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- Angelika Fitz / Elke Krasny (Hg.)*, Critical Care. Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet,* 2019

+ Conversation with Bruno Latour and Hans Joachim Schellnhuber, *Anthropocene Lecture*, 2018
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- Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature,* 2020 [Engl. 1980]
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+ Donna Haraway, *Storytelling for Earthly Survival*, 2019
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- Ursula Le Guin, *The Carrier Bag Theory of Fiction,* 1986
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Critical Care
Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet

Angelika Fitz and
Elke Krasny, editors

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Essays

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Introduction

Introduction

Critical Care. Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet

Angelika Fitz and Elke Krasny

On Critical Care

In medical terms, critical care is a specialized branch of medicine dedicated to diagnosing and treating life-threatening conditions. This includes comprehensive life support to those who are critically ill. We borrow this term to speak about our planet's life-threatening condition. The planet has made headlines throughout the twenty-first century. And the news is not good. The diagnosis is bleak: the planet we live on and we live with is exhausted, drained, depleted, damaged, broken.[1] In short, the condition is such that the planet is in urgent need of critical care. We use this lens of critical care to rethink the relationship of architecture and urbanism to the planet in the twenty-first century. Our thinking is also informed by the notion of critical as it was shaped by Critical Theory. Originating in the 1930s with the Frankfurt School in Germany, this school of thought is based on a reflective analysis of society. Critical Theory used analysis to promote political, social and cultural emancipation and liberation. While fully sharing this diagnostic fervor, since it produces the kind of scholarship that provides us with relevant insights into how humans respond to their broken planet's critical condition, as curators we are equally concerned with going beyond analysis or diagnosis as we seek with our work to contribute to the care critical to the continuation of the planet's life.

In the words of anthropologist Anna Tsing, the diagnosis of the planet's condition reads as follows: "Too-rapid climate change; massive extinctions; ocean acidification; slow-decaying pollutants; fresh water contamination; critical ecosystem transitions: industrialization has proved far more deadly to life on earth than its designers might ever have dreamed."[2] And the list can go on: extreme weather events; severe heat waves; torrential storms; rising sea levels; sinking

1 We are indebted to the following edited volume that offered valuable insights and inspiration: Anna Tsing, Heather Swanson, Elaine Gan and Nils Bubandt, eds., *Arts of Living on a Damaged Planet* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).
2 Anna Tsing, "Earth Stalked by Man," *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34 no. 1, (Spring 2016): 2.

3 See McKenzie Wark, *Molecular Red: Theory for the Anthropocene* (London: Verso, 2015); Jason W. Moore, *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital* (London: Verso, 2015); Jason W. Moore, *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism* (Oakland: PM Press, 2016).

Care became a matter of neoliberal governance, including the rhetoric of self-care and capitalist market economies, as well as its informalized shadow economies.[17] The provision of care directly links to rising inequality and the conditions of exploitative labor and indebted lives. More recently, movements such as Black Lives Matter in the US, Idle No More in Canada, Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil) or Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages) in Spain have raised awareness for precarious bodies and precarious land in need of care. This shows the fundamental interconnectedness of social and environmental justice.

While all of the above mentioned are important for a care perspective in architecture and urbanism, here we have specifically drawn on a tradition of care thought as put forward by political theorist Joan Tronto and by science and technology theorist María Puig de la Bellacasa. In 1991, together with Berenice Fisher, Tronto developed the following useful definition of care: "On the most general level, we suggest that caring be viewed as a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web."[18] Architecture and urbanism are not only interwoven into this life-sustaining web, they are very much part of weaving this web. In our view, architecture and urbanism are central to caring for the habitat, its inhabitation and continued livability. With habitat we refer to all possible scales of inhabitation, from the living room to the region, from the schoolyard to the city, from the refugee camp to the planet. An ethics of care in architecture and urbanism is based on local-planetary interconnectedness. The concept of care has recently gained traction in the discussion of infrastructures and technology. Thinking with buildings, machines, technological infrastructures and even soil, María Puig de la Bellacasa foregrounds the condition of interdependency. She writes: "Interdependency is not a contract, nor a moral ideal—it is a *condition*. Care is therefore concomitant to the continuation of life for many living beings in more than human entanglements (…)."[19] Today's crisis reality asks architecture and urbanism to start from the interdependence of planetary inhabitation and continued livability.

17 See Marian Barnes, Tula Brannelly, Lizzie Ward and Nicki Ward, eds., *Ethics of Care: Critical Advances in International Perspective* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2015).

18 Joan C. Tronto and Berenice Fisher, "Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring," in *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*, eds. Emily K. Abel and Margaret K. Nelson (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 40.

19 María Puig de la Bellacasa, *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More Than Human Worlds* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 70.

Care, Economy, Ecology, Labor

We are well aware that architecture as a practical activity needs time, money and resources. In fact, a lot of time, a lot of money and a lot of resources. Therefore, architecture is always entangled with the ruling power and its specific economic system. This holds true for all architectural production and can, of course, be traced back to antiquity. We are interested here in architecture as it relates to the capitalist production economy with capitalism being the force that has led to the Anthropocene-Capitalocene predicament. Architect and architectural educator Peggy Deamer has written that "the history of architecture is the history of capital."[20] We share this view on the relationship between architecture and capitalism, and find her analysis most helpful to analyze the dynamic "connections between architecture and the economy."[21]

To better understand that there are differentiated ways in which architecture relates to capital, we turn to the diverse economies framework developed by the two feminist economic geographers Julie Graham and Katherine Gibson, who published together under the pen name J. K. Gibson-Graham. This is most helpful to identify diverse relationships between architecture and the economy. Gibson-Graham have drawn the attention to the coexistence of diverse economies that come with distinct markets and specific forms of labor. They speak of "alternative" and "noncapitalist" economies.[22] Needless to say, architecture is, of course, reliant upon money and paid labor, as stated above. Yet, there are diverse economy practices to be made out in the examples in architecture and urbanism chosen for this book. These diverse practices include the introduction of circular economies, the support for self-managed infrastructures and local production, the reuse of existing buildings or building materials, community engagement, volunteering, participatory workshops, skill building or public environmental pedagogy. Such diverse economies not only connect to questions of labor, but equally to issues of ecology ranging from water management, waste management to building materials, CO_2 emissions or temperature control. Therefore, we think of diverse economies, different forms of labor and ecologies as interconnected. While not all case studies in this book put the emphasis in quite the same way on economy, ecology or labor, they all start from the premise of their interconnectedness.

Connected to the history of capitalism, there are histories to be found that provide evidence of critique, resistance, counteracting, experimentation with alternatives, and lived realities of diverse economies. There are also histories to be found of persistent and

20 Peggy Deamer, "Introduction," in *Architecture and Capitalism: 1845 to the Present*, ed. Peggy Deamer (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), 1.

21 Deamer, op. cit., 3.

22 J. K. Gibson-Graham, *A Postcapitalist Politics* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 71.

continued struggles to wrest forms of living, working and inhabiting from the alienating forces of competition and the capitalist power to turn everybody and everything into a resource. There are architectural histories to be told that connect to these histories of resisting capitalism and its power. The twelve essays collected in this book are contributions to such extended architectural histories in the twenty-first century. We have invited activists, architects, architectural historians and theorists, artists, curators, economic geographers, environmental scientists, critical theorists, political scientists, urban researchers and urbanists to contribute to the interconnected questions of care, labor, ecology and economy in architecture and urbanism. Structured in four parts, the first part on Care offers two contributions that focus on the relationship between architecture and care in political theory and architectural discourse respectively.

In her essay, Joan Tronto proposes a fundamental paradigm shift and puts forward the concept of Caring Architecture. Elke Krasny examines canonical moments in architectural discourse to work out the gendered entanglements that have historically separated architecture from care.

The following three parts on Ecology, Labor and Economy present specific investigations from a wide range of geographies. The situatedness of all the contributors, their involvement with the architectural, economic, environmental, geographic, political, social and urban context, informs their knowledge and their critical analysis. Such a "situated knowledge" approach is the lens through which the authors unpack complex entanglements, interdependences and interconnections. The essays include insights from many different locales, including the Seychelle Islands (Hélène Frichot), the Lagoon in Venice (Jane Da Mosto), the State Library of Victoria and the Australian Grasslands (Mauro Baracco, Louise Wright, Linda Tegg), the Mekong River in Cambodia (Katherine Gibson), construction sites in São Paulo (Ana Carolina Tonetti and Ligia V. Nobre), favelas in Rio de Janeiro (Theresa Williamson), collective citizen practices in Madrid (Mauro Gil-Fournier), urban land in Vienna (Gabu Heindl), a comparison of welfare state transformations in Vienna and Stockholm (Meike Schalk, Helena Mattsson and Sara Brolund de Carvalho), and a local library in London (Valeria Graziano and Kim Trogal). Taken together, these essays provide insights on what architecture can do in times of "economic and ecological ruination" and "what urbanism seeks to plan for, given the reality of crisis."[23]

23 Anna Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 19.

Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet: Twenty-One Case Studies

We have collected twenty-one case studies of critical care in architecture and urbanism from the Global North and the Global South, including cities and rural areas in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and the Americas. Characteristic to all of the twenty-one examples is that they pay close attention to the interconnectedness of economy, ecology and labor. This includes reconfiguring the relationship between labor in the interest of capital and "noncapitalist labor," as well as reconsidering the relationship between productive and reproductive labor.[24] Environmental attentiveness leads to working toward restorative ecologies and counteracting the long-held separations such as nature from culture, material from life, local from planetary.

24 J. K. Gibson-Graham, op. cit., 71.

All of the examples, even though in specific and therefore distinctly different ways, connect what is commonly called top-down and bottom-up in bringing together municipal administrations, state agencies, housing corporations, transnational organizations, universities, diverse community-based organizations or grassroots initiatives. Temporary alliances that gather together a wide range of diverse agents, whom we have chosen to call agents of care, are created around the projects. These include local residents, architects, urban planners, public administrators or developers.

Responding to the interconnectedness of economy, ecology and labor results in interdisciplinary ways of working that draw on situated knowledges and different ways of knowing, learning and sharing. Knowledge agents include craftspeople, urban researchers, gardeners, accountants, community organizers, educators, engineers, technicians, environmentalists, landscape architects, lawyers, anthropologists, policy researchers, sociologists, social workers, climate specialists, biologists, artists, psychologists, teachers, neighbors and many more. These alliances around diverse strategies and knowledges enable transformative practices which counteract exploitative and extractive models of the Anthropocene-Capitalocene condition.

In what follows, the twenty-one projects are structured according to the key care concerns they address. This renders their connections legible. The key care concerns are: Care for Disaster Relief, Care for Water and Land, Care for Public Space, Care for the Borderland, Care for Skills, Care for Repair and Care for Local Production.

Care for Disaster Relief

Runaway climate change has resulted in extreme weather events. Disasters such as earthquakes, floods or storms are haunting the planet. With disasters on the rise, new types of disaster and post-disaster relief architecture are needed. The first case study from China is an example for post-disaster village and community building. The catastrophic 2008 earthquake near the Chinese city of Guangyan left millions of people homeless, only to be followed by torrential rain storms and landslides in 2011, taking with them the post-disaster homes that had been built in Jintai Village. With support from the local government and NGOs, Rural Urban Framework (RUF) developed a new model for post-earthquake reconstruction with Jintai Village. Densely spaced, the new homes minimize land consumption and are earthquake-proof. They have rooftop gardens and are built largely of local materials. The village now has ecological water cycles and ample communal and production spaces.

Care for Water and Land

Access to water, the availability of potable water, rising water levels, exposure to flooding, the treatment of sewage and water pollution rank among the most pressing concerns on the broken planet. At the same time, land is equally under pressure, swallowed wholesale, gentrified and very often sealed. Saskia Sassen has called this "dead land, dead water."[25] The following four examples from Spain, Puerto Rico, Bangladesh and Colombia counteract the dead land, dead water regime. In Caldes de Montbui, Spain, the CÍCLICA and CAVAA architectural collectives, together with the local association of gardeners, have reactivated the Roman heritage irrigation system for the vegetable gardens. They repaired the channels that are fed with thermal water. A new boardwalk allows people to enjoy the gardens without having this public access create disruptions.
The ENLACE project in San Juan, Puerto Rico combines environmental and social justice. Open sewers and trash had damaged the Martín Peña Channel, resulting in health hazards, especially during hurricanes. An ecological restoration of the mangrove wetland has taken place. The Caño Martín Peña Community Land Trust (CLT) was established to secure the land rights for the informal settlement that has grown over decades. Developed jointly by community organizations, lawyers, urban planners and authorities, this favela CLT secures collective land ownership and safeguards the ecosystem against the pressures of speculation and gentrification. In Bangladesh, repetitive flooding affects large parts of the land. While

25 Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions–Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), 2.

architecture and urbanism. David Sogge, an international aid scholar, writes: "Foreign aid is a huge industry. (…) It generates a continual stream of ideas about how non-Western societies should develop."[26] The aid industry is also a form of crisis industry. The increase in extreme weather events, climate disasters and rising numbers of climate and war refugees mean an increase for the aid/crisis industry. Sogge points out a particular trait of the aid: "Most aid money is spent in, or flows back to, donor/lender countries."[27] The following three examples from Pakistan, Jordan and India address financing and taking building back from the globalized construction industry by activating traditional building techniques. Local knowledge traditions found in crafts and heritage restoration work are activated for buildings that are ecologically responsive to specific weather conditions and climate needs. Resourcefully putting to use a minimum of financial means and advancing skills for local economies, including self-help and self-building economies, these examples cut through the toxic cycles of globalized aid dependency.

Architect Yasmeen Lari revives traditional Pakistani clay and bamboo construction to develop flood-resistant homes and community facilities. So-called "Barefoot Entrepreneurs" pass on building skills in a snowball system. Over 40,000 secure structures have been erected in the last few years with a minimum of financial means. Together with refugees and local craftspeople, Emergency Architecture & Human Rights (EAHR) reactivates local building traditions, nurtures building skills and builds schools close to the Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan. Like Lari, they do not rely on the globalized aid industry, but link the refugees with local craftspeople. Anupama Kundoo reactivates an old in-situ mud building technique at the Volontariat Home for Homeless Children in Pondicherry, India. The building itself becomes a kiln and a producer of other ceramic products.

26 David Sogge, "Mirages of International Aid," Global Policy Forum 2004, https://www.globalpolicy.org/social-and-economic-policy/financing-for-development-1-45/international-aid-1-126/45032-mirages-of-international-aid.html. See also David Sogge, *Give and Take: What's the Matter with Foreign Aid* (London: Zed Books, 2002).
27 Sogge, ibid.

Care for Repair

Working with the existing building stock presents one of the biggest challenges. Rather than adaptation or mere restoration, the idea of repair as expressed in the following four projects starts from the given and works with it in a generative and transformative way. While respectful to the original buildings and tackling their structural-physical specificities, the four different projects in Belgium, Brazil, France and Germany demonstrate that new uses or new functions are reparative for buildings, humans and non-humans alike.

In the Belgian city of Melle, out of the ruins of a nineteenth century building that followed the hospital pavilion system of the time, architecten de vylder vinck taillieu made a multi-story public space that welcomes people, animals and plants. Coordinated by BAVO, a political and architectural research group, a participatory process involving the patients, staff, management and doctors of this psychiatric center resulted in blending the interior and exterior to accommodate the diverse and changing needs of the community. Paulo Mendes da Rocha and MMBB Architects created a welcoming public space by vertically stacking recreational functions as they transform the modernist building of a former department store in São Paulo's downtown. Offering spaces for culture, education, health, sports and leisure, the building belongs to the Brazilian non-profit organization SESC Serviço Social do Comércio (Social Service of Commerce) and forms part of the organization's long-term redistribution efforts in culture, education, health and sports, comparable to historic welfare state models. Lacaton & Vassal, together with Frédéric Druot and Christophe Hutin, renewed and updated a large post-war modernist housing estate in Bordeaux, France, originally built as housing provided by the French welfare state. The residents of the 530 apartments gain spacious winter gardens and balconies. At the Haus der Statistik (House of Statistics) next to Alexanderplatz in Berlin, a vacant complex and legacy of the building stock of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) is transformed into a model project for a public welfare-oriented urban development. A broad alliance under the name ZUsammenKUNFT (Get Together) brings together grassroots organizations, civil society actors, architects and partners from the city administration. In the future, the complex will include affordable housing, cultural and educational facilities, as well as government infrastructure.

Care for Local Production

Joining local economies and ecologies together presents one of the most important aspects for sustaining urban and rural livelihoods and future livability. Diverse economies built on local cycles, on reconfiguring the divide between productive and reproductive labor, and on reversing the trade relations between the Global North and the Global South distinguish the following four projects in France, Kenya, Bangladesh and China. The knowledge of architecture and urban planning extends here far beyond the built environment or the natural environment. It includes planning for new models of cooperation as they lead to what we suggest calling productive ecologies.

Working together with residents and local initiatives, atelier d'architecture autogérée establishes networks of eco-civic hubs in France and beyond. As closed ecological cycles, these hubs become models for recycling as production and for cooperative, experimental agriculture in the city. The Kounkuey Design Initiative works together with grassroots initiatives and community-based organizations. In the informal settlement of Kibera in Nairobi, they are jointly developing a series of productive public spaces that result in self-managed ecological and economic alternatives and community spaces providing access to sanitation infrastructure. Complementing her many years of work in the village of Rudrapur in Bangladesh, the architect Anna Heringer initiates the fashion label Didi Textiles along with the master tailor Veronika Lena and the NGO Dipshikha, creating local jobs and reversing trade flows between the Global North and the Global South. In China, architect Xu Tiantian has devised a strategy of concise and interlinked interventions with the local government in Songyang County, linking production facilities with community and recreational spaces, including the Tofu Factory in the village of Caizhai at the end of 2018.

Despite the fact that the twenty-one projects of the case studies display local differences, with all of them situated in their specific geographical, economic and political context, they all respond to local-planetary interdependence on a broken planet. While modern orientations in architecture adopted the blank slate ideology with its progress-centric mantra of a better future, a care perspective starts from the given and works toward repairing the future. The essays and the case studies in this volume start from our broken planet as they seek to build a care perspective in architecture and urbanism. The Anthropocene-Capitalocene condition asks architecture and urbanism to take care seriously. This is what the following pages do.

Carolyn Merchant

THE DEATH OF NATURE

WOMEN, ECOLOGY, AND THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

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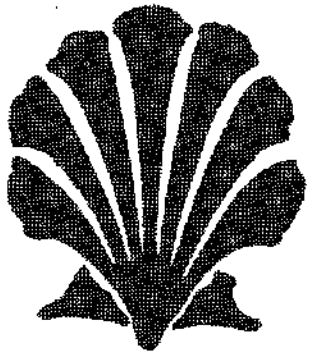
pared her and her readers for their own experimentation. An English translation of Algarotti's book was made two years later by Elizabeth Carter at the age of twenty-two—*Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy Explained for the Use of the Ladies*.[58]

In the mid-eighteenth century, scientific entrepreneurs Benjamin Martin and James Ferguson manufactured telescopes and microscopes, wrote scientific books for well-informed middle-class ladies and gentlemen, and invited women to attend popular lectures. In Martin's *Young Gentlemen and Lady's Philosophy* (1750s) and Ferguson's *Easy Introduction to Astronomy, for Young Gentlemen and Ladies* (1768) the authors' device was an Oxford-educated brother who returned home to teach his eager sister the secrets of the new science, with the expectation that the newly converted sister would purchase her own scientific instruments. Even children were recruited into the ever-expanding scientific market by John Newberry's best-seller, *The Newtonian System of Philosophy Adapted to the Capacities of Young Gentlemen and Ladies . . . Being the Substance of Six Lectures Read to the Lilliputian Society, by Tom Telescope* (1766). Tom Telescope interrupts the frivolous games of the Lilliputian boys and girls with lectures on astronomy, natural history, air pressure experiments, and geography.

Because the Scientific Revolution itself was not isolated from social, economic, and intellectual changes, its meaning for women was directly tied to these developments. The women who contributed to the intellectual life of late seventeenth-century England were not only reacting against the constriction of women's roles into the domestic sphere and to the slow pace of women's educational advancement, but, as in the Reformation, were responding to opportunities for women made possible within the more radical and traditionally more egalitarian religious sects. Caught up by the excitement of the "new science," educated women, along with men, became an eager audience for the new ideas. And the dissemination of the new learning facilitated its spread into other spheres of human life, where it was becoming institutionalized as a problem-solving methodology and as the dominant conceptual framework, reshaping the image of the cosmos and society. The contributions of Leibniz and Newton both helped to elaborate the new synthesis and to expose the underlying tensions brought about by the mechanization of the world view.

CHAPTER 12



Leibniz and Newton

The world in which we live today was bequeathed to us by Isaac Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. Twentieth-century advances in relativity and quantum theory notwithstanding, our Western commonsense reality is the world of classical physics. The legacy left by Newton was the brilliant synthesis of Galilean terrestrial mechanics and Copernican-Keplerian astronomy; that of Leibniz was dynamics— the foundation for the general law of conservation of energy. Both contributions are fundamental in generality; they describe and extend over the entire universe. Classical physics and its philosophy structure our consciousness to believe in a world composed of atomic parts, of inert bodies moving with uniform velocity unless forced by another body to deviate from their straight line paths, of objects seen by reflected light of varying frequencies, and of matter in motion responsible for all the rich variations in colors, sounds, smells, tastes, and touches we cherish as human beings. In our daily lives, most of us accept these teachings as givens, without much critical reflection on their origins or associ-

ated values. To Newton, Leibniz, and their followers, however, the situation was not so straightforward. They saw their mechanics, their philosophies, and their own beliefs about God and nature as deeply divergent from each other.

The problem that the mechanization of the world raised for the generation after Descartes and Hobbes was the very issue of the "death of nature." If the ultimate principles were matter and motion, as they were for the first generation of mechanists, or even matter, motion, void space, and force as they became for Newton, this left unresolved the central issue of explaining the motion of life forms in a dead cosmos. Like many others, Newton was not satisfied with Descartes' dualistic solution, which reduced the human being to a ghost-in-the-machine whose mind could change the direction but not initiate bodily motion, and categorized animals as mere beast machines. Hobbes' monistic materialism, which further reduced the will and mind to material motion, raised the specter of atheism. Nor, like the Cambridge Platonists who had schooled him, could Newton entertain the pantheistic assumption that God was immanent in matter, together with its associated radical intellectual and social implications. He specifically argued against this position in his queries to the Latin edition of his *Opticks* in 1706: "And yet we are not to consider the world as the body of God, or the several parts thereof, as the parts of God."[1] God was neither a living animal-writ-large nor the soul of the world.

Yet as the most powerful synthesis of the new mechanical philosophy, Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (*The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, 1687) epitomized the dead world resulting from mechanism. Throughout the complex evolution of his thought, Newton clung tenaciously to the distinguishing feature of mechanism—the dualism between the passivity of matter and the externality of force and activity. But he refined this ontology in significant ways. The *Principia* and *Opticks* transformed the mechanical philosophy into a mechanical science, counterposing a fourfold ontology of matter, motion, force, and void space to the simpler plenum of matter in motion postulated by Descartes and Hobbes.

For Descartes, matter had been inert and passive: bodies continued in a state of rest or motion in a straight line unless acted on by another moving body, and change in motion resulted from contact

between bodies. Newton departed from the strict passivity this earlier mechanical philosophy had assigned to matter by associating with it a complex, overlapping set of passive forces, while nevertheless maintaining the basic assumption that "matter is a passive principle and cannot move itself."[2] By its *vis insita* (innate force) a body continued in its state of rest or uniform motion, a state that could be altered only with difficulty. The *vis inertiae* (force of inertia) was the force of corporeal matter by which a body resisted an externally impressed force. The innate *vis conservans* (conserving force) maintained a body's forward direction by a succession of impulses.[3]

Like Descartes, Newton viewed changes in motion as external in origin, rather than as the internal activity central to organicism. His *vis impressa* (impressed force) was an external impressed force acting on the body so as to change its state of motion or rest. Likewise external to matter were various active principles such as gravity, fermentation, and cohesion necessary for explaining changes and activity not produced by impact. Gravitational force, unlike the impressed contact forces, acted at a distance, attracting all particles of matter toward each other according to the inverse square of the distance between them ($1/r^2$).

The mathematization of the world picture presented in the *Principia*, based on the dualism between the passivity of matter and the externality of force, epitomized the success of the mechanical analysis of nature. Mechanism eliminated from the description of nature concepts of spatial hierarchy, value, purpose, harmony, quality, and form central to the older organic description of nature, leaving material and efficient causes—matter and force. Motion was not an organic process but a temporary state of a body's existence relative to the motion or rest of other bodies. The mathematizing tendencies in Newtonian thought which emphasized not the process of change, but resistance to change, the conservation of a body's motion, and the planets and satellites as ideal spheres and point sources of gravitational force were manifestations of the mechanical philosophers' concern with geometrical idealization, stability, structure, being, and identity, rather than organic flux, change, becoming, and process. In mechanism the primacy of process was thus superseded by the stability of structure.

Completely consistent with this restructuring of the cosmos as

passive matter and external force was the division of matter into atomic parts separated by void space. The book of nature was no longer written in symbols, signs, and signatures, but in corpuscular characters. The atomic analysis of matter ultimately became an exemplar for the atomic division of data, problems, and events on a global scale.

During the two decades following the publication of the *Principia,* Newton contemplated an atomic view of material particles distributed throughout void space, rearrangeable into new configurations by the action of external forces. The 1706 edition of the *Opticks* elaborated the structure of matter as hard atoms:

> God in the beginning formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable moveable particles, of such sizes and figures and with such other properties and in such proportion to space as most conduced to the end for which he form'd them; and that these primitive particles being solids are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them; even so very hard as never to wear or break in pieces; no ordinary power being able to divide what God himself made one in the first creation. . . . And therefore, that nature may be lasting, the changes of corporeal things are to be placed only in the various separations and new associations and motion of these permanent particles.[4]

These immutable unobservable atoms of which bodies and light were composed varied individually in size, shape, and weight, but their matter was homogeneous and their primary properties invariant. Extension, shape, solidity, and inertial mass were the primary or universal qualities possessed by all bodies. Secondary qualities (color, taste, sound, smell, and touch) unique to individual bodies were produced by the separation, association, and motion of the ultimate atomic constituents. All observable compound bodies were of several orders of composition. Thus primary atoms of different shapes and sizes united together to form first composition particles such as gold or silver. The first composition particles combined to form gold of the second and higher compositions subject to chemical reactions and transmutations from which the first composition particles could be recovered.[5]

Newton's speculations on atomic structure as presented in the 1713 edition of the *Principia* and the queries to the 1706 and 1717 editions of the *Opticks* became a foundation for eighteenth-century experimental philosophers who wished to complete the task of reducing known phenomena to simple laws which, like the law of gravitation, would quantify other mechanical, chemical, electrical, and thermal observations. Additionally, the laws of Newton's mechanical "system of the world" predicting the ordered motions of both terrestrial and celestial bodies served as a cosmological exemplar for political and economic order in English society. Published during the Restoration period following the turmoil of the English Civil War, the *Principia* aided the Latitudinarian cause for order and moderation in religious and political affairs.[6] Moreover, its conceptual framework, emphasizing external force and passive matter divided into rearrangeable components, could provide a subtle sanction for the domination and manipulation of nature necessary to progressive economic development. If eventually the religious framework providing for God's constant care and for the attainment of human grace were removed, as it was in the eighteenth century, the possibilities for intellectual arrogance toward nature would be strengthened.

