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# Architectures of Resistance

Negotiating Borders  
Through Spatial Practices

Angeliki Sioli, Nishat Awan,  
Kristopher Palagi (eds)

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# THE BORDER COMPLEX

## Mapping Spaces of Simultaneity

*Marc Schoonderbeek*

### 01. THE WALL CONCEPTUALIZED

*Vagueness is a form of tolerance that produces a diversity of architectural languages, each inscribed in the particularities of a border condition.*

—S. Umberto Barbieri, *Border Conditions*<sup>1</sup>

Probably one of the better historical examples illustrating Barbieri's claimed possibility that a particular "border condition" can produce "an architectural language" is *Exodus, or The Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture*, also known as Rem Koolhaas's graduation project at the Architectural Association in London in 1972.<sup>2</sup> It constitutes an intriguing example of an architectural project in which the characteristics of an architectural element (in this case "the wall") are conceptualized as a spatial condition, thus influencing, if not determining, the basic idea of an architectural project. Influenced by his 1971 visit to the Berlin Wall, Koolhaas projected a large wall-system, Superstudio style, onto contemporary (yet exaggerated) London, in order to play a dialectic game of good and bad, of inclusion and exclusion, imprisonment and freedom, and so on.<sup>3</sup> As a result the benefits, blessings, and heroisms of architecture are on full display in an experiential retreat of spatial incarceration.<sup>4</sup>

Much scholarship has been conducted, over the last few years, about the general tendency in architectural discourse of the time (end of 1960s, early 1970s) to conceptualize the overall characteristics of the American city as the foundational basis for architectural theory (think Chicago, Los Angeles, Las Vegas and Manhattan).<sup>5</sup> In contrast, the *Exodus* project stands out as the conceptualization of a specific border condition that constituted the foundational basis for an architectural vision, in this case, a vision that propels architecture as "the hedonistic science of designing collective facilities that fully accommodate individual desires."<sup>6</sup>

Though it was Koolhaas who presented *Exodus* as his thesis project at the AA School of Architecture, the project is overall credited as a collaboration between Koolhaas, the Greek architect (and Koolhaas's architecture mentor at the AA) Elia Zenghelis, the Dutch artist Madelon Vriesendorp, and the Greek

painter Zoe Zenghelis, and the group entry to Casabella's 1972 competition "The City as Meaningful Environment." As is generally known by now, all four protagonists consequently formed their collective architectural practice, the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) in 1975, and both Vriesendorp and Zoe Zenghelis later also contributed to Koolhaas's *Delirious New York* (1978).<sup>7</sup> The *Exodus* project and its underlying cause(s), or better, raison(s) d'être, are presented in OMA's overview publication *S,M,X,XL* as the two different enterprises they actually were, but then chronologically reversed: one as "foreplay" (i.e., the *Exodus* project of 1972), the other (i.e., the "theoretical project" *The Berlin Wall as Architecture*<sup>8</sup>) placed as the opening segment of "Medium" and as a "first and last..." reflective text memoir about the 1971 "AA Field Trip" to Berlin.<sup>9</sup>

In this reflective text, which bridged a two-decade time period, Koolhaas's tone is still very much manifesto-like, seemingly in a retroactive attempt to squeeze out fundamental insights about architecture through the prolonged exaggeration of the Berlin Wall's features. Two fundamental conclusions from this reflective text immediately stand out, even at this point in time (i.e., about fifty years later): the fact that the Berlin Wall was experienced as being "heart-breakingly beautiful," and that architectural form was actually deemed incapable of bearing any meaning. This absence, which was strengthened by an absence of program, had resulted in a structure more stable than any other architecture present in Berlin at that time. The architectural consideration of the Berlin Wall thus resulted, or even culminated, with the *Exodus* project in an all-encompassing consideration of architecture's promise and potential, which was supposedly standing in extreme contrast, one should add, to the more general considerations of architecture's agency in society at that time.

