregards the magazine's international and Marxist-Leninist perspective, which ultimately led to it being banned in 1972.

Today, *Souffles* is also discussed by younger scholars as a virtual meeting place for critical intellectuals from North Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe. My take on the magazine included as well the fact that it was a magazine produced by and with visual artists. It is precisely this diversity of voices and cross-border contexts and disciplines, which all came together in *Souffles*, that provides insights into its postcolonial aesthetic discourses. The diverse articles, manifestos, and interviews help to understand artists' and writers' negotiations with the violence of European colonialism, which had also created racist and paternalistic perspectives on the colonized cultures.[221] This

[219] The magazine included Moroccan writers like Mohammed Khaïr-Eddine, Mostafa Nissaboury, Abdallah Stouky, Tahar Ben Jelloun as well as Algerians like Malek Alloula, Mostefa Lacheraf and the French writers Bernard Jakobiak, André Laude, as well as René Depestre, poet from Haïti based in Cuba, or Etel Adnan and Adonis from Syria and Lebanon. Especially post-1968 texts were published by political activists and members of African Liberation's movements like Amilcar Cabral or Mario De Andrade.
[220] See for example: Clare Davies, "On *Souffles*: Geographies of Solidarity," in *After Year Zero. Geographies of Collaboration*, ed. Annett Busch and Anselm Franke (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 84–109; Olivia C. Harrison, "Cross-Colonial Poetics: *Souffles-Anfas* and the Figure of Palestine," *Journal of the Modern Language Association of America* 128, no. 2 (March 2013): 353–69; and Andy Stafford, "Tricontinentalism in Recent Moroccan Intellectual History: The Case of *Souffles,*" *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 7, no. 3 (July 2009): 218–32. This discussion also refers to recent studies from the Anglophone context relating to the Tricontinental or Pan-African dimensions of *Souffles*.
[221] Valentin Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa. Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of*

concrete link to intellectual reactions after Morocco's independence was what had been missing in the previous project in Berlin and Casablanca on the new modernist housing approaches being tested in Morocco following World War II, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

The hybrid and transnational character of the magazine related to one of the main subjects of debate ten years after Morocco's independence: artists and intellectuals were deeply concerned with the awkward position of aesthetic production that was brought about by both the colonial past and the conservative cultural politics of the succeeding postcolonial regimes. This includes the attempts of the artists and poets publishing in *Souffles* to overcome the colonial episteme by redefining and radicalizing their aesthetic projects and expanding the scope of action for writers and artists. This expanded range of action unfolded in the magazine in different ways during the course of its development and the period in which it was published. It was precisely this range of approaches that also reminded me of our shortcomings in *In the Desert of Modernity*, when we failed to consider the postindependence intellectual struggle as key to understanding the epistemic violence and the moment of the French empire's decline and Morocco's independence as a rupture and an event. Thus meeting and speaking with the Laâbis was key in shifting these presumptions and to understanding how the colonial modern had acted in the cultural sphere, a dimension that we only touched the surface of in the *Desert of Modernity* exhibition as well as in the collaborative research effort. Enrique Dussel speaks of "coloniality" as the "underside of modernity." Dussel created for this concept the notion of transmodernity to rethink modernity in its global, colonial manifestation. His interest is in how "divided histories," characterized by different power relations, are interwoven. This is one of the goals of the contemporary movement to decolonialize knowledge and power regimes. Through being engaged in the conversational mode with the practioners from *Souffles*, transmodernity and the need to decolonialze culture production became a lived experience.[222]

Knowledge (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); and Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

[222] See: Enrique Dussel, "TRANSMODERNITY AND INTERCULTURALITY: An Interpretation from the Perspective of Philosophy of Liberation" (2017), available on Enrique Dussel's personal website, accessed March 12, 2018, www.enriquedussel.org/txt/Transmodernity%20and% 20Interculturality.pdf.

Together with my colleagues from CPKC, Peter Spillmann and Serhat Karakayli, in 2015–16 we visited not only the Laâbis, but also met several other people involved in *Souffles* to understand their intellectual struggles and to ask what it had resulted in today. We talked with the editor Mostafa Nissaboury; journalist and literary scholar Kenza Sefrioui, who provided a review of *Souffles*'s history in the frame of her doctoral dissertation; art historian Toni Maraini in Rome, who was one of the only women, along with Ethel Adnan, to publish in *Souffles* and a teacher at the École Supérieure des Beaux Arts de Casablanca (ESBAC); and Mohamed Melehi, one of the former graphic designers of *Souffles* and also a teacher at ESBAC. Together with Maud Houssais, a young scholar from Rabat, I also visited in the spring of 2017 the Farid Belkahia Foundation where I started research on the ESBAC as well as talked with Nadia Chabâa, the daughter of Mohamed Chabâa, an artists and graphic designers who was involved in the self-publishing enterprise *Souffles* and in the radical reform of ESBAC in 1962.[223]

In 1966, a decade after Morocco's independence, those who would become the editors of *Souffles*—Abdellatif Laâbi, Mostafa Nissaboury, and Mohamed Khair-Eddine—decided to publish a magazine by their own efforts.[224] As Laâbi stated in the interview, they were coming out of a generation still formed by the colonial education system, and it was precisely the French colonial condition they grew up in that shaped the radical orientation of the magazine. The anticolonial struggle and the national liberation front was successful in bringing about the political independence of Morocco in 1956. However, ten years later, the young intellectuals were facing a condition in which the stratification of society and the attitudes and behaviors of colonial governance were still in place. It is thus worth mentioning that the *Souffles* editors conducted an interview with the Tunisian Jewish author Albert Memmi in one of the first editions. In his 1957 book *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Memmi analyzes the mental and cultural impacts of European colonization and the interdependent relationship between the colonized and

[223] Asserting the need to decolonialize the art school curriculum, artist Farid Belkahia became the Dean of the Casablanca Art School and invited Mohammed Chabâa, Bernt Flint, Toni Maraini, and Mohamed Melehi as teachers. The group started to revisit craft practices and popular art forms to create a new postcolonial language that aimed to synthesize the arts.

[224] Abdellatif Laâbi, poet and editor, was born in 1942 in Fes, Morocco, and lives in Paris and Rabat; Mostafa Nissaboury, poet and editor, was born in 1943 in Casablanca, where he also lives, writes, and teaches today; and Mohammed Khair-Eddine, writer and editor, was born 1941 in Tafraout, south of Agadir. In 1964, Khair-Eddine founded, with Mostafa Nissaboury, *Poésie toute*. He migrated to France in 1965, and lived as a worker in the Paris *banlieues*. In 1966, he published in the journal *Encres Vives* and collaborated with the magazines *Les Lettres nouvelles* and *Présence africaine*. He died in 1995 in Rabat.

the colonizer.[225] The central proposition put forward by the *Souffles* magazine founders was that decolonization had not yet been fully realized.[226]

According to the Italian art historian Toni Maraini, postcolonial artists of the time responded to a local condition in which a petty provincial and Eurocentric culture dominated the postindependence landscape:

> The salons organized for Western artists admitted only Moroccan "naive" painters as a touch of "indigenous color." Local European poets used to gather in "clubs littéraires" around the foreign cultural missions, "where they wrote verses on the ambassadors' gardens." They ignored the best of Western production and the daring experiments of modernism, as well as the high tradition of classical Arabic poetry, not to mention Afro-Berber and popular arts and literature. They were not interested in the productions of a Moroccan cultural avant-garde.[227]

The need for a space for self-articulation, resistance, and international imagination was felt and shared. Publishing a handmade magazine was, for the *Souffles* editors, triggered by urgency. However, the magazine was small not only in size but also in its ability to secure funding, which was based on each editorial member's personal commitment. *Souffles* was disseminated via mail order, a network of small kiosks in Morocco, word-of-mouth propaganda, and the members of its alternating action committees. What the magazine ultimately constituted was an unofficial cultural space in Morocco.

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[225] The first issues of *Souffles* stress crucial intergenerational connections to writers such as Driss Chraibi, Albert Memmi, and Franz Fanon, who laid the foundations for new local and postcolonial forms of writing.

[226] Thanks to Laâbi's efforts, the magazine is today accessible online, digitized in 1998 by the City University of New York. Since 2010, it has also been accessible at the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco in Rabat. Further, a new anthology of *Souffles* poetry and articles has been translated into English and edited by the North American scholars Olivia Harrison and Teresa Villa-Ignacio. Articles by the Rome-based art historian Toni Maraini in the *Springerin* periodical and the online journal *Red Threat* have contributed to familiarizing a younger generation of writers, academics, and cultural producers with *Souffles*. Articles and projects that highlight the publication include *Bidoun* magazine, the South African publishing project *Chimurenga*, the publicly accessible library of SAVVY Contemporary, The Laboratory of Form-Ideas in Berlin-Neukölln, and the l'appartement 22 art space in Rabat, as well as the project *Action! Painting/Publishing*, which I initiated at Les Laboratoires d'Aubervilliers in Paris in 2012, and the research project *Ästhetik der Dekolonisierung* at the Institute for Theory at the Zurich University of the Arts, in 2014–16.

[227] Toni Maraini, "Black Sun of Renewal," *Red Thread* 2 (2010), http://www.red-thread.org/en/article.asp?a=41.

In an interview given to Christoph Schäfer published in the magazine *The Quarterly Conversation* in 2013, Abdellatif Laâbi states:

> [It] was in 1965. I had started writing and publishing in several literary magazines, here in France, and also in Moroccan reviews. And then I discovered that there was a group of young poets in Casablanca publishing some small reviews called *Poésie toute* and *Eaux vives*. […] I was curious enough to seek them out, and at the same time we met a group of painters in Casablanca: Mohamed Melehi, Mohamed Chabâa, and Farid Belkahia. Farid was the Director of the École de Beaux Arts in Casablanca, and the two others taught there. […] I think it's very important to note that *Souffles* began with a group of poets and artists/painters, which is something that gave it a completely original character, perhaps unique in the history of Moroccan literary reviews up to that time.[228]

Highlighting the contribution of visual artists and the visual policy of the *Souffles* enterprise as my contribution to its contemporary rereading stresses the transdisciplinary character of the journal as well as its transnational, tricontinental relations. The collaboration with the three painters, referred to by Laâbi, was of central importance not only for the aesthetic dimensions of the *Souffles* magazine but also for its conceptual frame. From the first edition onward, Mohamed Melehi designed the cover, which remained unchanged up to the fourteenth issue in 1968, with the exception of the color composition and parts of the subtitle.[229] He also produced the small quarterly magazine by hand during the first years. Melehi's magazine covers from 1966 to 1969 employ a lettering modeled on 1920s constructivism and modernism, as well as a black circle, which Maraini has described as the "black sun of renewal."[230]
Melehi's paintings were also of interest for me. The works, created in parallel to his work as a graphic artist and book designer, deal with the North African relationship between sign and space, urban Arab culture production, and modern forms of visual communication and their possible ambiguities. These investigations into nonfigurative sign systems can also be found in the works of other artists presented in *Souffles*, such as those of Ahmed Cherkaoui, whose paintings interpret the nonfigurative language of rural

[228] Abdellatif Laâbi, "The Abdellatif Laâbi Interview," *Quarterly Conversation* 32 (Summer 2013), http://quarterlyconversation.com/the-abdellatif-laabi-interview.
[229] From then on, the word "*souffles*" was translated into Arabic on the back: *anfâs* (meaning "breeze" or "breath").
[230] Maraini, "Black Sun of Renewal."

crafts.[231] From 1969 onward, Mohamed Chabâa was responsible for the magazine's design. Applied graphics and the aesthetic of political posters and photography of the early 1970s characterize his designs for the 1969–71 issues. This is a development that additionally reflects central postcolonial aesthetic decisions of that period. According to an exhibition review, Chabâa's early paintings were characterized by techniques of fragmentation and decontextualization, a method also employed in the poetry published in *Souffles*. At the same time, Chabâa operated his own graphic design firm in Casablanca, as indicated by small advertisements in the magazine. The artists, then, quite deliberately chose their role between designers, graphic artists, and painters. But beyond their role as designers and producers, the artists were also involved in decisive conceptual considerations.

The three painters had started to deal with regional arts and craft traditions and nonfigurative sign systems after returning to Morocco following study in Spain, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and the United States. The visual artists Farid Belkahia, for example, was pivotal in reflecting and dealing with local culture production.[232] Due to his studies he had been in contact with the Central and East European functionalist art scenes as well as with modernist ideas of art's societal role. As the director of the École Supérieure des Beaux Arts in Casablanca from 1962 to 1973, he implemented a new curriculum that presented an impressive counterprogram to the existing colonial folklorization of local culture production. He promoted a synthesis of craft and art education and interdisciplinary, research-oriented teaching methods, thus adapting in part the 1919 Bauhaus Manifesto.[233] For his education reform, Belkahia hired Mohamed Melehi, who established a photographic class; Toni Maraini, who started to establish an art history that developed an African perspective; Bert Flint, who taught "popular arts" by referring to Berber arts traditions; and Mohamed Chabâa, who taught graphics, to name just a few. These teachers and collaborators developed a condition that was more advanced in its curriculum than what art colleges in Europe offered at that time. Already in 1965, the "Casablanca School" published the journal *Maghreb Art*, which reflected the concerns of these emergent ideas. Later, in 1971, in the frame of the conceptual shift of the *Souffles*

[231] His work was already familiar to me through my research for *Action! Painting/Publishing*, in which I had revisited the so-called second school of Paris, which was not at all a European movement as art history would have us believe.
[232] Hamid Irbouh, *Art in the Service of Colonialism: French Art Education in Morocco, 1912–1956* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), PAGE NUMBER.
[233] Farid Belkahia, "Questionnaire, 29, *Souffles* 7/8 (1967): 25–31, archived by National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, http://bnm.bnrm.ma:86/pdf.aspx?IDc=459.

magazine, Maraini, Melehi, and Moustofa Nissaboury founded the magazine *Integral*, which continued the reflections and debates on the contemporary art and culture of the Maghreb. To revisit the spatial and social function, of crafts from the Berber or sub-Saharian regions as well as Andaluzian and Arabian interiors offered an alternative to the existing categorizations implemented under the French colonial rule and the Beaux-Arts art education. This productive friction between different knowledge structures beyond the usual hierarchy of the manual versus the cognitive, the popular versus the elite culture is still a challenge for today's art institutions and also marks the boundaries of the field of contemporary art.

The collaboration of three poets and three painters in the magazine created from the beginning an inter-arts perspective, and with the implementation of an action committee with authors from Morocco, Algeria, Latin America, and France, the magazine established a growing transnational intellectual network. *Souffles* lent a generation a voice of its own, allowing it to develop a new language and establish and imagine transnational connections beyond the existing ones. Decisions made by the magazine's alternating action committees can be read as an increasing political radicalization and internationalization, reinforced by reprints of manifestos and visual productions from the context of the Organization of Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL) magazine, *Tricontinetale*.[234] The radical graphic solution of placing emphasis on the transcultural entanglement of signs, images, and writing, which characterized the first issues of *Souffles*, was abandoned in the magazine's second phase, between 1969 and 1972, in favor of documentary photography and a focus on political films and the manifesto *Toward a Third Cinema* by the Argentinian filmmakers Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino.[235] These media, practices, photography, and essay films are at the center of the discourse on globalized contemporary art today.

But the post-colonial modes of synthesis between high and low and between applied and non-applied art found in the radical approaches of the Moroccan painting and graphic art included in the first issues of the magazine had been somewhat forgotten in the contemporary context. It was this insight into the disciplinary division and the

[234] See: David Kunzle, "Cuba's Art of Solidarity," in *Decade of Protest: Political Posters from the United States, Viet Nam, Cuba, 1965–1975*, ed. Susan Martin (Santa Monica, CA: Smart Art, 1996) 145-56.

[235] The term "Third Cinema" was created by Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino in their famous manifesto *Hacia un tercer cine* (Toward a Third Cinema), written in the late 1960s. Third Cinema was proposed as a militant cultural practice parallel to the anticolonial and revolutionary struggles of the 1960s. Solanas and Getino were published in 1969 in the *Tricontinentale* magazine by OSPAAAL, and therefore had also an enormous impact in other world regions.

boundaries of high and low art that made me rethink my own cultural condition and educational becoming through being taught at a Germany art academy in the 1980s. It was these testimonies and visual contributions by the artists published in *Souffles* that gave me insight into the emergence of contemporary art after WWII beyond the Eurocentric epistemology and Cold War paradigm that Euro-American art history is mainly based on.[236]

In *Artists Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (2011), Gwen Allen sees self-organized artists' magazines as a specific, alternative space of action that gained international relevance in the 1960s and '70s.[237] They enabled the dissemination of counternarratives to hegemonic culture with simple printing means and at a low cost. In the medium of self-published magazines, new aesthetic formats were conceived and notions of art and literature were renegotiated. Allen's study, which focuses mainly on North American and European conceptual art, shows that the self-published art magazine played a crucial role in expanding the domain of art. The self-determination of artists and writers, as well as their independence from the art market and the press, undermined the official power of defining art and culture. The self-published magazine was the site of production, distribution, and discourse for a non-established art movement. Alternative and small-scale publishers became an important outlet for writers and authors in the 1960s and '70s, as they allowed them to bypass the selection criteria, contractual terms, and commercial interests of corporate publishers. Literary self-publishers and author-run publishing houses further created a platform for lesser-known authors and critics, establishing a new aesthetic community of writers and readers. The means of production and distribution were taken into one's own hands in the Brechtian sense. It is not by chance that *Souffles* is mentioned in Allen's study. What might otherwise get lost in her general assumptions of artists' self-organizations mainly based in the U.S. is the radical difference in the conditions that make self-publishing necessary in different contexts.
In *Souffles*, the intellectual debate arose in response to the existing colonial epistemes in the arts that they wanted to counter, which were based on the division of a local culture that was considered stalled and traditional and a European culture production that was advanced and modern. As Laâbi formulated in the editorial of the "Art Plastique" special

[236] Hannah Feldman, *From a Nation Torn: Decolonizing Art and Representation in France* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).
[237] Gwen Allen, *Artist's Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

issue of *Souffles*, Eurocentric knowledge production was the waste with which intellectuals and artists were faced ten years after Morocco's independence:

> The history of Moroccan art has been, for more than a half century, a European specialty, a monopoly of Western science. [...] Now is the time for us to shake off the torpor of colonial trauma and face our history. But when we try to begin this confrontation, we are faced with a most problematical legacy: the colonial social sciences. The colonial phenomenon was, indeed, a serious disturbance in our history. [...] To return to this confrontation with our own history, we find that whenever we look at an area of our culture, we encounter the West and its scholars. [...] We cannot escape the history that the West has shaped for us. It is a vast raw material, a nursery of data. But it is also a construction of provocation, a mousetrap for objectivity. Colonial, even postcolonial, science throws up a constant challenge for us. [...] The self-examination we have begun, and which will continue for a long time, is a sacrificial phase, so much wasted energy. It is an exciting phase, it is necessary, authentic, anything you like, but it is still a waste. It is a long disturbance, a heavy ransom to be paid. But we must do it. Not to wash ourselves clean nor to slander the eternal imperialist West source-of-all-our-troubles, but for our own health, lucidity and for the truth of all humanity. Frantz Fanon wanted to "release man" (the wretched of the earth, the oppressed). Our task now is to release the history of oppressed mankind.[238]

Laâbi addresses here the central problem that the study of the history of arts and culture by Western scholars had caused for Moroccan cultural producers: as the only texts existing on local culture were the ones by European archaeologists, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, and art historians, they transported specific presumptions on underdevelopment as well as racial categorizations including normative ideas on local cultural forms and expressions.[239] French and Spanish colonization had not only ruled, exploited, and separated Moroccan society in various ways, it also disregarded any kind of entangled African-Arabic-European history. Local histories were disambiguated by

[238] Abdellatif Laâbi, introduction to "Art Plastique," special issue, *Souffles* 7/8 (1967): 3.
[239] This form of knowledge production did not start with the French protectorate, but is constitutive for the colonial project as such. See: Benjamin Roger, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880–1930* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003).

colonial knowledge production and branded as premodern and primitive.[240] But the national liberation movements and postcolonial oligarchies also reproduced many of these colonial cultural and identity constructions. Products of local everyday culture had been categorized, folklorized, and orientalized under French colonialism. The protectorate in Morocco in its interventions into the economies of local handicrafts with changes to the organization of the system of guilds created, at the same time, a musealization of the medinas as traditional markets. The local economy was transformed into a picturesque, touristic site of indigenous tradition and radically isolated from industrial-capitalist modes of production, also in regard to urban planning.[241] But for the postindependence intellectuals, the *industrious* revolution, as opposed to the Western model of an industrial revolution, was understood as a way out of the colonial domination and its aftereffects. The idea was to find a local synthesis of popular cultures, craft production, and modernist elements that clearly pointed beyond the high-art artists in search of a new societal role of artists in society.