Leibniz likewise developed a mechanical philosophy of nature as one component of his thought. His world of corporeal phenomena, governed by efficient causes and mechanical laws imposed initially by a rational creator, like Newtonian mechanics, held implications for the rational management of nature from which human progress would result.

Leibniz's dynamics, developed during the years 1686–1695, defined the "force" of a body in motion to be the product of its quantity of matter and the distance through which it fell under acceleration. This living force, or *vis viva*, (mv^2 or mass times velocity squared; now, as $1/2\ mv^2$, called kinetic energy), was conserved in all elastic impacts. In semielastic and inelastic collisions it was temporarily stored in the small parts of the body's matter and therefore not lost to the universe.[7]

For Leibniz, "force" was the foundation for an understanding of both the phenomenal and spiritual universes. Primitive active force, an activity or striving toward a future state, (later defined as the essence of his monad) was a true substance, while derivative force (mv^2) observed in impacts between corporeal bodies, was not fully real, but was grounded in primitive force and subject to the laws of nature. Corporeal objects were not substances, but collections of confused minds (monads), perceived to be extended bodies. The

properties of these ostensibly extended bodies—size, shape, inertia, impenetrability, and motion—were "well-founded" in the states of existence of the monads which constituted them. Leibniz thus assigned extension, which for Descartes was a substance, to the world of well-founded phenomena (*phenomena bene fundata*), arguing that extension and motion were merely attributes of phenomenal bodies, while force, on the other hand, was real. Inertness or passivity, an essential property of matter for Descartes and Newton, was for Leibniz simply an expression of the limitation placed on the monad because of the accommodation of its life to the unfolding lives and activities of all the other monads. Mechanical phenomena obeyed the laws of efficient causation, whereas monads or true substances were governed by final causes.[8]

Nature was manageable through rational understanding and efficient action. Despite the fact that "certain parts of [the earth] grow up wild again or again suffer destruction and deterioration," nevertheless eventually the entire globe would be brought into cultivation and assume a garden-like character: "It is thus that even now a great part of our earth has received cultivation and will receive more and more." Leibniz's optimism over the progress of human civilization and the internal development of the universe as a whole guided the philosophies of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. "In addition to the general beauty and perfection of the works of God", he wrote, "we must recognize a certain perpetual and very free progress of the whole universe, such that it advances always to still greater improvement."[9] Some commentators have found in Leibnizian philosophy, with its emphasis on self-contained independence, internal development, and progress, a justification for laissez-faire capitalism.

Leibniz applied his interest in a universal logical language and mathematical method to practical inventions which would foster the capitalist spirit. His design for a calculating machine which he called a "living bank-clerk" would, he believed, be useful in business, surveying, military affairs, and astronomy. He worked on a new kind of pump that could be used to remove water from the Harz mines in Germany. He designed "catadoptic tubes" of mirrors and perspective lenses to improve the science of optics and a submarine to aid in navigating through storms, dangerous seas, and naval combats.

While the mechanical analysis of nature was an important component in the systems of both Leibniz and Newton, their views about God's role in the mechanical universe and the fundamental nature of reality were very different. For Leibniz, only the phenomenal world was mechanical; the real world of substance was organic. The conflict between Leibniz and Newton in their famous debates of 1716 was in actuality a conflict over the concepts of God, matter, and nature underlying the organic and mechanical traditions. The issue that stimulated the debate was the character of God's role in a clocklike mechanical universe that operated according to the mathematical laws of nature. Was God a rational creator who constructed a perfectly operating and well-maintained machine, or did the machine require his intervention and care to avoid decay and ultimate breakdown?[10] Leibniz considered the necessity of God's intervention in the machine of the universe to be a limitation on his wisdom and foresight. Newton and his spokesperson theologian Samuel Clarke (1675–1729) argued that God's glory and power were manifested in his providential care and interposition. The world as Newton and Clarke viewed it could have been a different world, for it depended on the free exercise of God's will to continually sustain its existence.

For Leibniz, however, a world created by God's will without his logic might have resulted in an ill-constructed, inferior world. The existing world must be consistent with the principle of noncontradiction; its beings must exhibit nothing mutually destructive or incompatible. Because God operated rationally within the laws of logic in creating it, this world was the best of all possible worlds. Yet another principle, that of sufficient reason, was needed to explain the existence of this particular world and no other. This second principle was necessary in proceeding from the laws of logic to actual existence. By God's sufficient reason, his logic was united with his creative power.

The distinction between these concepts of God stressing either his reason or his power was related to the issue of the organic immanence of divine law *within* nature versus God's imposition of natural laws *on* the creation and to the difference between the older view that nature was an intelligent organism and the newer scientific view of the world as a machine. In the Greek organic analogy, the natural world rationally ordered its own movements according

to immanent laws, whereas the mechanical view held the world to be devoid of life and intelligence—hence its motions were regular and imposed from outside in the form of natural laws. Thomas Aquinas, fusing the Greek idea of the rationality inherent in nature with the Christian concept of a creator, had held a quasi-immanentist view of natural law.[11]

Whereas immanent law goes back to the Stoic view of nature, imposed law is a product of the Judeo-Christian world view. Many Protestants during the Reformation adopted this Judaic conception of the imposition of God's will and law on the creation. The Judeo-Christian stress on the immediacy of God's will and power was closely related to the sense of power over nature that was growing as active daily life became increasingly organized around the power of machine technology.

The view of the mechanists—Gassendi, Boyle, and Newton—and of mainstream science was based on the theory that *things* rather than relations are the ultimate reality, relations being externally imposed by God in the form of natural laws. For Leibniz, on the other hand, activity and relations were internal and followed from a doctrine of natural law as quasi-immanent. The relationship between the inherent activity of the monad and the immanence of divine law is summed up in his essay "On Nature Itself" (1698): "Primary matter is merely passive but not a complete substance; there must be added to it a soul . . . or primitive force of action which is itself the *inherent law impressed upon it by divine command*."[12] Although God initially impresses the laws of nature on the universe, these laws are manifested in the inherent internal development of the simultaneous states of all the monads and in their intrinsic mutual relations.

Leibniz sharply delineated the difference between his own interpretation of nature and that of Boyle's follower, mechanist Christopher Sturm, who held a doctrine of the external imposition of law and of external relations:

> He admits . . . that motions now taking place result by virtue of an eternal law once established by God, which law, he calls a volition and command. . . . I ask whether this volition and command, or if you prefer, this divine law, once established, had bestowed upon things only an extrinsic denomination or whether it has truly conferred upon them . . . an *internal law* from which their actions and passions follow, even if this law is mostly not understood by the creatures in which it inheres.

For Leibniz, the world of substance was really organic; every being in the universe, from living animals down to the simple monad, was alive or composed of living parts. "Thus there is nothing fallow, sterile, or dead in the universe; no chaos, no confusions, save in appearance." Monads as individual vital substances were characterized by an internal principle of change or striving; each has a perception which is raised or diminished. The monads act only from within, as their own internal lives or perceptions unfold; they are all created together in the beginning and annihilated together in the end, but cannot die or be born naturally. They are impermeable to natural influence, for "they have no windows through which anything can enter or depart."[13] Thus change occurs as the result of an internal immanent principle rather than from the action of an external imposed force, as in mechanism.

Leibniz stressed the idea of a life and perception permeating all things. The main distinction between his philosophy and that of the mechanists lay in the idea that substance was life, not dead matter. He criticized the "advocates of the new philosophy" for "maintain[ing] the inertness and deadness of things." As he had once written to Jansenist theologian Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694): "All matter must be full of animated, or at least living, substances."[14]

Like the elements of Paracelsus and the seeds of the elder Van Helmont, the actions of the Leibnizian monads exist in a continual state of mutual harmony. Relations among the internal states of monadic lives constitute the laws of nature; the overall result is a consensus of individual actions producing that which is best for the whole and the maximization of perfection in the world. Each monad mirrors the universe in its own way, its life unfolding simultaneously with the lives of all other monads in a preestablished harmony.[15]

Leibniz's dynamic vitalism was thus in direct opposition to the "death of nature." In this vitalistic component of his later thought we find an organic orientation which, like the vitalism of his predecessors in its reverence for the pervasive life of the cosmos, can be construed as antiexploitative; normative constraints are contained within the framework itself and imposed by it. His principle of self-contained internal development central to the organic world view sharply contrasted with the mechanistic theory that change is reactive—the product of external influences on a passive entity.

Like Leibniz, Newton was deeply concerned about the problem

of organic life raised by the mechanization of the cosmos. Although his system of the world was to become the mechanistic model for the future, he privately believed it to be at best a partial truth. The mechanical laws of passive matter as set out in the *Principia* were insufficient to explain the laws and causes of vital life and violent actions. Newton addressed this issue in his published queries to the *Opticks* and in various unpublished drafts of queries prepared for the 1706 and 1717 editions.

In Query 23 of the 1706 edition (Query 31, in the 1717 edition), he wrote:

> The *vis inertiae* is a passive principle by which bodies persist in their motion or rest, receive motion in proportion to the force impressing it, and resist as much as they are resisted. By this principle alone there never could have been any motion in the world. Some other principle was necessary for putting bodies into motion and now they are in motion some other principle is necessary for conserving the motion.[16]

But in unpublished variants to the queries, he was even more adamant about the inadequacies of the laws of the motion of passive matter for explaining the origin of new and vital motions:

> If you think that the *vis inertiae* is sufficient for conserving motion, pray tell me the experiments from whence you gather thy conclusion. Do you learn by any experiment that the beating of heart gives no new motion to the blood, that the explosion of gunpowder gives no new motion to a bullet or that a man by his will can give no new motion to his body? Do you learn by experiment that the beating of your heart takes away as much motion from something else as it gives to the blood or that explosion takes away as much motion from something else as it gives to a bullet or that a man by his will takes away as much motion from something else as he gives to his body? If so, tell me your experiments; if not your opinion is precarious. Reasoning without experience is very slippery.[17]

A mode for God's continued action and providential care was essential in a clocklike mechanical universe seemingly governed only by the laws of passive matter. God's recruitment of new motion and his renewal of the activity of the cosmos was necessary because decay in the world system was evident; periodic repair of the frame of nature and the continual replenishment of its vital motions were needed. Newton, deeply troubled over the inadequacy of his own analysis of the laws of mechanics for explaining life and will, looked

to older traditions for answers to these fundamental questions. His clandestine interest in alchemy and in the secrets of the ancient kingdoms had been in part a search for clues to more general laws governing living as well as mechanical systems.

In an unpublished manuscript of about 1674, "Of Nature's Obvious Laws and Processes in Vegetation," possibly inspired by the interest in vegetative principles among the Cambridge Platonists, he inquired about the action of a latent vegetative spirit produced in fermentation.[18] "No spirit," he wrote, "searches bodies so subtly, piercingly, and quickly as does the vegetable spirit." "The earth resembles a great animal or rather inanimate vegetable," which "draws in etheral breath for its daily refreshment and vital ferment and transpires again with gross exhalations. And according to the condition of all other things living, ought to have its times of beginning, youth, old age, and perishing." The vegetative spirit produced in fermentation is "nature's universal agent, her secret fire, the only ferment and principle of all vegetation."

Fermentations and mineral dissolutions on the earth continually produced a large quantity of gentle air that rose and buoyed up the clouds, ascending into the ethereal regions. There the air crowded the ether, forcing it to descend towards the earth, causing gravitation and creating a circulation "very agreeable to nature's proceedings." The ether was the carrier of the vital vegetative spirit, and bodies breathed in both of them together:

> Note that tis more probable the ether is but a vehicle to some more active spirit. The bodies may be concreted of both together; they may imbibe ether as well as air in generation, and in that ether the spirit is entangled.

The life of all matter depended on a gentle heat in order to produce life; its withdrawal resulted in death. The continual source of new life was therefore to be found in fresh fermentation. While the mechanical changes of gross corpuscles accounted for the sensible qualities of things, the subtle secret workings of nature took place by means of the vegetative spirit produced in fermentation—"an exceeding subtle and unimaginably small portion of matter diffused through the mass, which, if it were separated, there would remain but a dead and inactive earth."

Why did Newton attribute such importance to the concept of fer-

mentation? Fermentation had had a long and clear historical connection with motion and activity and could be viewed as a source of violent change. From a political standpoint a ferment carried the connotation of agitation—the inflaming and fomenting of passions and tumult. A ferment could "work up to foam and threat the government." In alchemy and chemistry changes in the properties of metals were thought to be produced by a ferment operating within them. The action of yeast on dough and the brewing of beer produced an internal commotion and effervescence. All were examples of new motions generated in both living and nonliving things.[19]

Newton, at work on his queries to the *Opticks* in the early 1700s, still presumed these violent motions resulting from fermentation to be operative in cosmic chemical processes. The fermentation of sulfurous steams with minerals deep within the "bowels of the earth . . . if pent up in subterraneous caverns burst the caverns with a great shaking of the earth," generating tempests and hurricanes, landslides and boiling seas. In the air fermentation caused lightning, thunder, and fiery meteors.[20]

But fermentation was not only an important cause of violent cosmic motions resulting from chemical reactions, it was also a cause of the life motions of animals and vegetables. It was responsible for "the beating of the heart by means of respiration," and of "perpetual motion and heat." Without fermentation as an active principle, "all putrefaction, generation, vegetation, and life would cease."

The draft queries also show how thoroughly Newton was convinced of the pervasiveness of vital life in animal, vegetable and mineral matter. "We cannot say that all nature is not alive," he wrote in one draft, and, in another, "All matter duly formed is attended with signs of life."[21] In the drafts he also discussed the human will as a clear example of the "recruitment" of new motion not explained by the laws of impressed force or by Descartes' principle of the conservation of motion:

> Matter is a passive principle and cannot move itself. It continues in its state of moving or resting unless disturbed. It receives motion proportional to the force impressing it. And resists as much as it is resisted. There are passive laws and to affirm that there are no other is to speak against experience for we find in ourselves a power of moving our bodies by our thought. Life and will are active principles by which we move our bodies and thence arise other laws of motion unknown to us.[22]

Newton's answer to the problem of the revitalization of the cosmos was to replenish its motion through "active principles" such as gravity and fermentation:

> Seeing . . . the variety of motion which we find in the world is always decreasing, there is a necessity of conserving and recruiting it by active principles, such as are the *cause of gravity*, by which planets and comets keep their motions in their orbs, and bodies acquire great motion in falling; and *the cause of fermentation*, by which the heart and blood of animals are kept in perpetual motion and heat . . . for we meet with very little motion in the world, besides what is owing to these active principles.[23]

Without these active principles, Newton warned, "the bodies of the earth, planets, comets, sun, and all things in them would grow cold and freeze, and become inactive masses . . . and the planets and comets would not remain in their orbs."[24] For Newton, fermentation thus furnished an antidote to the "death of nature" implicit in a mechanical universe, a universe founded on passivity and having an inherent tendency towards decay, decline, and eventual death. Unsatisfied with the mechanistic analysis of phenomena, he, like Leibniz, was searching for the causes and laws that would unify biological processes, just as his gravitational theory had synthesized physical interactions.

Both Newton and Leibniz, however, are known today chiefly for their contributions to mathematics and mechanics. Moreover, a cultural research program extending from the seventeenth century to the present day has resulted in mechanical models of the self, society, and the cosmos. Thus the human body and the human psyche are treated as reactive, conditionable entities, and the human brain as a computer. The body politic has become a pluralism of atomized interest groups. The mechanistic cosmos has been extended to encompass chemical, electrical, thermodynamic, and cellular phenomena. During the three centuries in which the mechanical world view became the philosophical ideology of Western culture, industrialization coupled with the exploitation of natural resources began to fundamentally alter the character and quality of human life. Through popular scientific education, through commonsense empirical philosophy and natural religion, and through the spread of scientific, rationalizing tendencies to manufacturing, government bureaucracies, and medical and legal systems, the mechanical sci-

ence, method, and philosophy created in the seventeenth century have gradually become institutionalized as a form of life in the Western world.

Between 1500 and 1700 an incredible transformation took place. A "natural" point of view about the world in which bodies did not move unless activated, either by an inherent organic mover or a "contrary to nature" superimposed "force," was replaced by a non-natural non-experiential "law" that bodies move uniformly unless hindered. The "natural" perception of a geocentric earth in a finite cosmos was superseded by the "non-natural" commonsense "fact" of a heliocentric infinite universe. A subsistence economy in which resources, goods, money, or labor were exchanged for commodities was replaced in many areas by the open-ended accumulation of profits in an international market. Living animate nature died, while dead inanimate money was endowed with life. Increasingly capital and the market would assume the organic attributes of growth, strength, activity, pregnancy, weakness, decay, and collapse obscuring and mystifying the new underlying social relations of production and reproduction that make economic growth and progress possible. Nature, women, blacks, and wage laborers were set on a path toward a new status as "natural" and human resources for the modern world system. Perhaps the ultimate irony in these transformations was the new name given them: rationality.[25]

In 1500 the parts of the cosmos were bound together as a living organism; by 1700 the dominant metaphor had become the machine. Although machines and the cosmic *machina mundi* had been parts of the ancient and medieval worlds, the organic conception of nature had been sufficiently integrative as a framework to override changes and discrepancies within it. Similarly, although the mechanistic analysis of reality has dominated the Western world since the seventeenth century, the organismic perspective has by no means disappeared. It has remained as an important underlying tension, surfacing in such variations as the Romantic reaction to the Enlightenment, American transcendentalism, the ideas of the German *Naturphilosophen*, the early philosophy of Karl Marx, the nineteenth-century vitalists, and the work of Wilhelm Reich. The basic tenets of the organic view of nature have reappeared in the twentieth century in the theory of holism of Jan Christiaan Smuts, the process philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead, the ecology move-

ments of the 1930s and 1970s, alternative analyses in nuclear physics (the "bootstrap" model), and developmental theories in psychology. Some philosophers have argued that the two frameworks are fundamentally incommensurable. Although such a perception of the dichotomy is too extreme, as the fusions between the two perspectives discussed in previous chapters have shown, a reassessment of the values and constraints historically associated with the organic world view may be essential for a viable future.[26]

NOTES

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Index

JANE BENNETT

Vibrant Matter

A Political Ecology of Things

Duke University Press Durham and London 2010

Edible Matter

It is not controversial to say that trash, gadgets, electricity, and fire are relevant to politics, or to say that though such things do not qualify as political stakeholders, they form the milieu of human action or serve as means or impediments to it. But do the categories of context, tool, and constraint capture the full range of powers possessed by nonhuman bodies? In this chapter I will focus on one subset of those bodies, the kind that you can eat. I will treat food as conative bodies vying alongside and within an other complex body (a person's "own" body). To the roles of context, tool, and constraint (or background, resource, and limit) I will add the role of actant. Food will appear as actant inside and alongside intention-forming, morality-(dis)obeying, language-using, reflexivity-wielding, and culture-making human beings, and as an inducer-producer of salient, public effects. We can call the assemblage formed by these human and nonhuman bodies "American consumption" and name as one of its effects the "crisis of obesity."

My case for food as a participant in this assemblage has two prongs. The first seeks support in scientific studies of the effects of dietary

fat on human moods and cognitive dispositions (and not simply its effects on the size or volume of the body). The second revisits the robust nineteenth-century discussions of the moral and political efficacy of diet. Here I will focus on motifs from the work of Friedrich Nietzsche and Henry David Thoreau, according to which eating constitutes a series of mutual transformations between human and nonhuman materials. I conclude with some thoughts about how an enhanced alertness to edible matter can contribute to a theory of vital materiality, a theory in competition with matter as "homogeneous, unorganized and quiescent stuff."[1]

The Efficacy of Fat

In 1917 the English physiologist W. M. Bayliss wrote that "it may be taken for granted that every one is sincerely desirous of avoiding unnecessary consumption of food."[2] This assumption seems no longer to hold in many parts of the developed world. In a recent Roper Report, for example, 70 percent of the Americans surveyed said that they ate "pretty much whatever they want," which means, on an average day, fifty-two teaspoons of sugar and corn sweeteners,[3] more than one half of a pound of meat,[4] and one-fifth of a pound of butter and oils.[5] Overall, what Americans want is to eat between five hundred and eight hundred more calories a day than they did in 1950.[6]

That would explain why the bodies of Americans are larger and heavier than ever before. Here we stumble on a banal instance of what Michel Foucault might have called the "productive power" of food: once ingested, once, that is, food coacts with the hand that places it in one's mouth, with the metabolic agencies of intestines, pancreas, kidneys, with cultural practices of physical exercise, and so on, food can generate new human tissue. In the case of some foods, say potato chips, it seems appropriate to regard the hand's actions as only quasi- or semiintentional, for the chips themselves seem to call forth, or provoke and stoke, the manual labor. To eat chips is to enter into an assemblage in which the I is not necessarily the most decisive operator. Chips challenge the idea, implicit in the Roper survey, that what people "want" is a personal preference entirely of their own making.

That food can make people larger is a fact so ordinary and obvious that it is difficult to perceive it as an example of a nonhuman agency at work. The case becomes a bit stronger, perhaps, when we learn of hitherto unrecognized powers of dietary fats, in particular their ability to make a qualitative as well as quantitative difference. Several recent studies suggest that fat (not the fat in potato chips, but the omega-3 fatty acids prevalent in some wild fish) can make prisoners less prone to violent acts, inattentive schoolchildren better able to focus, and bipolar persons less depressed. A widely cited 2002 "double-blind, placebo-controlled, randomised trial of nutritional supplements on 231 young adult prisoners, comparing disciplinary offences before and during supplementation" shows a 35 percent reduction of offences among British prisoners given omega-3 fatty acids.[7] A similarly designed study of dietary supplementation with fatty acids in children with "difficulties in learning, behavior, and psychosocial adjustment" finds "significant improvement" in reading, spelling, and behavior.[8] A journal of neuropsycho pharmacology reports that a thirty-year-old pregnant woman with chronic schizophrenia showed a "dramatic improvement in both positive and negative symptoms of schizophrenia" in response to an open trial of omega-3 supplementation.[9] The "60-fold variation across countries in the annual prevalence of major depression is strongly inversely correlated with national fish consumption. . . . For bipolar affective disorder, . . . prevalence rates rise precipitously below an apparent annual fish intake threshold of approximately 75 lbs. per person, with prevalence rates of . . . 0.04% in Taiwan (81.6 lb per person) and 6.5% in Germany (27.6 lb per person)." (Americans in 2000 ate about 15 lb per person.)[10] Other fats seem to have negative cognitive effects: high levels of hydrogenated fats in the diet of "middle-aged rats" dulls memory and leads "to the production of inflammatory substances in the brain."[11]

Results such as these are always subject to further research and to various interpretations, but they lend support to the idea that certain lipids promote particular human moods or affective states. This effectivity ought not to be imagined as a mechanical causality, nor do I want to suggest that we will someday arrive at a nutritional science that can demonstrate that specific fats are the cause of a quantifiable and invariant set of cognitive or behavioral effects. It is more likely that an emergent causality is at work here: particular fats, acting in different ways

in different bodies, and with different intensities even within the same body at different times, may produce patterns of effects, though not in ways that are fully predictable. This is because a small change in the eater-eaten complex may issue in a significant disruption of its pattern or function.[12] The assemblage in which persons and fats are participants is perhaps better figured as a nonlinear system: "In a linear system, the ultimate effect of the combined action of two different causes is merely the [addition] . . . of the effects of each cause taken individually. But in a nonlinear system adding a small cause to one that is already present can induce dramatic effects that have no common measure of the amplitude of the cause."[13] In nonlinear assemblages, "effects" resonate with and against their "causes," such that the impact of any added element (omega-3 fatty acid) or set of elements (high fish diet) cannot be grasped at a glance. Instead, the agency of the added element(s) is only "slowly brought to light as the assemblage stabilizes itself through the mutual accommodation of its heterogeneous components."[14]

A particular element can be so contingently well placed in an assemblage that its power to alter the direction or function of the whole is unusually great. As noted in chapter 1, Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's term for such a particularly efficacious element is an "operator." As an example they cite a piece of grass used by a finch both to make a nest and for its courtship dance. The grass stem "acts as a component of passage between the territorial assemblage and the courtship assemblage. . . . The grass stem is a deterritorialized component. . . . It is neither an archaism nor a transitional or part-object. It is an operator, a vector. It is an *assemblage converter*."[15]

A particular edible can also act as an "assemblage converter," an idea similar to what Michel Serres calls a "thermal exciter." For Serres, a thermal exciter does not effect a revolutionary transformation in the assemblage it enters. Instead, it makes it "change state differentially. It inclines it. It makes the equilibrium of the energetic distribution fluctuate. It does it. It irritates it. It inflames it. Often this inclination has no effect. But it can produce gigantic ones by chain reactions or reproduction."[16]

To take seriously the efficacy of nonhuman fat is, then, not only to shift one's idea about what counts as an actor but also to focus one's attention away from individuals and onto actants in assemblages. The

problem of obesity would thus have to index not only the large humans and their economic-cultural prostheses (agribusiness, snack-food vending machines, insulin injections, bariatric surgery, serving sizes, systems of food marketing and distribution, microwave ovens) but also the strivings and trajectories of fats as they weaken or enhance the power of human wills, habits, and ideas.

Nietzsche, Warrior Food, and Wagnerian Music

Most evidence of the active power of foodstuffs (a potential activated when the foodstuff congregates with a power-enhancing set of other vital materialities) comes by way of the physical or biological sciences, as in the studies cited above. When the social sciences and humanities take up the question of food, they tend to focus on human acts, on, for example, the sociocultural rituals through which meaningful food objects are produced, the rhetoric of culinary self-expression, or the aesthetic-commercial techniques through which desire for a new food product is induced. With the exception of the cookbook author or restaurant reviewer who features the color, texture, and aroma of ingredients, food writing seldom attends to the force of materiality. As David Goodman puts it in his critique of agro-food studies in sociology, it is all too rare to find an acknowledgment of food as an "ontologically real and active, lively presence."[17]

In the nineteenth century, however, it was fairly easy to find a philosopher who believed that food had the power to shape the dispositions of persons and nations. These thinkers examined the lived experience of eating and saw a profound reciprocity between eater and eaten. Nietzsche, for example, claimed (without the benefit of randomized, double-blind experiments) that psychological, cognitive, aesthetic, and moral complexions were altered and reformed by what was ingested. He pointed to "an incorrect diet (the alcoholism of the Middle Ages; the absurdity of the vegetarians)" as one source of "the deep depression, the leaden exhaustion, the black melancholy of the physiologically inhibited."[18] He believed that "the reason why . . . individuals have different feelings and tastes is usually to be found in some oddity of their life style, nutrition, or digestion, perhaps a deficit or excess of inorganic salts in

their blood and brain."[19] He offered these "hints" from his morality: "No meals between meals, no coffee: coffee spreads darkness. *Tea* . . . is very unwholesome and sicklies one o'er the whole day if it is too weak by a single degree."[20] The "strong and savory sayings" and "new desires" of Zarathustra were nourished not with "flatulent vegetables" but with (an unnamed) "warrior food, with conquerer food."[21] (Perhaps raw meat?)