Yet despite its suggested heroism, and even with half a century in the rear-view mirror, the *Exodus* project still remains close to a historical anomaly. Not only does the specific condition of the Berlin Wall seem like a remnant of days long past, the proposed translatory act clearly constitutes an oversimplification of the Wall's bordered condition, and in fact seems blatantly incorrect. The Wall as individualized object can be considered an architectural masterpiece only rhetorically: both in Berlin and in London, it would need the context of the city to be able to perform its majestic architectural agency. Furthermore, the depiction of the "voluntary prisoners" continues to remain too closely tied to injustices executed on the human body to be given a prominent presence in such a frenzied celebration of architecture's potential.<sup>10</sup> The discussion of biopolitics and (other) forms of exclusion, combined with the onslaught of images of conflicts and wars, have, by now, accumulated in a highly sensitive mentality that determines more carefully (and more justifiably) the receiving end of image production.

In many discussions about the project, *Exodus* is framed in light of the 1968 student revolts and understood as an emblem of the rebellious hippie era of the late 1960s.<sup>11</sup> One could argue, however, that the project anticipates much more the punk mentality emerging around the early-to-mid-1970s, as this project is essentially antiestablishment and not really geared toward overturning the conservative mentalities (of the 1950s and beyond). Rather, it is a more radical, sinister, and nihilistic attempt at revaluating all values, at provoking by use of the compositional technique of juxtaposing the hedonistic with both anarchy and totalitarianism and casually playing with severe political incorrectness. In other words, the project is a dialectic play geared toward a synthetic whole, based on combining love AND war, Danteum AND Continuous Monument, emancipation and discipline,<sup>12</sup> Futurism and communism (or fascism and Situationism, if one prefers), architecture's celebration AND destruction (i.e., an eternal confrontation without resolve, yet with sinister celebration), presented with a cynicism that seems to not have subsided in Koolhaas's architectural position ever since.

More importantly, the border condition of the Berlin Wall, in hindsight, produced an architectural position that still intrigues through its ambiguity and, if one might state, schizophrenia. The nihilistic, punk-like, antiestablishment attitude produced an architectural expression that bounded extremes, while simultaneously refusing to disclose its exact position(s). *Exodus* thus indicates the agency of architecture and its profoundly contradictory nature: aimed at a betterment of life, the tools of the architect would also and simultaneously cause its countereffect: exclusion, encampment, imprisonment, colonial tendencies, occupation, banishment. In fact, one could conclude via this line of reasoning that utopia, as an envisioned architectural desire for a future state-of-being on earth, is actually intrinsically linked to the diasporic.

## 02. WHAT IS A BORDER?

*It has become widely accepted that "borders are a complicated social phenomenon related to the fundamental basis of the organization of society and human psychology."*

—Vladimir Kolossov, *Theoretical Limology*<sup>13</sup>

In his 2020 book *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*, James Scott refers to Kolossov's quote in order to exemplify the nature of contemporary borders.<sup>14</sup> In the book's introduction, Scott lists several disciplines thoroughly involved in the multidisciplinary debate on borders: political science, sociology, anthropology, history, international law, economy, technology, psychology, "as well as the humanities," notably art, media studies and philosophy. Scott, however,

never discusses, nor even mentions architecture: literature and art might “tell us as much about borders, borderlands and border-crossings as do ethnographic or historical investigations,” but he makes no mention whatsoever of either the role of architecture in border studies or of the architectural nature of borders. This absence is puzzling. Are borders not by default and foremost spatial? Is division, partition, and spatial ordering not part of the core activities of architects? What are architects actually doing wrong to be so overlooked and NOT invited to the disciplinary table to discuss the border? The spatial aspect of the border, the material practices of bordering, the border itself as an architectural element or object, the facilities developed by border regimes: these most certainly give borders an architectural dimension. And what about the envisioning, planning, and designing of borders and border crossings? These aspects related to borders are by default also architectural questions. What else do architects do BUT “bordering, ordering and othering,” to use a rather popular dictum in border studies of the last decades?<sup>15</sup>

Even more striking in Scott’s formulation of an agenda is the seeming tendency to suggest a common and straightforward understanding of the border as the dividing line between nation-states, perhaps between two geographical areas, but certainly nothing more. One would guess that, especially from the perspective of the spatial disciplines, a much more sophisticated approach to the border has emerged in the last decades. This more sophisticated understanding has partially been influenced by the proliferation of a wide variety of border regimes globally, partially by the continuous technological enhancement of the border’s obstructive agencies, and partially by the profound understandings of space that have, consequently or not, been conceptualized theoretically. Despite the reference to the social, as substantiated by the use of Kolossov’s quote, and though he does mention border making as a practice, Scott remains deeply committed to the border as a geographically located dividing line between mostly political entities. From an architectural perspective, much more can and has been said about the nature of the border as a definer or delimitator of space. Architecture is a discipline that involves the fabrication of spatial (non-)limits (walls, doors, windows, etc.), but it is also a discipline that orders space (programmatically, functionally, experientially, etc.).