One of the most harmful categorizations for postindependence intellectuals, as elucidated in articles and testimonies in *Souffles,* was the construction of a hierarchy between "high" and "low" culture. This is a domain in which colonial ideology had worked extensively, the *Souffles* editors explained in my conversations with them. To focus on the popular cultures of oral poetry, interior design, and graphic art was a way to relocate local popular culture from tradition, folklorization, and the past into a perspective of contemporaneity. To work against the divide of applied and non-applied art and against the folkloric reading of local culture production as either naive or premodern was the central challenge. With the multiple practices and roles *Souffles* took up, it created a new episteme that countered the denial of coevality.

Through conversations with its former editors and participating artists and by revisiting the different positions gathered in *Souffles* magazine, the intergenerational affinity and exchange made me reflect beyond their historical project. Postcolonial modernity is an antagonistic ground on which the invention of the future is negotiated in transnational

[240] Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*, 11.

[241] Katarzyna Pieprzak, *Imagined Museums: Art and Modernity in Postcolonial Morocco* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Marion von Osten, "In Colonial Modern Worlds," in *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past Rebellions for the Future*, ed. Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog, 2010), 18; and Janet Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 56.

translations, violent rejections of the colonial legacy, creative adaptations of concepts, and border crossings of strategies and aims. The struggle to find one's own language, which reflects the relation between modernization/industrialization and popular cultures/craft production, also calls for a revision of the split between applied and non-applied and high and low cultural forms and practices.

As I already articulated in the previous chapters, the denial to accept the split between the allied and non-applied is also a part of my practice. Through my conversations with the generation of postcolonial practitioners who were aiming to decolonialize culture, as expressed in *Souffles*, I became aware of the political dimensions and situatedness of my own practice in the contemporary cultural field. I understood that my own resistance to accepting the division between applied and non-applied practice and between high and low corresponded with a rejection of a specific academic tradition and function of contemporary art in neoliberal societies. Moreover, the division between high and low art— a division that my practice works against—gained very different meaning through my exchanges with the *Souffles* editors and artists. It is clear that the critique of colonial art education and the critique of the epistemic violence of art history writing expressed by *Souffles* artists and writers remains unresolved. Moreover, the testimonies, visual works, and graphic designs and the pluralistic, cosmopolitan perspective and international collaborations of the *Souffles* artists and writers moreover question a widely accepted post-1989 paradigm of globalization of contemporary art today. These aspects not only allow a conceptual renewal of postcolonial aesthetics, but also provide insights or a conception of the globalized world as a web of multicentered alliances and oppositions in which cultural and national borders are far from being the determining aspect. The magazine created a surplus through its transnational relations and intergenerational exchanges. Its cosmopolitan perspective also opened up a critical reflection on Western modes of production as the division of applied and non-applied arts, oral versus written word, and so forth, which are still kept intact on the art practice and educational levels.[242] This division is also maintained when these dilemmas are integrated into theme exhibitions that focus on the coloniality without critically examining the territorialization of knowledge and practices that often take place in the contemporary art field through claims of authorship over research materials and archival findings.

[242] Sarat Maharaj, "The Surplus of the Global / A conversation between Marion von Osten and Sarat Maharaj," *Texte zur Kunst* 91 (September 2014): 132–51.

IV. Conversations

It was by chance that we met the Laâbis on July 14, French National Day, which is usually celebrated with military parades across the country and is generally seen as a celebration of French victories of the past. The largest and most well-known of these parades takes place in Paris on the Avenue des Champs-Élysées. Military airplanes from different war periods enter Parisian airspace from airports around the city. When walking to the interview location through the Bobigny district, the sound of military planes reminded us of the day's meaning. It was like walking through two worlds: one in the air, signified by old and new military equipment heading to the city center, and one on the ground, where people were hanging out, playing sports, or picnicking, using the celebration as a holiday; meanwhile, we were visiting the Laâbis to remember the radicality of *Souffles* together. Our journey to meet them started from our Ibis hotel, mainly used by people coming from Paris Orly Airport, mostly holidaymakers to Disneyland and visitors of one of the largest mosques in Paris, located not far from the hotel; Orly is a shuttle airport for postcolonial migrants from all over the world. We continued to stroll through Bobigny and Créteil, Parisian *banlieues* built in the postwar period before we arrived at the Laâbis home.

It is only through video documents that the group gathering and private archival materials shown to us in their home are made accessible. It is also in the video that the conversational mode of the interview becomes visible. The difference between written text, spoken word, and sound and image recording becomes obvious when accessing the different media. The intimate relation of the conversation not being in a public situation, on a panel, or with journalistic equipment is also expressed in the materials. It transports the precarity of the moment, it does not intend to be perfect or polished, and it stays a document of an encounter. Even though reading the excerpt might make the central insights more comprehensive, when watching the video document and experiencing the conversational mode of the situation, one is transported to another kind of atmosphere and affect. The differences as compared to a written and edited text are important to address here, as the dialogical principle in use is not comparable to a publishing effort. These differences have been important for the project's character and my work in which the spoken word as well as the personal encounter have been important elements as a dialogical principle.

The mode of conversation is, on the one hand, a mode of understanding and exchange, and, on the other, a mode of sharing and dissemination. This dialogic principle runs through several of my projects. But it was through revisiting *Souffles* and meeting the Laâbis in Paris that this mode of production and its underlying approach became clear to me. In a following project that I realized in 2016 with Tensta Konsthall in Stockholm and CPKC, *Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm*, the conversation with Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss even became the guiding principle for the exhibition concept itself.[243] The practice "of being in conversation with" is a specific mode of knowledge production. It is a mode of speaking and listening, of learning and unlearning, of comprehension and cognition, and of questioning and stating.

A conversation accepts the interruption for the purpose of understanding.[244] According to Maurice Blanchot, both talking and silence are the means of an interruption that serve comprehension and cognition in general. Thus it is in the exchange of ideas where we start to understand. Blanchot understands a conversation as the joy of speaking, but claims that it will always remain a fragment. A conversation is open-ended, and even if one attempts to, it cannot be completely controlled; it will always take its own winding path. Blanchot's notion of interruption includes the necessary silence needed to follow the other's speech. A conversation is precarious for all speakers involved. In conversation we ask: May I interrupt now? We ask ourselves: When will I speak again, can I answer this, should I be more silent, have I already said too much, should I not contradict myself? This understanding of the conversation as a practice of interrupting the monologue is a practice that cannot be completed, as it is situational, performative, and affect-laden. According to Blanchot, the counterpart is not the opposite of oneself, but

[243] In *Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm* produced with Tensta konstall, Stockholm we took the play and its multiple receptions as a starting point to reflect the relation of third world solidarity and the emergence of radical aesthetics. We looked back on the play's background and production history in the Swedish context of anti-Vietnam War campaigning. The project remembered in conversation with activists, writers, and filmmakers their North Vietnam travels as well as unraveled the constitution of the first Russell Tribunal (Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal) in Stockholm's Folkets Hus in 1967, of which Peter Weiss and many other outstanding international intellectuals had been functioning as jury members. The many documents, facts, and protocols created for the tribunal by Swedish activists and artist like John Takman, Sara Lidman, Peter Weiss, and Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss informed not only the internationalists campaigning but also the creation of new forms of culture production that aimed to challenge the boundaries between art and politics.

[244] Blanchot wrote on conversation in his 1969 polyphonic book *The Infinite Conversation*, in light of the still living memory of WWII, about the advantages of conversation over the dictatorial monologues of Adolf Hitler. He added, however, that every head of state takes part in the same power of the dictator: it is the repetition of an authoritative monologue of which he enjoys the power of being the only one to succumb to the possession of his lofty words to represent the highest language to others. Maurice Blanchot, *The Infinite Conversation*, trans. Susan Hanson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992)

rather conversation produces an alterity in the name of neutrality (the neutrum) to create us as an individual. In conversation, thinking is allowed to move away from oneself. Blanchot's concept of neutrality is therefore not as a nothing, but as a way to move things differently through thoughts and feelings.[245]

When in dialogue with others, a collaborative mode is always in place. In the conversational mode that I am engaged with, the difference between the spoken and written word becomes obvious. Language is an oral phenomenon, but in the countless ways in which we communicate we use not only words but our full bodies. Language also includes non-oral communication but always relates in a special way to sound and breathing. This is what video recordings can in part bring to light, the bodily mode of speaking with one another.[246] This is a fact not considered by chance by the *Souffles* editors, and especially in Laâbi's writings. This is because their generation grew up in an illiterate society—their mothers and fathers did not read and write under French governance—but Morocco had an immense heritage of spoken word culture and storytelling as well as oral poetry that was passed on from generation to generation. For the colonial powers, the missing written word had been used as a sign of delayed development. The magazine's title, *Souffles,* which has a variety of meanings including "breathing" and "breaths," but also "breezes," mirrors this conception of orality.

The *Souffles* authors were the first generation to go through the French-speaking school system, a fact that also has to be seen in relation to the housing projects in Casablanca, which I reflected on in the previous chapters in pointing out that at the end of the colonial system some new programs were implemented such as building initiatives and schooling in French language. The postcolonial polyphonic use of the French language by *Souffles* authors marks its outstanding position as a literary magazine. Their writing embraces the multiplicity and mixture of a language and accepts the diversity of tones, pronunciations, meanings, and dialects that are also expressed in the spoken language. The contextualization and decontextualization of the language, speech, and speech acts of the former French colonial school system constituted a major task for the young writers. Mohamed Khair-Eddine speaks even of the formation of a "linguistic guerrilla."

[245] Blanchot's reflections on "the neutrality" (the neutrum) arise in dialogue with Roland Barthes, for whom this term is a multifaceted starting point to develop a movement of thought and to expose binary structures, even the most sophisticated of them—like dialectic thinking.
[246] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982), 1–9.

French—learned as a written language—is molded, appropriated, and deconstructed; disruptions are introduced and new narrative forms are developed.[247] The experimental and imaginative handling of language is expressed in so-called kilometer poems and new forms of prose. The radicalization of narratives by means of montage and collage, techniques of fragmentation, non-linear narrative forms, and the emphasis on language's event-based character can be grasped as a conceptual response to the rule of violence and the cultural paternalism of French colonial power. A separate series called *éditions Atlantes*, published in parallel by the *Souffles* editors, published important novels of the editors as well as of Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian authors associated with *Souffles* magazine.

Following independence from France in 1956, Morocco's official spoken language became Arabic, or more precisely, the Maghreb Arabic dialect of Darija. The Berber dynasties and the Moorish Andalusian culture shaped the history and language of the country, as did the settlement of Arabic nomadic tribes.[248] The condition of speaking two or three languages was not the result of European colonialism, but is also due to Morocco's multilingualism and the entangled histories of the Mediterranean region and the African Atlantic coast. This multilingual condition is an expression of diverse historical power relations and is also affected by Morocco's specific geographical location. The multilingual condition and pluralistic, cosmopolitan position of the magazine's founders, including their interest in diverse narrative formats, gave rise to a number of language experiments, creolizations, and new literary forms.[249] The linguistic experiments of the *Souffles* authors can be interpreted as a critique of a monolingual and purist understanding of language and the written word.

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[247] In the article "La littérature marocaine de langue française" [French Morroccan Literature], the literary scholar Marc Gontard characterizes the writers associated with *Souffles* as "violently eloquent." This "aesthetic of violence" directed against the colonial heritage is both a curse and a space of potentiality for the young *Souffles* poets. See: Marc Gontard, *Violence du texte. Etudes sur la littérature marocaine de langue française* [Violent Texts. Studies in French Morrcan Literature] (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1981), 36.

[248] Since the new constitution passed in 2011—a result of the reform movement in the context of the Arab Spring—the Berber languages are today officially acknowledged by the Moroccan government.

[249] Citing Édouard Glissant's concept of creolization (*créolité*) in this context does not mean to simply compare Caribbean literature with the North African postcolonial condition, but refers to Glissant´s idea that including different language trajectories and migratory dialects intervenes into and creates a new Francophony beyond French literature. The *créolité* movement critiqued the dominance of Parisian French as the language of Caribbean culture and literature. It favored the use of West Indian Creole in cultural and academic contexts. Glissant stressed that a Caribbean identity came not only from the heritage of ex-slaves, but was equally influenced by indigenous Caribbeans, European colonialists, and their East Indian and Chinese servants. See: Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 67.

This critique is—without having had the knowledge and terms to acknowledge it before—a central part of my practice, the projects, artworks, and exhibitions of which often emerge from being engaged in conversational dialogues. It was through the intergenerational dialogue with the *Souffles* editors—that is, the approach of speaking with each other as critical intellectuals who had started to become interested in one another's work and the context in which it arose—that genealogies of critical practices, arts, and politics were able to arise. This concept of conversational dialogue between critical intellectuals reaches beyond a simple chat or get together. It is instead the basis of the critique of culture as it is now.

This context of critical analysis is what made our group from CPKC initiate the online journal *tricontinentale.net*. With this initiative, we have aimed to connect projects by other artists, curators and researchers and to publish photos, videos, posters as well as conversations, and articles in a horizontal manner, in a way not possible in classical print media. We are also able to invite collaborators different than would be possible in an exhibition context. The focus of *tricontinentale.net* is on the role visual artists, writers, and filmmakers have played in the constitution of the Tricontinental movement and in making societal change in the search for radical postcolonial aesthetics. With this shift in perspective—looking through arts and cultural practices back to politics—the journal aims to overcome common ideas about art and activism as separated fields. Moreover, with the focus on artists active in the solidarity movements and self-publishing initiatives founded around the Tricontinental congresses and meetings, the aim was to expand and leave behind the conceptual frame of continentalism as well as the postwar, post-1989 European paradigm of contemporaneity. *tricontinentale.net* has an open editorial board that has access to the publishing platform and is able to co-edit from diverse places and localities. With this we provided not only a new research focus but also an infrastructure for a translocal group of critical intellectuals to interconnect and make research angles and both smaller and larger findings public in quite a low-key manner. *tricontinentale.net* makes this possible without requiring the offer of a new project or a new invitation to continue to work when possible, without deadline pressure, and without concrete project frame. It was this change in practice—acting in public independently, even if on a small, self-organized scale, and insisting on the continuity of a hybrid and open-ended practice and of our work-life relationships—that had become an urgent need for research-based practice involved in the process to decolonialize culture production.

Souffles 50th anniversary exhibition, National Library Rabat, 2016
Photo: Marion von Osten

Souffles 50th anniversary exhibition, National Library Rabat, 2016
Photo: Marion von Osten

Epilogue

As I have discussed in the past six chapters my research practice engaged in decolonializing modernist architecture and city planning of the 1950s and '60s in Morocco, France, and Switzerland. The various procedures and approaches involved created, over ten years, continuity in ongoing open and experimental research practices and its social relations. This was also a result of the fact that to comprehend coloniality, it cannot be dealt with on short-term basis, but rather decolonializing is constantly in process. Before this background research practice and in part its outcomes left the production conditions and institutional frame of a project exhibition. Finally, the intergenerational exchange with the *Souffles* editors in the last years, recounted in chapter 6, made me rethink the historical divisions of the arts in relation to my own work. It was in these conversational dialogues that I acknowledged the situatedness of my practice and the need for new forms of collective organization beyond existing role models and conditions of curating and artistic practice, which also reinforced the role of the forms of self-organization and self-publishing that I myself have been involved in for many years. Self-organizing is not only an expression of a movement, but also constitutes a critical space, a third space, so to speak, for thinking and a lived culture, as well as creates work-life relations other than the given.[250]

With this PhD I have put emphasis on the making of a project. It is also with the making that one starts to acknowledge the contributions of very different people and experts as I have shown in chapter 1,2 and 3. My background of being situated in a feminist art scene and among activist culture producers allowed me, on the one hand, to acknowledge and relate the *Souffles* project to the historical engagements of these groups, but, on the other hand, this also opened up questions about the contemporary reception of *Souffles* as the product of mainly male artists and writers. With my explorations into the magazine and its production histories through conversations with a variety of people involved with it, I was able to witness how the reception around the fiftieth anniversary of *Souffles* in Rabat 2016, overlooked the support network and wider transnational relations that is needed to produce culture as well as to undertake self-publishing. It was thus important to be open to the unrepresented players of the magazine and the production context out of which it arose, which, for example, included women like the art historian Toni Maraini, who was foundational to bringing in a transnational methodology. Through the conversations with

[250] As also articulated in Lucie Kolb, *Studium, nicht Kritik* [Education, not criticism] (Vienna: Tranversal Texts, 2017).

the authors and editors of *Souffles* magazine, many ideas about the transversality of contemporary culture production were tackled once again. As mentioned in chapter 6, one of the most harmful categorizations for postindependence intellectuals was the construction of the hierarchy between high and low culture. As expressed in testimonies by visual artists and writers involved in *Souffles*, there was a need to work toward a new form of culture production shared by artists, writers, and publishers that also acknowledged the expertise of popular culture. To work against the colonial modern division of the arts has been one of the major challenges for these writers and artists. As I have shown in chapters 1, 2, and 3, this is a perspective shared in my practice when studying the usage and self-representation of modernist architecture by inhabitants of Zurich and Casablanca. Another angle taken by the postindependence artists was working against folkloric readings of local culture production as naive or premodern by Western orientalist studies of the ornamental and decorative arts in North Africa. These imposed categorizations were countered with the suggestion of a new epistemology that did not read applied art forms as traditional but rather as popular culture and as contemporary productions of the shared time of the present. Overcoming the division between applied and non-applied art practices resonates as well in my work, but I had not reflected on this aspect so far before starting the PhD research.