In these quotations Nietzsche attends to a kind of *material* agency, exhibited not only by drugs like alcohol and caffeine but by all foods. In the picture that emerges from his scattered references to foodstuffs, edible matter appears as a powerful agent, as stuff that modifies the human matter with which it comes into contact. (Here Nietzsche's thinking may resonate with a Spinozist model of conative bodies that must engage each other if their power is to be enhanced.)

The efficacy of a food will vary, Nietzsche notes, depending on the other foods in the diet, the particular human body that takes them in, and the culture or nation in which the diet is consumed. He discusses, for example, a popular diet book of his day, Luigi Cornaro's *La vita sobria* (*Art of Living Long*). Cornaro (1464–1566) lived to the age of 102 eating only twelve ounces of solid food ("bread, the yolk of an egg, a little meat, and some soup"[22]) and fourteen ounces of wine a day ("waters, in whatever way they may be doctored or prepared, have not the virtue of wine, and fail to relieve me"[23]). Nietzsche complains that though Cornaro "recommends his meagre diet as a recipe for a long and happy life—a virtuous one, too," such a diet will be able to enhance the vitality of only *some* bodies. One diet does not fit all, says Nietzsche. For someone like Cornaro, with "an extraordinarily slow metabolism," a sparse diet will have good effects, but "a scholar of *our* day, with his rapid consumption of nervous energy, would kill himself with Cornaro's regimen."[24]

The effectivity of a foodstuff varies from body to body, but what is even more interesting about Nietzsche's discussion of Cornaro is his suggestion that the effectivity of the "same" food in the "same" body will vary over time as actants enter and leave the scene. "Warrior food," if it is to produce warriors, must join forces with a whole host of other actants. Nietzsche gestures toward the agency of the food-person-sound-nation assemblage in his discussion of anti-Semitism's hold on Bismarck's Germany: he names beer as a contributing source, but beer as part of a diet consisting also of German "newspapers, politics, . . . and

Wagnerian music."[25] Likewise, he identifies the "abstention from flesh" as a source of the ressentiment of the priest—but only when Catholic vegetarianism encounters a specific set of other actors, only, that is, when flatulent vegetables operate in conjunction with "fasting . . . , sexual continence . . . , flight 'into the wilderness' . . . [and] the entire antisensualistic metaphysic of the priests."[26]

Nietzsche contends that a foodstuff comes alive to its powers in the presence of the materiality of certain newspapers, Wagnerian music, and the bodily practices of asceticism, all of which qualify as what Donna Haraway called "material-semiotic actors."[27] Any science of diet, then, would have to take account not only of foods acting in confederation with other bodies such as digestive liquids or microorganisms but also foods coacting with the intensities often described as perception, belief, and memory. Nietzsche warns against imagining these latter as "higher" forms: "nutrition, place, climate . . . are inconceivably more important than everything one has taken to be important so far. . . . [i.e.,] 'God,' 'soul,' 'virtue,' 'sin,' 'beyond,' 'truth,' 'eternal life.'"[28]

Much like Russian *matryoshki* dolls, assemblages contain a sequence of ever small ones—functioning groupings of actants in a series of larger, more complex congregations. But there is also a sense in which Nietzsche imagined the assemblage of consumption as issuing in calculable rather than emergent outcomes, outcomes whose predictability increases as one's knowledge of the system becomes more detailed, up-to-the-minute, and comprehensive. Nietzsche tended to slip back into a mechanistic model of physiology. I wonder whether this supposition of a reliable mechanism constitutes a necessary illusion, required if one is to pursue a deliberate regime of consumption, a plan of action in which some parts of the body (eye, the will) issue orders to other parts (limbs, mouth, fingers) about what and how much to take in.

Thoreau, Dead Meat, and Berries

Reflecting on the coactions of food, drink, human digestion, metabolism, and idea intensities, Nietzsche began to craft a program of artful eating. On the other side of the Atlantic, Thoreau was engaged in his own regimen of consumption, one designed to induce a different set of

effects. Both experimentalists sought to benefit in mind and body from the vital, active powers of food. Nietzsche rejected vegetables when they allied with ascetic practices and priestly ressentiment. Vegetables could be dangerous. Thoreau, too, affirmed a vegetal vitality, but be located it in a different assemblage, one that produced another kind of effect on his body: a greater wakefulness and better resistance against the pathogens of social convention.

One night, walking home with his just caught "string of fish," Thoreau catches also a "glimpse of a woodchuck stealing across my path, and I felt a strange thrill of savage delight, and was strongly tempted to seize and devour him raw; not that I was hungry then, except for that wildness which be represented."[29] Hungry for wildness, Thoreau at first tries to devour the woodchuck so that its vitality will become his. But then Thoreau stops to wonder: *How is this transfer possible?* After years of consuming material bodies, he finally asks just how eating works. What is actually happening when *these* bodies mix with *mine?* Walt Whitman would later engage in a similar consideration, writing in *Leaves of Grass*: "Who goes there? hankering, gross, mystical, nude; How is it I extract strength from the beef I eat?"[30] Thoreau ultimately concludes that "devouring" wild flesh does not in fact result in his own vitalization, but in the mortification—the rotting—of bis imagination.

The first warning sign of this came to Thoreau by way of his gut: "With every year" fish-flesh became more and more viscerally unappealing. Eventually, he stops consuming "animal food" (and tea and coffee) altogether, finding "something essentially unclean about a diet . . . [of] flesh."[31] The irresistible wildness of a lively woodchuck had turned into the repellent uncleanness (in the sense of dirty, slimy, gooey) of its corpse. Thoreau calls this a "practical objection" —meat oozes and drips, whereas "a little bread or a few potatoes would have done as well, with less trouble and filth."[32] But more than housekeeping is at stake here. Meat, he declares, is "not agreeable to my imagination." "I believe that every man who has ever been earnest to preserve his higher or poetic faculties in the best condition has been particularly inclined to abstain from animal food. . . . It may be vain to ask why the imagination will not be reconciled to flesh and fat. I am satisfied that it is not."[33]

If we detect in Thoreau's disgust for meat a certain Platonic revulsion against that which is subject to change, a certain preference for eternal

forms over transient matter, this is countered by Thoreau's celebration of *other* foods, which, though no less transient or vulnerable to decay and no less *material* than animal fat, produce desirable effects in him. He resists ingesting the viscous slime of decaying animal bodies but clamors for food that leavens his flesh and refines his imagination. This includes "a little bread or a few potatoes" and, perhaps most of all, berries, these "little things are not little but fine—they are some huckleberries."[34] Thoreau is "thrilled" to find that "some berries which I had eaten on the hill-side had fed my genius."[35]

Thoreau strives to confederate with a set of bodies, some solid, some wispy, that render his own body finer, leaner, and more discerning—better able to sense the force of things. He comes to see, for example, that the powers of berries are variably actualized: the huckleberries and blueberries sold in market, in contrast to the ones he eats straight off the bush on Fair Haven Hill, "do not yield their true flavor. . . . It is a vulgar error to suppose that you have tasted huckleberries who never plucked them. . . . The ambrosial and essential part of the fruit is lost with the bloom which is rubbed off in the market cart, and they become mere provender."[36] We would say that the berries in Pop-Tarts do not act the way their wild counterparts do, or that processed cheeses and sterile-filtered wine are rendered more passive, less vital, and more predictable than their unpasteurized and unfiltered counterparts.[37]

The Hungry Soul

For Nietzsche and for Thoreau consumption is a two-way street, an encounter between bodies human and nonhuman. Tea, coffee, vegetables, beer, music, berries, fish, a woodchuck, the skinny Thoreau body, and the sickly Nietzsche body all possessed a kind of vital force. In sharp contrast is the model of eating offered by Leon Kass in his popular book *The Hungry Soul: Eating and the Perfecting of Our Nature*. Kass argues that the mundane act of eating reveals something about the very order of Creation: it reveals a natural hierarchy of bodies, with matter on the bottom, organisms in the middle, and humans at the top.

Kass begins with the claim that "we do not become the something that we eat; rather the edible gets assimilated to what we are. . . . the

edible object is thoroughly transformed by and re-formed into the eater."[38] How is it possible that a human body, itself edible matter, triumphs so completely over all other bodies? Kass argues that this superlative power advantage stems from (though, as we shall see, is not completely explained by) the fact that the human body is an organism. Kass defines an organism as a material body infused with a nonmaterial supplement, with, that is, "life." "Life" is a force qualitatively different from the merely mechanical operations of matter: life "is not the result of metabolism but rather its cause, for persistence through nourishing is an *achievement* of the organism as *organized*, not of its materials alone."[39] All organisms, and not just humans, are animated by a life force, and thus all organisms have the power to bestow "form" on inorganic matter or on dead meat. It is this mysterious force called life that is responsible for "thoroughly transforming" the "edible object . . . into the eater."

The human organism, Kass continues, is *especially* endowed with this life force; it is, one might say, *especially* alive, for it, as the highest of the organisms designed by God, has "soul." An ensouled organism, "from the top of the spiral, gazing on the totality of the world as well as on his own peculiar ascent," is able, for example, to "embrace forms that sanctify his eating."[40]

Kass invokes a strong version of the distinction between organic life and inorganic matter, affirms with confidence the existence of a nonmaterial life force that animates mere matter, and celebrates the uniqueness of the human version of that life force, the soul. In so doing, he affirms a kind of vitalism. As an evangelical Christian, Kass makes claims in *The Hungry Soul* that are particularly clear, bold, and unapologetic: he thus helps us discern the milder and more nuanced versions of vitalist claims that circulate more widely in the culture. I will return to the topic of vitalism in chapters 5 and 6, when I consider the variants of it endorsed by Immanuel Kant, Hans Driesch, and Henri Bergson and place these vitalisms in conversation with a theory of materiality as *itself* an active, vibrant power.

Kass offers a conquest model of human eating, according to which the ingested bodies of animals, plants, bacteria, metals, synthetic hormones, trace elements, dioxin, and other industrial byproducts are figured as inactive, plastic materials for human use. Thoreau, Nietzsche, and recent studies of omega-3 and hydrogenated fats challenge this model and the form-matter dichotomy at its heart. They instead discern

a productive power intrinsic to foodstuff, which enables edible matter to coarsen or refine the imagination or render a disposition more or less liable to ressentiment, depression, hyperactivity, dull-wittedness, or violence. They experience eating as the formation of an assemblage of human and nonhuman elements, all of which bear some agentic capacity. This capacity includes the negative power to resist or obstruct human projects, but it also includes the more active power to affect and create effects. On this model of eating, human and nonhuman bodies recorporealize in response to each other; both exercise formative power and both offer themselves as matter to be acted on. Eating appears as a series of mutual transformations in which the border between inside and outside becomes blurry: my meal both is and is not mine; you both are and are not what you eat.

Vagabond Matter

If the eaten is to become food, it must be digestible to the out-side it enters. Likewise, if the eater is to be nourished, it must accommodate itself to the internalized out-side. In the eating encounter, all bodies are shown to be but temporary congealments of a materiality that is a process of becoming, is hustle and flow punctuated by sedimentation and substance. Emma Roe's phenomenology of eating practices in Britain highlights how food bobs above and below the threshold of a distinct entity: a carrot as it first enters the eater's mouth is a full-blown entity, with a distinctive taste, color, odor, texture; once swallowed, however, its coherence gradually dissipates until, if one were to continue to observe it via a tiny camera inserted into the gut, the difference between carrot and eater vanishes altogether.[41] Maud Ellman also describes the various comings and goings of food:

> [Food's] disintegration in the stomach, its assimilation in the blood, its diaphoresis in the epidermis, its metempsychosis in the large intestine; its viscosity in okra, gumbo, oysters; its elasticity in jellies, its deliquescence in blancmanges; its tumescence in the throats of serpents, its slow erosion in the bellies of sharks; its odysseys through pastures, orchards, wheat fields, stock-yards, supermarkets, kitchens, pig troughs, rubbish dumps, disposals; the industries of sowing, hunting, cooking, milling, processing, and canning

> it; the wizardry of its mutations, ballooning in bread, subsiding in souffles; raw and cooked, solid and melting, vegetable and mineral, fish, flesh, and fowl, encompassing the whole compendium of living substance.[42]

Edibles disclose, in short, what Deleuze and Guattari called a certain "vagabond" quality to materiality, a propensity for continuous variation that is elided by "all the stories of matter-form."[43] The activity of metabolization, whereby the outside and inside mingle and recombine, renders more plausible the idea of a vital materiality. It reveals the swarm of activity subsisting below and within formed bodies and recalcitrant things, a vitality obscured by our conceptual habit of dividing the world into inorganic matter and organic life.

How Food Matters

My final example of artful consumption is the slow food movement, founded in Italy in 1986 to contest the McDonaldization, environmental unsustainability, and petrocentrism of a globalized system of food production, marketing, and distribution. According to its manifesto, "Slow Food is dedicated to stewardship of the land and ecologically sound food production; to the revival of the kitchen and the table as centers of pleasure, culture, and community; to the invigoration and proliferation of regional, seasonal culinary traditions; to the creation of a collaborative, ecologically-oriented, and virtuous globalization; and to living a slower and more harmonious rhythm of life."[44]

What is distinctive about slow food, and what might enable it to become a particularly powerful assemblage, is its appeal both to the "granolas" and to the "foodies." It celebrates, in one fell swoop, ecological sustainability, cultural specificity, nutritional economy, aesthetic pleasure, and the skills needed to make meals from scratch. In grouping these images and practices together, in forming that particular congregation, slow food just might have a chance to reform the public that once coalesced under the banner of "environmentalism." Perhaps slow food's cocktail of concerns—tasty food, lean energy use, and love of the Earth—can awaken us from what Barbara Kingsolver describes as our "mass hallucinatory fantasy in which the megatons of waste we dump in our rivers and bays are not poisoning the water, the hydrocarbons we

pump into the air are not changing the climate, overfishing is not depleting the oceans, fossil fuels will never run out, wars that kill masses of civilians are an appropriate way to keep our hands on what's left, we are not desperately overdrawn at the environmental bank, and, really, the kids are all right."[45]

The slow food program involves taking the time not only to prepare and savor the food, but also to reflect on the economic, labor, agricultural, and transportation events preceding its arrival to the market. In this way it endorses a commodity-chain approach to food that chronicles the "life-history" of a food product and traces "the links that connect people and places at different points along the chain."[46] This practice provides consumers with better insight into just what is going into their mouths: not only in terms of ingredients such as pesticides, animal hormones, fats, sugars, vitamins, minerals, and the like but also in terms of the suffering of food workers and the greed of agribusiness and its agents in Congress.[47] But the assemblage of slow food could be strengthened further, I think, if it broadened its focus beyond the activities of humans. It tends to perceive of food as a resource or means, and thus to perpetuate the idea that nonhuman materiality is essentially passive stuff, on one side of an ontological divide between life and matter. To the extent that we recognize the agency of food, we also reorient our own experience of eating. What would happen if slow food were to incorporate a greater sense of the active vitality of foodstuff? If I am right that an image of inert matter helps animate our current practice of aggressively wasteful and planet-endangering consumption, then a materiality experienced as a lively force with agentic capacity could animate a more ecologically sustainable public.

In contrast to this picture of food as a tool to "be taken possession of if life is to continue," I have construed food as itself an actant in an agentic assemblage that includes among its members my metabolism, cognition, and moral sensibility. Human intentionality is surely an important element of the public that is emerging around the idea of diet, obesity, and food security, but it is not the only actor or necessarily the key operator in it. Food, as a self-altering, dissipative materiality, is also a player. It enters into what we become. It is one of the many agencies operative in the moods, cognitive dispositions, and moral sensibilities that we bring to bear as we engage the questions of what to eat, how to get it, and when to stop.

3. Edible Matter

A version of this chapter appeared previously in *New Left Review*, no. 45 (2007).

1. Mario Bunge, *Causality and Modern Science* (1979), qtd. in De Landa, *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy*, 137. Bunge notes that the belief in brute matter is "still held in esteem by those quantum theorists who hold that it is the experimenter who produces all atomic-scale phenomena," and De Landa adds that it is also assumed "by those critics of science who think that all phenomena are socially constructed" (ibid.).
2. Bayliss, *Physiology of Food*, 1.
3. This represents a 39 percent increase from 1950 and includes 440 twelve-ounce cans of soda per person per year, according to Warner, "Sweetener with a Bad Rap."
4. This amounts to seven pounds more red meat and forty-six pounds more poultry per year than in 1950.
5. This represents a 67 percent increase from 1950.
6. All food statistics, unless otherwise noted, are taken from U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Communications, "Profiling Food Consumption in America." In the *Agriculture Fact Book*, from which the chapter is taken, the term *consumption* refers to what is used up of the aggregate food supply; because of "spoilage, plate waste, and . . . other losses," "consumption" amounts are likely to be greater than the actual amount of food ingested or taken into human bodies. For example, if, as is estimated, Americans waste twenty of those fifty-three teaspoons of sugar, the ingestion of sugar could be as low as thirty-two teaspoons per day per person. The term *added fats* refers to fats "used directly by consumers, such as butter on bread, as well as shortenings and oils used in commercially prepared cookies, pastries, and fried foods. All fats naturally present in foods, such as in milk and meat, are excluded."
7. Gesch et al., "Influence." The modern Western diet has entailed a "staggering rise in the consumption of seed oils . . . , whose polyunsaturated fatty acid content is predominantly omega-6, at the expense of omega-3" (Hallahan and Garland, "Essential Fatty Acids and Mental Health," 277).
8. Richarson and Montgomery, "Oxford-Durham Study."
9. Su, Shen, and Huang, "Omega-3 Fatty Acids."
10. Perhaps the links among omega-3, mental health, and cognitive functions should not surprise, given that "the dry weight of the mammalian brain is approximately 80% lipid (the highest of any organ)" (Hallahan and Garland, "Essential Fatty Acids and Mental Health," 186).
11. Carroll, "Diets Heavy in Saturated Fats."

12. I take these points from John Buell, who directed me to the nonlinearity of the vying going on in the body-flesh-psyche-food assemblage (email correspondence, 2008).
13. Grégoire Nicolis and Ilya Prigogine, *Exploring Complexity: An Introduction* (1989), qtd. in De Landa, *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy*, 131.
14. De Landa, *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy*, 144.
15. Deleuze and Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus*, 324–25.
16. Serres, *Parasite*, 191. Serres suggests that it is the *human* that is the passive one in the eater-eaten relationship. For him, the eater is utterly dependent on (exists in a "parasitic" relation to) foodstuff. We eat only at the expense (on the tab) of another who is our host: "The host comes before and the parasite follows"(14). Thus the eater *owes* the eaten. (Perhaps this is why many say grace before meals.) I think Serres is right to note the moral obligations entailed by eating, but I also think that the figure of the parasite goes too far: it does not acknowledge the active power of the human body or any agentic capacity.
17. Goodman, "Ontology Matters," 183.
18. Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, third essay, sec. 17, 130.
19. Nietzsche, *Daybreak*, 39.
20. Friedrich Nietzsche, "Why I Am So Clever," *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, sec. 1, 239.
21. The complete quotation is: "My virile food taketh effect, my strong and savoury sayings: and verily, I did not nourish them with flatulent vegetables! But with warrior-food, with conquerer-food: new desires did I awaken" (Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, pt. 4, "The Awakening").
22. Cornaro, *Art of Living Long*, 55. In Cornaro's "Second Discourse, Written at the Age of Eight-Six," he gives a fuller inventory of his diet: "First, bread; then, bread soup or light broth with an egg, or some other nice little dish of this kind; of meats, I eat veal, kid, and mutton; I eat fowls of all kinds, as well as partridges and birds like the thrush. I also partake of such salt-water fish as the goldney and the like; and, among the various fresh-water kinds, the pike and others" (87).
23. Ibid., 94.
24. Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, sec. 1, 47. Nietzsche seems not to have read Cornaro carefully enough, for Cornaro explicitly says that his particular diet is not for everyone: "No one need feel obliged to confine himself to the small quantity to which I limit myself. . . . For I eat but little; and my reason in doing so is that I find a little sufficient for my small and weak stomach" (Cornaro, *Art of Living Long*, 62); "I was compelled to be extremely careful with regard to the quality and quantity of my food and drink. However those persons who are blessed with strong constitutions

may make use of many other kinds and qualities of food and drink, and partake of them in greater quantities, than I do" (ibid., 97).

25. The full quotation reads: "I . . . do not like these latest speculators in idealism, the anti-Semites, who . . . rouse up all the horned-beast elements in the people by a brazen abuse of the cheapest of all agitator's tricks, moral attitudinizing (that no kind of swindle fails to succeed in Germany today is connected with the undeniable and palpable stagnation of the German spirit; and the cause of that I seek in a too exclusive diet of newspapers, politics, beer, and Wagnerian music)" (Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, third essay, sec. 26, 158–59; my emphasis).
26. Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, first essay, sec. 6, 32.
27. See Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium*, 2.
28. Nietzsche, "Why I am So Clever," *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, sec. 10, 256.
29. Thoreau, *Walden and Resistance to Civil Government*, 140.
30. Whitman, "Song of Myself," lines 389–90, *Leaves of Grass*. My thanks to Hadley Leach for this reference.
31. Thoreau, *Walden and Resistance to Civil Government*, 143. Thoreau notes in his journal that though his "coarse and hurried outdoor work compels me to . . . be inattentive to my diet," "left to my own pursuits, I should never . . . eat meat" (qtd. in Robinson, *Thoreau and the Wild Appetite*, 9).
32. Thoreau, *Walden and Resistance to Civil Government*, 143. "Most men would feel shame if caught preparing with their own hands" the bloody meat dinner that is "everyday prepared for them by others," that is, by women (144).
33. Ibid., 144.
34. To those who wonder why he gives so much heed to little things like berries, Thoreau confidently replies that what are to the conformist self "great things are not great but *gross*. . . . little things are not little but fine—they are some huckleberries" (qtd. in Keiser, "New Thoreau Material," 253–54).
35. Thoreau, *Walden and Resistance to Civil Government*, 146. He calls the blueberry the "Berry of berries," but he also offers high praise to wild blackberries, blueberries, raspberries, huckleberries, cranberries, and strawberries. Robinson notes that "it is hard to tell which berry Thoreau cherished most." Thoreau's promiscuity with regard to berry loving and berry eating leads Robinson to note a "kind of ritualistic ceremony of pagan exaltation" in Thoreau's description of himself as "going from water spring to water spring, his hands reddened afresh between successive water springs by wild strawberries" (Robinson, *Thoreau's Wild Appetite*, 22).
36. Thoreau, *Walden and Resistance to Civil Government*, 116–17.

37. Thanks to Patchen Markell for this point.
38. Kass, *Hungry Soul*, 25–26. Kass was appointed by George W. Bush to the President's Council on Bioethics in 2001 and was at one time its chair.
39. Ibid., 55.
40. Ibid., 15.
41. Roe, "Material Connectivity." Rachel Colls makes a related point in her study of bodily "flab" as "*mobile* flesh," which is neither fully "material" nor fully "discursive" (Colls, "Materialising Bodily Matter").
42. Maud Ellman, *The Hunger Artists* (1993), qtd. in Eagleton, "Edible Écriture," 207.
43. Deleuze, "Metal, Metallurgy, Music, Husserl, Simondon."
44. See Slow Food USA, "Manifesto."
45. Kingsolver, "Good Farmer," 13.
46. Jackson et al., "Manufacturing Meaning along the Food Commodity Chain." Michael Pollan's *The Omnivore's Dilemma* serves as a good example here. It gives a genealogy of four American meals—one from McDonald's, one made from items bought at a Whole Foods supermarket, one whose ingredients come from a small, self-sustaining farm, and one created from items that Pollan has hunted or gathered.
47. Good examples here include Cheri Lucas Jennings's and Bruce H. Jennings's exposé of the poverty wages and poisonous working conditions embedded in the shiny red, wormless supermarket apple and Greg Critser's account of the link between agribusiness interests, subsidized corn production, high-fructose corn syrup, and obesity. See Jennings and Jennings, "Green Fields/Brown Skin"; and Critser, *Fat Land*. For a critique of its claim that high-fructose corn syrup is a significant factor in America's obesity problem, see Warner, "Does This Goo Make You Groan?"

4. A Life of Metal

1. Kafka, "Report to an Academy," 257.
2. For a good summary of the relevant research, see Kate Douglas, "Six 'Uniquely' Human Traits Now Found in Animals."
3. The geographer Nick Bingham develops a notion of "nonhuman friendship" as a "certain quality of being open," or a "capacity to learn to be affected" by an out-side. Though his examples of nonhumans are organisms (bees and butterflies), his essay raises the question of whether it is possible to "befriend" inorganic material. See his "Bees, Butterflies, and Bacteria."
4. Deleuze, "Immanence," 3–4.
5. Ibid., 4. In "The Novelty of Life" (unpublished manuscript), Paola Marrati

In *Vibrant Matter* the political theorist Jane Bennett, renowned for her work on nature, ethics, and affect, shifts her focus from the human experience of things to things themselves. Bennett argues that political theory needs to do a better job of recognizing the active participation of nonhuman forces in events. Toward that end, she theorizes a "vital materiality" that runs through and across bodies, both human and nonhuman. Bennett explores how political analyses of public events might change were we to acknowledge that agency always emerges as the effect of ad hoc configurations of human and nonhuman forces. Recognizing that agency is distributed this way and is not solely the province of humans, she suggests, might spur the cultivation of a more responsible, ecologically sound politics: a politics less devoted to blaming and condemning individuals than to discerning the web of forces affecting situations and events. Bennett examines the political and theoretical implications of vital materialism through extended discussions of commonplace things and physical phenomena including stem cells, fish oils, electricity, metal, and trash. She reflects on the vital power of material formations such as landfills, which generate lively streams of chemicals, and omega-3 fatty acids, which can transform brain chemistry and mood. Along the way, she engages with the concepts and claims of Spinoza, Nietzsche, Thoreau, Darwin, Adorno, and Deleuze, disclosing a long history of thinking about vibrant matter in western philosophy.