The context of this collection of border-related architecture essays, in which attempts are made to detect some fundamental “architectures of resistance,” is obviously, and perhaps unfortunately, not the place for extensive reflections on the relevance of architecture for border studies. Yet one would assume this is self-evident. This particular chapter will try to expand, or break open, the discussion on the nature of the architectural dimension of borders more generally. Namely, it proposes a shift toward emphasizing the conceptual-territorial aspects of the border, as opposed to the spatial-material.

First though, a few notes are needed to clarify the notion “the border” more specifically. To this end, J. M. Coetzee’s book *Waiting for the Barbarians* has proven to be an insightful and extremely intriguing source for understanding as well as delineating the complexity of the (contemporary) border.<sup>16</sup> From the very first sentence, a suffocating tension is present in the book. Coetzee delicately offers us the ingredients of the tensions that seem to be intrinsically linked to the border: the here and there of its spatial extent, “the others” on the other side, the presence of unbalanced power relations, sudden implementations of mysterious (or at least not transparent) rules and regulations, imprisonment, cloaked or unseen eyes and gazes, torture, the projected understanding that “pain is truth,” and furthermore the unquestioned loyalty to the state (or Empire), the unlimited and undefined “permission to act,” the cultivated fear resulting in aggression, the cruelties as a direct resultant of these aggressions and the way a certain consciousness starts to respond to this, the unavoidable projection of one’s cultural condition onto the disembodied remnant findings of another culture, this time distant not only in frames of references but most significantly distant in time. A series of important questions is implied by this initial, sophisticated narrative: Is the border really nothing other than a spatial device of humiliation? An element capable of the fiercest of torture practices, which the above list of border characteristics might attest to? Both separator and container, outlook and introspection, promise and doom, impotence of power, devoid of shadow... And, bearing the offered insights of *Exodus* in mind, is the border thus the architectural element par excellence?

Coetzee manages to deepen the issue further, though. He offers an awkward, but no less intriguing take on “the others” (i.e., the unknown barbarians), where at one point the role of the one that tortures and the one that loves is questioned, and conclusively considered to be basically similar. Both torturer and lover are keeping another person captive and contained, both claim the body, invade it, explore it, and colonize it. Both acts, of torturing and nurturing, are to be considered a transgression toward the other that is dubious at best. As the protagonist describes at one point, not being able to explore the inner life of the body, one is forever doomed to explore the surface in search of an entrance. Rather than getting to the core of matters, the feeling of the encounter with the other remains purely superficial, endlessly navigating the surface of the unknown subject, never being able to move beyond that threshold, to transgress, let alone overcome the difference(s). But this potentially highly problematic insight is reversed at the very end, when the position of the other in the unfolding constellation is suddenly brought forward. The other remains without voice, but here that silence becomes an absence that is suddenly brought into existence, not solved or transgressed, but simply brought forward



as a possibility and as a presence. As a consequence, once the mystery of otherness, with all its exquisitenesses, has become present and subsequently vanishes, the ordinary will set in, even settle in, opening the possibility of a world consisting of nothing but ordinarinesses.

Generally speaking, the border is of course a very robust spatial element, with a far-reaching territorial stretch (and agency), and with extremely sophisticated mechanisms to adjust and adapt to any violation, occurring mostly (but not always) through literal transgressions. Yet the border's other side endlessly continues to have its appeal, drawing one into the unknown territories, causing the other side of the border to not remain terra incognita. The unknown *has* to be investigated, if only to satisfy the wish or promise that, apart from the similarities, some exquisite otherness might be discovered or revealed. The opening toward the others, which the enclosing border instigates as much as enforces, begs for confirmation, needs the encounter, demands proof of the existence of otherness. The border is the physical and spatial expression of the desire for the other shore, the other self, the possibilities yet to be imagined and therefore not yet accounted for. The border cannot but be transgressed: *that* is ultimately the entire point of its fabrication, willingly and knowingly producing its own obsolescence, but not exactly, at the moment of its transgression.