The group of *Souffles* artists and poets whom I conversed with from 2014 to 2017 are still today writing, publishing, exhibiting, networking, debating, and creating collective knowledge across national and previously colonial borders. With the engagement of the Casablanca group (Farid Belkahia, Mohamed Melehi, Mohamed Châbaa, and in particular Bert Flint and Toni Maraini), the curriculum of the Ecole de Casablanca was from its beginnings multidisciplinary and engaged with popular culture, from craft production through to typography and new media such as photography and film. Melehi stated during an interview I conducted in 2016 that he had looked to the use of photography in sociological departments in the United States that had been experimenting with the medium to record the everyday, a practice that I adressed in chapter 2, in which my photography and filming is taken as a device to document and to become a thinking tool. At the Casablanca school, Melehi promoted the use of diverse forms of media and advocated for looking beyond the idea of a product or commodity and rather seeing visual art production as a means to understand life, the everyday, and the surrounding sociopolitical conditions. The students at the Casablanca school were

thus not trained in painting and sculpture classes, but rather asked to be involved with local practices and craft knowledge and to be engaged with their work in the public sphere. The teachers had to invent a new epistemology, one that included a range of practices and knowledge, from rural Berber and sub-Saharan crafts, to urban Arabian interiors, to the vernacular read in conjuncture with modernist proposals by Western and non-Western artists.[251] It also included the study of oral narratives and ornamental language. This also happened against the background of a population that had lived in rural regions moving in great numbers to cities like Casablanca, which I describe in chapters 2 to 4.

The Casablanca school, under the guidance of Farid Belkahia, created a countercultural approach to the colonial modern episteme outside of or on the fringes of Western art circles. It was positioned not in opposition to the West, but in response and in a radical form of self-articulation. The arts were seen not as separated from the everyday, but rather as acting in dialogue, following corresponding aims of creating a postcolonial vision of culture production and a foundation for what is today called and practiced as decoloniality. The transnational networks and emerging ideas articulated in the self-published pages of *Souffles* constituted polyphonic articulations and contingent intellectual crossroads as well as a new subjectivity of the artist-intellectual, acting within and for society. The poetry, literature, theory, and political manifestos of the Tricontinentale movement, texts by Pan-African thinkers, and new literary forms were discussed alongside theater performances, architecture, film, graphic design, and students' and teachers' projects applied in architectural or public spaces. With the proposition of thinking through art and politics, culture and society anew, they were also consciously involved in new visions of pedagogy and new curricula—another affinity shared with the postcolonial intellectuals, which I came to reconsider as being part of my own practice as a culture producer rather than as a curator.[252]

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[251] Melehi and Maraini got to know Herbert Bayer in Tangier, as they were all in involved in public arts programs in Mexico in 1968 initiated by Matthias Göritz. Likewise, Flint, a colleague of theirs, was active in publishing and teaching about the production and symbolic meanings of handicrafts in the magazine *Maghreb Art*, which was produced annually by him and Belkahia during the first days of the Casablanca School.

[252] As with my critical articles about the Bologna Reform as well as projects like <reformpause> at Kunstraum Lüneburg in 2006, or the publication edited with Tom Holert: *Das Erziehungsbild - Zur visuellen Kultur des Pädagogischen.* [The Education Image – On the Visual Culture of Pedagogy]. Schriften der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, Band 11.(Wien: Schlebrügge, 2010).

In the intergenerational exchanges as part of my PhD research I understood that my interest in the modernist paradigms of architecture and building could also be understood as a search for the genealogies and pitfalls of a societal function of the arts. The nineteenth-century division between the art academy and the applied art school has been in question since the revolutionary moments of 1918–19, more than one hundred years ago, in Russia in the constructivist movement and the Proletkult organization, and in Germany in the Arbeiterrat der Künste (Workers council for the arts), the November Group, and the Bauhaus. This is important to highlight not as a national side story, but as a point of transcultural exchange, as the *Souffles* artists were reworking these radical concepts according to their own necessities, too.[253] The covers of *Souffles* magazine and Melehi's posters clearly reflect constructivist and Bauhaus references, which I started to study in the context of a project that is about to begin this year.[254] Likewise, collage techniques used in the writings of the poets resonate with proposals by early twentieth-century revolutionary writers. Relations between the arts and art's societal function have been debated as an inter-arts practice that questions the exceptional role of the single artist in capitalist societies throughout the twentieth century. It was during the early modernist movement that, through the reform of education, architectural discourses such as those of Neues Bauen became the focal point for the integration of the arts into the building process. From cutlery to interiors to building structures, the artist had become an architect and designer to create new living environments. It is these modernist ideas, in which the artist is bound to building or production processes that the writers and collaborators of *Souffles* in part also left behind. Theirs was not another turn toward integration and synthesis into one art form, as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, but rather one about plurality and polyphony. The variety of practices emphasized by the *Souffles* generation and those that have followed them aim to liberate culture from the burden of colonial epistemology as well as the burden that the use-value of arts might become part of a state program or a governance tool. They instead claimed an inter-arts practice could become a project of radical independence, in the open meaning of the word. Testimonies found in *Souffles* magazine also prompted me to rethink again the conditions of contemporary art production today.

[253] As expressed in my conversations with Toni Maraini and Abdellatif Laâbi in 2016-2017.
[254] The 2018–19 program of the project *bauhaus imaginista* can be followed at www.bauhaus-imaginista.org.

Revisiting the *In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After* project in this dissertation thus also relates to the legacy of the modernist architecture paradigm of integrating the arts into the building. Through the various forms of study highlighted in chapters 2, 3, and 4, I was able to show how the utopic modernist ideal of creating workers' settlements and integrating the arts into the building was acted out on colonial ground. This was an important finding when reconsidering ideas on the role of the arts in society, as it became clear that radical and liberating ideas can also be turned into governing tools and means of executing power. Thus, it is precisely the changing role of the artist in and for society that calls for a rethinking of the artist's functions. And it is this critical reflection that asks for new practices, vocabularies, institutions, infrastructures, learning spaces, and exchange platforms when the practices and meanings of art and culture in society change. These infrastructural annotations can take the form of a magazine or online journal, a self-organized space, the reform of an existing institution, or the development of new physical infrastructures that are needed because practice and its societal condition are in the process of changing.[255]

Such histories summarized above are important genealogies for my own work that can also be followed in the project documentations listed at the end of this dissertation and that are accessible online.[256] And these reflections on duration, research processes, and outcomes have—alongside the analyzed project of this PhD—also informed the infrastructural interventions and information architecture designed for the Inter Arts Center Malmö (IAC) as part of the practical side of this PhD. The five infrastructural interventions created for the IAC are related to an important reconsideration that is also in part an outcome of this PhD: a research-based practice is transformed by and will also transform contemporary cultural institutions from the inside and the outside. In the case of the IAC—a new institutional infrastructure of Lund University reflecting a shift in

[255] Investigating the role of the exhibition maker and designer, as the facilitator of new visions and organizer of knowledge, as well as the need to produce new institutions beyond those existing, were not actions invented by the *Souffles* group, but are likewise important for my own practice.

[256] I started to reflect on the modernist and productivist histories of information architecture in, for example, the *Common Property* project at the 6th Werkleitz Biennale, Halle, for which four "inserts" were developed by Simone Hain, Christiane Post, Karin Rebbert, Katja Reichard, Peter Spillmann, Axel John Wieder, and myself. These inserts related to historical proposals by Aleksandr Rodchenko, László Moholy-Nagy, and Vladimir Tatlin, who in the 1920s made concise statements on the social function of thefine arts, theater, and architecture. On the other hand, the reception of revolutionary, constructivist formulations as adapted in Ken Isaacs's *Matrix* (1954) highlighted the influence of the modern mediation of knowledge on exhibition design, architecture, the fine arts, advertising, and design. See the 6th Werkleitz Biennale website at http://biennale2004.werkleitz.de/html_en/index_e.html.

artistic practice—the "Arts" are approached as "knowledge production". [257] But the new institutional infrastructure still relates to the production and performance of individual works.

An inter-arts perspective, as discussed in chapter 6, is central to my own practice. In relation to this background, I decided to make the IAC and its temporal research and residency program the issue I would work with, as a way to highlight the differences that this new research-production infrastructure provides in relation to more well-known institutions in the field of contemporary culture production. The IAC says this program was designed for artistic research and is also open to experimental and multidisciplinary artists working in visual art, music, and theater. The center's position differs from that of art institutions such as museums, galleries, concert halls, and theaters, and is itself a long-term initiative and a future model of a university infrastructure that also includes bodily and cognitive knowledges. This self-positioning and function of the IAC caught my interest, as it is a kind of milestone in the new landscape of culture production as it changes into an open-ended, process-oriented form that includes new funding models, temporalities and outcomes. But its infrastructural conception is based on production of works that partially denies research social relations beyond author signature, temporary alliances across disciplines, divers research temporalities beyond staged events and the creation of knowledge as a common good.

My project at the IAC thus translates the central concerns of my thesis into material form. For the IAC, I developed an open-source design concept. It offers infrastructures evaluated in collaboration with and that in future will be used by the IAC and by all researchers hosted there short or long term. The five infrastructural elements on the one hand argue for another form of being present together in the space. This includes announcements for artistic research projects, the length of their duration, and archive facilities for realized projects or on their way. This allows connectivity, continuity, and accessibility of research processes beyond the temporality of each individual research project. Accessibility also makes it possible for arts researchers with diverse backgrounds to become interested in research produced in another field, such as visual art, music, or performing arts. This also matches with concerns the IAC has expressed

[257] See in this context: Sarat Maharaj, "Know-How and No-How: Stopgap notes on 'method' in visual art as knowledge production," *Art & Research* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 1–11.

in conversations that I had with its staff that the visibility of and interaction between researchers is lacking. In my intervention, in the café of the IAC, I provide an infrastructure that can be used by arts researchers for interim presentations and as a discussion or meeting place. The layout can be transformed easily from a large table arrangement to the full setup needed for an interim research presentation. The multifunctional furniture can be used as a meeting table or changed into a small-scale presentation facility to show research materials such as documents, videos, magazines, and related books. It can also function as a small stage, screening facility, informal exchange platform, or a place for a production meeting. Because it is installed in the café, it is thus available for anyone who wants to use it for programming or discussions and is meant as an extracurricular environment and a space for possible self-organization of the researchers. Mobile display elements are produced that can be stored at the IAC and used in any space of the institution as well as in non-institutional spaces. The five infrastructure elements designed for the IAC argue not just for more visibility of research beyond the final result but for connectivity and contingency. The researcher's platform in the café is a space that aims to situate the social and oral exchange of conversation as being as important for any production as the material and cognitive outcomes of a research-based artistic practice. The open-source design proposals that I offer relate as well to an aspect of making as understood in Hannah Arendt's sense of *Herstellen* (making/producing), as a material articulation that also, after the processes of dialogue, cognition, sketching, and study, finally relates to the work made by and with our entire bodies and in relation with others.

The concept of making that I have employed in this doctoral thesis also relate consciously to Hannah Arendt's notion of *Herstellen*.[258] The German term *Herstellen* is not completely congruent with the English notion of "production," as *Herstellen* in Arendt's understanding means "to build, to fabricate, to make, or to manufacture" something. It involves making as a cognitive process as well as to material outcomes. In Arendt's definition, *Herstellen* always includes the materialization of an idea, sketch, or theory in the form of objects such as goods, books, exhibitions and so on. She further argues that production cannot be divided into manual and cognitive labor, as they are entangled with and dependent on each other —"Schreiben ist das Resultat der Arbeit unserer Hände"

[258] Hannah Arendt, *Vita Activa oder vom tätigem Leben* (*The Human Condition)* (Munich: Piper 12 Auflage, 2001), 161–81.

(writing is also the result of our hands). Arendt states that nothing can be produced without a draft, and no draft can be made without an idea and imagination; that is, there is no book without a concept, handwriting or typing, printing, or binding. Her concept of production/making is clearly distinct from a Marxist concept of labor and labor power; it is, in opposition to the division of manual and cognitive labor, as well as of material and immaterial labor. It is, after Arendt, only in labor that the division and abstraction of the sketch, layout, idea, means of production, materialization, making, and maintenance is prescribed. Even though *Herstellen* might be included in industrial production, as the Marxist notion of labor and labor power suggests, it is only a small part of the production as a whole. Labor can, according to Arendt, thus be associated with production processes, but only as a limited part, be it material or immaterial. Arendt's definition of *Herstellen* stands in opposition to a materialist definition of "labor". Labor is defined to be a necessary part of the larger thing that will be produced; however, the laborer is not involved in the concept or in the making, as she or he is not in charge of the means of production. In contrast to this, *Herstellen* is an activity in which the producer is not separated from the means of production but is able to inhabit, change, and define the means of production and holds partial autonomy over her or his product. Thus the producer is involved in the making of the product from the very beginning of the idea all the way to the end, taking part in all aspects of its materialization. In Arendt's understanding, the division of hand and mind thus cannot be applied to production/making (Herstellen). Taking her thoughts further Marxist concepts of labor do not correspond with *culture production* either.

Culture production in my understanding involves an act to occupy the means of production. To emphasize the *making* in my dissertation is thus meant as a political positioning.[259] Everything we do together is necessary to produce culture; it is not just the product or the author's signature that creates a work, but it is also the way in which we produce together and relate to each other that is political. And we also do things with our hands and experience with our bodies, as I showed in chapter 2. Still the passage of artists into other practices, the trespassing of disciplines, and the engagement in manual and cognitive practices and maintenance work is in this dissertation not understood solely as a Euro-American feminist self-articulation but also as in dialogue with the

[259] I am aware that the concept of making also reached architecture research and discourses in architecture theory. See. www.architecturemakingeffect.se, Accessed April 1, 2018.

concerns of postindependence artists from the Maghreb and beyond. Intellectual connectivity has become a driving force in my practice since *In the Desert of Modernity*, as can be seen as well in the list of works, as for example, in the most recent project, *Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm* (2016), created in dialogue with Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss, which analyzed the culture production in Europe 1968 through the contacts with culture producers in Vietnam.[260] But the projects also reached beyond exhibition making and material outcomes as context, draft, research, alliances and productions were in part created in a parainstitutional condition and independently. Thus, in my understanding the culture producer can be situated also as a critical figure in relation to neoliberal labor society, which abstracts the worker from his or her means of production and abstracts creativity and project work from the larger context in which it takes place, as well as claims the exclusivity of knowledge as property. But the culture producer is a transversal figure and not fixed to a profession.

> "We employ the term 'culture producers' in a decidedly strategic way. [...] we are not speaking of a certain sector [the cultural industry], nor of an ascertainable social category [...] or of a professional self-conception. Instead, we are speaking of the practice of travelling across a variety of things: theory production, design, political and cultural self-organisation, forms of collaboration, paid and unpaid jobs, informal and formal economies, temporary alliances, project-related working and living."[261]

The above quotation was the result of discussion and thinking processes in the frame of the *Atelier Europa* project and the film *A small postfordist drama* (2004) by Brigitta Kuster, Isabel Lorey, Katja Reichard, and myself as the collective kleines postfordistisches Drama (kpD).[262] It refers to a moment of self-definition of feminist artists and theorists

[260] A conversation on *Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm* at Tensta konsthall with Emily Fahlen is available as part of *tricontinentale.net edition #1*, where the production conditions and her role in realizing Peter Weiss theater piece *Viet Nam Diskurs* is articulated. The project was undertaken following an invitation from Maria Lind at Tensta Konsthall, Stockholm, together with Peter Spillmann and the Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC).

[261] kleines postfordistisches Drama (kpD), "Prekarisierung von KulturproduzentInnen und das ausbleibende, 'gute Leben'," *Arranca!* 32 (Summer 2005): 23–25. The collective kpD consists of Brigitta Kuster, Isabell Lorey, Katja Reichard, and Marion von Osten.[translated by Aileen Derieg]

[262] The discussion was intensified in the *Atelier Europa* project at the Munich Kunstverein in 2004 and the accompanying film project *Kamera läuft* (Camera rolling). The film has been shown extensively in art and non-art contexts since then. Writing, producing, and filming together also brought about a new debate on precarity and the culture producer's involvement in neoliberal politics. See also: kpD, "The Precarization of Culture Producers and the Missing 'Good Life,'" trans. Aileen Derieg, transversal, June 2005,

working in new discursive constellations. The reuse and reconceptualization of the term "culture producer" was employed to critically think through the fabric and condition of contemporary workers' subjectivities and to reflect on our own roles in late-capitalist Western societies and the work ethic and work life involved in art and theory practices, against the background of recent neoliberal labor politics and a precarious working situation.[263] The reusing of the term is a rebellious act against existing addresses and given subjectivities of contemporary artists, exhibition makers, and researchers on the one side, and the subjectivities of creative workers on the other. The open-endedness of this self-definition and its resistance to subscribing to an ascertainable social category or a professional self-conception associated to a sector or discipline will lead me through some final conclusions on the practices I have introduced in this dissertation.

To reiterate, when citing and employing the notion of the culture producer in these final reflections, I am not applying it as a fixed, static concept but rather as a dynamic and transversal proposal to describe the fluidity of practices one is involved in. The mobility between different positions, formats, and practices that the kpD collective claimed for the culture producer in 2005 is no longer unique to artists in the field of contemporary art; many other actors such as architects, designers, theorists, curators, and scholars are increasingly changing or newly redefining their roles in the cultural field and expanding their spectrum of activities. Today, however, transversal expansionism in the field of contemporary art and its associated fields corresponds in part with shifts in the capitalist economy and to the development of flexible labor markets.[264] The broadening of professions and practices has occurred in parallel with the call for flexibility and creativity as an imperative of neoliberal governance, and thus the expansionist mode of artistic practitioners had to be reflected upon in this context. Michel Foucault's concept of "art not to be governed as such" became, for my generation, a guiding principle—to

http://transversal.at/transversal/0406/kpd/en.