"*Vibrant Matter* is a fascinating, lucid, and powerful book of political theory. By focusing on the 'thing-side of affect,' Jane Bennett seeks to broaden and transform our sense of care in relation to the world of humans, nonhuman life, and things. She calls us to consider a 'parliament of things' in ways that provoke our democratic imaginations and interrupt our anthropocentric hubris." ROMAND COLES, author of *Beyond Gated Politics: Reflections for the Possibility of Democracy*

"*Vibrant Matter* represents the fruits of sustained scholarship of the highest order. As environmental, technological, and biomedical concerns force themselves onto worldly political agendas, the urgency and potency of this analysis must surely inform any rethinking of what political theory is about in the twenty-first century." SARAH WHATMORE, co-editor of *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*

"This manifesto for a new materialism is an invigorating breath of fresh air. Jane Bennett's eloquent tribute to the vitality and volatility of things is just what we need to revive the humanities and to redraw the parameters of political thought." RITA FELSKI, author of *Uses of Literature*

JANE BENNETT is Professor of Political Theory and Chair of the Department of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University.

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POLITICAL THEORY • • • • • • • • • CULTURAL STUDIES

COVER: *Neither From Nor Towards*, 1992, Cornelia Parker. Arts Council Collection, Southbank Centre, London.

Ursula K. Le Guin 1986

The Carrier Bag Theory of Fiction

Source: Dancing at the Edge of the World;
Transcribed: by Cody Jones.

In the temperate and tropical regions where it appears that hominids evolved into human beings, the principal food of the species was vegetable. Sixty-five to eighty percent of what human beings ate in those regions in Paleolithic, Neolithic, and prehistoric times was gathered; only in the extreme Arctic was meat the staple food. The mammoth hunters spectacularly occupy the cave wall and the mind, but what we actually did to stay alive and fat was gather seeds, roots, sprouts, shoots, leaves, nuts, berries, fruits, and grains, adding bugs and mollusks and netting or snaring birds, fish, rats, rabbits, and other tuskless small fry to up the protein. And we didn't even work hard at it--much less hard than peasants slaving in somebody else's field after agriculture was invented, much less hard than paid workers since civilization was invented. The average prehistoric person could make a nice living in about a fifteen-hour work week.

> Fifteen hours a week for subsistence leaves a lot of time for other things. So much time that maybe the restless ones who didn't have a baby around to enliven their life, or skill in making or cooking or singing, or very interesting thoughts to think, decided to slope off and hunt mammoths. The skillful hunters then would come staggering back with a load of meat, a lot of ivory, and a

story. It wasn't the meat that made the difference. It was the story.

It is hard to tell a really gripping tale of how I wrested a wild-oat seed from its husk, and then another, and then another, and then another, and then another, and then I scratched my gnat bites, and Ool said something funny, and we went to the creek and got a drink and watched newts for a while, and then I found another patch of oats.... No, it does not compare, it cannot compete with how I thrust my spear deep into the titanic hairy flank white Oob, impaled on one huge sweeping tusk, writhed screaming, and blood spouted everywhere in crimson torrents, and Boob was crushed to jelly when the mammoth fell on him as I shot my unerring arrow straight through eye to brain.

That story not only has Action, it has a Hero. Heroes are powerful. Before you know it, the men and women in the wild-oat patch and their kids and the skills of the makers and the thoughts of the thoughtful and the songs of the singers are all part of it, have all been pressed into service in the tale of the Hero. But it isn't their story. It's his.

When she was planning the book that ended up as *Three Guineas*, Virginia Woolf wrote a heading in her notebook, "Glossary"; she had thought of reinventing English according to a new plan, in order to tell a different story. One of the entries in this glossary is *heroism*, defined as "botulism." And *hero*, in Woolf's dictionary, is "bottle." The hero as bottle, a stringent reevaluation. I now propose the bottle as hero.

Not just the bottle of gin or wine, but bottle in its older sense of container in general, a thing that holds something else.

If you haven't got something to put it in, food will escape you--even something as uncombative and unresourceful as an oat. You put as many as you can into your stomach while they are handy, that being the primary container; but what about tomorrow morning when you wake up and it's cold and raining and wouldn't it be good to have just a few handfuls of oats to chew on and give little Oom to make her shut up, but how do you get more than one stomachful and one handful home? So you get up and go to the damned soggy oat patch in the rain, and wouldn't it be a good thing if you had something to put Baby Oo Oo in so that you could pick the oats with both hands? A leaf a gourd a shell a net a bag a sling a sack a bottle a pot a box a container. A holder. A recipient.

> The first cultural device was probably a recipient .... Many theorizers feel that the earliest cultural inventions must have been a container to hold gathered products and some kind of sling or net carrier.

So says Elizabeth Fisher in *Women's Creation* (McGraw-Hill, 1975). But no, this cannot be. Where is that wonderful, big, long, hard thing, a bone, I believe, that the Ape Man first bashed somebody with in the movie and then, grunting with ecstasy at having achieved the first proper murder, flung up into the sky, and whirling there it became a space ship thrusting its way into the cosmos to fertilize it and produce at the end of the movie a lovely fetus, a boy of course, drifting around the Milky Way without (oddly enough) any womb, any matrix at all? I don't know. I don't even care.

I'm not telling that story. We've heard it, we've all heard all about all the sticks spears and swords, the things to bash and poke and hit with, the long, hard things, but we have not heard about the thing to put things in, the container for the thing contained. That is a new story. That is news.

And yet old. Before--once you think about it, surely long before--the weapon, a late, luxurious, superfluous tool; long before the useful knife and ax; right along with the indispensable whacker, grinder, and digger-- for what's the use of digging up a lot of potatoes if you have nothing to lug ones you can't eat home in--with or before the tool that forces energy outward, we made the tool that brings energy home. It makes sense to me. I am an adherent of what Fisher calls the Carrier Bag Theory of human evolution.

This theory not only explains large areas of theoretical obscurity and avoids large areas of theoretical nonsense (inhabited largely by tigers, foxes, other highly territorial mammals); it also grounds me, personally, in human culture in a way I never felt grounded before. So long as culture was explained as originating from and elaborating upon the use of long, hard objects for sticking, bashing, and killing, I never thought that I had, or wanted, any particular share in it. ("What Freud mistook for her lack of civilization is woman's lack of *loyalty* to civilization," Lillian Smith observed.) The society, the civilization they were talking about, these theoreticians, was evidently theirs; they owned it, they liked it; they were human, fully human, bashing, sticking, thrusting, killing. Wanting to be human too, I sought for evidence that I was; but if that's what it took, to make a weapon and kill with it, then evidently I was

either extremely defective as a human being, or not human at all.

That's right, they said. What you are is a woman. Possibly not human at all, certainly defective. Now be quiet while we go on telling the Story of the Ascent of Man the Hero.

Go on, say I, wandering off towards the wild oats, with Oo Oo in the sling and little Oom carrying the basket. You just go on telling how the mammoth fell on Boob and how Cain fell on Abel and how the bomb fell on Nagasaki and how the burning jelly fell on the villagers and how the missiles will fall on the Evil Empire, and all the other steps in the Ascent of Man.

If it is a human thing to do to put something you want, because it's useful, edible, or beautiful, into a bag, or a basket, or a bit of rolled bark or leaf, or a net woven of your own hair, or what have you, and then take it home with you, home being another, larger kind of pouch or bag, a container for people, and then later on you take it out and eat it or share it or store it up for winter in a solider container or put it in the medicine bundle or the shrine or the museum, the holy place, the area that contains what is sacred, and then next day you probably do much the same again--if to do that is human, if that's what it takes, then I am a human being after all. Fully, freely, gladly, for the first time.

Not, let it be said at once, an unaggressive or uncombative human being. I am an aging, angry woman laying mightily about me with my handbag, fighting hoodlums off. However I don't, nor does anybody else, consider myself heroic for doing so. It's just one of those

damned things you have to do in order to be able to go on gathering wild oats and telling stories.

It is the story that makes the difference. It is the story that hid my humanity from me, the story the mammoth hunters told about bashing, thrusting, raping, killing, about the Hero. The wonderful, poisonous story of Botulism. The killer story.

It sometimes seems that that story is approaching its end. Lest there be no more telling of stories at all, some of us out here in the wild oats, amid the alien corn, think we'd better start telling another one, which maybe people can go on with when the old one's finished. Maybe. The trouble is, we've all let ourselves become part of the killer story, and so we may get finished along with it. Hence it is with a certain feeling of urgency that I seek the nature, subject, words of the other story, the untold one, the life story.

It's unfamiliar, it doesn't come easily, thoughtlessly to the lips as the killer story does; but still, "untold" was an exaggeration. People have been telling the life story for ages, in all sorts of words and ways. Myths of creation and transformation, trickster stories, folktales, jokes, novels...

The novel is a fundamentally unheroic kind of story. Of course the Hero has frequently taken it over, that being his imperial nature and uncontrollable impulse, to take everything over and run it while making stern decrees and laws to control his uncontrollable impulse to kill it. So the Hero has decreed through his mouthpieces the Lawgivers, first, that the proper shape of the narrative is that of the arrow or spear, starting *here* and going straight *there* and THOK! hitting its mark (which drops

dead); second, that the central concern of narrative, including the novel, is conflict; and third, that the story isn't any good if he isn't in it.

I differ with all of this. I would go so far as to say that the natural, proper, fitting shape of the novel might be that of a sack, a bag. A book holds words. Words hold things. They bear meanings. A novel is a medicine bundle, holding things in a particular, powerful relation to one another and to us.

One relationship among elements in the novel may well be that of conflict, but the reduction of narrative to conflict is absurd. (I have read a how-to-write manual that said, "A story should be seen as a battle," and went on about strategies, attacks, victory, etc.) Conflict, competition, stress, struggle, etc., within the narrative conceived as carrier bag/belly/box/house/medicine bundle, may be seen as necessary elements of a whole which itself cannot be characterized either as conflict or as harmony, since its purpose is neither resolution nor stasis but continuing process.

Finally, it's clear that the Hero does not look well in this bag. He needs a stage or a pedestal or a pinnacle. You put him in a bag and he looks like a rabbit, like a potato.

That is why I like novels: instead of heroes they have people in them.

So, when I came to write science-fiction novels, I came lugging this great heavy sack of stuff, my carrier bag full of wimps and klutzes, and tiny grains of things smaller than a mustard seed, and intricately woven nets which when laboriously unknotted are seen to contain one blue pebble, an imperturbably functioning chronometer

telling the time on another world, and a mouse's skull; full of beginnings without ends, of initiations, of losses, of transformations and translations, and far more tricks than conflicts, far fewer triumphs than snares and delusions; full of space ships that get stuck, missions that fail, and people who don't understand. I said it was hard to make a gripping tale of how we wrested the wild oats from their husks, I didn't say it was impossible. Who ever said writing a novel was easy?

If science fiction is the mythology of modern technology, then its myth is tragic. "Technology," or "modern science" (using the words as they are usually used, in an unexamined shorthand standing for the "hard" sciences and high technology founded upon continuous economic growth), is a heroic undertaking, Herculean, Promethean, conceived as triumph, hence ultimately as tragedy. The fiction embodying this myth will be, and has been, triumphant (Man conquers earth, space, aliens, death, the future, etc.) and tragic (apocalypse, holocaust, then or now).

If, however, one avoids the linear, progressive, Time's-(killing)-arrow mode of the Techno-Heroic, and redefines technology and science as primarily cultural carrier bag rather than weapon of domination, one pleasant side effect is that science fiction can be seen as a far less rigid, narrow field, not necessarily Promethean or apocalyptic at all, and in fact less a mythological genre than a realistic one.

It is a strange realism, but it is a strange reality.

Science fiction properly conceived, like all serious fiction, however funny, is a way of trying to describe what is in fact going on, what people actually do and feel,

how people relate to everything else in this vast sack, this belly of the universe, this womb of things to be and tomb of things that were, this unending story. In it, as in all fiction, there is room enough to keep even Man where he belongs, in his place in the scheme of things; there is time enough to gather plenty of wild oats and sow them too, and sing to little Oom, and listen to Ool's joke, and watch newts, and still the story isn't over. Still there are seeds to be gathered, and room in the bag of stars.

We Are 'Nature' Defending Itself

"We need stories of victory! We need stories of transformative imagination and wild adventures that somehow succeed against all odds. Jay and Isabelle think about organising and activism like nobody else. They've given us more than an account—they've created a new myth that has the added benefit of being true."

Starhawk

003

We Are 'Nature' Defending Itself

Entangling Art, Activism and Autonomous Zones

Isabelle Fremeaux and Jay Jordan

PLUTO PRESS

Artist: Amanda Priebe

have spent so many years fighting with and for. It all makes sense again.

Perhaps when the binary between nature and culture, this gulf between what is art and what is life finally dissolves, we can once and for all get rid of that great separating, individualist, anthropocentric word, which divides the expert humans that create from all those that don't, that worn out label: *artist*. Maybe we can replace it with Thaumaturge, meaning literally the workers of wonder. Not only you and I and every human are Thaumaturges, but the blade of grass, the crickets, the swallows, and the compost too.

200 Years of Art and the World Is Getting Worse

The oak tree towering over our caravan, who has accompanied us in this writing, was planted in the hedgerow not long after a 'Copernican' revolution in art was taking place in the white colonial metropolises of Europe around 1750. We sense a similar radical shift in perception opening up. In the laboratories of social and natural sciences, "human exceptionalism and bounded individualism," writes biologist and theorist Donna Harraway, "those old saws of Western Philosophy and political economics, become . . . seriously unthinkable."[72] We find ourselves at this fulcrum moment in history where life is in more danger than it has been for the last 200 million years, at the same time as our understandings of life are being revolutionized. Yet in the museums and studios, concert halls and theaters, galleries and

festivals, it seems that even though this era *should* make Art-as-weknow-it seriously unthinkable, business as usual continues.

As mentioned earlier, according to art historian Larry Shiner, Art-as-we-know-it is "a European invention barely two hundred years old"[73]—a bit older than classical biology but premised on an equally dangerous logic. Like notions of biology that beguiled us into believing that life is a competitive battlefield for survival, the idea of Art-as-we-know-it has been a weapon of capitalism and colonialism. Art with a capital A, the singular works of an almost always white, male genius, is presented as the definition of "advanced civilization," differentiating us from barbarians.

For most of human history, and in most of human cultures, there was no single word for art distinct from life. But something unprecedented happened around 1750, right at the very onset of the industrial revolution, a revolution in the perception of art also took place. Thanks to fossil fuels, industrialism was the first time the processes of making things became independent of human and animal power, disconnected from seasons, weather, wind, water, and sun. Making became independent of place, as coal and then oil amplified the logic of extractivism and the planetary plundering accelerated.

But among the rising middle classes of the metropolis, the violent rift was being formed between art and craft, genius and skill, tradition and invention, the beautiful and the useful, art and life. These separations continue to be the very foundation of the system of Art-as-we-know-it.

What was once the process of inventive collaboration, such as the guilds of artisans working on a cathedral, became the possession of individual genius. Works that once had specific purpose and place (including Shakespeare's plays!) were separated from their functional contexts. Altar pieces were ripped from their churches and put in the museums to become 'paintings,' music airlifted out of rituals or carnivals and enclosed in the concert halls. Before the 1750s, the myth of 'autonomous art,' a work existing primarily for itself, did not exist, neither did museums or concert halls. Before Art-as-we-know-it was invented, humans found a multitude of ways to express and celebrate what it felt to be alive. None asked to be called an artist. But like the land, art had to be enclosed to give value to the rising middle classes. Rough popular forms of culture were evicted and replaced with polite 'fine' arts, for reverential contemplation and collection by the rich. Promoted worldwide by missionaries, armies, entrepreneurs, dealers, and intellectuals, this new invention was another engine of 'progress' and a sign that the hierarchies being imposed were natural. A civilization that could produce what were presented as 'great works of art' was destined and entitled to rule. The idea and ideals of Art-as-we-know-it continue to colonize imaginations everywhere.

Art was thought to define humanity. Tolstoy saw it as the fundamental human activity whereby someone conveys through external sign, feelings they've experienced, thereby infecting others' feelings. But for 50 million years, eons before humans first painted rocks, the bower bird had

ground pigment from fruit seeds, painting bowers, and erecting maypole-like structures for mating dances. The humpback whale has rehearsed songs for hours on end, collectively casting a web of communication that echoes across the globe. Meaning, feeling, expression, creativity, and communication are not unique to humans, but the epicenter of what defines life.

The extractivist spirit in art must be exorcised. Despite artists' 'concern' about the issues, the most important thing to them is seldom how artwork can be part of solutions to the problem or how it can materially nourish a community or a struggle. The most important thing is that 'good' art is made. Despite all the claims of scholars, critics, curators, funders, and artists themselves, Art-as-we-know-it rarely if ever 'gives back' to or fights on the side of the world that is being destroyed. Most often the art that claims to do this simply benefits the artist's career and further legitimizes the institutions promoting this obsolete invention.

The word art is a portmanteau of the Latin *ars* and the Greek *techne* and for many thousands of years it was used to describe *any* human activity. Shoemaking, verse writing, horse breaking, governing, vase painting, cooking, medicine, or navigation, were considered an art. Not because it was done by an artist or because it was separated from the complexities of life by framing it within the contemplativity of the Art-as-we-know-it system, but because it was performed with grace and skill. Grace is an act of thinking with and thanking the world. The word comes from old French *Grace*, meaning 'thanks,' as in *grâce à*, as in

'gratitude.' To thank life for giving us life, that is perhaps the greatest skill our art must learn, and here on the zad we thanked the bocage by falling for her and fighting for and with her. Within her humid muddy lands, we learned what the art of life might be, an art overflowing with attention and reciprocity, an art animated with gestures of gratitude, an art that allows life to flourish, to be free—an act of love.

An Art of Life

> The sacred is not a great something that you bow down to, but what determines your values, what you would take a stand for.
>
> Starhawk, ecofeminist author, activist, witch[74]

And so here we are writing in the summer of 2021, in this crack in the system, where a global epidemic was added to the converging storms, and the line between what seemed unfeasible and what ended up being possible was smudged.

In many countries, artists and cultural workers, museums and theaters, galleries, festivals, and concert halls were ravaged by lockdowns. A social-media post by French cultural workers suggested that folk should keep up hope: art has emerged transformed through catastrophes, they said. It mentioned Dada, which grew from the rubble of empires and the massacres of industrialized war. Like successional ecosystems blossom after a wildfire, historically destructive periods often birth paradigm shifts. Not only Dada, but

quantum physics and jazz flourished in the wake of the chaos of WW1. But for Dada the catastrophe was *art* itself. Living through an apocalypse, Dada did not want to relaunch Art-as-we-know it, but abolish it, sabotaging and hacking everything that represented the values of a world that disgusted them. Against the machinery of death, their manifesto of 1918 ended with one word in capital letters:

LIFE.

On the bocage we have become the territory because it engulfs and nourishes our imaginations and our bodies. We know when the frogs spawn and when the buckwheat is ready to mill; we sense when the potatoes will be harvested and celebrated with a French fries festival; we notice when it's been too dry and the ponds become lifeless; we care when the amphibians mate and the message on our phone reads: "walk & drive carefully—it's the night of the fire salamanders"; we are familiar with the weave of green lanes because we learned them while ambushing the police.

By deserting the metropolis, we learned to pay attention, and practice an art of life. But as our friend, the philosopher Isabelle Stengers writes, the art of attention is not just giving ourselves to things a priori defined as worthy of attention, but obliging us "to imagine, to consult, to consider consequences involving connections between what we are accustomed to considering as separate."[75]

Countless people now hold the picture of the zad in their imaginations, like one might carry the

memory of a work of art: an image that reminds us that we can all shape our worlds otherwise. On the bocage, feelings and desire became form in the shape of a struggle that put life in common at its heart. To many, even though they would never term it thus, this land has become sacred, because they sensed its wonder and risked and dedicated so much of themselves to ensure it never became an airport. "Nothing is made already sacred," hermeticist and youth worker Orland Bishop reminds us. "It becomes sacred when we give our attention to it at a level that reveals what it holds as energy and information."[76] When land becomes sacred and struggle becomes an art of everyday life, magic happens.

The low sun sets through the hedgerow, we are looking out at the wetlands. These wetlands that continue to become wetlands, farmland that continues becoming food producing land. The airport will only ever be a negative shape, a ghost of the extractivist empire. Holding back the monoculture machine, decolonizing a place from capital, opening it up as somewhere that enabled forms of life to connect and unfold: that is what is beautiful. That is the aim of an art of life, an art that lets life live more.

An owl hoots in the distance and we are reminded of the incredible courage of nineteenth century abolitionist Harriet Tubman who used her knowledge of the living world to save so many lives. Tubman escaped from enslavement at age 27 and rescued hundreds of fugitives by guiding them up the Underground Railroad, the network of clandestine safehouses ferrying escapees to

safe haven. She mastered these long dangerous journeys through marshlands and forest, often tracked by dogs sent out by the authorities to sniff them out. She had grown up in the wetlands and had a complex understanding of the landscape, and she would mimic the call of barred owls to alert the refugees that it was safe to come out of hiding and continue their journey. Her accurate rendition of the call of the bird blended in with the normal nighttime sounds, and so created no suspicion. The lives of the freedom-seekers were saved; the wetlands continue to flourish.

We are 'nature' defending itself.

A salamander made for the victory party, Philippe Graton, 2018.

VAG
ABO
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FUCK 'IT'!

Words must lead to action. How does this text translate beyond the bocage? How do these lessons help you to fight and build within your territories and communities, no doubt so different from these lands? We never wanted this pamphlet to be a blueprint, in fact within a situated pluriversal culture the idea of a blueprint is in itself part of the problem. We do not need any more floating, detached and inevitably false solutions imposed from afar or above, but we do need imagination and hope to keep on fighting for self-determination and autonomy from below. The forces of hope and imagination cross oceans and can enliven struggles with very different textures, they open potentiality and horizons however far away. Good stories need to travel like seeds.

As we finish the pamphlet the zad prepares for the arrival of a large Zapatista delegation visiting Europe for the first time, their struggle and stories from the jungles and mountains fed so many of our imagination in the late 90s. We were living lives in metropolises across the world, so different from theirs and yet their compelling imagination moved and mobilized us. Their autonomy continues to spread hope two decades on. "One no and many yeses," they proclaimed, a "no"

against capitalism, a "no" against binary thinking, a "no" we could all share wherever we were. And a multitude of different ways of imagining a future with dignity at its heart.

Perhaps we can end with a shared "no," a little ritual of banishment, inspired by author, mother, expert in moss, biologist, decorated professor, and enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Robin Wall Kimmerer. She reminds us that language is a tool for cultural transformation, that words have power to shape our thoughts and our actions, and every revolution needs new grammars. The problem is that the English language allows no form of respect for our fellow more-than-human beings. In English, a being is either a human or an "it," an object. "We put a barrier between us, absolving ourselves of moral responsibility and opening the door to exploitation," she writes. "Saying 'it' makes a living land into 'natural resources.' Imagine describing our grandma as 'it',"[77] she asks us. To defend lands that we fall in love with and to enable us to realize that the land loves us back, we need new revolutionary pronouns that refer to the more-than-human not as things, but as our earthly relatives.

And so perhaps we are not 'nature' defending 'it' self, after all. Perhaps we made a mistake entitling this pamphlet thus, the binary logic was still lingering.

And so, let us banish together that pronoun, let us make a pledge together to never ever call another living being 'it' again.

Write ‘it’ large on a piece of paper.
Go outside.
Set fire to the paper.
Focus on the flames.
Shout as loud as you can, feeling as alive as possible.
“Fuck ‘it’!”

Protestarchitektur. Proteste müssen stören, sonst wären sie wirkungslos. Wenn Protestbewegungen in den →*öffentlichen Raum* ausgreifen und sich dort festsetzen, wenn sie ihn blockieren, schützen oder erobern, dann entsteht →*Protestarchitektur*. Die Strategien reichen vom →*Körpereinsatz* der Protestierenden, die Räume besetzen oder Formationen bilden, bis hin zur Errichtung von →*Protestcamps*. Diesem breiten Spektrum raumgreifender Protestformen widmen sich das Deutsche Architekturmuseum (DAM) in Frankfurt am Main und das Museum für angewandte Kunst (MAK) in Wien mit dem Ausstellungsprojekt *Protest/Architektur*. Erstmalig werden Proteste aus baulicher und räumlicher Perspektive miteinander verglichen, u.a. die -→*Barrikaden* von -→*1848*, die →*Türme* der Atomkraftgegner*innen der „Republik Freies Wendland" in →*Gorleben*, die zahlreichen Ereignisse des Protestjahres -→*2011* und die am Reißbrett entworfenen Protestsiedlungen in Washington und São Paulo (→*Resurrection City*, →*MTST*).

Die Ausstellung und diese Publikation wurden gefördert durch die Kulturstiftung des Bundes (→*Grußwort*). Ein Teilprojekt zur Architekturvermittlung entstand in Kooperation mit der Wüstenrot Stiftung.

Die Recherche zum Thema Protestarchitektur ergab ein weitverzweigtes Feld an Bezügen und Verweisen. Für die vorliegende Publikation wurde deshalb die Form eines Lexikons gewählt.

Protest Architecture. Protests have to be disruptive to be effective. When protest movements extend into →*public space* and take root there, when they blockade, defend, or seize these spaces, they produce →*protest architecture*. The strategies used can range from the →*body deployment* of protesters occupying spaces or arranging themselves into formations all the way through to the establishment of →*protest camps*. *Protest/Architecture* is a joint exhibition project of the Deutsches Architekturmuseum (DAM) in Frankfurt and the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK) in Vienna, which seeks to shine a light on this broad spectrum of spatial forms of protest. The project provides a unique perspective on protest movements, comparing and contrasting them in terms of their architectural and spatial qualities, whether it's the →*barricades* of -→*1848*, the →*towers* of the anti-nuclear activists of the "Free Republic of Wendland" in -→*Gorleben*, the numerous protests and revolutions of →*2011*, or the protest settlements of Washington and São Paulo (→*Resurrection City*, -→*MTST*), which were drawn up at the drafting table.

The exhibition and this publication were supported by the German Federal Cultural Foundation (→*Foreword*). The project was also accompanied by an educational program, which was produced in collaboration with the Wüstenrot Foundation.

The research into the topic of protest architecture produced an intricately ramified field of interconnected references, which led to the decision to structure this publication as a lexicon.