Once the other is acknowledged, recognized, investigated, and perhaps interrogated at that other side, the other becomes inherently part of one's system, one's doing, and one's thinking. In this set of circumstances, the other does not necessarily invade but starts to become almost automatically internalized. Once absorbed by this side, the other is no longer an undefined possibility but a literal and very localizable and clearly discernable presence. A growing awareness of distinctions then becomes part of the *modus operandi*. Differentiation and exclusion emerge as dangerous mixtures, ultimately and potentially (or unavoidably) resulting in a society of distinction, exclusion, and other controlling practices (as Foucault has so painfully shown).<sup>17</sup>

This insight then brings forward the critical question of what, in the end, do differentiation and transgression produce? It would seem inevitable that differentiation, as a technique to understand, open, and allow for different realities to be acknowledged, has the agential potential of exclusion and/or expulsion as its inherent side effect. Since the rules for involvement and terms of engagement are unclear, the inclusion/exclusion mechanism(s) remain unclear. These unclaritys and uncertainties start to produce anxieties, curiosities, cynicisms, mysteries, numbness, paralysis, and doubt. The internalization of the border as a device of differentiation and distinction thus means the emergence of a sense of paranoia that becomes omnipresent and nonevasive. The distinction between perpetrator and victim will become unclear, mixed, and thus remain confused from hereon in. In other words, the bordering process

further and deepens, with the border becoming a space of simultaneity.<sup>18</sup> This is the Foucauldian parallel universe where Kafka (i.e., the Court)<sup>19</sup> meets Agamben (i.e., the Camp).<sup>20</sup> Janus's Head has been internalized, the double-sidedness of the border has turned inward, both physically and mentally.

Can it thus be concluded that any border seems to inevitably become such a space, where the clear distinction between this side and the other side has slowly started to be blurred because of elements of the inside being placed outside and vice versa? Is, therefore, each border subject to these sketched bordering and othering mechanisms and processes? This would subsequently mean that the implementation of any border means the other is introduced and thus always present as possibility, and that otherness is introduced and thus always present as agency. The double-sidedness of the border not only enables one to navigate and investigate the other shores but also to interrogate the self and the same, both aggressively and fiercely, as well as caringly and affectively/appreciatively. Once the Janus-system has folded back, the overall condition will have been further blurred into a mesh in which every detail, every characteristic has been distributed almost evenly, across both sides of the—now former—divide. But not quite of course, as a certain measure of differentiation will persist and can never be truly dissolved.

### 03. THE BORDER CONCEPTUALIZED

*Walls today articulate an inside/outside distinction in which what is on the inside and being defended and what is on the outside and being repelled are not particular states or citizens, indeed, in which subjects, political power, political identity, and violence may be territorially detached from states and sovereignty on both sides.*

—Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*<sup>21</sup>

The question posed at the start of the previous segment, namely “what is a border?”, is an intended and direct reference as well as titular reiteration of Étienne Balibar’s 1993 paper, in which he deliberately chose a dialectical approach to investigate the political agency of borders. In order to describe the changing nature of borders and bordering practices, Balibar identified three main characteristics of borders as they existed at the time, namely “overdetermination,” “polysemic character,” and “heterogeneity.” In terms of the border being overdeterministic, he claimed that any political border is never “just” the dividing line between two states only but is always also reconfirmed by other divisions. No border, therefore, operates by (and in) itself, but always in relation with other borders. The polysemic character of borders, then, refers to the differences in meanings attributed to the border, with

Balibar claiming that borders exist differently for individuals (“belonging to different social groups”<sup>22</sup>), while the heterogeneity of borders, in his understanding, refers to the dissolution, or disentanglement, of political, cultural, and socioeconomic borders. In other words, he identifies the tendency of then-contemporary borders to no longer be concentrated as (and in) one border entity but to be diversified into several, and above all separate borders, thus introducing a wider variety of spatial orderings, superimposed onto a given territory.<sup>23</sup>