[263] In the twenty-first century, artists are confronted with a social situation that has radically changed from that of the 1960s and '70s. In the mid-1990s, creative professions were ascribed an integral and trendsetting role in economies based on information and innovation. Under the term "creative industries," governments at the end of the '90s promoted new forms of work that they hoped would result in the creation of employment and more innovative markets, and therefore that would facilitate the move away from national industrial economies. Today, the attempt to regulate "creative" work in the free market under the term "creative industries" seems to have lost its appeal. But the creative industries discourse is one of many that calls for culture producers to position themselves as integral to the economy, because culture production is considered an economic factor and artists themselves are being stylized as blueprints for economic discourses on innovation and self-responsibility.

[264] See also the publication that I edited in 2003: Marion von Osten, ed., Norm der Abweichung [Norm of deviance] (Vienna: Springer, Edition Voldemeer, 2003).

not ignore the way in which we are governed and addressed by neoliberal politics but to try to redefine the arena of our activities and, most importantly, to acknowledge their overspills and outcomes that are distinct from hyper-commercialization or market-driven forms of speculation within economics as well as within the arts. The reintroduction of the notion of the culture producer was an attempt to grasp the expanded activities and subjectivities within and beyond the contemporary art field to create a vision of what we have in common when we produce culture and work in transversal modes together beyond given disciplines. It was also meant to reconsider concepts of labor, work, practice, and production from a feminist position, including concepts of reproduction as well as the production conditions and institutional parameters that create work relations. The employment of the term "culture producer" in the context of this dissertation is meant as a response to the gendered histories of culture production and the division of labor of the cultural field.

The concept of the culture producer is obviously not mere invention—as has already been discussed above—but has been strategically reused and resituated in the present and expanded, not only in its terminological meanings but also through the practice forms used by culture producers, as I have shown in the previous chapters. Culture production is about what actors from different disciplines and professions have in common beyond their professional or social statuses. This practice is precisely a "travelling across a variety of things: theory production, design, political and cultural self-organisation, forms of collaboration, paid and unpaid jobs, informal and formal economies, temporary alliances, project-related working and living."[265] This concept of the culture producer relates to the long productivist history of the twentieth century and to Pierre Bourdieu's early 1980s sociological definition of culture production as a field that would subsume the art field, the literary field, the scientific field, and so on. In this way, Bourdieu offered an open address. His understanding of the culture producer steps beyond concepts of inter- or transdisciplinary practices. In this, Bourdieu acknowledges that work identities and school or university degrees can only partially describe what we are doing when we are engaged in producing culture. If we are working in new production modes that synthesize or even overcome job descriptions and subjectivities associated with the contemporary visual arts or academic fields, then existing subjectivities and ideas about

[265] An English version of the text "Precarization of Culture producerCulture producers and the Missing ‚Good Life'" can be accessed at http://transversal.at/transversal/0406/kpd/en.

the artist, the theorist, the critic, and the curator become narrow and limited. Moreover, in Bourdieu's conception, a culture producer does not need to have an education in the field of art, be it performance, literature, visual arts, or film. Instead he argues that culture producers hold a position of power in a society due to their symbolic power in showing things and making people believe in them.[266] Thus, the culture producer is clearly involved in making things public and creating other views of the world we live in. Culture, in my understanding, can be produced by a multitude of actors, whether poets, scholars, visual artists, electronic musicians, publishers, street dancers, or inhabitants of a housing project. For Bourdieu, culture production is not an ethical category that relates to specific values, as it does not matter if the intervention of perceiving and understanding the world is done in an explicit, objectified, or vague and unformulated way. In Bourdieu's conception, it is the public formulation that brings ideas of culture into existence. It has to be acted out in public. Bourdieu's concept of the culture producer also stands in opposition to arguments of the marginality of the artist. The culture producer is a figure that inhabits a dominant role in society, possibly gaining cultural capital with her or his public articulations. Thus, a culture producer is an important part of today's late-capitalist attention economies, in which information and affect have become increasingly important. But she/he also can counter and intervene into given visual cultures and knowledge. Moreover, the culture producer how I address it also includes popular forms of intervention as discussed in chapter 2 and 3, when it comes to building annotations or filmic representations by You Tube bloggers.

Coming back to the concept of the culture producer in this epilogue is thus meant to reflect critically upon the ground on which a practice such as mine could be situated in the long history of ideas on interventions into cultural forms that are themselves on the move. However, by reactivating and broadening the notion of the culture producer to describe the multifaceted fields and activities one is engaged in when developing a project on the colonial modern, the term "culture" then requires further reflection. In her 2006 article "Culture Alive," Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak analyzes the Eurocentric notion of the term "culture," as culture is in her view a package of largely unacknowledged assumptions in which change is incessant.[267] As a result, shifting presumptions of cultural belief systems are created. Moreover, Spivak discusses how a theory of culture has been

[266] See: Pierre Bourdieu *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991)
[267] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Culture Alive," *Theory Culture & Society* 23, nos. 2–3 (2006): 359.

defined in the Euro-American context by which culture is, on the one hand, described as dynamic in a Western or urban context and, on the other, accused of being static in a non-Western or rural context. These binary assumptions are precisely what I discussed in chapters 2 and 4, when referencing Michel Écochard's proposition of "culture-specific" architecture planning, in which this dichotomy of dynamic (French culture) and static (Moroccan culture) was affirmed to emphasize the colonial territory as a field of architectural interventions. Moroccan culture was depicted as stunted and traditional, even though it had in fact already become highly mobilized and dynamic through modernization. Further, European scholars put Moroccan culture into categories that overlooked the transcultural relations that had happened centuries before the French occupied the country. The colonial episteme of a dynamic versus a static culture created, as Spivak expresses, vast political problems, which persist still today and which can only be challenged if a concept of culture that is *alive* and constantly created and transformed is acknowledged and put into practice. This is also the point *Souffles* co-founder Abdellatif Laâbi addresses in his vision of Morocco as situated in a plurality, in a movement between and within different social groups and transculturations.

What makes "culture alive" is, for Spivak, when existing presumptions function as triggers to change our world and ask us to innovate and create it differently.[268] The culture productions that I have revisited in this disertation aimed to change assumptions by using the cultural capital and societal position of the culture producer to shift what we know and have known so far. Spivak's position also clearly speaks against static subject positions. With the concept of "culture alive," she intends an understanding of culture as a doing and making of culture that is in flux and in movement and in which various actors and geographies are in play, including not only the actors associated with the field of culture in the Western conception. Culture production as culture alive, in her understanding, belongs not just to the hemisphere of a (Western) cultural elite; instead, she argues, if we aspire to be citizens of the world, we must fight these habits and be in relation and try to change culture with one another. A culture alive thus acknowledges and speaks for diverse protagonists in the production of culture and is also critically against the stratification of the cultural field and its definition according to Euro-American (art) history.

[268] Spivak, "Culture Alive," 359.

In chapters 2 and 3, I referred to the way in which we found small pathways in the conversational dialogues we had while on site at the modernist housing complexes and in the YouTube videos made by inhabitants of such developments. The discussions about inhabitants' building activities and the short film productions about their neighborhoods attempted to create a vision of a culture alive. Transversal cultural expressions by practitioners likewise happen in the midst of European societies and beyond national boundaries. Culture here is understood not only as that defined by a state apparatus, hegemonic discourse, or the capitalist production of underdevelopment, but also as forms of disobedience, disidentification, and self-articulation, and with this the emergence of a new culture in movement that relates to the popular and the everyday. In this PhD I refer to this as a concept of lived culture. In the important 1996 essay "When Was 'The Post-colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," Stuart Hall situates the contemporary postcolonial condition as polyphonic and multilayered, as today we live in migratory societies all over the world.[269] This is a position clearly missing from recent discussions on coloniality and decoloniality, as postcolonial studies emphasizes the use of culture, while decoloniality aims to deconstruct and undo the colonial episteme.[270] I have related to both concepts in the making of the projects, including in the collective study processes, conceptual thinking, the projects' layouts, and the conversational dialogues. Hall's discussion on the postcolonial, Spivak's notion of a "culture alive," and Bourdieu's idea of "culture production" are the important underlying concepts for this dissertation and for my practice. That was also taken further in the last years in the form of creating a self-organization.

It was important in the process of the PhD to acknowledge the constitution of the micro-organization Center for Postcolonial Knowledge and Culture (CPKC) that I co-founded in the frame of the project *In the Desert of Modernity*. As part of the media collective Labor k3000, mentioned in chapter 3, I was already able to hold partial autonomy regarding the video and online productions as well their translations and the ways they encountered audiences, instead of having given these aspects away to a production firm or a film crew

[269] Stuart Hall, "When Was 'The Post-colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," in *The Post-colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, eds. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (London: Routledge, 1996), 242–260.
[270] Walter Mignolo's critical reflections on postcolonial studies are, in my opinion, not very helpful in thinking about post-migratory societies, nor are his distinctions regarding postcolonial studies very correct, as he further creates the sort of large oppositions that postcolonial studies wanted to avoid. It is also the responsibility of European citizens to decolonialize Europe and to experiment with diverse methodologies and a mixture of concepts. Otherwise, we will remain stuck in a totality of terms and rigid scholarship. We should rather be engaged in new ways of thinking *together*.

and as such abstracting them from the research and our aims. With CPKC, we went a step further as the micro-organization attempts to create research facilities (physical and immaterial) for access and exchange instead of to claim and hold property of knowledge. As in the case of *In the Desert of Modernity* knowledge produced went beyond a single author, university, or art institution claiming ownership of the work. CPKC emerged from a long-standing collaboration between Labor k3000 in Zurich and Berlin and the German Kanak Attak activist group. Activating the role of culture and aesthetics in the production of counternarratives and actions is one of the center's aims. With this foundation, the entangled histories of transnational migration, colonial governance, and struggles with and against colonialism were analyzed and debated in an open way that understood all involved as *co-learners.* The center is part of a larger network and is not defined through one approach but rather through the different engagements of its members and collaborators.

With CPKC, I have tried to self-build a long-term infrastructure for intersectional forms of production beyond the limitations of temporal project frames, institutional conditions, publication deadlines, and formally organized events. CPKC today is involved with projects and representations developed by artists, researchers, and curators as well as everyday actors and activists. It further connects and publishes in experimental formats and modes of representation. It is a platform for the redistribution of different kinds of knowledge and, along with the related project and website *tricontinentale.net*, it gave rise to a self-published journal that includes contributions of various media, from photography, video, and film to diverse text forms as well as research and links to other activities of practitioners with similar interests. Furthermore we, CPKC, wished to create a virtual and partially physical archive of the moment of making that could become a long-term public good. CPKC emphasizes the need for open-source design, public domain, and the creative commons, and thus the dissemination of insights via online platforms and physical presentations that are designed for usability. The center aimed to create materials and knowledge to be used and shared, rather than to be claimed as institutional or sold as individual property. The culture producer, as I conceptualize it here in the epilogue, in contrast to this, is critical of the territorialization and the exclusivity of knowledge produced through authorial concepts upheld by copyright laws.[271] With CPKC, we aim to create an alternative model; to overcomes divisions

[271] Within property claims, the hierarchy between written and spoken word becomes manifest when a

between the arts, scholarly research, and associated roles that we have been socialized with; and to be "capable of convening various publics in new forms of assemblies that become points of convergence," to use Achille Mbembe's words.[272]
The initiatives I have taken part in over the last decade are marked by various forms of self-publishing and self-organization, be it the study of the para-political publishing initiatives of *Souffles* magazine, the production of collective works with Labor k3000, or the establishment of the micro-organization CPKC, also intervened in the conditions to produce culture. By "conditions of productions," I am referring also to the critical analysis of my practice of exhibition making so far, which has resulted in concerns related to the limitations of contextual and representational modes, which both include and exclude, as well as about questions of courtesy and property. This was the case in the project and exhibition *In the Desert of Modernity*, as described in chapter 5, for which the property rights had to be negotiated, with the final result that the exhibition was given to Casamémoire to answer in part the question of who owns the knowledge gained.

With these last observations, I come back to one of the beginnings of my PhD. When I applied for the position in 2012, I was reflecting upon the larger meaning of what I had been calling translocal organizations or parainstitutional practices, that I today frame as micro-organization. The impetus behind this was that a number of small translocal organizations had been emerging since 2003 and creating multiple forms of small-scale institutions and an experimental field for diverse aesthetic practices that could not be summarized under the umbrella of either small-scale art institution or artist collective. Against the backdrop of the increasingly professionalized routines and divisions of labor within the art world, countermodels had been established that also enabled new forms of aesthetic practice beyond disciplinary boundaries. Practitioners all over the globe today are confronted with a multiplication of aesthetic practices and experts of the visual world and communication technologies in everyday life. Production and resistance networks have developed, which are connected to and act in concert with other organizations and actors on other continents. The multiple roles taken up by practitioners that create new forms of organization can, as the few examples show, no longer be described in terms of national specificities or other versions of contemporary art from elsewhere. If at all, these

patent contract is written, signed, and can be used against users. It is in the transversality of culture production—the trespassing of boundaries and institutional briefs—that the reclaiming of the means of production is possible and that steps beyond the writing practices of patent laws.
[272] Achille, Mbembe. "Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive." Lecture given at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, April 2015.

roles can be described via translocal practices such as transnational encounters and collaborative networks of practitioners, who, in their productions and by taking on diverse roles, often critique both the existing dominant and/or insufficient structures and the limiting notions of art and culture.[273] Moreover, practitioners involved in the self-organization of new sites for research, production, and distribution travel across the fields of art, architecture, design, pop culture, research, and institutional work and thus refuse the monocultural conception of the visual arts. New micro-organizations have also informed later research stages and also led me to rethink my own involvements as part of CPKC as a micro-organization in the frame of *In the Desert of Modernity* in this thesis. To name just a few of these corganizations whose scope goes beyond art as a formal discipline, I could mention ruangrupa from Jakarta, Center for Urban Pedagogy from New York City, CAMP from Mumbai, Sarai and Cybermohalla from Dehli, H.arta from Timișoara, l'atelier d'architecture autogérée (aaa) from Paris, Chimurenga from Cape Town, and Center for Land Use Interpretation from Los Angeles. [274] These micro-organizations are not divided into production, distribution, and consumption, and thus these divisions practically disappear. I understand micro-organizations as an opening up for other ways of producing culture by also creating alternative infrastructures to those already existing. The will to create micro-organizations in this way can be interpreted as what Stephen Wright has called the "usability of the arts," as the micro-politics of the commons is a central reference point in testimonies by small-scale organizations. It seems that the vocabulary and concepts currently in place are in resistance to the transversality of culture producers at the moment, at a time when every act in the cultural field can be subsumed again into the field of contemporary art.[275] This is of interest when reflecting on my own practice, as it is positioned between the arts, design, curating, theory, and politics. [276]

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[273] My questions relating to the new forms of self-organizing are: What are the concrete possibilities in the field of artistic, intellectual, and activist practices that are generating structures other than those that currently exist for research, production, and dissemination today? How have the strategies of contemporary practitioners changed and how are new possibilities within and beyond the field of contemporary art constituted? Are new models being created that act outside the known forms of artistic self-organization, art institutions, and aesthetic disciplines?

[274] Stephen Wright, "Users and Usership of Art: Challenging Expert Culture" (paper delivered at the conference *Reconsidering Relationality,* Paris, April 18–19, 2007, organized by Alexander Alberro and Nora Alter). Available on *transform* at http://transform.eipcp.net/correspondence/1180961069.

[275] Architects to be mentioned in this context include, for example, l'atelier d'architecture autogérée (aaa), a micro-organization founded in Paris in 2001. They developed a practice of collective reappropriation of available urban spaces, which they transform into self-organized facilities.

[276] Ekaterina Degot analyzes in her article "The Artist as Director: 'Artist Organisations International' and Its Contradictions," the conference *Artist Organisations International* which touches upon how several of the

It is this intermediary position that asks for new forms of organization on both macro and micro levels. It is a research-based practice like mine that also made the division between applied and non-applied art obsolete. Knowledge production has left its known spheres. The colonial modern split of the arts, the binaries between high and low and cognitive and manual need to be overcome in our own practices and in the everyday life of today's culture producers. But this turn also calls for new forms of organizing and instituent practices even more so, if we aim to decolonialize our own practice.

invited organizations were not initiated by visual artists, and thus how the curatorial framing as "artist organizations" became a point of critique during the conference. Practices of micro-organozations clearly went beyond the frame of the visual arts including curating, but are still framed as artistic practices. Many of the micro-organziations work in the institutionalized field of contemporary art only partially, for example, using it from time to time to organize their productions, to gain attention for their projects, or as their survival economy. Sometimes they use this institutionalized field temporarily as a platform to act in public. See: Ekaterina Degot, *The Artist as Director: 'Artist Organisations International' and its Contradictions,* Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry, Issue 40 (Autumn/Winter 2015)20-27. http://www.artistorganisationsinternational.org.