Hg. (Eds.)
Oliver Elser
Anna-Maria Mayerhofer
Sebastian Hackenschmidt
Jennifer Dyck
Lilli Hollein
Peter Cachola Schmal

PARK BOOKS

depending on the political system, form of action, and →*protest goal*. For activists, a threat to physical and psychological safety can be posed by the state, the →*police*, the military, or from a movement with divergent viewpoints, but so can individuals or groups within the movement, especially for people who belong to a minority due to their gender, sexuality, or ethnicity. In potentially violent encounters (→*Violence*), protesters often use helmets, →*protective shields*, →*clothing*, goggles, and masks to protect themselves against →*anti-protest measures* such as pepper spray, tear gas, and →*water cannons*, and in dictatorial systems, also against live ammunition, batons, and other →*weapons*. For this purpose, everyday objects such as hard hats, ski goggles, closet doors, and kickboards are usually misappropriated (→*Misappropriation*, →*Myanmar protests* in →*2021*), materials from bulky waste are recycled or, as at →*Maidan* in Kyiv, even police shields stolen during clashes are used. The police and military also protect themselves during such outbreaks of violence with protective gear, which—as shown, for example, by photos of the Zurich police shields at the →*Zurich youth protests* or the uniform of the Frankfurt police during the protests against →*Startbahn West*, both from →*1980*—has grown in scope and professionalism over the past decades. In contrast, "arming up" often takes place at short notice on the part of the protesters, with knowledge about which protective measure effectively helps against which anti-protest measure being quickly disseminated via social media, sometimes also through manuals (→*Handbücher/Online-Manuals*).

At the →*Hong Kong protests* in →*2014*, the umbrella initially used to protect against pepper spray and surveillance cameras became the symbol of the movement. It was utilized in artworks (→*Media*) as well as in combative confrontations, where the "tortoise formation," which was already widespread in ancient Rome—here consisting of several umbrellas interlocked with each other—proved to be particularly effective. In →*Caracas* in →*2014*, wooden shields were given symbolic value by being painted with pictures of deceased protesters and Christian motifs. Passive armament—that is, the carrying of items that are suitable as pieces of armor—is prohibited in Germany at gatherings. This includes not only respirator masks, body armor, and bullet-proof vests, but also, for example, the straw sacks (→*Straw*) brought along by climate activists at open-pit →*blockades*, which serve as seat pads during long-lasting actions. At Maidan in Kyiv, protesters used →*cooking pots*, sieves, and metal buckets as protective helmets after the parliament made it a punishable offense to wear "real" helmets.

In contrast to protective gear as a tangible tool for direct confrontations on the →*street*, spatial strategies help to make everyday life in the →*protest camp* safer. To avoid attacks by the police and military as well as people who sympathized with the authorities, activists set up a safe zone protected with →*barricades* in →*Tahrir Square* in →*2011* and carried out access controls. Particularly sensitive amenities, such as childcare, were located in the center of the →*roundabout*. To increase internal security, protesters against the →*Dakota Access Pipeline* in North Dakota in →*2016* also screened new arrivals to the camp for alcohol and drugs. At →*Occupy Wall Street*, despite a zero-tolerance policy against drugs, violence, and abuse, there were allegations of rape and, as a consequence, a women's tent was set up. At the beginning of the occupation, the activists in New York actually wanted to go without →*tents*—in the spirit of radical openness, but also to prevent criminal activities. With the onset of fall, however, the occupiers' need for shelter from snow and rain prevailed. As the number of private tents grew, social cohesion disintegrated. This trend was reinforced by the division of the movement into "protected" and "unprotected" people: the organizers of the occupation retreated to their apartments in the evening, while the camp offered a home primarily to those who did not have an apartment in the city. Activists decided to set up "safe spaces" for women and gender-diverse people not only at Occupy Wall Street: in →*Hambach Forest* there was an "All-Flinta Barrio." At →*Lützerath*, a queer feminist house project developed in "Paula's Farm." During the →*Farmers' protests* in India, men and women slept in clearly separated zones. At the →*Greenham Common Peace Camp*, people even went one step further: from 1982 on, only women were allowed to stay there, and the activists undertook night watches to protect the camp from "vigilantes" who tried to intimidate the protesters by harassing them. Also in the →*MTST* land occupations in São Paulo, the security issue directly affects the layout of the camp. Narrow paths are laid out between the single rows of tents, which are regularly patrolled and checked by safety officers.

In some forms of protest, such as the campaigns of Letzte Generation (→*Rappelling*, →*Super-gluing*), activists also deliberately put themselves in danger through their →*body deployment*. They demonstratively display their vulnerability and defenselessness; in this way, →*nakedness* can sometimes be used as a weapon. This tactic worked on a large scale in the overthrow of dictator Ferdinand Marcos during the →*EDSA Revolution* in Manila in →*1986*: a "human shield" formed by hundreds of thousands of supporters of the opposition poured into the streets for its protection and blocked the military troops loyal to the regime, causing them to refuse an order from the commander to shoot, which would have led to a high number of civilian casualties. During evictions of protest camps, for example in Lützerath or in →*Dannenrod Forest*, the delaying strategies were often based on the fact that the physical integrity of all participants must be guaranteed at all times according to German constitutional law. When the eviction of Occupy Wall Street took place for health and safety reasons, the police in New York, in contrast, invoked a duty to protect for their part.

In order to protect themselves from legal consequences in confrontations with the police, protesters often create their own photographic and film documentation, which can be used as evidence in court proceedings. In Germany, parties such as DIE LINKE (The Left) also send parliamentary observers to →*civil disobedience* actions, including those of the climate movement, to monitor the work of the police.

In Lützerath and at the Dakota Access Pipeline protests, tips for nonviolent resistance and correct behavior during evictions and arrests were provided in skillshares and workshops. When protesters face repression because of their involvement in protests or certain forms of protest, a particular focus is often placed on identity protection. In →*Hong Kong* in →*2019*, activists attempted to evade police facial-recognition software not only by wearing masks but also by jamming cameras with laser pointers. To disguise their digital identities, they also used one-way passes instead of personalized subway tickets, and used prepaid SIM cards, secure messenger services, and Bluetooth to exchange information. (AMM)

Protective shield, Ger. →*Schutzschild (fig.)*. Shields primarily serve to provide demonstrators with physical →*protection*, in part against →*violent* →*anti-protest measures* such as teargas or truncheons. In addition, they can have a symbolic meaning. During the →*Venezuelan protests* in →2014, wooden shields were painted with art. These included Christian motifs and images of protesters who had been killed (→*Misappropriation*). This sparked a certain reluctance among police when it came to beating activists to the ground. (JD)

Protest architecture, Ger. →*Protestarchitektur*, covers those aspects of protest movements that involve space and intervene in space: by which sites are appropriated, blocked, marked, or defended. The means brought to bear range from the bodies of protesters (who occupy spaces or link up in formations) to the strategic production of concrete-built structures. The result are temporary ar-

chitectural configurations that are as different in terms of expanse and shape as are the protests themselves: ad hoc approaches come up against carefully planned edifices; hand-crafted pieces alternate with engineering and prefabrication; attempts to create a home-like environment contrast with almost military tactics.

If spaces are occupied, settled with camps, and buttressed by barricades, then the demands and objectives take on a material form. Structures become established, new forms of communication evolve, and utopian models for society emerge. The temporal horizon of the protest architecture depends on the success: if the protesters win the day, then the structures and installations have fulfilled their purpose and can be abandoned. If the protests come to nothing, the barricades, tree houses, tents, towers, and huts will sooner or later be cleared away and destroyed. Protest architecture is a race against time. Who will endure the state of emergency away from everyday life for longer—the protesters or those who oppose the protest?

As spatially separated counterworlds within a society, protest events can be considered "heterotopias"—particularly the protest camps that were first emerging as a protest strategy when Michel Foucault coined the aforementioned term in 1967 in line with his concept of "counter-sites." They are "a kind of effectively enacted utopia" (Foucault 1967/1984, p. 3). Their actual architectural realization arises from the overall conditions and the movement's objectives. For its part, the spatial realization impacts on the protests in a kind of feedback loop. Because it simply makes a difference whether people stand on the outskirts of a city on a traffic circle, or instead occupy a central square, a forest, or a piece of private land, whether they gather in one-person or in communal tents, burrow underground or head for the heights.

The political movements since 1830 presented in the exhibition *Protest/Architecture* and in the present volume have not been selected because the team of curators sympathized with them or felt them to be worthy of support, but solely on the basis of their strong spatial elements. Above all, the thirteen case studies demonstrate that in different sociopolitical contexts and using limited resources, people can create experimental if temporary edifices for unusual communities. What is fascinating about all of them is the protesters' energy, passion, and willingness to take risks. In order to describe the research that went beyond the specific cases and brought a wide range of references and linkages to light, we decided that this book needed to take the shape of a lexicon. Indeed, this article is the only one without cross-references, if only because the wealth of connecting links would have rendered it as good as illegible. (OE, JD, SH, AMM)

Protestarchitektur engl. → *Protest architecture*, umfasst die räumlichen, in den Raum ausgreifenden Aspekte von Protestbewegungen: Orte werden angeeignet, blockiert, markiert, verteidigt. Die eingesetzten Mittel reichen von den Körpern der Protestierenden – die Räume besetzen oder Formationen bilden – bis zur strategischen Errichtung konkret-baulicher Strukturen. Es entstehen ephemere Architekturen, die in ihrer Ausdehnung und Form so unterschiedlich sind wie die Proteste selbst: Ad-hoc-Ansätze treffen auf planvoll entworfene Konstruktionen, Handwerk auf Ingenieurskunst und Vorfabrikation, das Sichhäuslich-Einrichten auf fast schon militärische Taktiken.

Wenn Räume eingenommen, mit Camps besiedelt und durch Barrikaden befestigt werden, dann materialisieren sich die Forderungen und Ziele. Strukturen werden aufgebaut, neue Kommunikationsformen entstehen, utopische Gesellschaftsmodelle blitzen auf. Der zeitliche Horizont der Protestarchitektur ist vom Erfolg bestimmt: Können die Protestierenden sich durchsetzen, dann haben die Strukturen und Bauwerke ihren Zweck erfüllt und können aufgegeben werden. Scheitern die Proteste, werden die Barrikaden, Baumhäuser, Zelte, Türme und Hütten früher oder später geräumt und zerstört. Protestarchitektur ist ein Wettlauf gegen die Zeit. Wer wird den Ausnahmezustand vom Alltag länger durchhalten: die Protestierenden oder diejenigen, gegen die sich die Proteste richten?

Als räumlich abgegrenzte Gegenwelten innerhalb einer Gesellschaft können Protestereignisse zu den „Heterotopien" gezählt werden. Insbesondere die Protestcamps, die gerade erst dabei waren, sich als Proteststrategie zu etablieren, als Michel Foucault den Begriff 1967 zum ersten Mal verwendete, entsprechen seinem Konzept der „Gegenplatzierungen oder Widerlager". Sie sind „tatsächlich realisierte Utopien" (Foucault 1967/1993, S. 39). Ihre konkrete architektonische Umsetzung ergibt sich aus den Rahmenbedingungen und den Zielen der Bewegung. Die räumliche Realisierung beeinflusst – in einer Art Rückkopplungsschleife – wiederum die Proteste. Denn es macht einen Unterschied, ob Menschen in der Peripherie an Verkehrskreiseln stehen, einen zentralen Platz, einen Wald oder ein Privatgrundstück besetzen, ob sie sich in Einzel- oder Gemeinschaftszelten versammeln, unter der Erde bauen oder in die Höhe gehen.

Die in der Ausstellung *Protest/Architektur* und dieser Publikation vorgestellten politischen Bewegungen seit 1830 wurden nicht danach ausgesucht, ob sie dem Kurator*innen-Team sympathisch oder unterstützenswert erschienen, sondern aufgrund ihrer starken räumlichen Komponenten. Vor allem die 13 Case Studies demonstrieren, dass in unterschiedlichen gesellschaftspolitischen Kontexten aus begrenzten Ressourcen experimentelle Bauten für ungewöhnliche Gemeinschaften auf Zeit entstehen können. Faszinierend ist in allen Fällen die Energie, Leidenschaft und Risikobereitschaft der Protestierenden. Um die darüber hinausreichende Recherche abzubilden, die ein weitverzweigtes Feld an Bezügen und Verweisen hervortreten ließ, wurde für dieses Buch die Form eines Lexikons gewählt. Dabei ist dieser Eintrag der einzige ohne Querverweise – die Fülle der Bezüge hätte den Lesefluss unmöglich gemacht. (OE, JD, SH, AMM)

Protestcamp, engl. → *Protest camp*. Jenen Architekturen, die sich zu Protestcamps entwickeln, haftet meist eine unvorhersehbare Dynamik an, ob sie nun detailliert geplant werden oder eher beiläufig entstehen (→ *Alternative Architektur*). Im Unterschied zu temporären → *Demonstrationen* stellen Protestcamps Räume dar, die auf Dauerhaftigkeit ausgelegt sind. Sie müssen so aufgebaut und ausgestattet sein, dass für das alltäglich Notwendige, das für das Funktionieren einer Protestbewegung gebraucht wird, gesorgt ist. Dazu gehören → *Küchen* und Duschen genauso wie Medienzentren (→ *Medien*).

Protestcamps entwickeln sich unterschiedlich – Vorbilder und Ideen kursieren über Landesgrenzen hinweg. Oft entstehen Ad-hoc-Architekturen, denn die materiellen Möglichkeiten sind begrenzt (→ *Baumaterial*). Vieles wird spontan und aus dem Bauch heraus entwickelt. Dabei werden → *Zelte* häufig zu dem architektonischen → *Erkennungszeichen* von Protestcamps. Die verwendeten Baumaterialien wie Textilien, aber auch alltägliche, funktionale Gegenstände entfalten ein symbolisches Potenzial, indem sie im Kontext des Protestcamps zu kraftvollen Gesten des Widerstands umgedeutet werden. Der Architekt Gregory Cowan, der sich mit der Rolle architektonischer Protestformen beschäftigt, sieht in Zelten bei → *Besetzungen* „eine architektonische Strategie, die nicht nur rein pragmatisch ist. Ideologische Gründe untermauern die Verwendung dieser Art von Konstruktionen" (Cowan, undatiert). Für Cowan sind Zelte aufgrund ihrer offenen, mobilen, temporären und schnell aufstellbaren Beschaffenheit sowohl konzeptionell als auch architektonisch von Bedeutung, da sie einen Gegensatz zur Vorstellung von einem statischen und kleinfamiliär geprägten Zuhause bilden.

Eine frühe Meisterleistung im Bereich der Protestarchitektur war die Initiative von Martin Luther King für ein Protestcamp (später nach seiner Ermordung in → *Resurrection City* umbenannt), das Tausende von armen Menschen nach Washington, DC, die Hauptstadt der

Vereinigten Staaten, bringen sollte, um dort politische Reformen einzufordern. Die 15 Hektar große Resurrection City befand sich auf der National Mall, nur wenige Schritte vom Lincoln Memorial entfernt. Sie wurde von professionellen Architekten und Stadtplanern nach dem Vorbild von Armeelagern und Einrichtungen für Wanderarbeiter errichtet. Konkrete Vorlagen waren das Camp der → *Bonus Army* im Jahr → *1932* und die Pfadfinderlager, die seit den frühen 1900er Jahren populär waren (Feigenbaum, Frenzel, McCurdy 2013). Der Bauplatz an der Mall wurde anhand eines Rastersystems in eine Reihe von Unterabschnitten oder „Gemeinschaftseinheiten" unterteilt. Dutzende von Freiwilligen halfen beim Aufbau und Betrieb von Zahn- und Gesundheitszentren sowie von Küchen, die drei Mahlzeiten pro Tag servierten. Außerdem gab es das „Many Races Soul Center", eine „Poor People's University" und das „Coretta Scott King Day Care Center" (Wiebenson 1969).

Dies steht im Gegensatz zu Besetzungen an Orten wie dem → *Gezi-Park* oder in → *Hongkong*, die nicht von der sorgfältigen Vorplanung oder den großen Freiflächen der Resurrection City profitierten und daher stärker von den Grenzen und Möglichkeiten der bestehenden Stadtstruktur bestimmt wurden. „Die hyperdichte, kommerzielle Architektur Hongkongs hat die Protestbewegung sowohl verschärft als auch erleichtert", erklärt der Landschaftsarchitekt Adam Bobbette (Feigenbaum 2015). An städtischen Standorten sind die Protestcamps oft „Gegenstädte in der Stadt", so Bobbette. In nur kurzer Zeit entsteht „eine ganze Welt aus selbstgebauten, schnell organisierten und oft schönen Instrumenten des Protests, der Freizeitgestaltung, des Kultes und der Infrastruktur" (Feigenbaum 2015; → *Infrastruktur*).

Als politische Akte der Inbesitznahme stehen Protestcamps für eine kollektive Rückeroberung der Stadt. Sie stellen sich den Infrastrukturen des Kapitalismus – seinen Superhighways, Einkaufszentren, kommerziellen Zentren und privatisierten Plätzen – entgegen. Stattdessen machen sie die Stadt menschlicher. Indem sie die Routinen des Alltags durchbrechen, entstehen neue, intensive zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen. Im Gegensatz zur Zerrissenheit unserer Städte und unserer auf Rollen festgelegten Existenz, bieten sie Strukturen für ein Leben ohne Kommerz. Dabei sind Protestcamps nicht auf städtische Zentren beschränkt. Sie werden auch häufig in ländlichen Gebieten, in alten Wäldern, auf Ackerland, in Kohleminen, an Pipelinetrassen und auf indigenem Land errichtet. Durch Protestcamps wird die Aufmerksamkeit darauf gelenkt, dass dort etwas ausgebeutet, abgebaggert oder unterworfen werden soll.

Dennoch ist es wichtig, Protestcamps nicht übermäßig zu romantisieren. Yelta Köm, Herausgeberin und Koordinatorin des Projekts „Herkes İçin Mimarlık" („Architektur für alle"), stellt fest, dass Occupy Gezi sowohl als gemeinschaftliches Experiment als auch als „Konfliktraum" funktionierte (Feigenbaum 2015). In den Protestcamps müssen die Menschen sich rund um die Uhr zusammenraufen. Auch wenn sie ein gemeinsames Anliegen haben, können die Ideen, Erfahrungen und Ideologien der Protestcamper*innen sowohl übereinstimmen als auch aufeinanderprallen. Externe Faktoren verstärken diese Spannungen: Protestcamps sind verletzliche Orte, an denen die Menschen ständig der → *Polizei*, den Medien, dem Wetter und dem Klicken von Touristenkameras ausgesetzt sind.

Die Spontaneität von Protestcamps kann die Architektur auf neue Wege bringen. „Niemand kann ein städtisches Protestcamp auf konventionelle Weise entwerfen", sagt Köm. „Die wichtigsten gestalterischen Herausforderungen werden in jeder einzelnen Situation anders sein" (Feigenbaum 2015). Daraus zu lernen, wie Menschen auf diese Herausforderungen reagieren, kann dazu beitragen, weitere lebendige Protestcamp-Architekturen auf besetzten → *Straßen*, Parks und Plätzen auf der ganzen Welt entstehen zu lassen. (Anna Feigenbaum, Fabian Frenzel, Patrick McCurdy)

Protest camp, Ger. → *Protestcamp*.

From the cunningly planned to the irreverently accidental, there is a chaotic mobility about the architectural forms that comprise protest camps (→ *Alternative architecture*). Distinct from other forms of social activism like → *demonstrations* or marches, protest camps are living spaces. They make visible all of the architectures and objects required for the social reproduction of protest and daily life, from → *kitchens* and showers to → *media* centers. These protest camp architectures, their objects and environments, are a critical part of what makes social movements work the way they do.

Protest camp design dynamics are promiscuous—ideas travel across time and place, between cities, rural areas, and continents. The limited resources and heightened emotional settings of the camps alter the stakes of design, resulting in the creation of ad hoc architectures (→ *Building materials*). → *Tents* are often the central architectural feature of protest camps (→ *Identifier*), acting as set design on the hyper-mediated stage of protest, and are often perceived in this light; there is a tactical element to this artful display. The spectacular aesthetics of protest camps exploit the symbolic potential of textiles and building materials—these are everyday, functional objects transformed into powerful acts of defiance. Architect Gregory Cowan, who studies the role of protest in the built environment, sees the appearance of tents in → *occupations* as "a choice of architectural strategy that is not merely pragmatic. Ideological reasons underpin the uses of these kinds of structure" (Cowan n.d.). For Cowan, the tent's indeterminate, mobile, temporary, and rapidly deployable qualities make it both theoretically and architecturally important as a counterpoint to the idea of home as being static and nuclear, and to buildings as being solid and stately.

One of the earliest and greatest feats in defiant architecture came with Martin Luther King Jr.'s plans for a camp (later named → *Resurrection City* after his murder) that would bring thousands of poor people to Washington, DC, the capital of the United States, to demand change. Locted in the National Mall and just steps away from the Lincoln Memorial, the fifteen-acre Resurrection City was loosely modeled by professional architects and urban planners on army camps and sites for migratory workers, such as the → *Bonus Army* encampment in the 1930s and the scout camps popularized in the early 1900s (Feigenbaum, Frenzel, McCurdy 2013). The Mall was divided into a series of subsections or "community units" using a grid system. Dozens of volunteers helped set up and run dental and healthcare centers, as well as kitchens serving three meals a day, alongside the Many Races Soul Center, the Poor People's University, and the Coretta Scott King Day Care Center (Wiebenson 1969).

This can be contrasted with occupations in places such as → *Gezi Park* and → *Hong Kong*, which did not benefit from the rigorous pre-planning or large open spaces of Resurrection City, and thus were more strongly determined by the limits and possibilities of existing built and natural environments. "Hong Kong's hyper-dense, commercial architecture both exacerbated and facilitated the protest movement," explains landscape architect Adam Bobbette (Feigenbaum 2015). In urban locations, protest camps often manifest what Bobbette refers to as "counter-cities within the city." In just a brief time, they can produce "a world of self-built, rapidly organised and often beautiful tools of protest, leisure, worship and infrastructures" (Feigenbaum 2015; → *Infrastructure*).

As political acts of occupation, protest camps enact a collective refusal to leave, which interferes with and takes back the city. They confront the landscapes of capitalism—its superhighways, shopping malls, commercial centers, and privatized squares—and re-create them as places that are both more human and humane. In redirecting the rhythm and flow of urban movement, these occupations become paths of desire, replacing the enforced paths of our normal lives, and introducing a new intensity to interactions. In contrast to the architectures

architektur entstand hier nicht in einem produktiven Sinne, sondern eher als symbolische Geste der kurzzeitigen Aneignung, dem →*Denkmalsturz* oder der →*Platzbesetzung* vergleichbar. (SH)

Weapons, Ger. →*Waffen*. The professional weaponry of state authority and law enforcement forces—ranging from handcuffs, batons, and protective clothing (→*Clothing*, →*Protection*) to pepper spray, tear gas, and firearms, as well as armored emergency vehicles, water cannons, and helicopters (→*Vehicles*)—forms a marked contrast with the improvised and typically technologically simple arsenal of the protesters. However, bows and arrows, slingshots, spears, knives, machetes, Molotov cocktails (→*Fire*), and →*cobblestones* can also cause dangerous injuries and are subject to weapons bans. If protesters indicate their readiness for physical →*violence* by arming themselves (→*Body deployment*, →*Destruction*), this is often perceived as a provocation that goes beyond →*civil disobedience* and frequently leads to escalation. During the →*Burundi protests* in →*2015*, the protesters equipped themselves with homemade toy weapons to indicate their defenselessness in the face of police forces operating with live ammunition. Beyond military means, however, other—possibly more effective—things can be used as weapons in the struggle for or against political or religious beliefs, such as →*protest architecture*, protest songs (→*Music*), and the →*media*, or strategies such as →*blockades*, →*occupations*, and →*guerrilla tactics*: used correctly, even a flung cake can effectively impair a political opponent's ability to act. (SH)

Wiener Oktoberaufstand, engl. →*Vienna Uprising*. Was am 13. März →*1848* mit den →*Demonstrationen* von Studenten für mehr bürgerliche Freiheiten vielversprechend begonnen hatte, endete ein halbes Jahr später mit der blutigen Niederschlagung der sogenannten „Wiener Oktoberrevolution" durch die kaiserlichen Truppen. Auch die rund 160 während der revolutionären Ereignisse in Wien errichteten →*Barrikaden* konnten eine erneute Restauration – und in weiterer Folge den Neoabsolutismus des österreichischen Kaiserhauses – nicht verhindern. (SH)

WTO Protests / Battle of Seattle, Ger. →*Anti-Globalisierungs- / WTO-Proteste*. "N30," as the event is also known, was the first peak in a period of anti-globalization protests, which had been triggered by the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference in Seattle on November 30, →*1999*. The event was characterized by carnivalesque elements such as turtle →*costumes*. Being slow and good-natured, the turtle was an impactful symbol for a peaceful protest. Besides peaceful →*street* occupations, Seattle also became the site of vandalism and street fights (→*Violence*). (JD)

Yellow Vests movement, Ger. →*Gelbwestenbewegung*. The starting point of the "gilets jaunes" was the French government's announcement in →*2018* that it would finance the energy transition by increasing the price of petrol at the pump. For that reason, the protests initially took place at →*roundabouts* on the city limits, as they expected car drivers to express solidarity with them. In other words, it was the first suburban protest movement that was also structured around the social urban/rural divide. Shortly afterwards, major →*demonstrations* took place in Paris with violent rioting (→*Violence*). Thereafter, the attempt failed to take the movement back to the local level of civic councils. (OE)

Yurt, Ger. →*Jurte*; →*Alternative architecture*, →*Building types*, →*Dakota Access Pipeline protests*, →*Lobau*, →*Maidan*, →*Tent*.