List of Works

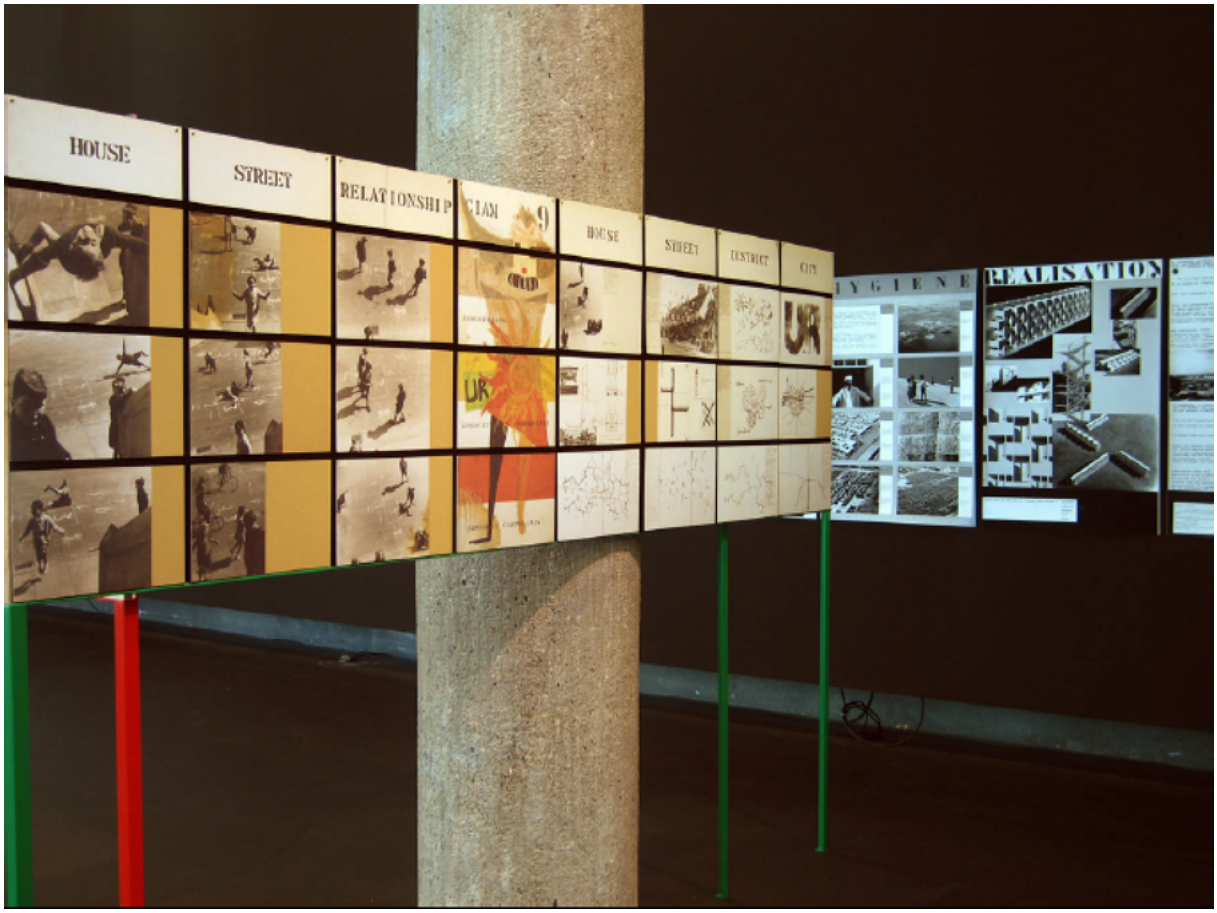
In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After

Project exhibition directed by Marion von Osten, co-curated with Tom Avermaete and Serhat Karakayali, 2008–2009 for Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin (2008) and La Fabrique Culturelle des Anciens Abattoirs de Casablanca, Casablanca (2009).

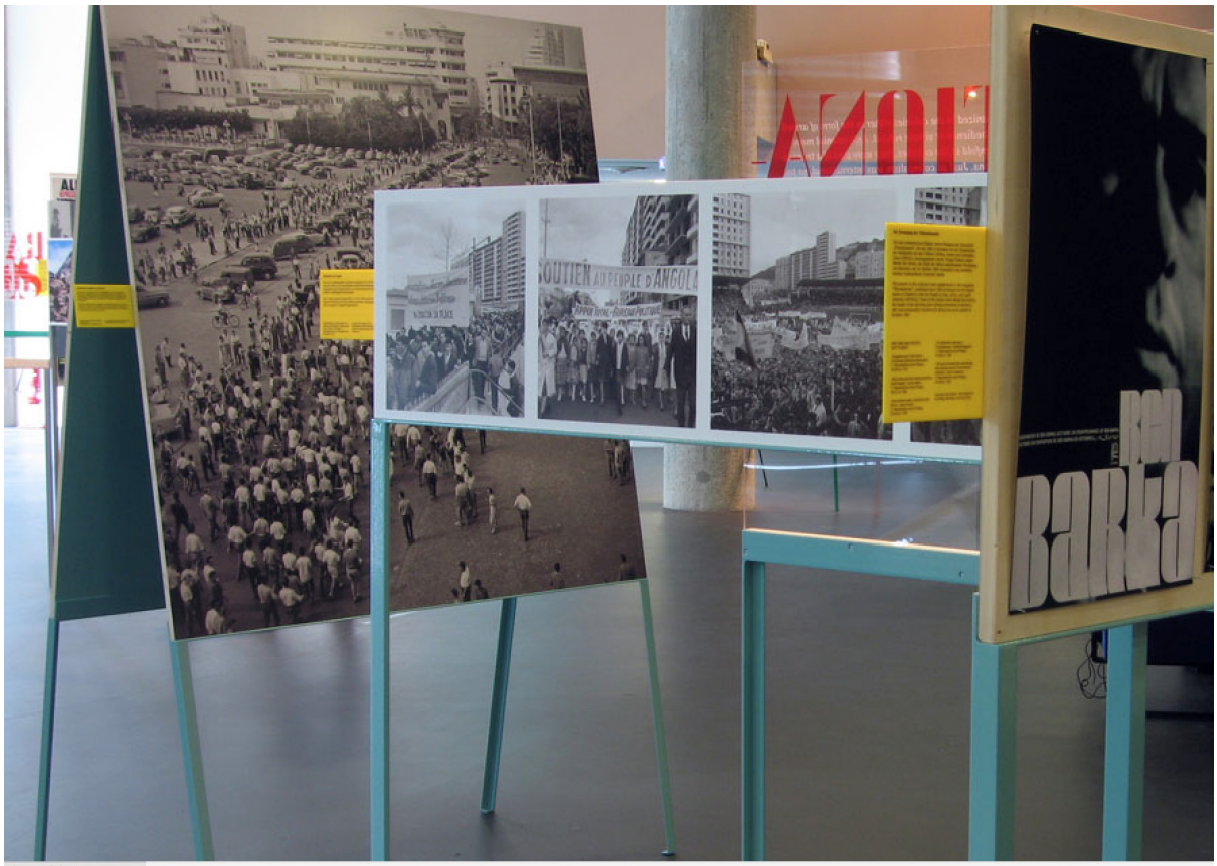
In der Wüste der Moderne: Koloniale Planung und danach (In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After) was a research and exhibition project comprising collaborative research and a series of live events, screenings, and a conference. It was dedicated to the interrelated histories of modernist architecture and urban planning in colonial North Africa, based on essentialist notions of living habits and marked by universalist claims and exemplified in building projects in Casablanca and Paris. The project's namesake closing exhibition included the online video platform *thiswastomorrow.net* and culminated in the book *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010).

Contributing researchers: Wafae Belarbi, Madeleine Bernstorff, Jesko Fezer, Brigitta Kuster, Andreas Müller and Daniel Weiss with students of: Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien; Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology; and the École Supérieure d'Architecture de Casablanca. Exhibition design: Jesko Fezer, Andreas Müller, and Anna Voswinckel. Co-produced by: Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin and La Fabrique Culturelle des Anciens Abattoirs de Casablanca, with the support of: Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien; Delft University of Technology; Casamémoire, Casablanca; Center for Post-Colonial Knowledge and Culture, Berlin; and École Supérieure d'Architecture de Casablanca.

Referenced in chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.



Installation View, *In the Desert of Modernity. Colonial Planning and After*
Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, 2008
Photo: Elsa de Seynes



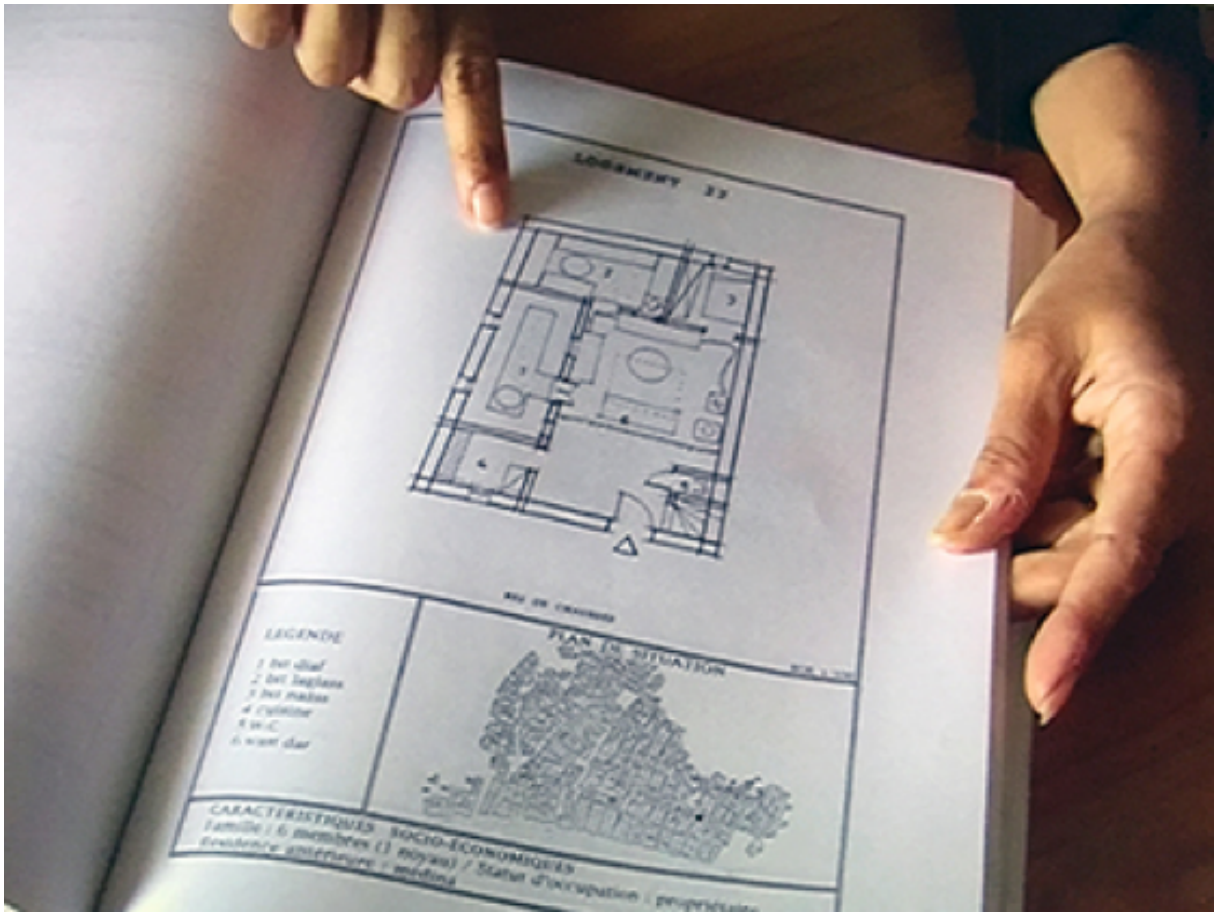
Installation View, *In the Desert of Modernity. Colonial Planning and After*
Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin, 2008
Photo: Elsa de Seynes

Installation View, *In the Desert of Modernity. Colonial Planning and After*
La Fabrique Culturelle des Anciens Abattoirs de Casablanca, 2009
Photo: Marion von Osten

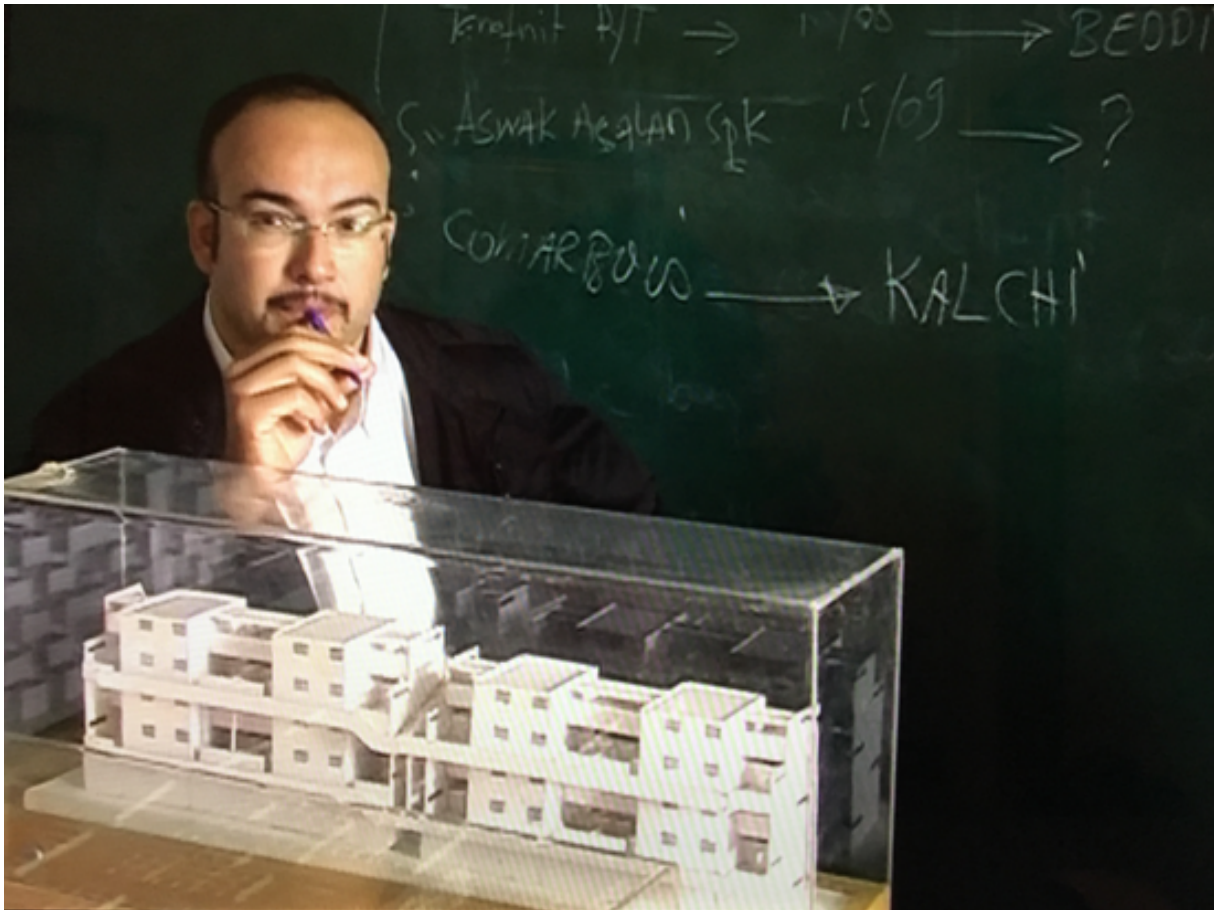
Conversations with Horia Serhane and Abdederrahim Kassou Video Conversations

The interview with Horia Serhane, an architect and member of Casamémoire, "On Clandestine Housing," discusses clandestine architecture and evolutionary building in Morocco, and also touches upon the World Bank program Cities without Slums, which aimed to remove all shantytowns in Morocco by 2010. Another conversation with Abderrahim Kassou, an architect and board member of Casamémoire, was held on the significance of modern architecture in Morocco as well as on the relation of colonial planning schemes to the role of architecture in Casablanca after independence.

Referenced in chapter 2 and 5.



On Clandestine Housing – In Conversation with Horia Serhane, Casablanca, 2008
DVD, 12:00, 2008, Marion von Osten with Labor k3000 and Academy of Fine Arts Vienna



After Independence – In Conversation with Abderrahim Kassou, Casablanca, 2008
DVD, 12:00, 2008, Marion von Osten with Labor k3000 and Academy of Fine Arts Vienna

Installation View, *Video Conversations* presented at
La Fabrique Culturelle des Anciens Abattoirs de Casablanc, 2009
Photo: Peter Spillmann

Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future Publication

This publication followed on the project *In der Wüste der Moderne: Koloniale Planung und danach* (In the Desert of Modernity: Colonial Planning and After), providing an interdisciplinary body of texts on the interrelated histories of European modern architecture and urban planning in colonial North Africa.

Edited by by Marion von Osten, with Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali,
London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010

Contributors: Mogniss H. Abdallah/Agence IM'media, Nezar AlSayyad, Kahina Amal Djiar, Kader Attia, Tom Avermaete, Madeleine Bernstorff, Mark Crinson, Hassan Darsi, Monique Eleb, Serhat Karakayali, Christian Kravagna, Brigitta Kuster, Labor k3000, André Loeckx, Kobena Mercer, Valentin Mudimbe, Françoise Navez-Bouchanine, Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, Marion von Osten, Bernd M. Scherer, Horia Serhane, Sven-Olov Wallenstein, and Daniel Weiss.

Referenced in chapter 1 and 5.

COLONIAL
MODERN
Aesthetics of the Past
Rebellions for the Future
COLONIAL MODERN

www.this-was-tomorrow.net
Online project and film archive

this-was-tomorrow.net is home to an archive of over one hundred videos and film clips contributed to the website by residents of 1950–80s housing projects across North Africa Europe. It allows visitors to navigate through a schematic grid of cities and districts, corresponding with the locations of the submitted videos, which, though in diverse approaches, portray neighborhoods, residents, and their activities inside and around the vast housing structures.

Concept, research, and design by Labor k3000 (Marion von Osten, Peter Spillmann, and Michael Vögeli, 2008–2010). Supported by Center for Post-Colonial Knowledge and Culture, Berlin. Realized with Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin; and MOCBA, Barcelona; and Museum of Modern Art, Warzaw.

Referenced in chapter 3 and 5.