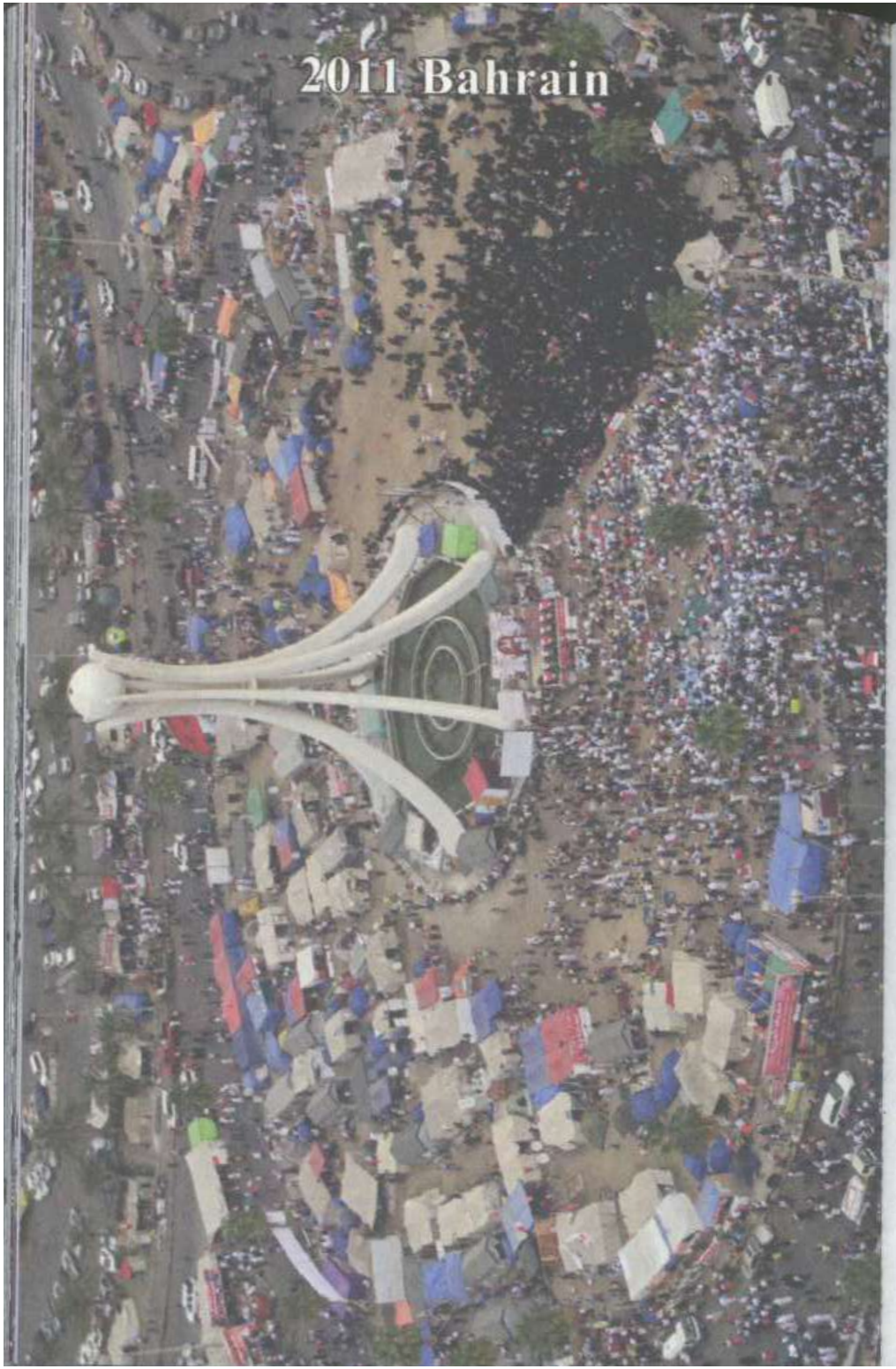
ZAD Notre-Dame-des-Landes, engl. →*ZAD Notre-Dame-des-Landes*. Die →*Autonome Zone* in der Nähe von Nantes ist die bekannteste *zone à défendre* (deutsch: „zu verteidigende Zone") in Frankreich. Der Begriff ist ein Détournement von *zone d'aménagement différé* (deutsch: „Bauerwartungsgebiet"). Bewohner*innen eines 1600 Hektar großen Gebiets in Notre-Dame-des-Landes, viele von ihnen Landwirt*innen, protestierten jahrzehntelang gegen den seit den 1960er Jahren geplanten Bau des Flughafens Grand Ouest. →*2007* kam es zur ersten →*Besetzung* eines Bauernhofs, 2018 gab es knapp 100 selbstverwaltete Projekte auf dem Gelände, darunter landwirtschaftliche Betriebe mit Viehhaltung und Gemüsegärten, eine Bäckerei, eine Brauerei und die Zeitung *ZAD News* (→*Medien*). Bestehende Gebäude wurden in Selbstbauweise umgebaut, außerdem entstanden viele neue Hütten, sogenannte „Cabanes", die den Einfallsreichtum der „Zadisten" widerspiegeln: verschiedenste Formen, →*Baumaterialien* und experimentelle Konstruktionsprinzipien werden kombiniert. Neben Lehm- und Pfahlbauten gibt es →*Baumhäuser*, Geodome, schwimmende Hütten und bewohnte →*Türme* (→*Bautypen*). Teils gewaltsame Räumungsversuche der ZAD, u.a. in den Jahren 2012 und 2018, führten zu landesweiten Solidaritätsbekundungen (→*Solidaritätsgeste*). Die Besetzer*innen bauten →*Barrikaden* aus Autoreifen und Holzpaletten, →*blockierten* →*Straßen* mit ihren Traktoren (→*Fahrzeuge*) und bildeten lange Menschenketten (→*Körpereinsatz*). 2019 kam es zur →*Legalisierung* einiger Projekte. (AMM)

ZAD Notre-Dame-des-Landes, Ger. →*ZAD Notre-Dame-des-Landes*. The →*Autonomous Zone* close to Nantes is the best-known *zone à défendre* (zone to be defended) in France. The term is a détournement of *zone d'aménagement différé* (zone awaiting construction). Inhabitants of a 1,600-hectare area in Notre-Dame-des-Landes, many of them farmers, protested for decades against the construction of the airport Grand Ouest, which had been planned since the 1960s. In →*2007*, the first →*occupation* of a farmyard was established, and by 2018 there were almost 100 self-governed projects in the area, including agricultural operations with cattle and vegetable gardens, a bakery, a brewery, and the newspaper *ZAD News* (→*Media*). Existing buildings were converted on the principle of do-it-yourself construction, many new huts, so-called "cabanes," were created, reflecting the inventiveness of the "Zadists": combining all manner of shapes, building materials, and experimental construction methods. There are clay and pile dwellings as well as →*tree houses*, geodomes, floating huts, and inhabited →*towers* (→*Building types*). Partly violent attempts to evict the ZAD—for example in 2012 and 2018—led to nationwide declarations of solidarity (→*Acts of solidarity*). The occupiers erected →*barricades* from car tires and wooden pallets, →*blocked* →*streets* with their tractors, (→*Vehicles*) and formed long human chains (→*Body deployment*). In 2019, some of the projects were granted legal status (→*Legalization*). (AMM)

Zaffaraya, engl. →*Zaffaraya*. Die Initiative zum Bau einer linksautonomen Siedlung geht auf die Jugendproteste der Jahre 1980 bis 1982 zurück, als sich nicht nur in Zürich, sondern auch in Basel, Bern und anderen Städten der Schweiz eine Alternativkultur entwickelte (→*Züri brännt*). Zaffaraya entstand am 31. Juli →*1985* als „Freies Land Zaffaraya" auf dem ehemaligen Gaswerkareal in Bern, darin begrifflichpolitisch der „Freien Republik Wendland" verwandt (→*Gorleben*). Nach einer Räumung, Wiederansiedlung und Verschiebung mit städtischer Hilfe befindet sich die Siedlung heute – ohne offizielle Duldung – in einer Autobahnschleife. (OE)

Zaffaraya, Ger. →*Zaffaraya*. The initiative to build an autonomist settlement dates back to the protests by young people in 1980–82, when a counterculture developed not just in Zurich, but also in Basel, Bern, and other Swiss cities (→*Zurich youth protests*). Zaffaraya arose on July 31, →*1985*, as the "Free Land of Zaffaraya" on the grounds of a former gasworks in Bern. Its name is related conceptually and politically to the "Free Republic of Wendland" (→*Gorleben*). After being evicted, resettled, and relocated with municipal support, the settlement is now located on a highway junction, though with no official permission. (OE)

Zelt, engl. →*Tent*. Ein Zelt besteht aus Stoff oder einem anderen elastischen



rigen hinzuweisen. Engl.: Following the example of the →*Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, the →*Saturday Mothers (Cumartesi Anneleri)* met once a week for half an hour to draw attention to the fate of their abducted relatives, most of whom had been murdered. (OE)

1995 London, Adrian Fisk: Street Occupation, Sommer 1995. Eine der bekanntesten Aktionen von →*Reclaim the Streets* war die →*Besetzung* der Londoner Hauptverkehrsader A13 im Jahr 1996. Tausende blockierten die →*Straße* und verwandelten sie in eine große Partyzone. Engl.: One of the most famous actions of →*Reclaim the Streets* was the →*occupation* of the A13, London's main arterial, in 1996. Thousands blocked the →*street*, turning it into one big party zone. (JD)

1999 Derbyshire, Anna Badcock and Bob Johnston: Tree house with aerial rope walkway, 2008. Das Bild entstand während einer →*archäologischen Untersuchung* des →*Protestcamps*. Dabei konnte festgestellt werden, wie das Camp vor einer möglichen Räumung geschützt werden sollte. →*Endcliffe Protestcamp* Engl.: This picture was taken during an →*archaeological investigation* of the →*protest camp*, which helped to determine how the camp could be protected against a forced eviction. →*Endcliffe protest camp* (JD)

1999 Seattle, Paul Joseph Brown: Protesters in turtle costumes, WTO protests, 29. November 1999. Die Schildkröte wurde zum Symbol des Vorwurfs, die WTO stelle Unternehmensinteressen über soziale und ökologische Belange. →*Anti-Globalisierungs- / WTO-Proteste* Engl.: The turtle came to symbolize the accusation that the WTO was prioritizing corporate interests over social and ecological concerns. →*WTO Protests / Battle of Seattle* (JD)

2007 Notre-Dame-des-Landes, Immo Klink: ZAD, 4. Mai 2018. An der „route des chicanes" (deutsch: Straße der Schikanen), einer seit 2013 gesperrten →*Straße*, die das besetzte Gebiet der →*ZAD Notre-Dame-des-Landes* durchquerte, standen Hütten, Wachtürme (→*Turm*) und →*Barrikaden*. Die Forderung der Behörden, die Straße nach dem Ende der Flughafenplanungen 2018 freizuräumen, wurde in der Gemeinschaft der Protestierenden kontrovers diskutiert. Schließlich wurde die Straße freigegeben. Die ZAD besteht bis heute (2023). Engl.: Along the "route des chicanes" ("road of harassment"), a →*street* closed since 2013 that crossed the occupied area of the →*ZAD Notre-Dame-des-Landes*, huts, watchtowers (→*Tower*), and →*barricades* were erected. The authorities' call for the street to be unblocked after plans to build an airport were scrapped in 2018 was the subject of heated discussions among the community of protesters. Eventually, the road was unblocked. The ZAD still exists today (2023). (AMM)

2010 Westsahara (Western Sahara), Antonio Velázquez: Protest camp with khaimas, 2010. Die Verwendung von traditionellen →*Zelten* wurde zum Protestsymbol und war Ausdruck der saharauischen Identität und Kultur, die durch die marokkanische Besetzung der Westsahara bedroht war – etwa durch die Expansion von marokkanischen Siedlungen in Form von Hochhäusern und moderner →*Infrastruktur*. →*Gdeim Izik Protestcamp* Engl.: Traditional →*tents* became a protest symbol and an expression of Sahrawi identity and culture, which was threatened by the Moroccan occupation of Western Sahara—e.g., through the expansion of Moroccan settlements in the shape of high-rise buildings and modern →*infrastructure*. →*Gdeim Izik protest camp* (JD)

2011 Kairo (Cairo), Jonathan Rashad: Protestcamp, 9. Februar 2011. Während der „Revolution des 25. Januar" bauten Protestierende auf dem →*Tahrir-Platz* in Kairo eine labyrinthische Siedlung aus →*Zelten* und Planen. Engl.: During the "January 25 Revolution," protesters built a labyrinthine settlement consisting of →*tents* and tarpaulins on →*Tahrir Square* in Cairo. (AMM)

2011 Bahrain, bahrain.viewbook.com: Protestcamp, Bahrain, 13. März

long winter. After all, the simplest form of making a shelter is to swiftly bang together a few slats of wood in the shape of a tent in order to enjoy →protection underneath. The measurements reflect the materials we were able to lay our hands on: panes of glass from a building modernization project, wooden beams donated by various individuals, tools, and so on. We built with what was available and what we could afford, but we did so in an ecologically sound manner and largely using recycled materials, using wood and straw to oppose the tunnel of concrete and asphalt. Our objective was not to create an edifice for all eternity, as otherwise wood, straw, and glass would hardly have been our preferred choices. Rather we must construct symbols of resistance, of how to rethink and change things. The →tree houses in the →Hambach Forest, or the pyramid in the Lobau tunnel project desert—now they are images that will hopefully at some point document the path to successful social change as thousands of other flagship projects for a new ecological-social trajectory have already done the world over.

SH: The pyramid was then realized by many different people and groups. How did that take place?

A: We used tents to occupy the desert in September 2021 and first set about erecting a construction site shed where we could store our tools and where a few people could already sleep. The shed was itself insulated and there was a small stove to heat it, just as was to be the case later in the pyramid. I then calculated what material we would need for the pyramid, compiled lists of items, and even made a small model of it. We were largely gifted the construction material; and we were able to buy additional wooden panels with the money donated by supporters. All manner of different people chose to help build the pyramid and we were more or less able to rely on them; some of them formed the "Winterfest" (Ready for Winter) WhatsApp group. And at some point, Joe popped up; he said he could handle site management and he and others then coordinated the whole thing and assigned tasks to people. There was also a FLINTA group [NB: FLINTA stands for women, lesbians, as well as intersex, non-binary, trans, and agender people] who ensured that the construction effort, which is otherwise typically a male domain, was somewhat different in gender terms when it came to the pyramid. The structure was finished and ready for winter by December; sadly, it only stood there until early February, when it was torn down by a construction gang protected by the police. I'm so happy it remains a valid symbol of the Lobau protests, and that people remember it. That is precisely why we did not choose to simply build a normal hut. (Contribution by Norbert Mayr; conversation with: anonymous; introduction, research, and interview editing: SH)

Lock-on Device. Illustration aus dem Katalog *Disobedient Objects*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2014 (Lock-on device. Illustration from the catalog *Disobedient Objects*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2014)

Lock-on Device, engl. →*Lock-on device*. Vorrichtung, die dazu dient, sich durch →*Körpereinsatz* an etwas festzuketten mit dem Ziel, eine →*Blockade* zu bilden. Meist sind Lock-on Devices als Röhren konstruiert. Die Aktivist*innen strecken ihre Arme tief hinein und schern ihre Hände mit einer Art Handschelle. Die Ordnungskräfte können zur Handschelle im Innern des Rohrs (oder der →*Betonpyramide* von →*Gorleben*) nur vordringen, indem sie das Lock-on Device gewaltsam öffnen und damit die Verletzung der Aktivist*innen riskieren. Diese können sich aber, im Unterschied zur Blockadestrategie des →*Anklebens*, in einer Notlage relativ schnell selbst daraus befreien. (OE)

Lock-on device, Ger. →*Lock-on Device (fig.)*. Device used to chain yourself to something, as a form of →*body deployment*, with the goal of creating a →*blockade*. Usually, lock-on devices are designed as tubes. The activists stick their arms deep into the tube and secure their hands with a kind of handcuff. The authorities can only reach the handcuffs inside the tube (or the →*concrete pyramid* at →*Gorleben*) by using force to open the lock-on device, which risks harming the activists. Unlike the strategy of creating a blockade by →*super-gluing*, however, in an emergency, activists using these devices can free themselves relatively quickly. (OE)

Lützerath, engl. →*Lützerath*. Nachdem der letzte verbliebene Rest des →*Hambacher Waldes* durch die Proteste der Klimaaktivist*innen von der Rodung verschont werden konnte, entwickelte sich in Lützerath ein neues →*Protestcamp*. Das etwa 40 Kilometer vom Tagebau Hambach entfernte Lützerath zählt zu einer Reihe von Dörfern, die zum Abriss vorgesehen sind, um den Braunkohleabbau am Standort Garzweiler II auszuweiten – bevor dann ab 2038 endgültig keine Kohleverstromung in Deutschland mehr stattfinden soll.

Könnte nicht die →*Blockade* einer Tagebauerweiterung, die im „Hambi" nach jahrelangen Konflikten zum Erfolg geführt hatte, in Lützerath ein zweites Mal gelingen? Den Ausgangspunkt des zwischen Sommer → *2020* und Januar 2023 bestehenden Protestcamps bildete der Bauernhof von Eckardt Heukamp mit seinen Neben- und Nachbargebäuden, die zuletzt nur etwa 200 Meter von der Hangkante des Tagebaus Garzweiler II entfernt waren. Heukamp, dem letzten Bewohner von Lützerath, der nicht an RWE verkaufen wollte, drohte die Enteignung. Er erlaubte den Klimaaktivist*innen, auf seinem Grundstück ihr Camp aufzubauen. Als weitere Proteststrategie verkaufte er in der Hoffnung, damit eine weitere juristische Hürde gegen die →*Zerstörung* von Lützerath errichten zu können, eine Wiese an den Steuerberater Kurt Claßen, der zugleich der Grundeigentümer des „Wiesencamps" am Hambacher Wald ist.

Lützerath, Januar 2023. 1 Küfa (Küche für alle) 2 Paulas Hof 3 Eckardts Hof 4 „Wilde 8" 5 Villa 6 Skatehalle 7 Vorfeld 8 Tagebaukante 9 Polizeiparkplatz 10 Polizeiringstraße (Lützerath, January 2023. 1 Küfa (community kitchen) 2 Paula's Farm 3 Eckardt's Farm 4 "Wild 8" 5 Villa 6 Skate hall 7 Forefield 8 Open-pit edge 9 Police parking lot 10 Police ring road)

Charakteristisch für das Protestcamp Lützerath ist die Kombination aus →*Baumhäusern* und Bodenstrukturen. Da der Platz in Lützerath begrenzt war und bereits nach kurzer Zeit nahezu alle geeigneten Bäume mit Baumhäusern belegt waren, wurde mit den Bodenstrukturen ein neuer →*Bautypus* der Verzögerungsarchitektur erfunden. Diese am Boden stehenden, aber auf Stelzen oder Pfählen errichteten „Baumhäuser ohne Bäume" waren mindestens 2,50 Meter

hoch und hatten ein betretbares Dach. Denn für alle Räumungseinsätze in einer Höhe von mehr als 2,50 Metern muss die →*Polizei* Spezialkräfte aufbieten, die im Jargon der Aktivist*innen „Kletter-Cops" genannt werden. Da Höheninterventionsteams nur begrenzt zur Verfügung stehen, so kalkulierten die Besetzer*innen, wird der Räumungseinsatz in die Länge gezogen. Der Zeitgewinn kann für Solidaritätsdemonstrationen genutzt werden – oder dafür, durch die Medienberichterstattung über eine lange und sehr wahrscheinlich konfliktreiche Räumung einen Meinungsumschwung zu erreichen (→*Demonstration*, →*Medien*). Oft, das zeigen viele Beispiele, solidarisieren sich bei gewaltvollen Polizeieinsätzen viele bisher Unbeteiligte und eine Protestbewegung vergrößert sich (→*Solidaritätsgeste*, →*Gewalt*).

Auffällig ist, dass es zwar verschiedene, dicht gedrängte Siedlungsbereiche für Baumhäuser und Bodenstrukturen in Lützerath gab (etwa die „Reihenhaussiedlung", „Fantasialand" auf „Kurts Wiese" oder das „Wäldchen"), diese aber, so der Eindruck bei zwei Besuchen im Mai 2022 und Januar 2023, im Vergleich zu den →*Barrios* im Hambacher Wald einen weniger starken inneren Zusammenhalt haben. Viele der Bodenstrukturen wirkten im Januar 2023 – zwei Tage vor dem angekündigten Räumungstermin – gar nicht dauerhaft bewohnt, sondern wurden offenbar mit dem Ziel errichtet, sie erst im Falle der Räumung zu beziehen. Diese Vermutung stützt sich auf die Beobachtung, dass an einigen Bauten Formulare hingen, auf denen abgefragt wurde, ob sich dort jemand dauerhaft aufhalte und wie hoch die maximalen Kapazitäten zur Unterbringung seien.

Die Vielzahl der augenscheinlich für den Bedarfsfall auf Vorrat (so die These) errichteten Verzögerungsarchitekturen hängt wohl auch damit zusammen, dass viele Besetzer*innen bis zur Räumung in den zahlreichen Bestandsbauten in Lützerath unterkommen konnten. Neben „Eckardts Hof" gab es noch „Paulas Hof", die „Villa", „Die wilde 8" (ein „U40-Bereich – Safe Space für junge Menschen") sowie mit Stroh gefüllte Scheunen (Helten, Wertgen 2022).

Der Außenbereich war in Zonen mit jeweils speziellen Gebäuden gegliedert: Auf einer Wiese stand der etwa 15 Meter hohe Tower (→*Turm*), das höchste Gebäude von Lützerath, unter dessen weit aufgespannten Planen Plenumssitzungen stattfanden. Neben dem Tower entstand die Fahrradwerkstatt, das „brennende Jobcenter" (eine Art Info-Pavillon), ein Zelt mit Klavier sowie mehrere Bodenstrukturen als Kleinstwohnbauten. Die Küfa (Küche für alle) befand sich in den großen Blechscheunen. Eine andere Scheune diente als Atelier oder als Skatehalle, die auch für Klettertrainings genutzt wurde.

Wichtiger Anlaufpunkt und rechtlich abgesicherter Anker war die „Mahnwache", ein Wohnwagen an der Straße, die zwischen Lützerath und der Hangkante des Tagebaus lag. Eine Bauaufnahme der RWTH Aachen (Helten, Wertgen 2022) aus dem Oktober 2022 verzeichnet zusätzlich zu den 29 Baumhäusern und 11 Bodenstrukturen noch eine Vielzahl von Kleinarchitekturen: First Aid Zelt, „Awareness Kiosk", Badezimmer, Müll-Station, COVID-Room, Corona-Testcenter, „Hock-Piss-Klo", Gemeinschaftswaschbecken.

Im Januar 2023 war eine Reihe weiterer Bauten hinzugekommen. Am Sonntag, den 8. Januar, fand der zweite Besuch des Teams der *Protest/Architektur*-Ausstellung in Lützerath statt. Diesmal ging es darum, in Gesprächen mit Aktivist*innen zu klären, unter welchen Umständen eine Bodenstruktur namens „Rotkœlchen" als Exponat für die Ausstellung gerettet werden könnte. An diesem Tag, knapp 48 Stunden bevor mit der Räumung zu rechnen war, prägte die Errichtung von →*Barrikaden* und →*Tripods* die Eindrücke. Lützerath wurde quasi von innen nach außen gestülpt, indem überall die befestigten Wege zwischen den Höfen entpflastert und aus den Beton-Knochensteinen (Doppel-T-Verbundpflaster) barrikadenartige Befestigungen aufgetürmt wurden. Die bestehenden →*Traversen*, also Brücken aus Kletterseilen (→*Seile*), wurden durch mehrere Tripods ergänzt, in denen sich jeweils Menschen einhängen konnten. Es wäre möglich gewesen, von Tripod zu Tripod zu gelangen, ohne den Boden zu berühren.

Lützerath, Januar 2023. 1 Mahnwache 2 Tower 3 „Reihenhaussiedlung" 4 Fantasialand 5 Rotkœlchen 6 Wäldchen 7 Zeltwiese (Lützerath, January 2023. 1 Protest vigil 2 Tower 3 "Terraced house settlement" 4 Fantasy Land 5 Rotkœlchen 6 Little forest 7 Tent meadow)

Die Polizei hatte unterdessen ein effektives System von Straßen und Aufstellflächen rund um das Dorf geschaffen, um mit Einsatz- und Räumungsfahrzeugen zügig anrücken zu können: eine geschotterte Polizei-Ringstraße zur Einkreisung von Lützerath.

Die Räumung fand unter großer medialer Aufmerksamkeit statt. Die Anzahl der Live-Reportagen, Features und Sonderberichte dürfte das mediale Echo der Räumungsaktion im Hambacher Wald übertroffen haben. Der Polizeieinsatz selbst kann an dieser Stelle nur aus der Distanzperspektive intensiver Mediennutzung wiedergegeben werden. Bei aller Vorsicht, aus einer bequemen Warte zu Urteilen zu gelangen, sei doch festgestellt, was auch durch Auskünfte von Aktivist*innen bestätigt wird: Die Räumung konnte viel zu schnell abgeschlossen werden. Sie begann am Dienstagmorgen und war am Samstag weitgehend beendet. Die diversen Verzögerungsstrategien hatten sich angesichts des großen Polizeiaufgebots als relativ uneffektiv erwiesen. Ein erst während der Räumung entdeckter →*Tunnel*, aus dem sich die beiden Aktivist*innen Pinky und Brain per Video meldeten, sorgte für den längsten Aufschub.

Als die Räumung begann, startete der Versuch, das Rotkœlchen zu retten. Die Bodenstruktur stand im Fantasialand, hatte eine Grundfläche von ca. 6 Quadratmetern und eine Höhe von ca. 5 Metern. Zwischen den Aktivist*innen und dem DAM war ein Leihvertrag geschlossen worden, der erst dann gegenüber der Polizei zum Einsatz gebracht werden sollte, wenn die Besetzer*innen bereit für die Übergabe sind. Am Rotkœlchen wurde ein Denkmalschild angebracht, mit einer Handynummer und der Bitte an die Polizei, das DAM zu verständigen.

Am Mittwochnachmittag, 11. Januar, klingelte im Architekturmuseum das Telefon: Die Polizei sei jetzt im Fantasialand, meinte ein Aktivist, unser Leihvertrag könnte die Räumung verzögern. Also wird ein Amtshilfeersuchen per Telefax an die zuständige Polizei in Aachen abgeschickt. Am Donnerstag bekommt der Polizeipräsident von Aachen das Amtshilfeersuchen vorgelegt, der daraufhin meint: „Wollen die mich verarschen?" (Eberle 2023). Es wird viel telefoniert: mit Aktivist*innen, die sich noch im Rotkœlchen aufhalten und mit einem freien Journalisten, der einen Kommunikationsbeamten der Polizei mit dem Museumsteam verbindet. Später ruft die Polizei zurück: Das Rotkœlchen sei jetzt leer, ein Absperrband zur Sicherung wolle man aber nicht anbringen, zuständig sei nun der Eigentümer, also der RWE-Konzern. Darauf ein Anruf bei der Leiterin der Konzernkommunikation, Stephanie Schunck, die kein Interesse zeigt, sich für den Erhalt der Bodenstruktur zu engagieren. Am Freitagnachmittag schreibt der Leiter der RWE-Rechtsab-

teilung, Elmar Schweers, er könne „zum derzeitigen Zeitpunkt weder nachvollziehen, mit wem Sie einen etwaigen Leihvertrag am vergangenen Sonntag haben abschließen können, noch, ob die jeweiligen Personen berechtigt waren, über die von Ihnen beschriebene Behausung zu verfügen." Zu diesem Zeitpunkt stand das Rotkœlchen noch unversehrt auf der Wiese, versichern Journalist*innen vor Ort. Andere Bodenstrukturen hingegen wurden teils durch die Polizei, teils durch RWE sofort zerstört.