Screenshots from *this-was-tomorrow.net*
Online project and film archive by Labor k3000 (Marion von Osten, Peter Spillmann, Michael Vögeli)

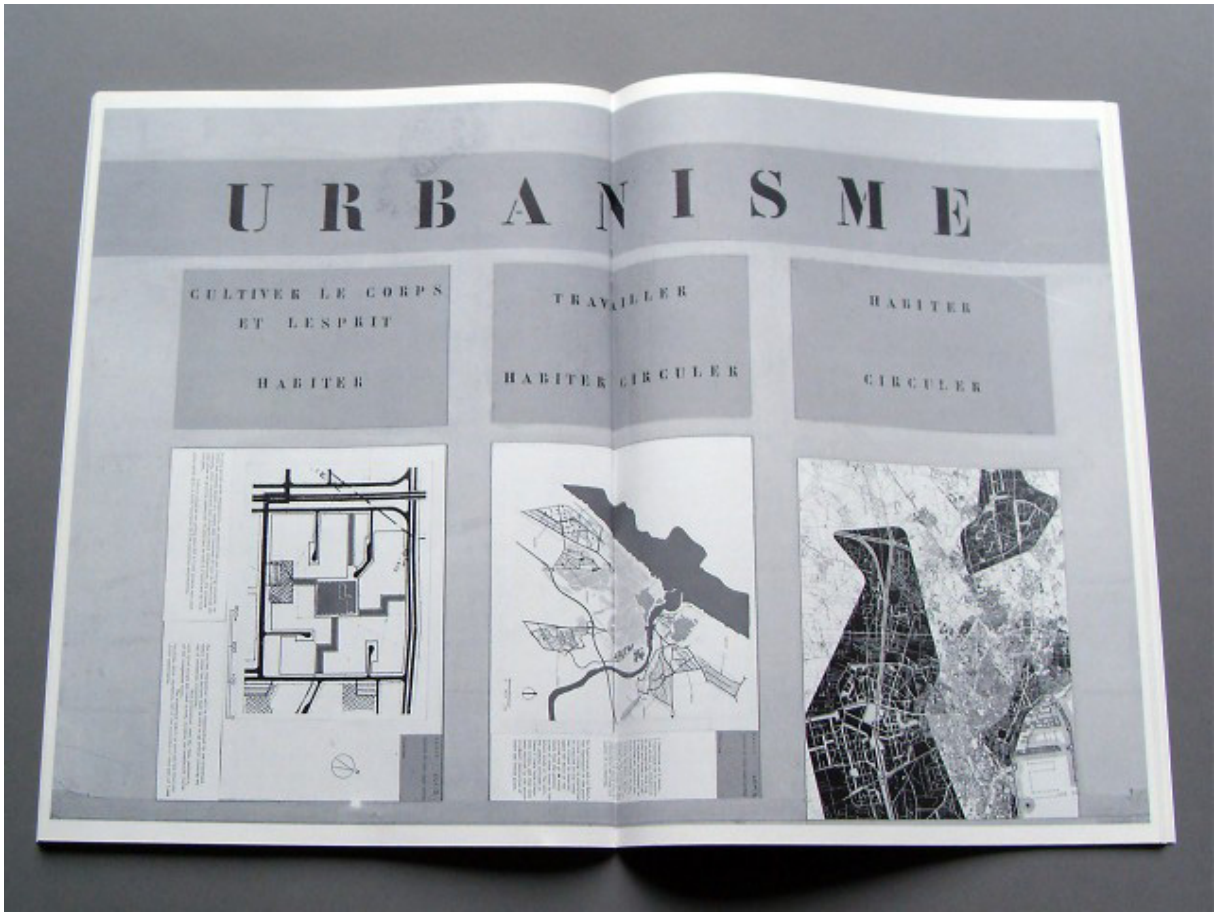
The End of CIAM and the Bidonvilles of Casablanca
An Architektur Magazine, no. 22, 2008

Content: GAMMA Grid panels from the 9th CIAM: Propaganda of colonial modernization / Field research in the barracks / The dominant logic of the planning solution / High-res settlement as a temporary solution / An optimistic architecture of urgency / Vertical collectivity / Open planning, appropriation and variance. "Between Dogon and Bidonville. CIAM, Team 10 and the Rediscovery of African Settlements; From the intention to Govern," by Tom Avermaete. "A Conversation about Building, Colonialism, Resistance and the „Desert of Modernity". An Architektur with Marion von Osten and Daniel Weiss.

Edited by: Oliver Clemens, Jesko Fezer, Kim Förster, Anke Hagemann, Sabine Horlitz, Anita Kaspar and Andreas Müller. Realized with support of the Center for Post–colonial Knowledge and Culture; Haus der Kulturen der Welt Berlin, and; École Nationale d'Architecture de Rabat, Phototèque.

Referenced in chapter 4.

The End of CIAM and the Bidonvilles of Casablanca, 108 p., illustr. b/w, mainly german
Photos: www.itfgrafikdesign.com/wordpress/an-architektur-22-gamma-grid-1953/



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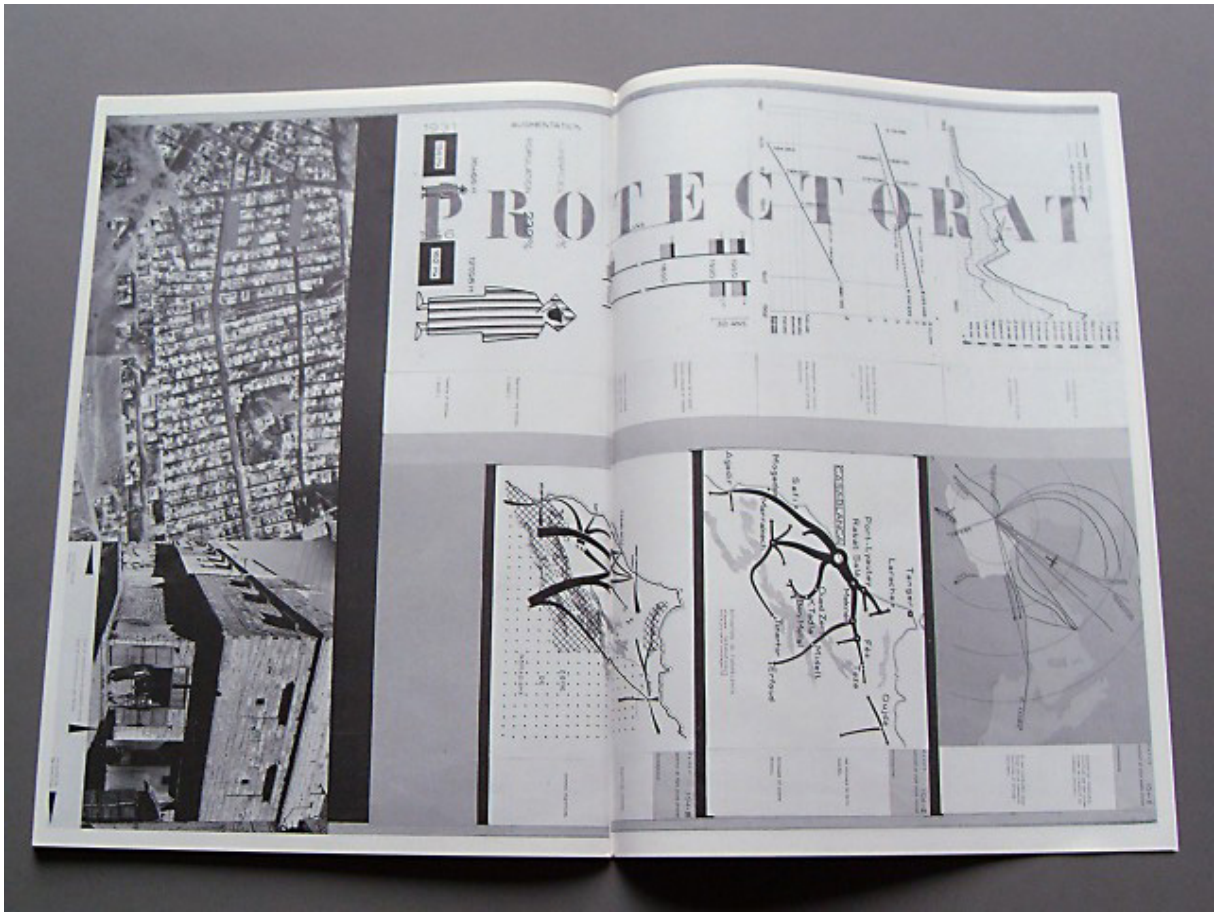

The End of CIAM and the Bidonvilles of Casablanca, 108 p., illustr. b/w, mainly german
Photos: www.itfgrafikdesign.com/wordpress/an-architektur-22-gamma-grid-1953/

www.transculturalmodernism.org
Online research platform and publication

Based on the findings of the interdisciplinary research project *Model House–Transcultural Modernisms* (Academy of Fine Arts Vienna), the online platform maps out the network of encounters, transnational influences, and local appropriations of an architectural modernity manifested in various ways in housing projects in India, Israel, Morocco, and China. Three case studies, realized in the era of decolonization, form a basis for the project, which further investigates specific social relations and the transcultural character of building discourses at the height of modernism. Rather than building on the notion of modernism as having moved from the North to the South—or from the West to the rest of the world—the emphasis of Transcultural Modernisms is on the exchanges and interrelations among international and local actors and concepts, a perspective in which "modernity" is not passively received but is a concept in circulation, moving in several different directions at once and subject to constant renegotiation and reinterpretation. See also the publication *Transcultural Modernism* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013).

Marion von Osten with Model House Research Group (Fahim Amir, Eva Egermann, Moira Hille, Jakob Krameritsch, Christian Kravagna, Christina Linortner, and Peter Spillmann)

Referenced in chapter 2 and 4.

Screenshot: Habitat Map
www.transculturalmodernism.org

Action! painting/publishing
Research room, Les Laboratoirs d'Aubervilliers, Paris, 2012

Action! painting/publishing was a collaborative research project initiated by Marion von Osten with Paris-based researchers and doctoral students on anticolonial magazines from France, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. The Cultural magazines from 1900–50, such as *Alif, Black Orpheus, Transition*, and *Légitime Défense*, served as cases for researching how decolonization has changed epistemologies as well has offered new concepts of cultural production and self-organization. The closing event included a research room showcasing volumes of *Souffles* alongside issues of *Tricontinental* and *Partisans Magazine*, offering a continuation of research into the documents and their similarities and particularities.

Concept and display by Marion von Osten. Closing events and exhibition with Lotte Arndt, Mihaela Gherghescu, Fanny Gillet-Ouhenia, Olivier Hadouchi, Pascale Ratovonony and Cédric Vincent. Realized with the Les Laboratoirs d'Aubervilliers, Paris, in collaboration with EHESS (École des hautes études en sciences sociales), the INHA (Institut national de l'histoire de l'art) research program "Arts et mondialisation" and Espace Khiasma.

Referenced in chapter 3 and 6.

Installation view, *Action! painting/publishing*, Les Laboratoirs d'Aubervilliers, Paris, 2012
Photo: Ouidade Soussi-Chiadmi

Installation view, *Action! painting/publishing*, Les Laboratoirs d'Aubervilliers, Paris, 2012
Photo: Ouidade Soussi-Chiadmi

Installation view, *Action! painting/publishing*, Les Laboratoirs d'Aubervilliers, Paris, 2012
Photo: Ouidade Soussi-Chiadmi

La Revue Souffles
Video Conversation

In the videotaped conversation Abdellatif Laâbi refers to the impressive imaginative work of the former editors, writers, and artists of *Souffles* magazine and also reflects on the concept of decolonializing culture that was proposed in the transnational network of radical intellectuals in the Maghreb in the 1960s.

Referenced in chapter 6.

Video stills from *La Revue Souffles*
In conversation with Jocelyne and Abdellatif Laâbi in Paris, July 14, 2015
Digital video, 12 min, Marion von Osten / CPKC, Berlin

www.tricontinentale.net
Online journal and research blog

tricontinentale.net is a collaborative publishing and distribution platform. It connects existing and planned projects, studies, interviews, images, videos, and articles by contemporary authors, activists, and cultural producers. It discusses, publishes on, and exhibits tricontinental, transidentificatory relations and its encounters by reviewing historical and contemporary magazines, film, art works, literature and theater performances. It takes up anti-colonial, tricontinental, and non-aligned solidarity movements as central reference points to review and imagine global relations. In its special edition, it reflects trajectories and traces of third worldism within historical and contemporary cultural productions.

Center for Post-Colonial Knowledge and Culture (Serhat Karakayali, Emily Fahlén, Marion von Osten, and Peter Spillmann) in collaboration with Maud Houssais, Rabat; Olivier Hadouchi, Paris; Kenza Sefrioui, Casablanca; and Mathieu Kleyebe Abonnenc, Metz, France)

Referenced in chapter 6.

Screenshot
www.tricontinentale.net

Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm
Research room, workshops, and film program, 2016

Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm takes Peter Weiss's play *Viet Nam Diskurs* from 1968 and its multiple receptions as a starting point to reflect on the relation of third world solidarity movements and the emergence of radical aesthetics. It looks back on the play's background and production history in the Swedish context of anti–Vietnam War campaigning. The project revisits North Vietnam as well as the first Russell Tribunal. Weiss's *Viet Nam Diskurs* drama confronts us on the one hand with the fundamental role that anti–Vietnam war campaigning played for the constitution of the New Left in Europe, especially in Sweden and Germany, as well as in the US in the 1960s. On the other, it shows how solidarity movements opened up a new way to create new forms of cultural production that wanted to challenge the boundaries between art and politics. Third world solidarity was not just about the global asymmetries but about the wish for a socialist future. Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm was part of the Tensta Konsthall series: *Eros Effect: Art, Solidarity Movements and the Struggle for Social Justice.*

Marion von Osten with Peter Spillman and the Center for Post-Colonial Knowledge and Culture. Realized with Tensta Konsthall, Stockholm 2016 and Kunstverein, Stuttgart, 2017–18.

Referenced in chapter 6.

Installation view, *Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm*, Tensta Konsthall, 2016
Photo: Jean-Baptiste Beranger

Installation view, *Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm*, Tensta Konsthall, 2016
Photo: Jean-Baptiste Beranger

Installation view, *Viet Nam Discourse Stockholm*, Tensta Konsthall, 2016
Photo: Jean-Baptiste Beranger

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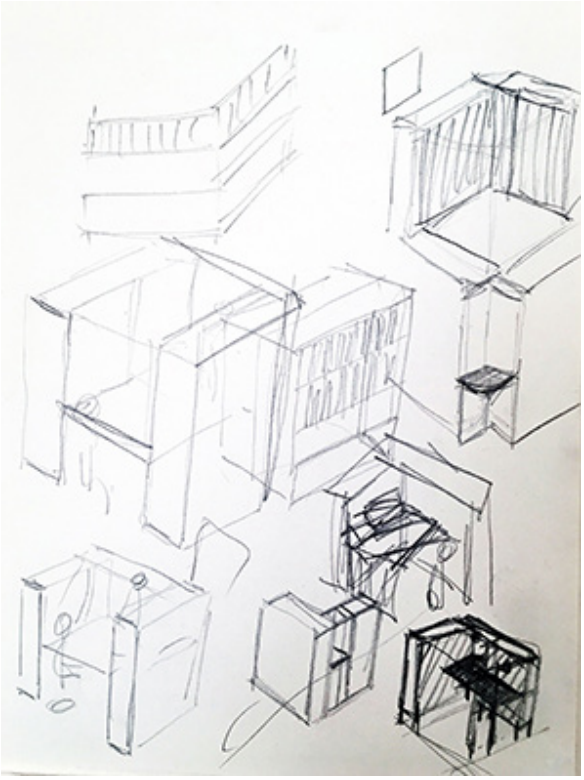
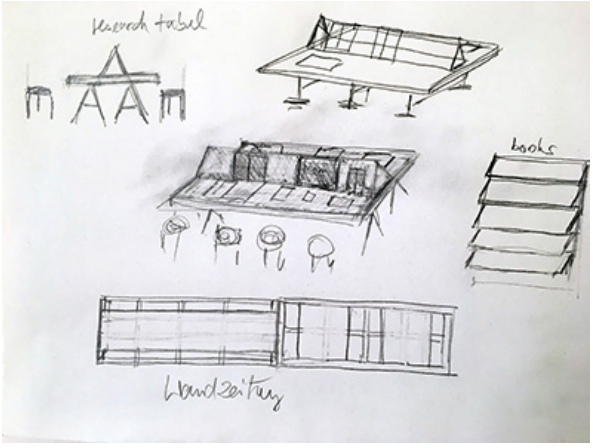
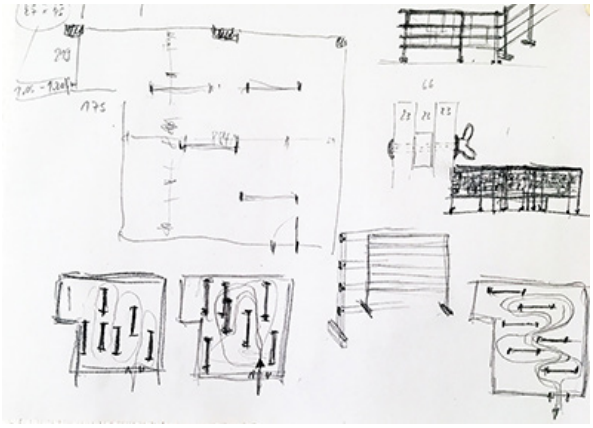
Appendix

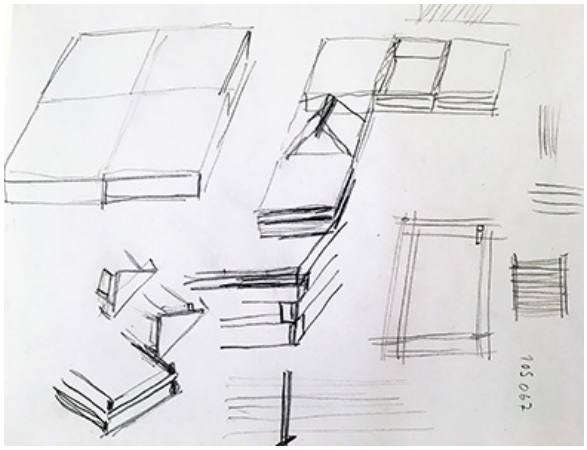
Sketches for infrastructural inserts to be installed permantently at Inter Arts Center – Malmö Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts at Lund University.

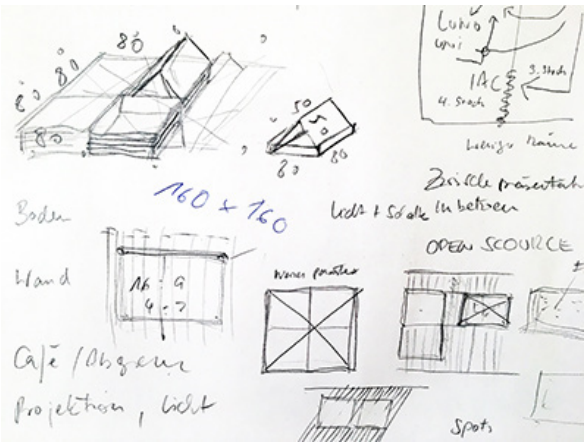
Marion von Osten, March 2018

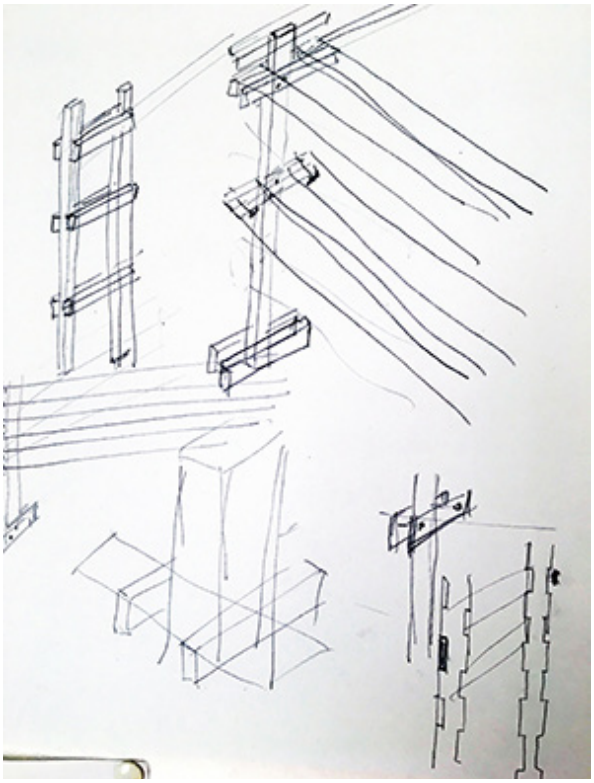



Research tabel
books
Wandzeitung






160 x 160
Boden
Wand
Café / Observe
Projektion, Licht
OPEN SOURCE
Spots



Construction drawings for infrastructural inserts to be installed permantently at IAC - Inter Arts Center – Malmö Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts at Lund University.

A: Research Announcement Board

The board will give an overview on actual research projects by doctoral students, artists and fellows of the Malmö Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts, Lund University. The information board will be installed in front of the IAC offices and updated by its staff.

B: Research Archive

The research archive will store and make publicly accessible dissertations and donated research documents by doctoral students and fellows that were part of the Malmö Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts, Lund University. The research archive will be installed in front of the IAC offices and updated by doctoral students, fellows and the IAC staff.

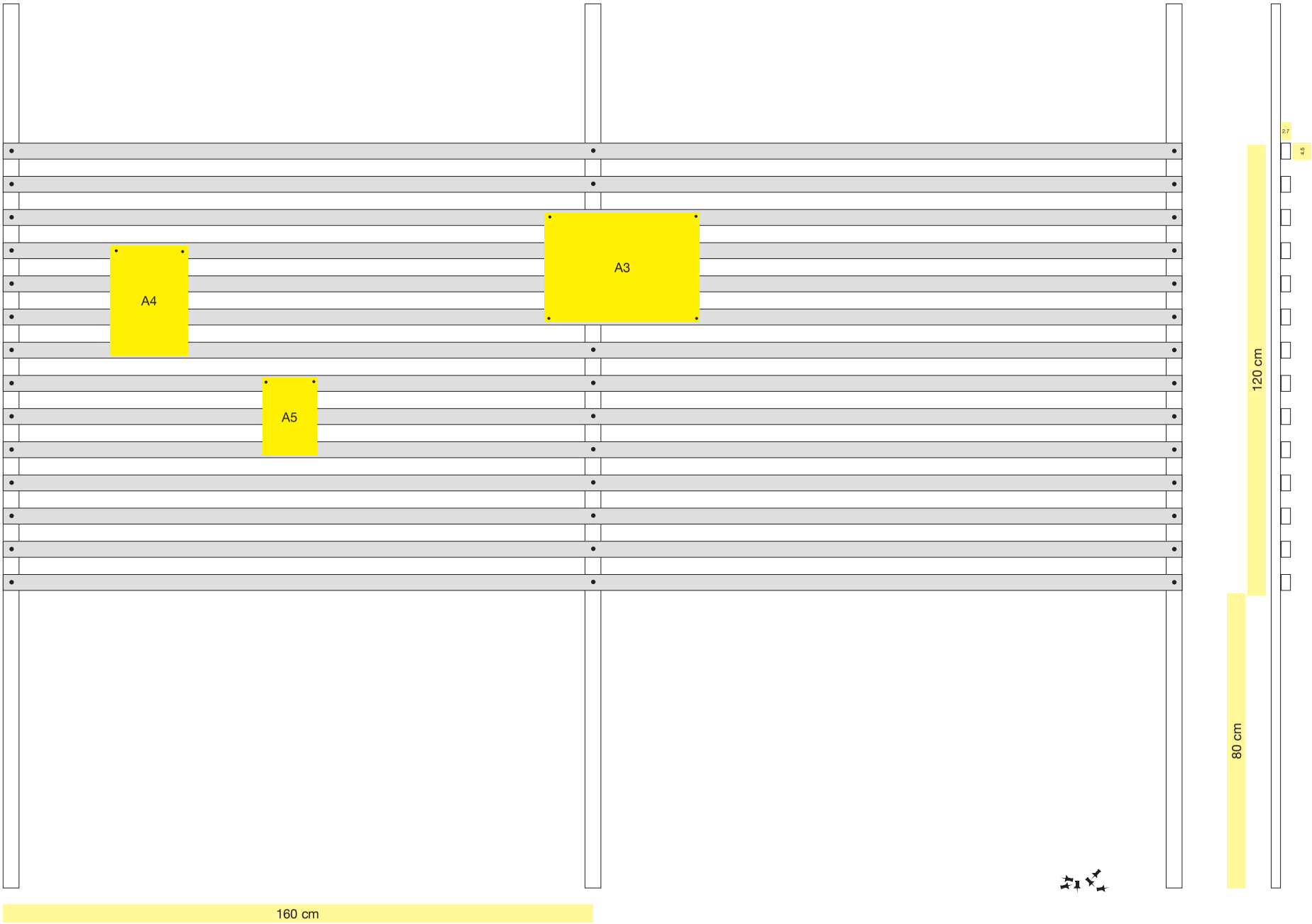
C, D, E: Researchers platform

The researchers platform will be installed in the IAC café and programmed by doctoral students, residents and artists at IAC. The research platform creates a site and a multi-functional display to share and exchange research perspectives at IAC including extra-curricular activities. It can be used by IAC researchers for meetings, discussions, screenings, presentations of documents, proposals, sketches and performances. Doctoral students, residents and artists working at Inter Art Center are welcome to use the platform from 18th of May onwards.