Damit war die Rotkœlchen-Aktion eigentlich gescheitert. Am Samstagnachmittag klingelt jedoch wieder das Telefon. Eine Gruppe aus dem Umfeld des Towers, der zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch besetzt ist, meldet sich: Ob das DAM vielleicht versuchen könnte, den Tower zu retten? Dieser ist zwar wegen seiner vielen Abspannungen bautechnisch sogar noch interessanter, würde aber in jeder Hinsicht jeden Rahmen sprengen: Für die Ausstellung in Frankfurt wäre er zu groß, zu kompliziert, zu teuer in der Handhabung. Die Verzweiflung in Lützerath ist groß, jeder Aufschub ist ein Strohhalm. Schließlich wird vereinbart, dass das DAM sich per Social Media an die Öffentlichkeit wendet und die Rettung von Rotkœlchen und Tower fordert. Stunden später sind beide zerstört, ein Video vom Abriss des Towers wird auf Twitter 1,2 Millionen Mal angeschaut (Laquer 2023). Am Montag läuft die Meldung über dpa: „Architekturmuseum wollte Hütte aus Lützerath für Ausstellung". *DLF Kultur* bittet zum Interview. Am Donnerstag, 19. Januar, mokiert sich der *FAZ*-Herausgeber Jürgen Kaube über die Rotkœlchen-Aktion: „Kulturgüter, hieß es, darf man nicht kaputt schlagen. Nur mit Erbsensuppe übergießen, müsste ergänzt werden, darf man sie schon" (Kaube 2023).

Am selben Tag gelingt es, diesmal mit Unterstützung der Polizei, in Frankfurt ein Relikt aus der →*Besetzung* des →*Fechenheimer Waldes* zu bergen: Die Spitze eines →*Monopods* wandert ins Museum. In den folgenden Monaten wird versucht, mit den Aktivist*innen abzustimmen, wie ihr Protestgerät in der Ausstellung gezeigt werden kann. Es soll nicht der Eindruck entstehen, dass das DAM nun eine Art Trophäe zeigen oder sich ohne Anerkennung der unendlich mühevollen Besetzungsarbeit auf relativ einfache Weise mit einem Objekt schmücken kann, das in einem Museum notwendigerweise aus dem Zusammenhang seiner Entstehung herausgerissen wird.

In einer E-Mail schildert Morsch, einer der Besetzer des Rotkœlchens, seine Geschichte:

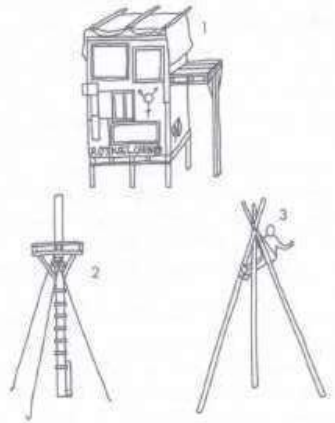
Am Donnerstagmorgen kam ein Kommunikations-Cop auf uns zu und wollte mit uns reden. Der Cop wollte wissen, ob die Struktur, auf der wir saßen, das Rotkœlchen ist. Wir haben ihn dann auf das Schild und den Kontakt hingewiesen und er meinte es sähe danach aus, dass das Rotkœlchen stehen bleiben könnte. Was soll ich sagen, eine halbe Stunde später haben sie uns die Tür eingetreten und mit Brechstangen die hintere Fassade abgelöst. Wir waren natürlich längst über den 2,50 m bzw. im oberen Stockwerk und hatten die Klappe dazwischen vernagelt.

Wir haben immer wieder auf das Schild im Fenster und die Aussage des Kommunikations-Cops hingewiesen, aber stur wurde weiter abgerissen. Ein Cop sagte, als er das Schild dann doch mal anguckte, dass Kunst ja Ansichtssache wäre. Kommunikation wie mit einer Wand. Irgendwann war es denen dann offensichtlich genug und sie haben unsere Sachen im unteren Stockwerk durchwühlt und Teile mitgenommen. Aber immerhin die Struktur nicht weiter angegriffen.

Abends haben wir dann die Segel gestrichen. Als Bedingung fürs freiwillige Absteigen haben wir verlangt, nochmal mit den Kommunikations-Cops sprechen zu können. Diese zu besorgen hat bestimmt eine Stunde gedauert. Als sie dann da waren, wurde uns gesagt, dass die E-Mail bzw. dein Kontakt als Fake entlarvt wurde und niemand wüsste, welcher Kommunikations-Cop mit uns morgens gesprochen hätte. Daraufhin hab' ich die Visitenkarte [des DAM] weitergegeben, und ich denke, ihr habt dann telefoniert. Auf jeden Fall ging das ziemlich lange hin und her, und einige Menschen wurden angerufen. Das Ganze wurde auch von einem solidarischen Presse-Menschen begleitet und unterstützt. Am Ende hieß es, RWE sei in der Verantwortung, aber dass es gut aussehe für das Rotkœlchen. Dann sind wir gegangen.

Um weitere Stimmen aus Lützerath wiederzugeben, wurden Annika Reiß und Aron Boks zu kurzen Texten eingeladen, die sich für eine *taz*-Kolumne zwei Wochen im Protestcamp aufhielten und täglich von dort berichtet haben. Zuerst schreibt Annika Reiß, Journalistin und Klimaaktivistin:

Wie besetzt man ein Dorf? Ein ganzes Dorf mit Häusern, Straßen, Scheunen und Äckern? Ich bin langjährige Klimaaktivistin und berichtete aus der Besetzung Lützeraths als Journalistin. Beide Rollen haben gemein, sich sehr detailliert mit der Umgebung auseinanderzusetzen, entweder um über sie berichten zu können oder um einen erfolgreichen Protest zu organisieren. Waldbesetzungen habe ich in den letzten Jahren viele erlebt und einige der zentralen Elemente dieser Besetzungen – besetzte Plattformen, Baumhäuser, Barrios (kleine „Dörfer" mit ein paar besetzten Strukturen) und →Banner, die immer und überall an diesen und weitere Proteste erinnern – waren auch in Lützerath zu finden. Die Baumhäuser, die in einer Höhe von fünf bis zehn Metern gebaut wurden, haben für mich einen Konflikt illustriert, der in Lützerath oft auftrat. Sie stehen für manche Menschen in erster Linie für ein bestimmtes Lebensgefühl. Die Vorstellung, auf kleinem Raum in der Höhe zu leben, wirkt auf den ersten Blick wie ein cooler Ausdruck von Freiheit und vom Abwenden von gesellschaftlichen Konventionen, was dazu einlädt, es zu romantisieren. Klar, ich wünschte mir auch, dass das die ganze Wahrheit wäre. Dabei ist die Besetzung einer Struktur in der Höhe ein zentrales Element des Protests. Sie ist schwierig zu räumen und bedarf rein rechtlich viel mehr Sicherheitsvorkehrungen als eine Räumung am Boden. In Wirklichkeit hat das nichts mit Romantik zutun. Die kleinen Hüttenansammlungen auf Äckern und Wiesen in Lützerath waren fast alle viele Meter in die Höhe gebaut. Während der Räumung harrten Menschen auf Dächern, an Traversen und auf Plattformen in den riesigen Hangars und Scheunen aus. Im Regen. Stundenlang.



Lützerath. 1 Rotkœlchen, Pfahlbau 2 Monopod 3 Tripod (Lützerath. 1 Rotkœlchen, pile dwelling 2 Monopod 3 Tripod)

*Es ist leicht zu vergessen, welch strategisch wichtige Rolle es spielt, wie und wo man baut, wie man das sehr begrenzte →Baumaterial nutzt, das für eine Besetzung zur Verfügung steht. Es ist wichtig zu betonen, dass das Leben bei einer Besetzung nicht ausschließlich aufregend und lustig ist und dass wir als Besetzer*innen nicht einfach nur unser inneres Kind ausleben. Das ist der Konflikt. Wir müssen rational vorgehen und befinden uns in einer ernsten, manchmal sogar gefährlichen Situation. Warum sonst schlug mein Herz so stark, dass ich dachte es muss jemand hören, als ich das Dorf – an zwanzig Polizeitransportern, Polizeipferden und Räumpanzern vorbei – zum letzten Mal verließ.*

Aron Boks, Journalist und Autor, blieb noch einige Stunden länger:

Ich weiß nicht, ob Sie vorhaben, bald mal ein Haus zu besetzen (→Hausbesetzung), aber ich möchte Ihnen von

*einem Erlebnis erzählen. Über zwei Wochen habe ich mit Klimaaktivist*innen in einem Haus in einem besetzten Dorf gelebt. Ich habe dort in Zivil für eine Zeitung Tagebuch geschrieben, weil mich vor allem dieses aufregende Leben dort interessierte. Besetzungen kannte ich nur aus Jörg Fausers Gedichten oder Ton-Steine-Scherben-Songs (→ Musik). Es war alles weniger romantisch. Aber etwas, das in dem Haus in Lützerath daran erinnerte, war ein obligatorisches Zitat an einer Wand im Badezimmer: „Das ist unser Haus". Einer von tausend Sprüchen, der sich mit anderen Kurzmitteilungen wie „Ich liebe es, wie Lützi lebt" oder Dringlichkeiten wie „Räumt auf ihr Arschkrampen!" an allen Ecken des besetzten Bauernhauses zu einem riesigen Notizbuch verwebte.*

Und jeden Morgen habe ich darüber nachgedacht, ob ich diese Wand auch mit einem Spruch versehen sollte und es auf später verschoben. Es fühlte sich seltsam an. Vielleicht weil die Wand doch eh zerstört würde, dachte ich dann und fühlte mich einmal mehr als Gast. So lief das auch am letzten Morgen vor der Räumung ab. Dann ging ein Alarm los und wenig später sah ich am besetzten Haus schwarz gekleidete Leute mit Helmen und Schilden auf andere schwarz gekleidete Leute einknüppeln. Ich sah Steine, Flaschen und noch mehr Knüppelschläge und was weiß ich noch alles – eigentlich habe ich das nur aus dem Augenwinkel beobachten können, da ich vor lauter Angst keine einzige Sekunde das Haus verteidigen wollte und einfach weggerannt bin. Zuflucht fand ich in einer Holzhütte bei einer Gruppe, deren krassestes „Aktionslevel" darin bestand, sich hinzusetzen und ein Protestlied auf die Melodie von „Hejo, spann den Wagen an" zu singen. Ein paar Stunden später hat mich ein Polizist aus dem Dorf gezerrt. Keine Ahnung, was mit diesen Sätzen an den Wänden passiert ist.

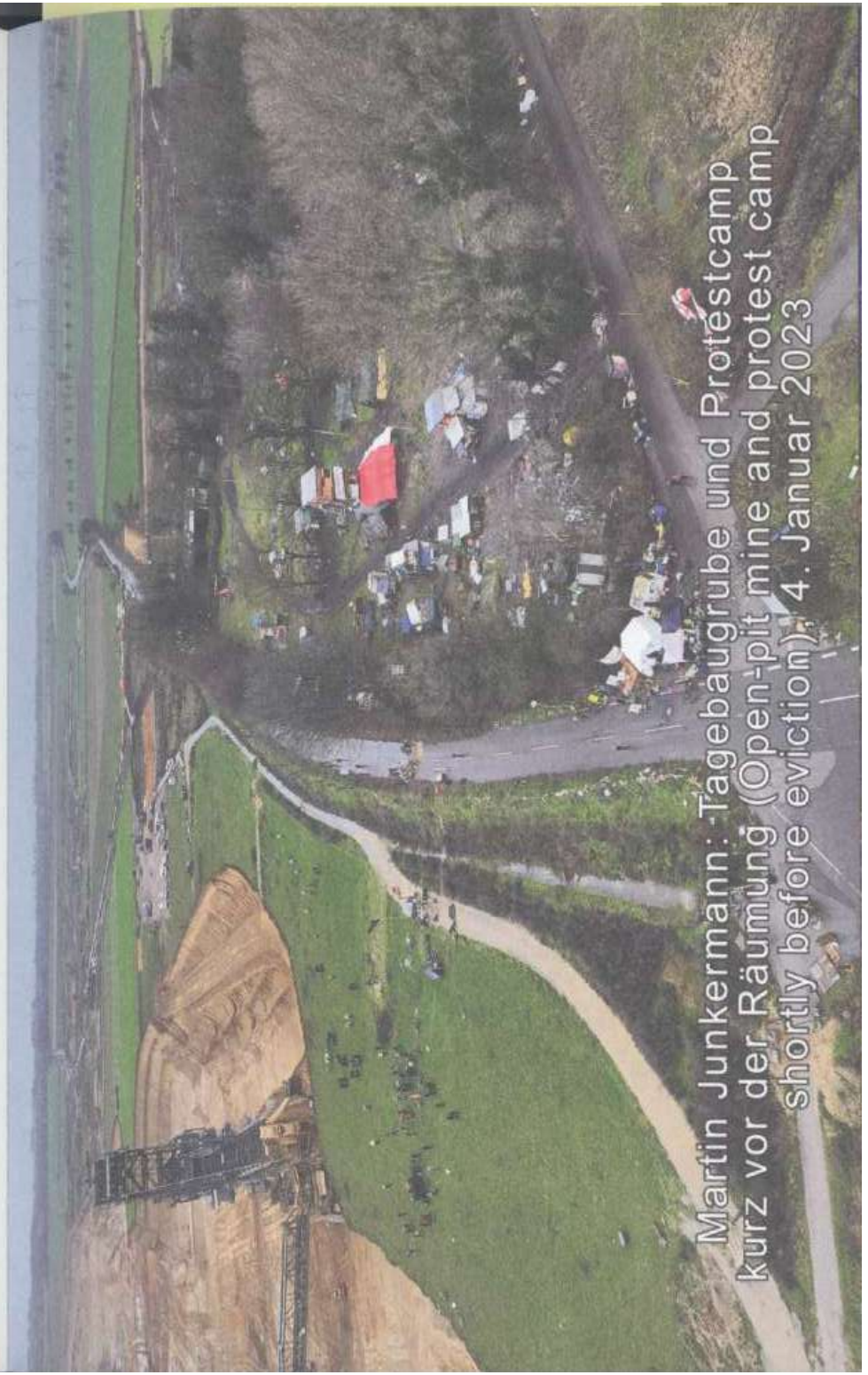
Ich weiß zwar nicht viel über Besetzungen, aber zumindest, dass die Dinge dort anders laufen als in der Welt drumherum. Ein leerstehendes Haus wird zum Protestobjekt, eine Wand zeitgleich Poesiealbum, Notizheft, schwarzes Brett und zu etwas, das mit allen Menschen im Haus spricht. Mit denen, die es bewohnen und denen, die es zerstören.

Wenn Sie also vorhaben, bald mal ein Haus zu besetzen, rate ich Ihnen immer einen Edding dabei zu haben. Allein weil man dann etwas alltagsungewöhnliches machen kann – Wände beschmieren, obwohl Sie Gast sind. Weil gleichzeitig niemand Gast ist. (Beiträge von Morsch, Annika Reiß, Aron Boks; Text und Recherche: OE)

Lützerath, Ger. → *Lützerath*. After the last remaining part of → *Hambach Forest* could be spared from clearing due to the protests of climate activists, a new → *protest camp* developed in Lützerath. Located about forty kilometers from the Hambach open-pit mine, Lützerath is one of a series of villages slated for demolition in order to expand lignite mining at the Garzweiler II site—before coal-fired power generation is to be phased out in Germany by 2038.

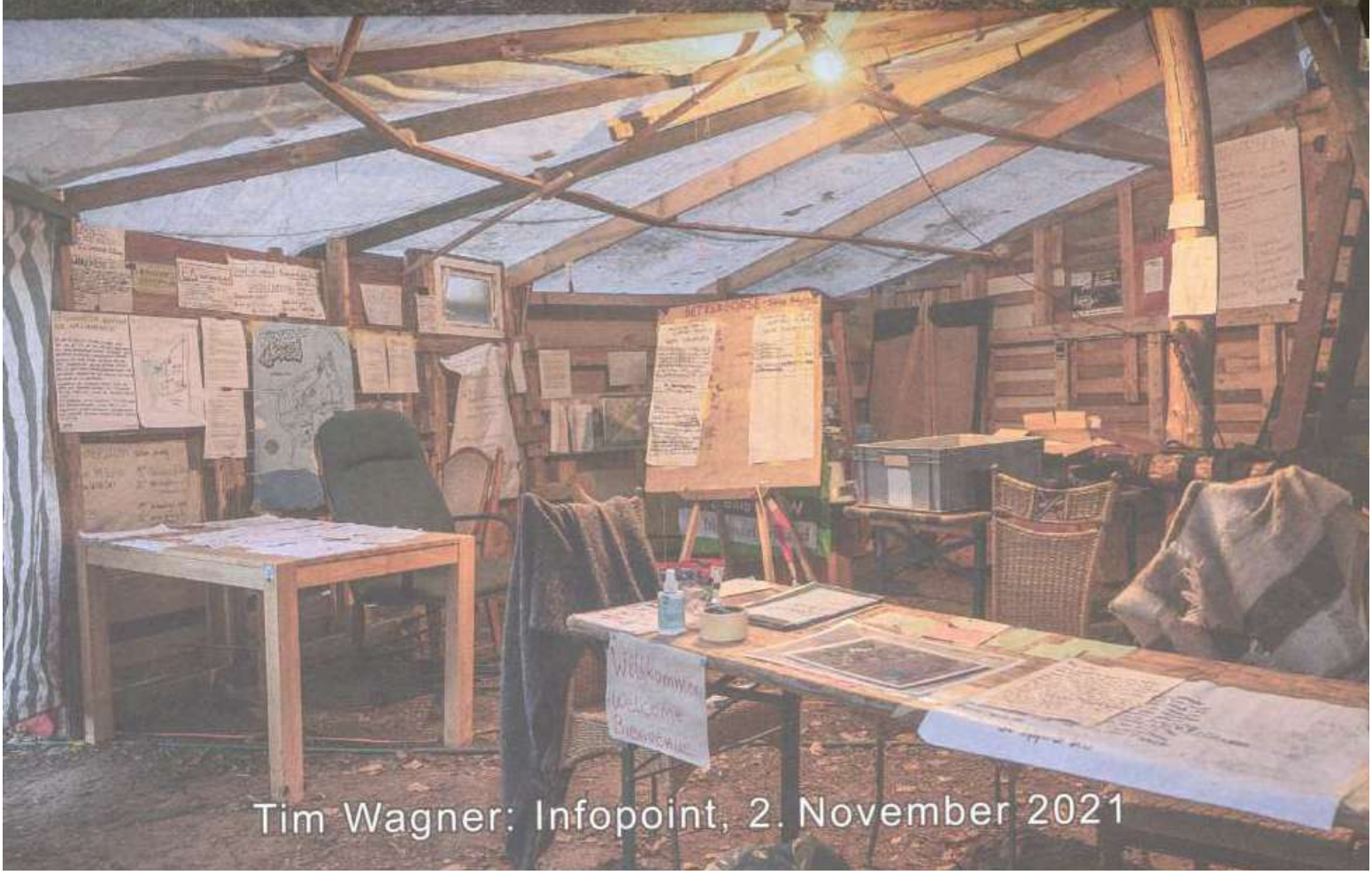
Couldn't the → *blockade* of an open-pit mine extension, which had led to success in "Hambi" after years of conflict, succeed a second time in Lützerath? The starting point of the protest camp, which existed between the summer of → *2020* and January 2023, was the farm of Eckardt Heukamp, with its annexes and neighboring buildings, the last of which were located only about 200 meters from the edge of the slope of the Garzweiler II open-pit mine. Heukamp, the last resident of Lützerath who did not want to sell to RWE, was threatened with expropriation. He allowed the climate activists to set up their camp on his property. As a further protest strategy, he sold a meadow to the tax consultant Kurt Claßen, who is also the landowner of the "Meadow Camp" at Hambach Forest, in the hope that this would create another legal hurdle for the → *destruction* of Lützerath.

The protest camp at Lützerath is characterized by its combination of → *tree houses* and ground-based structures. Since the space in Lützerath was limited and nearly all the suitable trees

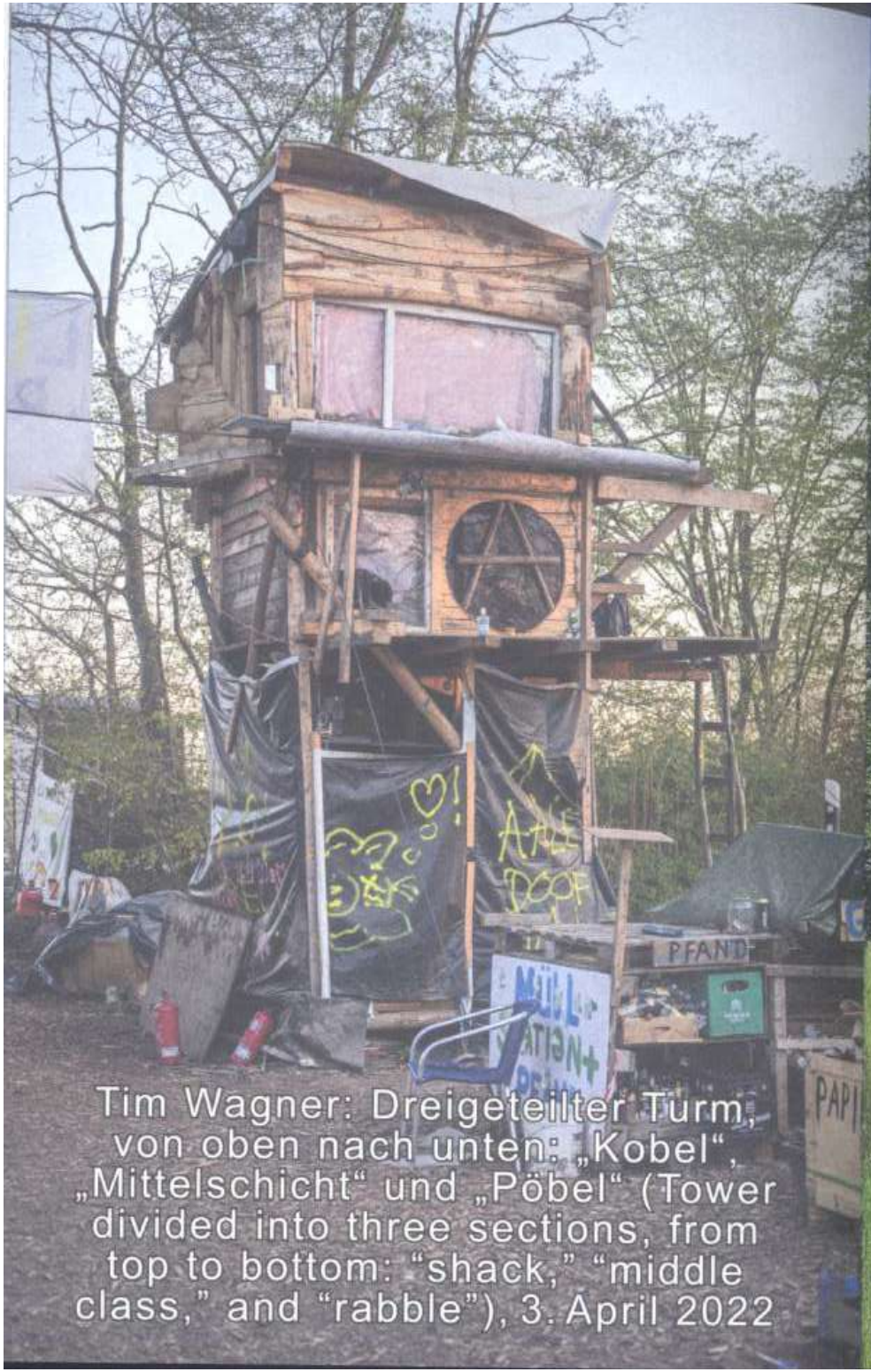


Martin Junkermann: Tagebaugrube und Protestcamp kurz vor der Räumung (Open-pit mine and protest camp shortly before eviction), 4. Januar 2023

Tim Wagner: Bau des Towers auf der Zeltwiese (Construction of the Tower on the tent meadow), 12. November 2022

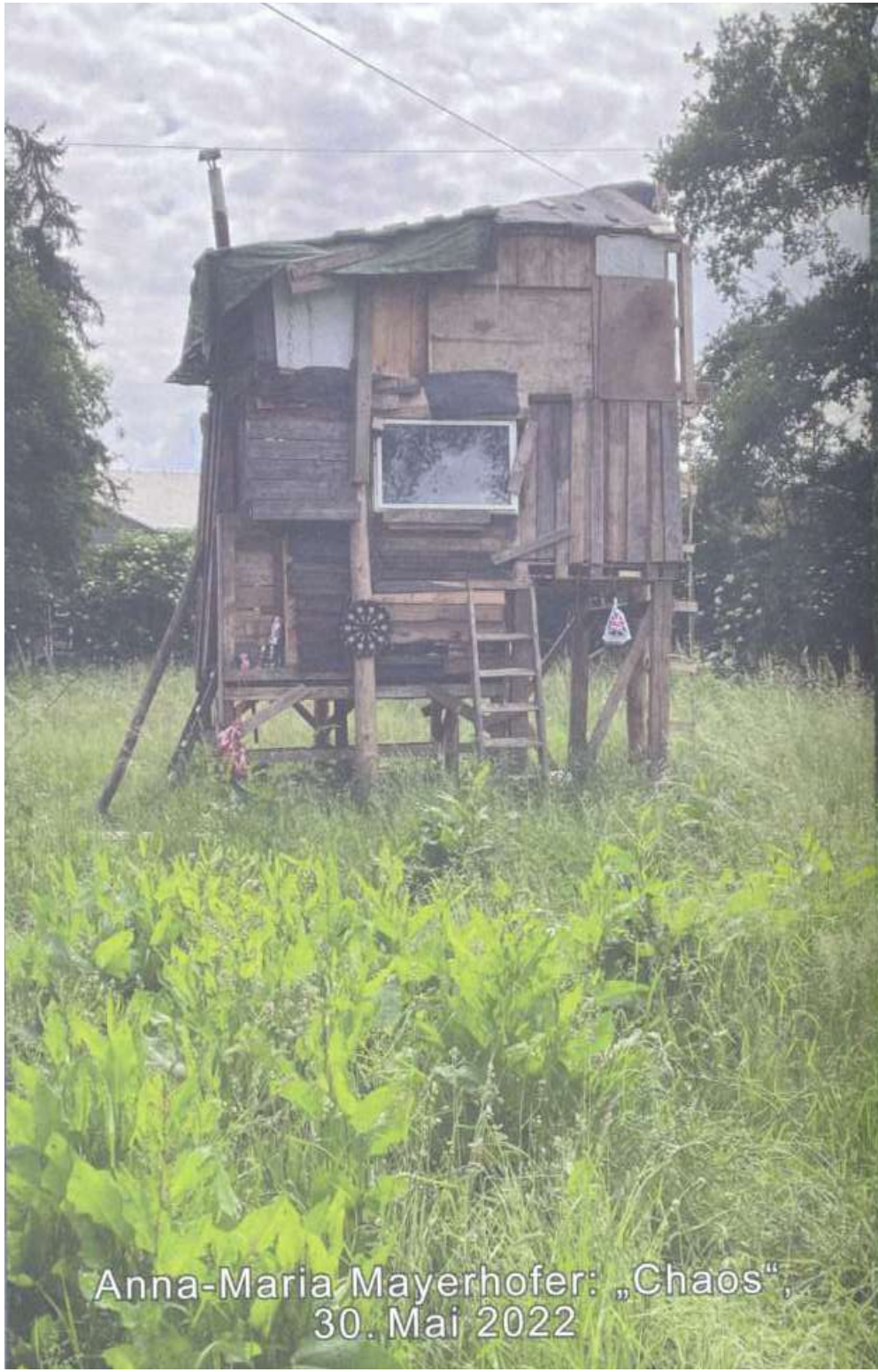


Tim Wagner: Infopoint, 2. November 2021



Tim Wagner: Dreigeteilter Turm, von oben nach unten: „Kobel“, „Mittelschicht“ und „Pöbel“ (Tower divided into three sections, from top to bottom: “shack,” “middle class,” and “rabble”), 3. April 2022

Oliver Elser: „Schloss“ (“Castle”), 30. Mai 2022

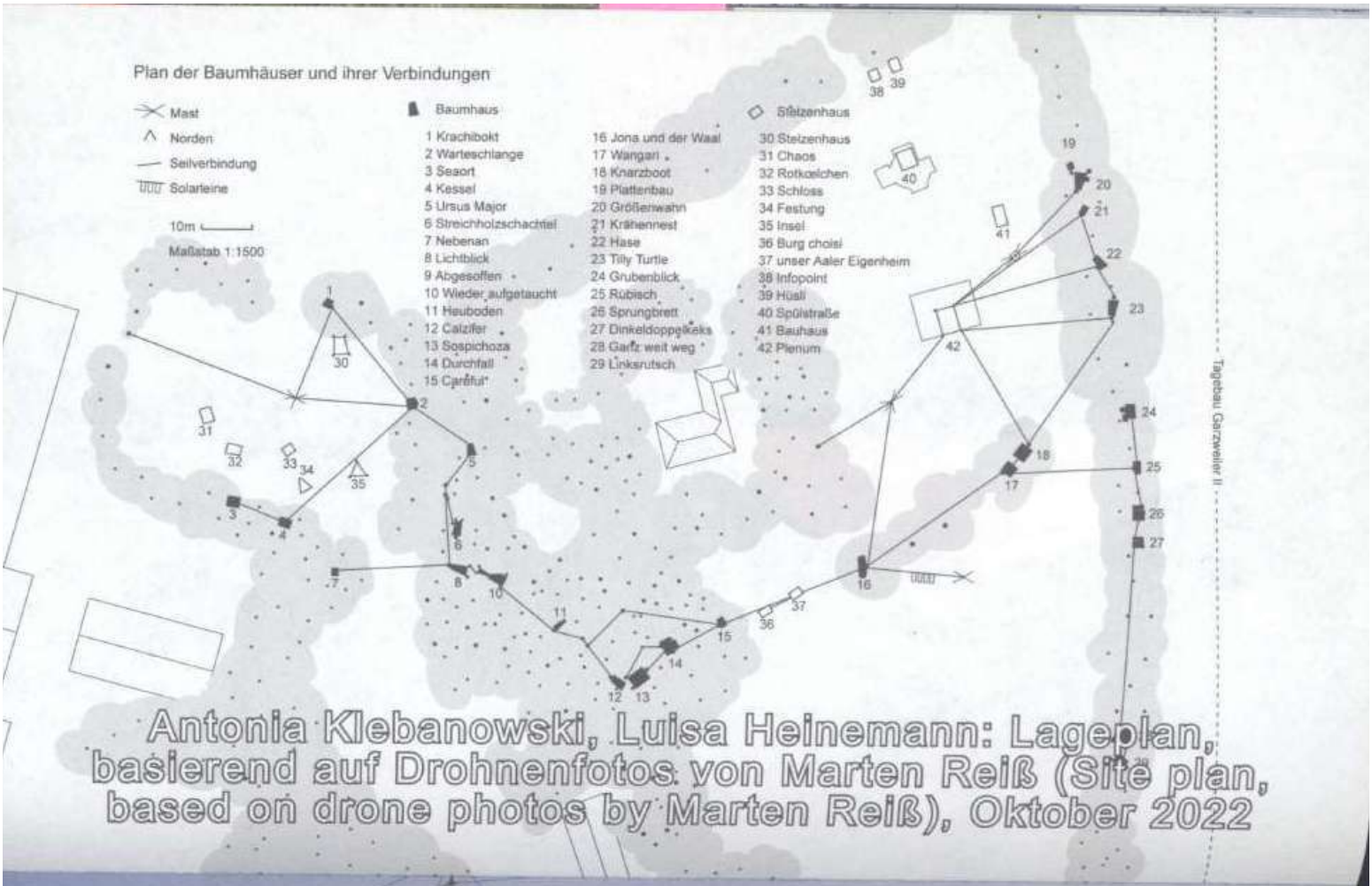


Anna-Maria Mayerhofer: „Chaos“, 30. Mai 2022

Anna-Maria Mayerhofer: „Rotkœlchen“, 30. Mai 2022

Thomas Victor: „Rotkœlchen“ kurz vor der Räumung (“Rotkœlchen” shortly before eviction), 11. Januar 2023

Anna-Maria Mayerhofer: Zeltwiese mit Tower und „Reihenhaussiedlung“ (Tent meadow with Tower and “terraced house settlement”), 8. Januar 2023

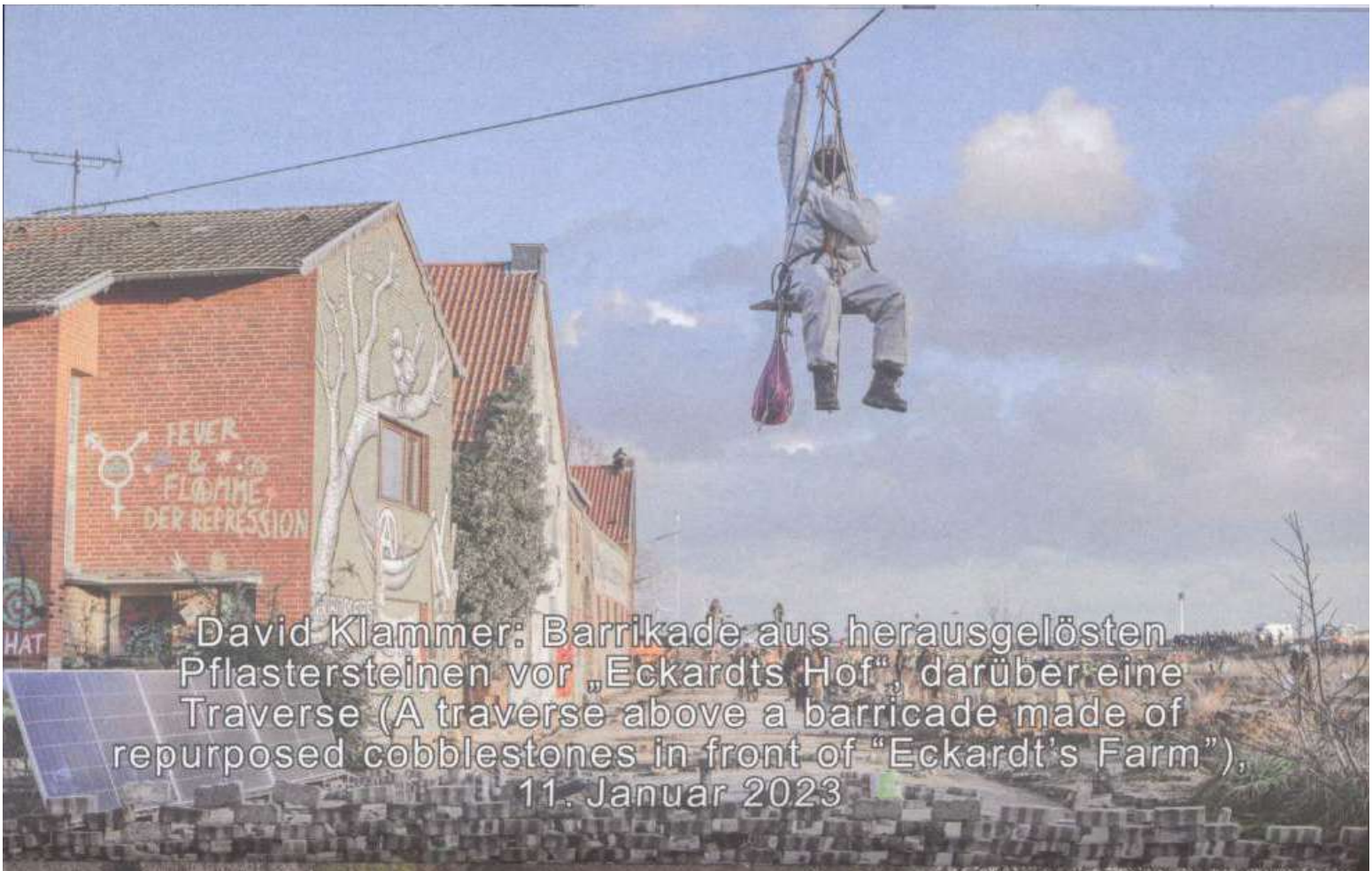


Antonia Klebanowski, Luisa Heinemann: Lageplan, basierend auf Drohnenfotos von Marten Reiß (Site plan, based on drone photos by Marten Reiß), Oktober 2022

Tim Wagner: Barrio „Fantasialand“ (Barrio “Fantasy Land”), 11. Januar 2023

David Klammer: Camp-Eingang mit Lock-on Device (Camp entrance with lock-on device), 11. Januar 2023

Tim Wagner: Barrikade aus Containern und Wohnwagen in „Eckardts Hof" (Barricade made of containers and camper van in "Eckardt's Farm"), 11. Januar 2023



David Klammer: Barrikade aus herausgelösten Pflastersteinen vor „Eckardts Hof", darüber eine Traverse (A traverse above a barricade made of repurposed cobblestones in front of "Eckardt's Farm"), 11. Januar 2023

Tim Wagner: Tripods und Monopods während der Räumung (Tripods and monopods during eviction), 11. Januar 2023

were quickly occupied by tree houses, a new →*building type* of "delaying architecture" was invented in the form of ground-based structures. These "tree houses without trees," standing on the ground but erected on stilts, were at least 2.5 meters high and had roofs that could be walked on, since for all eviction operations at a height of more than 2.5 meters, the →*police* have to call in special units known as "climbing cops" in the parlance of the activists. Due to the limited availability of these height intervention teams, this strategy is intended to draw out the eviction operation. The time gained through this can be used for solidarity demonstrations or for swaying public opinion through media coverage of a long and likely conflict-ridden eviction (→*Demonstration*, →*Media*). Countless examples show that violent police interventions can spark feelings of solidarity in people who previously had no connection with a protest movement, helping the movement to grow (→*Acts of solidarity*, →*Violence*).

It is striking that though there were various densely packed settlement areas for tree houses and ground-based structures in Lützerath (such as the "row house complex," "Fantasy Land" on "Kurt's Meadow," or the "Grove"), these have—according to the impression gained during two visits in May 2022 and January 2023—less internal cohesion than the →*barrios* in Hambach Forest. In January 2023, just two days before the announced eviction date, many of the structures on the ground did not appear to be permanently inhabited at all, but had evidently been built in order to be occupied only in the event of eviction. This assumption is based on the observation that some of the structures had sheets of paper stuck to them asking whether anyone was residing in them permanently and how many people they could accommodate.

The large amount of "delaying architecture" structures, which seemed to have been erected purely for the event of an eviction (according to the hypothesis), probably also had to do with the fact that prior to the eviction, many occupiers were able to find accommodation in the numerous existing buildings in Lützerath. In addition to "Eckardt's Farm," there was also "Paula's Farm," the "Villa," the "Wild 8" (an "area for people under forty—or safe space for young people"), and barns filled with bales of straw (Helten, Wertgen 2022).

The outdoor area was divided into zones, each with special buildings: on a meadow stood the approximately fifteen-meter-high tower (→*Tower*), the tallest building in Lützerath, under whose vast tarpaulins plenary sessions were held. Next to the Tower, a bicycle workshop was set up, along with the "burning job center" (a kind of information pavilion), a tent with a piano, and several ground-based tiny houses for accommodation. The community kitchen was located in the large sheet-metal barns. Another barn served as a studio or as a skate hall, which was also used for climbing training.

An important contact and anchor point, which also enjoyed legal recognition, was the "protest vigil," comprised of a camper van parked on the road between Lützerath and the sloping edge of the open-pit mine. A construction survey by RWTH Aachen University (Helten and Wertgen 2022) from October 2022 records a variety of small-scale architecture in addition to the twenty-nine tree houses and eleven ground-based structures: a first aid tent, an "awareness kiosk," a bathroom, a garbage station, a COVID isolation room, a Corona test center, a "squat piss toilet," and a community washbasin.

In January 2023, a number of other buildings were added. On Sunday, January 8, the second visit by the team from the protest exhibition took place in Lützerath. This time the aim was to talk with activists to ascertain the circumstances under which a ground-based structure called "Rotkœlchen" could be saved as an exhibit for the show. On this day, barely forty-eight hours before the expected eviction, the scene was dominated by the action of erecting →*barricades* and →*tripods*. Lützerath was virtually turned inside out, with the paved paths between the farms being torn up to build barricade-like fortifications from interlocking concrete pavers. The existing →*traverses*, comprising bridges made of climbing ropes (→*Ropes*), were supplemented by several tripods inside of which people could be suspended. Making it possible to move from tripod to tripod without touching the ground.

Meanwhile, the police had created an effective system of roads and staging areas around the village so that emergency and evacuation vehicles could move in quickly: a gravel police ring road enabling them to encircle Lützerath.

The eviction was accompanied by great media attention. The number of live reports, features, and special reports probably exceeded the media coverage of the eviction in Hambach Forest. The police operation itself can only be recounted here from the distant perspective of intensive media use. With all due caution in making judgments from the comfort of an external vantage point, what can nevertheless be noted—and was also confirmed by information from activists—is that the eviction was able to be completed far too quickly. It began on Tuesday morning and was largely over by Saturday. The various delaying strategies had proved relatively ineffective in the face of the large police contingent. A →*tunnel*, which was only discovered during the eviction and from which the two activists Pinky and Brain reported via video, caused the longest delay.

When the eviction began, the attempt to save the Rotkœlchen got underway. The ground-based structure was located in Fantasy Land, had a floor space of about six square meters and a height of around five meters. A loan agreement had been made between the activists and the DAM, which was not to be presented to the police until the occupants were ready for the handover. A provisional monument plaque was attached to the Rotkœlchen, with a cell phone number and a request for the police to contact the DAM.

On Wednesday afternoon, January 11, the phone rang in the architecture museum: the police are now in Fantasy Land, an activist said, and that our loan agreement could delay the eviction. So a request for administrative assistance was sent by fax to the relevant police department in Aachen. On Thursday, the request for administrative assistance is presented to the chief of police of Aachen, whose response is: "Are they kidding me?" (Eberle 2023). A lot of phone calls are made: to activists who are still in the Rotkœlchen and to a freelance journalist who puts a police communications officer in touch with the museum team. Later, the police call back: the Rotkœlchen is now empty, but they do not want to secure it with police tape, adding that the owner—the RWE Group—is now responsible. This is followed by a call to the head of corporate communications at RWE, Stephanie Schunck, who shows no interest in getting involved in the preservation of the ground-based structure. On Friday afternoon, the head of RWE's legal department, Elmar Schweers, writes that he can "at the present moment neither comprehend with whom you were able to sign a possible loan agreement last Sunday, nor whether the persons in question were entitled to dispose of the dwelling you described." At that point, the Rotkœlchen was still standing in the meadow, unharmed, as journalists on site affirmed. Other structures on the ground, however, were immediately destroyed, partly by the police and partly by RWE.

In effect, this meant that the Rotkœlchen campaign had failed. On Saturday afternoon, however, the phone rang again. A group connected with the Tower, which at this point is still occupied, has a request: Could the DAM perhaps try to save the Tower? Although the Tower is even more interesting from a structural point of view due to its many guy wires, it would exceed the scope of the exhibition by any measure, being too large, too complicated, and too expensive to handle for the display in Frankfurt. The desperation in Lützerath is great, every delay of the eviction is

a relief. Finally, an agreement is made that the DAM will reach out to the public via social media to call for the rescue of the Rotkœlchen and the Tower. Hours later, both are destroyed; a video of the Tower's demolition is viewed 1.2 million times on Twitter (Laquer 2023). On Monday, the following headline appears on dpa: "Architecture museum wanted hut from Lützerath for exhibition." *DLF Kultur* asks for an interview. On Thursday, January 19, *FAZ* editor Jürgen Kaube mocks the Rotkœlchen action: "Cultural assets, it was said, should not be demolished. Only dousing them with pea soup, it should be added, is allowed" (Kaube 2023).

On the same day, this time with the support of the police, a relic from the →*Fechenheim Forest* →*occupation* is recovered in Frankfurt: the tip of a monopod is sent to the museum. In the following months, attempts are made to discuss with the activists how their protest device can be shown in the exhibition. It was important to avoid the impression that the museum might be seeking to display the object as kind of trophy, divorcing the object from its original context to showcase it in a museum, without acknowledging the tireless work that went into the occupation.

In an email, one of the occupiers of the Rotkœlchen called Morsch recounts his story:

On Thursday morning, a communications cop approached us and wanted to talk to us. The cop wanted to know if the structure we were sitting on was the Rotkœlchen. We then pointed out the sign [the monument plaque] and the contact details to him and he said it looked like the Rotkœlchen could be left standing. What can I say, half an hour later they kicked in our door and removed the rear facade with a crowbar. We had of course long been above 2.5 m, up on the upper floor, and had nailed up the hatch in between.

We kept pointing out the sign in the window and the statement of the communications cop, but they stubbornly continued to tear it down. When he finally did look at the sign, one cop said that art is a matter of opinion. It was like talking to a brick wall. At some point, they had apparently had enough, and they rummaged through our stuff on the lower floor and took things with them. But at least they stopped attacking the structure.

In the evening, we bowed out. As a precondition for leaving voluntarily, we demanded to be able to speak to the communication cops again. It took about an hour to get them. When they arrived, we were told that the email or your contact details had been exposed as a fake and that nobody knew which communication cop had spoken to us in the morning. I then passed on the business card [from the DAM], and I think you guys then talked on the phone. Anyway, that went back and forth for quite a long time, and various people were called. The whole thing was also accompanied and supported by a sympathetic journalist. In the end, they said RWE was responsible, but that it looked good for the Rotkœlchen. Then we left.

To present further voices from Lützerath, Annika Reiß and Aron Boks were invited to write short texts. They spent two weeks in the protest camp for a *taz* column and reported daily. First to write is Annika Reiß, journalist and climate activist:

How does one occupy a village? A whole village with houses, streets, barns, and fields? I am a long-time climate activist and reported on the occupation of Lützerath as a journalist. Both roles involve dealing with one's surroundings in great detail, either in order to report on them or to organize a successful protest. I have experienced many forest occupations in recent years. Some of the central elements of these occupations—occupied platforms, tree houses, barrios (small "villages" with a few occupied structures), and →banners that are always reminding people of this protest and other ones—were also present in Lützerath. The tree houses, built at a height of five to ten meters, illustrated for me a conflict that often occurred in Lützerath. For some people, they primarily represent a certain attitude toward life. At first glance, the idea of living up high in a small space seems like a cool expression of freedom and of rejecting social conventions, which encourages people to romanticize it. Sure, I wish that were the whole truth, too. Yet occupying a structure at a height is a central element of protest. It is difficult to clear and, from a purely legal standpoint, requires many more safety measures than an eviction on the ground. In reality, this has nothing to do with romance. The small clusters of huts in fields and meadows in Lützerath were almost all built many meters up. During the clearing, people persevered on roofs, traverses, and platforms in the huge hangars and barns. In the rain. For hours.

It is easy to forget the strategic role of how and where you build, how you use the very limited →building materials available for an occupation. It is important to emphasize that life in an occupation is not exclusively exciting and fun, and that as occupiers, we are not simply trying to live out our inner child. That is the conflict. We have to act rationally and we are in a serious, sometimes even dangerous situation. Why else was my heart beating so strongly that I thought people must have been able to hear it as I walked past twenty police vans, police horses, and armored evacuation vehicles and left the village for the last time?

Aron Boks, journalist and author, stayed a few hours more:

I don't know if you are planning to squat anytime soon (→Squatting), but I would like to tell you about an experience. For more than two weeks, I lived with climate activists in a house in an occupied village. I lived as one of them and wrote a diary there for a newspaper, because I was especially interested in this exciting life there. I only knew occupations from Jörg Fauser's poems or songs by Ton Steine Scherben (→Music). It was all less romantic. But something that called this to mind was an obligatory quote on a wall in the bathroom in Lützerath: "This is our house." One of a thousand slogans scribbled with other short messages, like "I love the way Lützi lives," or urgent pleas such as "tidy up, you nitwits!" pasted all over the occupied farmhouse, weaving it into a giant notebook.

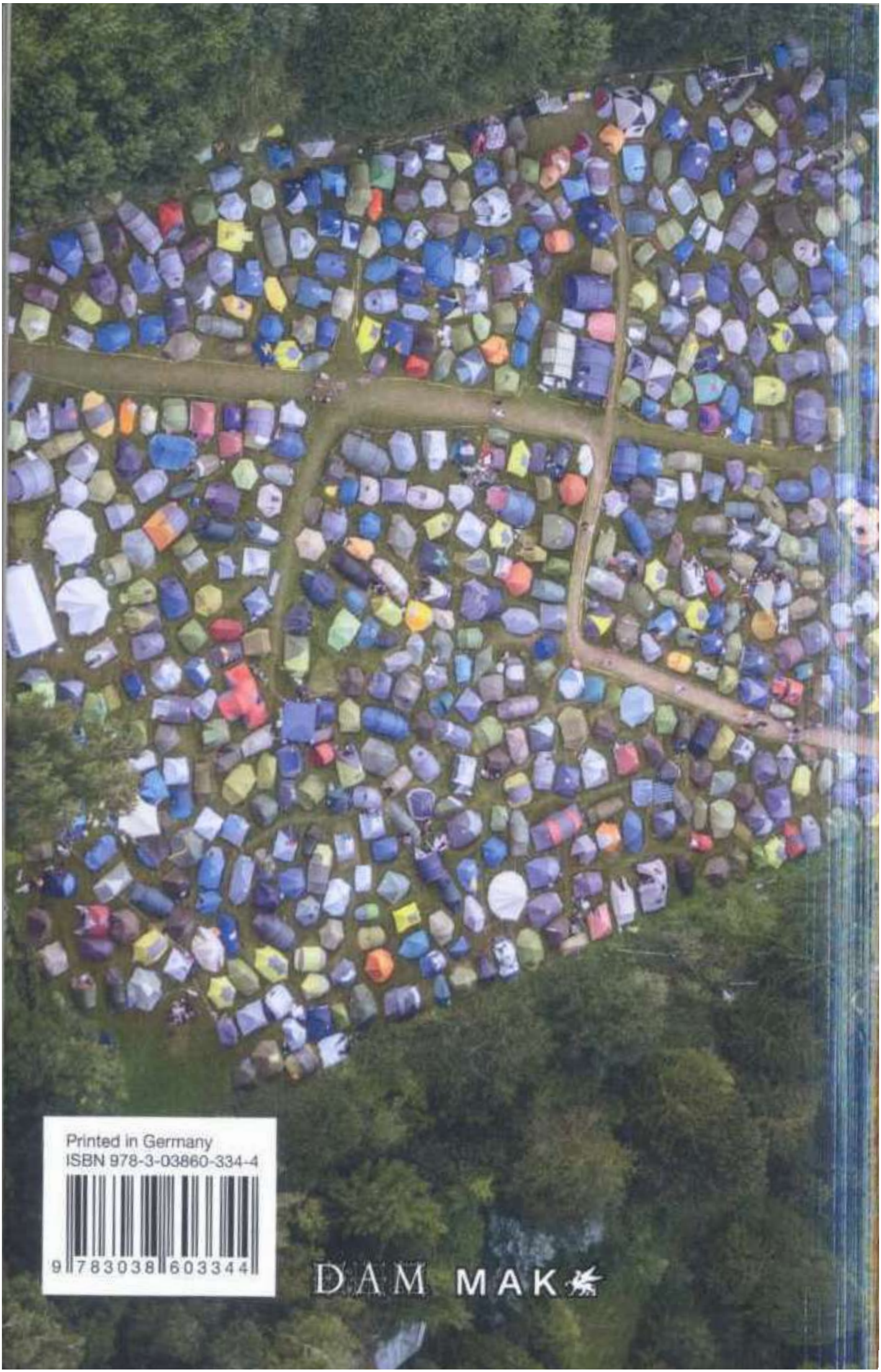
Every morning I thought about whether I should also write a slogan on this wall, and always put it off till later. It felt strange. Maybe because the wall would be destroyed anyway, I thought, feeling like a guest once more. And that's how it was on the last morning before the eviction. Then an alarm went off and a little later I saw people dressed in black with helmets and shields clubbing other people dressed in black. I saw stones, bottles, more bludgeoning, and god knows what else—actually I could only watch this out of the corner of my eye, because out of sheer fear, I didn't want to defend the house for a single second, and just ran away. I found refuge in a wooden hut with a group whose most striking "action level" was to sit down and sing a protest song to the tune of "Hejo, spann den Wagen an" (Hey Ho, Nobody Home). A few hours later, a policeman dragged me out of the village. I don't know what happened to those sentences on the walls.

I don't know much about squatting, but at least I know that things are different there than in the surrounding world. A vacant house becomes an object of protest, a wall turns into a scrapbook, a notebook, a bulletin board, and something that speaks to all the people in the house—to those who inhabit it and those who demolish it.

So if you plan on occupying a house soon, I advise you to always carry a marker on you. Because then you can do something that's not so common in everyday life: scrawl something on the wall, even though you're a guest. Because at the same time, nobody's a guest.

(Contributions by Morsch, Annika Reiß, Aron Boks; text and research: OE)

Madres de Plaza de Mayo, engl. →*Madres de Plaza de Mayo*. Die →*Demonstration* der Mütter von verschleppten Angehörigen ist ein Sonderfall der →*Platzbesetzung*. Sie dauerte zu Beginn, im Jahr →*1977*, nur 30



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