Marion von Osten, April 2018

A IAC Researchers Announcement Board 1/1

Foyer

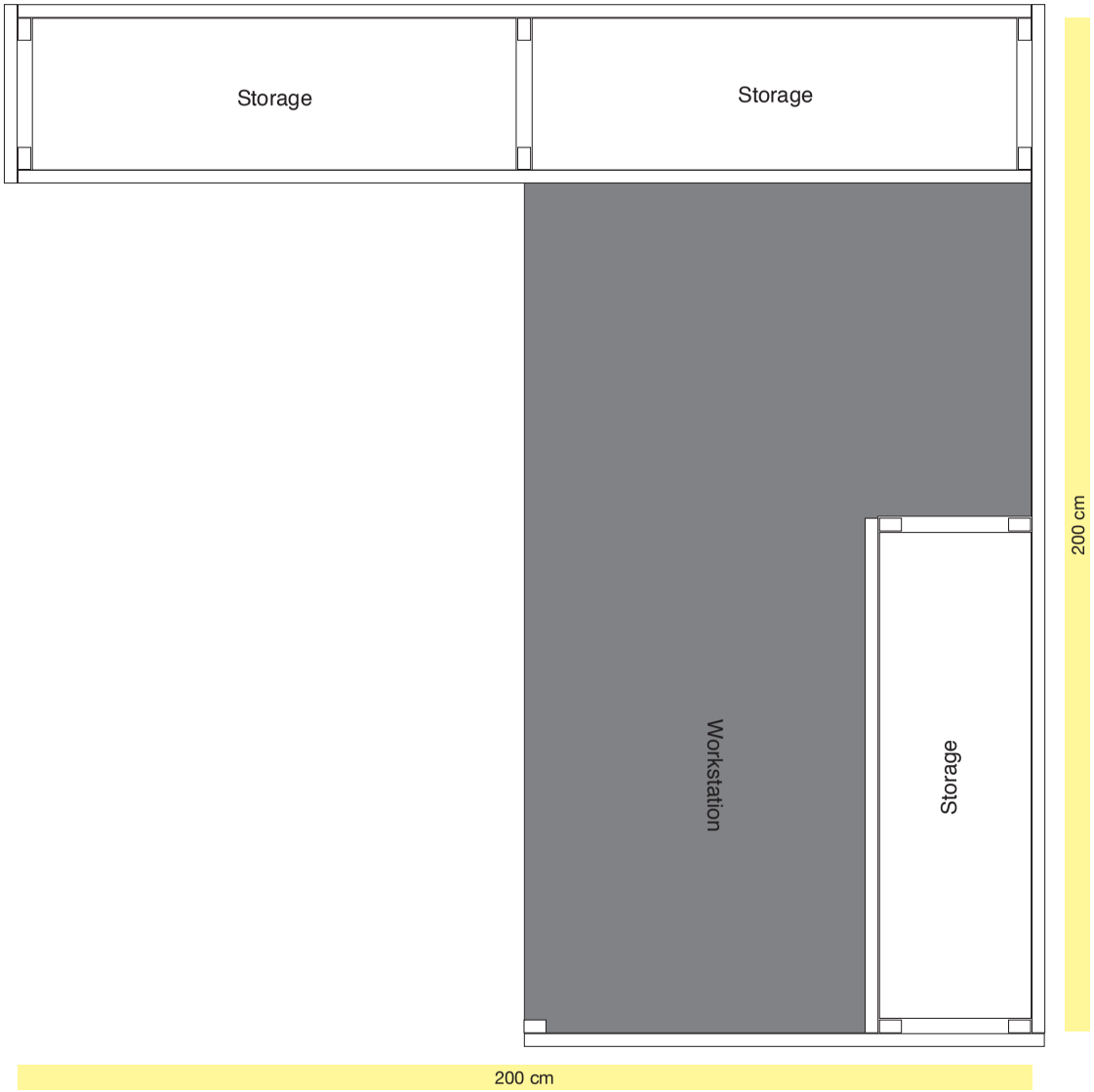


B IAC Research Archive 1/2

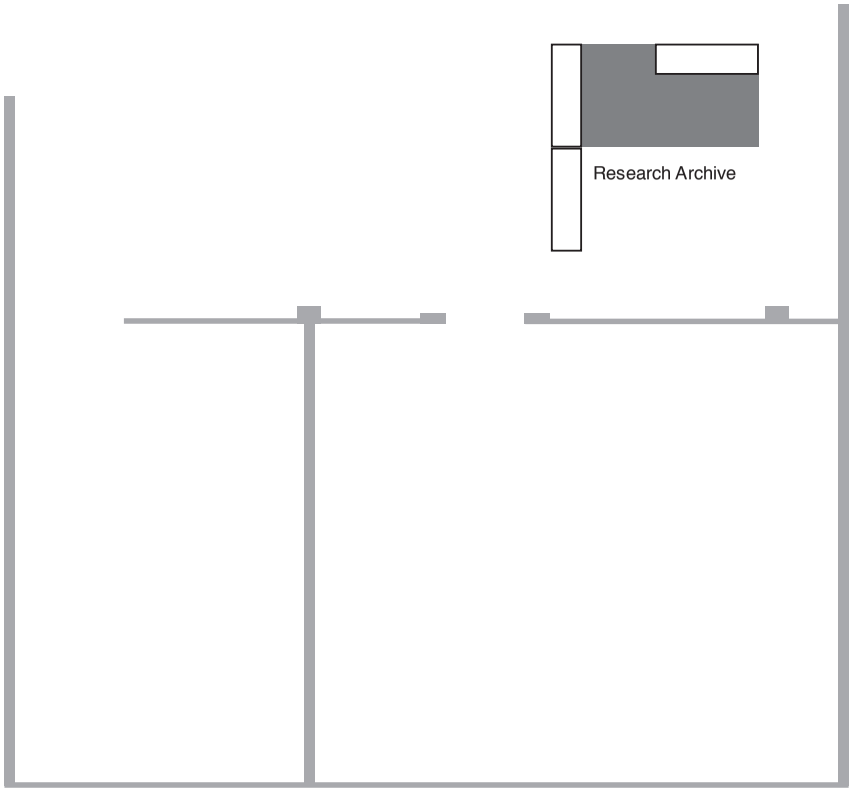
Foyer

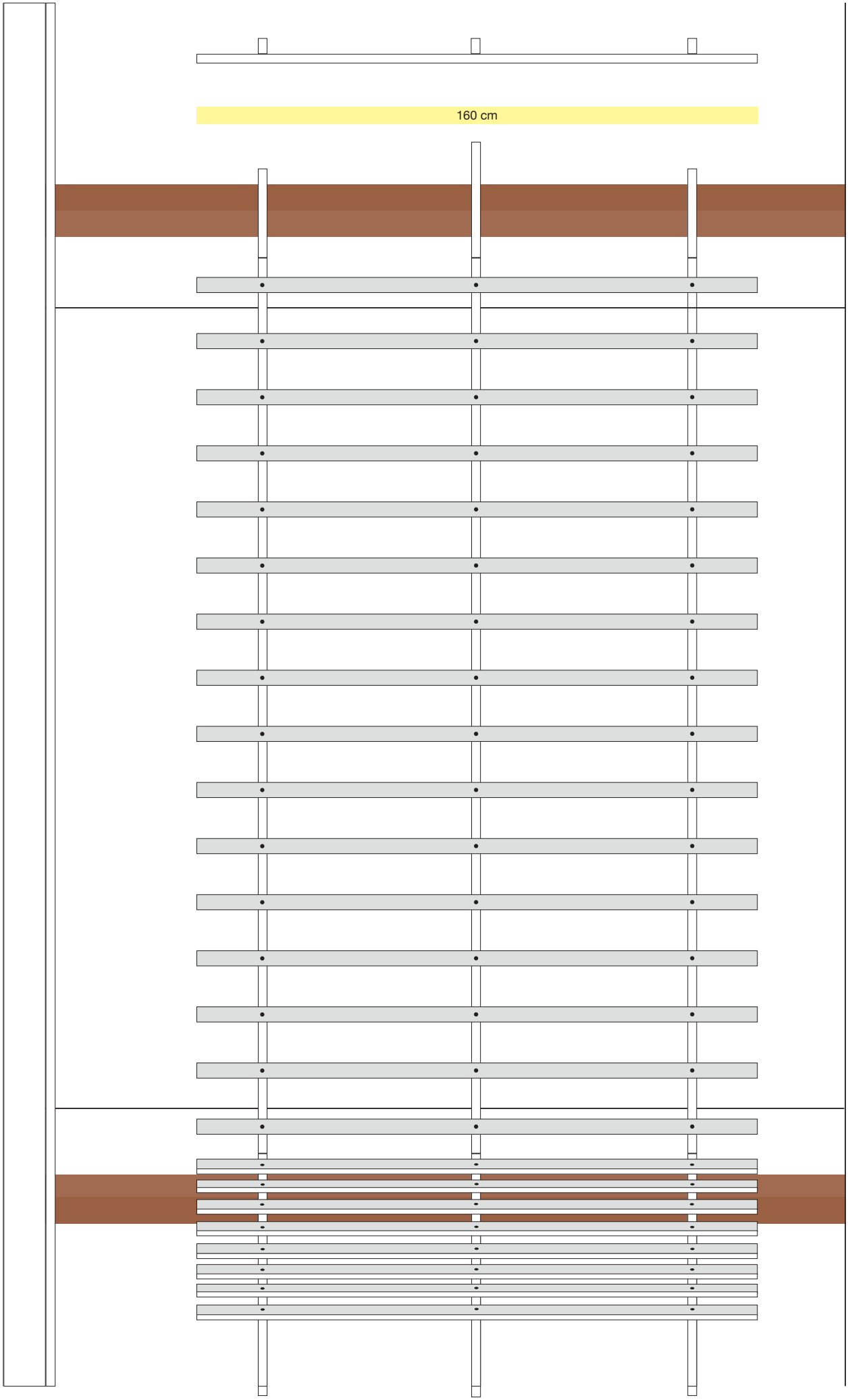
B IAC Research Archive 2/2

Foyer



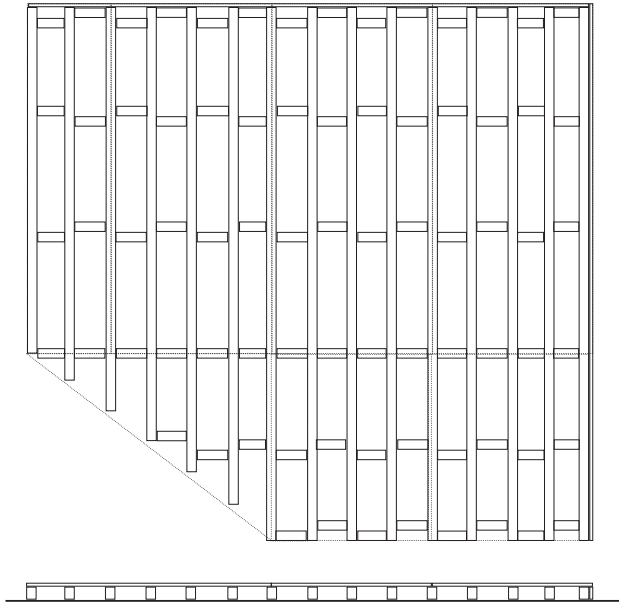
Floorplan Foyer

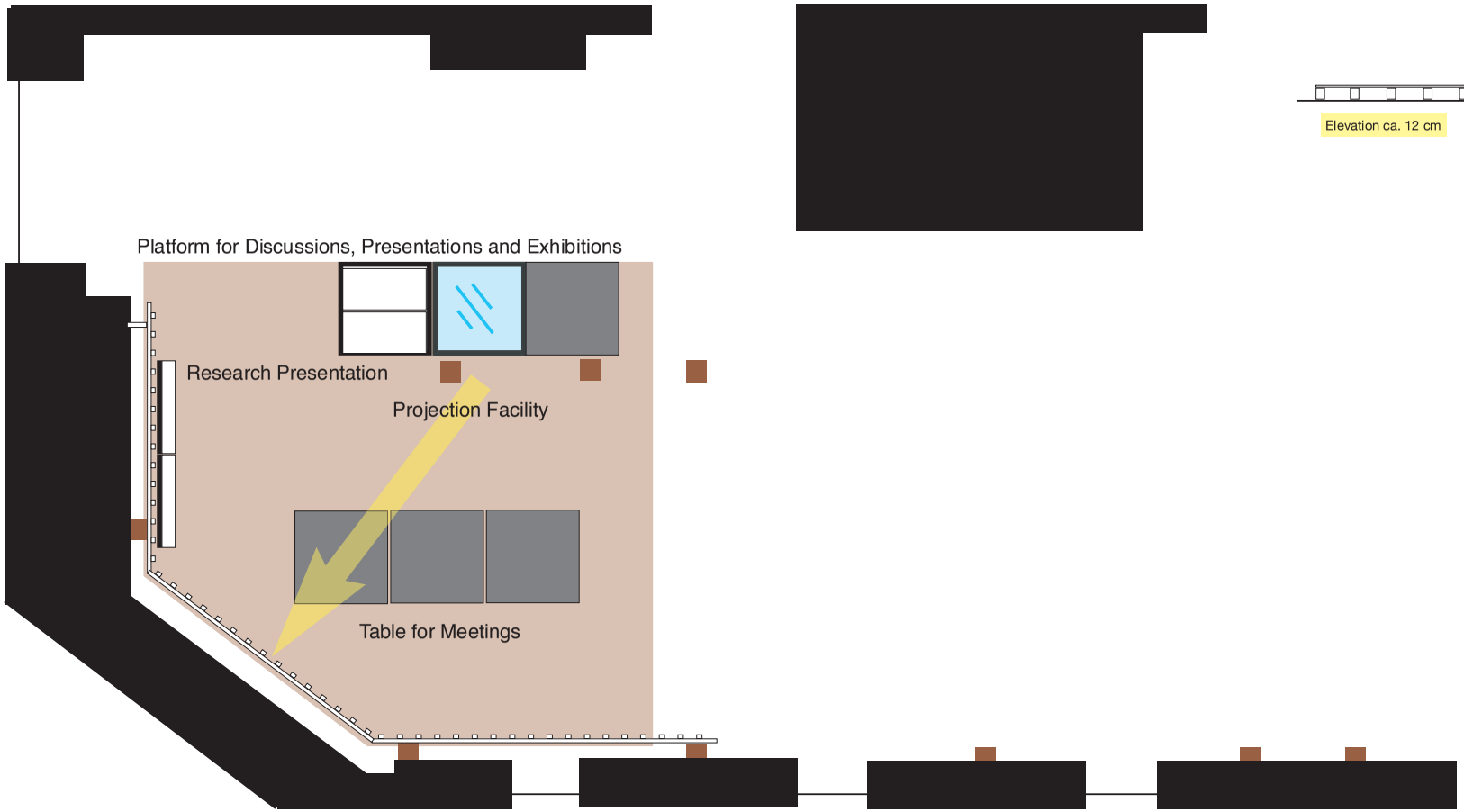



160 cm

C Researchers Platform 2/2
Café

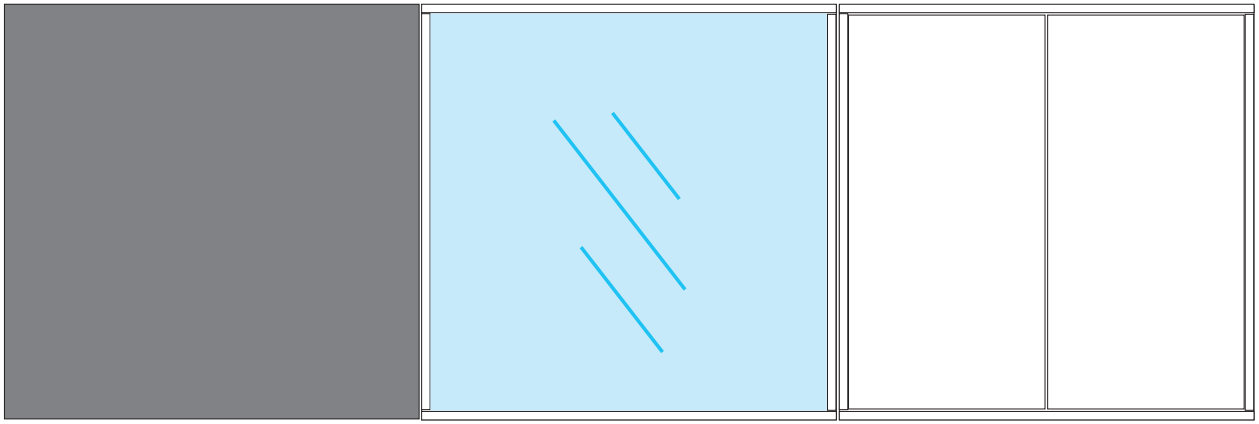
Proposal for Construction of Plattform:

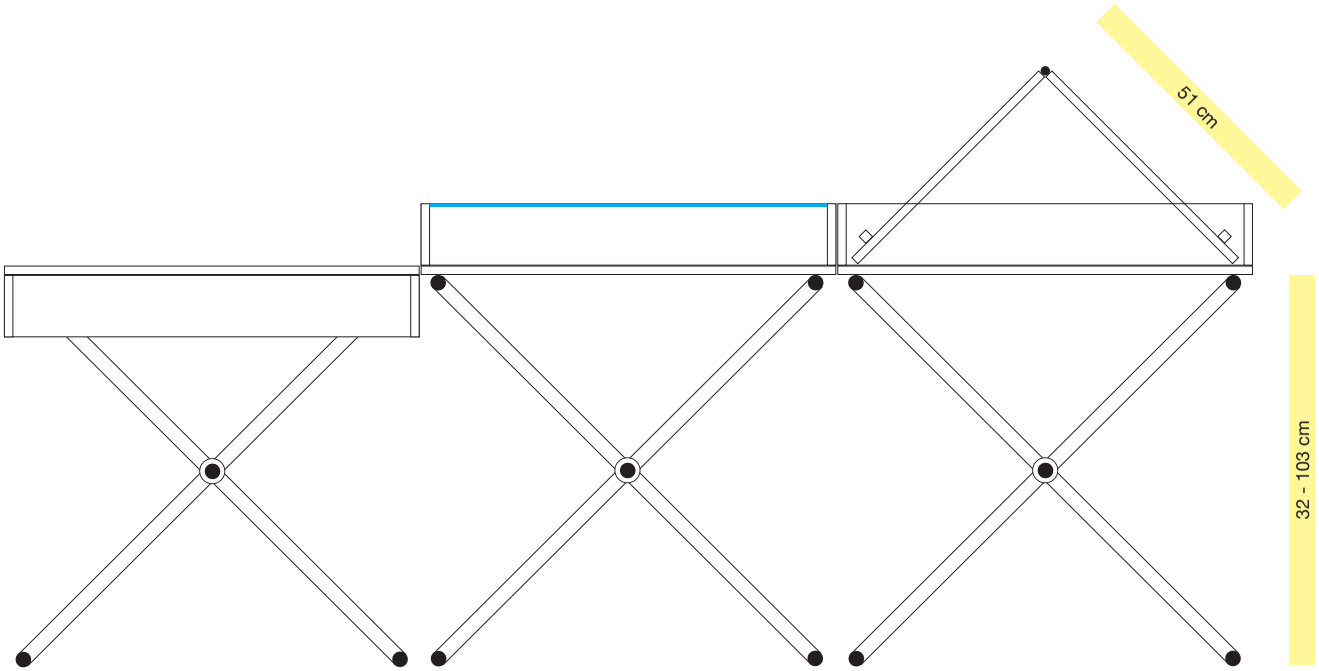


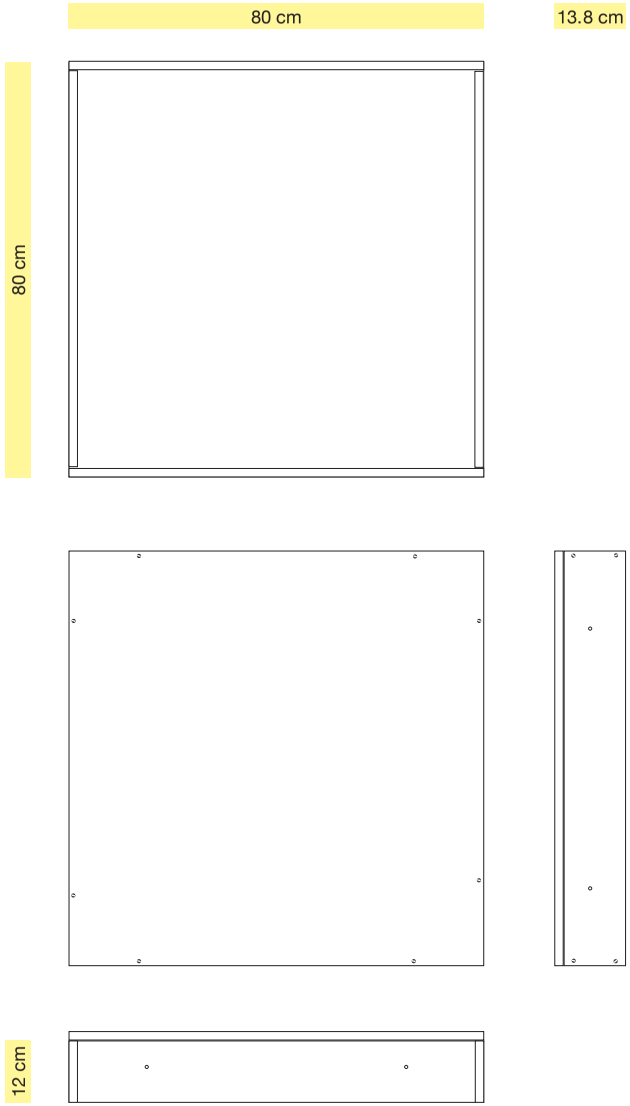


D Multifunctional Furniture for Research Presentations 1/2

Café / Foyer

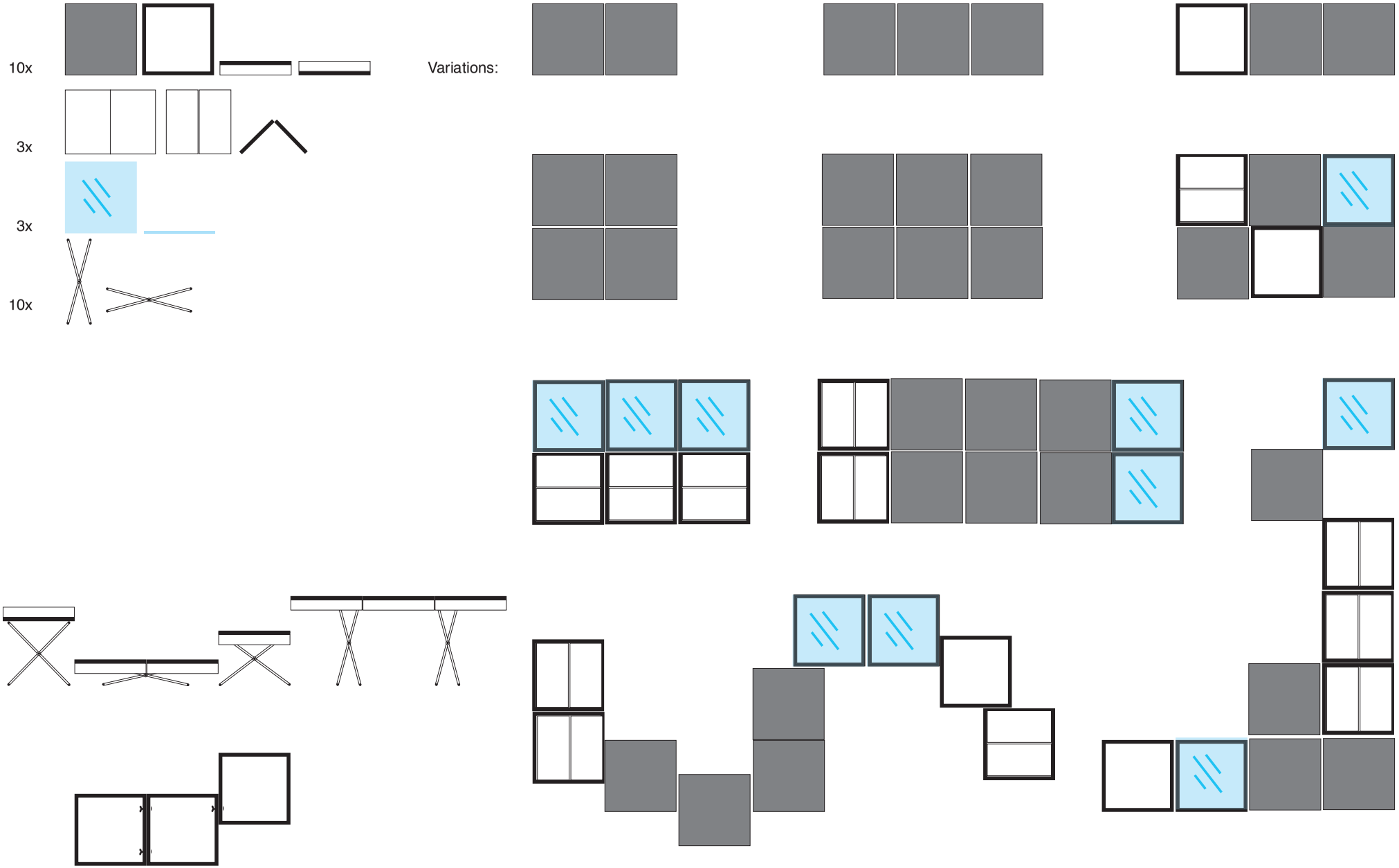


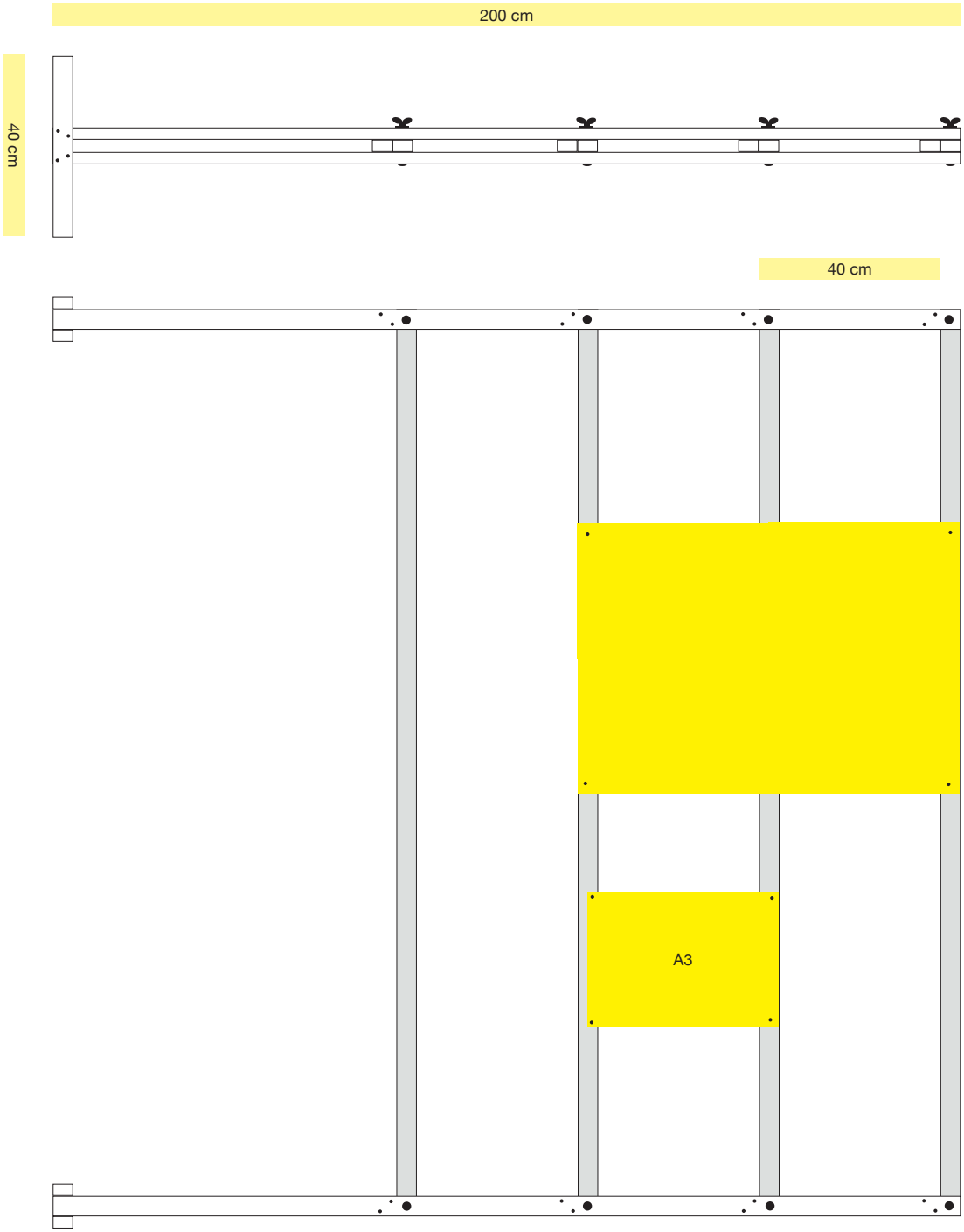
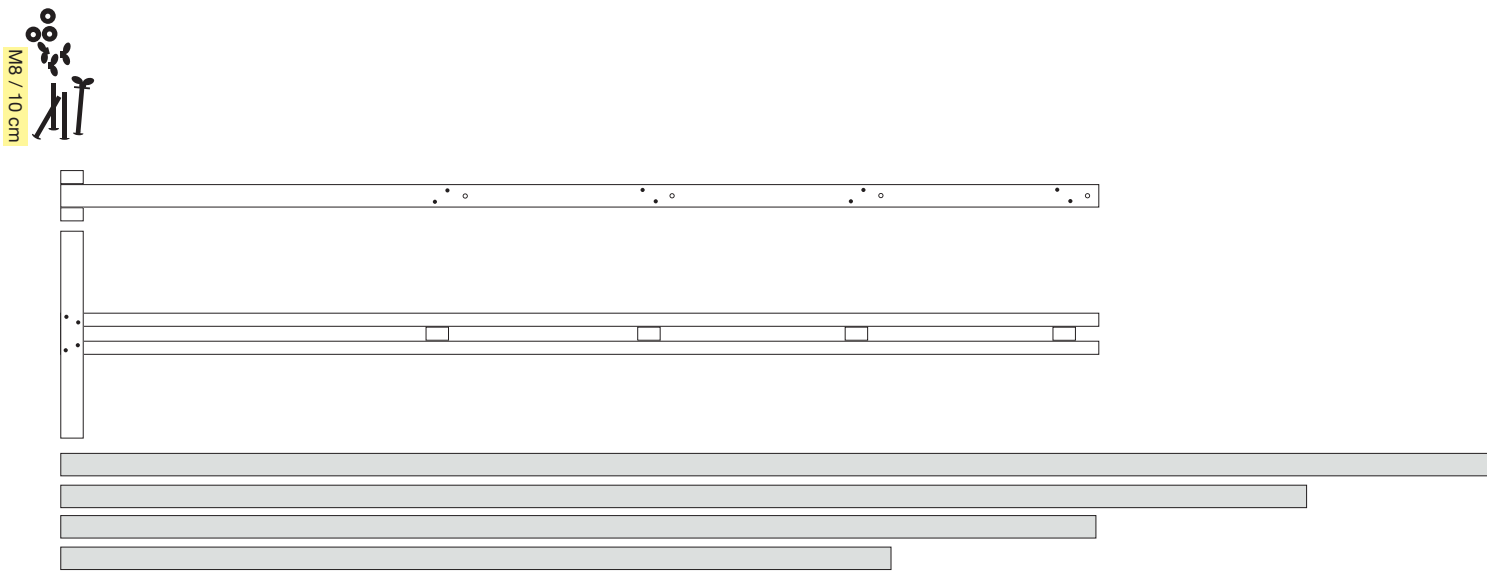




D Multifunctional Furniture for Research Presentations 2/2

Café / Foyer



E Mobile Presentation Wall

Black Room / Café / Foyer