As Balibar’s paper was written in the post–Cold War period of the early 1990s, one important thing stands out with respect to his claim from a contemporary point of view. The reterritorialization of borders that occurred after the Cold War did happen on several scales, where the consequential geographic redistribution of power was combined with different economic and political interests, a tendency continued today and enhanced through flexible alliances that are subject to constant revision. Something fundamental seems to have changed in recent geopolitical conflicts, as a hybridization has occurred that has allowed a fragmented landscape of interests and conflicts to emerge, in which clarity has not only been lost but is deliberately avoided. Superficially speaking, globalization has been twisted back into a nation-first mentality, all while installing a new global configuration of power relations. But analyzing the current state of affairs more closely, these developments do not constitute a return to the Cold War, as has recently been argued, far from it. As the recent Turkish-Russian “relationships” in Syria, Libya and elsewhere can attest to, the current “mixed alliances” have been fundamentally blurring the field of partnerships, coalitions, and conflicting interests. In the contemporary “post-truth” world, a “coalition of the willing” such as the one formed after Saddam’s invasion of Kuwait would still be possible, but it would simultaneously and continuously be undermined by other coalitions, other battlefields, and by dispersed national interests globally. In the very end, even the post–Cold War reterritorialization of power relations and global alliances has “melted into air.”<sup>24</sup>

This has some implications for the conceptual-territorial understanding of the border. Of course, it had already been argued that the conflicts of the decades of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s saw a far-reaching change of diminishing spatial sceneries, namely from the geopolitical division of the world in roughly two entities in conflict (i.e., the Cold War), to interstate wars (i.e., the Balkan Wars), to a direct attack on the city with the (9/11 and other) terrorist attacks. Related to the geopolitical scale, it would seem that most of the theoretical conceptualizations that were formulated following the end of the Cold War have by now become rather obsolete, almost to the point of irrelevancy. The “end of history,” the “clash of civilizations,” “failed states,” or the “non-integrated gap (composed of anarchy)”<sup>25</sup>—these notions have perhaps surfaced at

times, but nothing permanent has persisted in the current, politically oriented, spatial debates.

In full contrast, the prevailing conceptualizations of the border that were formulated either post-Cold War or post-9/11 have remained relevant and have maintained their capacity to describe contemporary border conditions. The border as line, limit, edge, (political) space of in/exclusion, as zone, state of exception, as scape, as method, as territorial extent, as gathering place, or as locus for encounter, and also “border thinking”<sup>26</sup>—each of these notions has remained relevant. In fact, these “border realities” exist and are all present simultaneously. The point, also substantiated by Coetzee, is that the border actually becomes a superposition of coexisting spatial complexities. Considering these terms conjointly is then more in line with the agency of borders and how to understand them. The instrumentalization and operationalization of the border within a given territory have produced an interwoven, complex web of networks, connections, and links onto the territory, thus producing what Balibar has termed “*Cross-Over*, ‘overlapping folds,’ or *nappes superposées*.”<sup>27</sup> As a result, not only has the border gained a certain complexity—in part because of its saturation with technological innovations—the border itself has by now literally become a “complex,” as its driving force(s) have a vested interest in the consolidation, and definitely not the dissolving, of the border. This “Border Complex” has started to not only solidify existing bordering entities but also to introduce the need for new(er) and ever more sophisticated ones.

Recent discussions of these contemporary operations of power, and the role of biopower in them, have evinced an increased attention to forms of resistance or to strategies of withstanding or obstructing power. Alexander Galloway, for instance, has used Deleuze’s extension of Foucault’s Disciplinary Society (i.e., the Society of Control) to shift attention from the relationship between political power, vertical (time-based) bureaucracies, and thermo-dynamic technologies to the relationships between control mechanisms and digital technologies. While this periodization could indicate the transition from the modern to the postmodern age, it can equally be attributed to the distinction between the most influential technological devices of an era and the particular way a given society was operated, which Galloway terms the transition from decentralization to the protocological nature of distributed networks.<sup>28</sup> With respect to the emergence of the focus on security and biopower, Foucault had already indicated that “security [is] being exercised over a whole population.”<sup>29</sup> But Galloway uses Deleuze’s reading of Foucault to indicate that the very site of biopower is also “a site of resistance,” as life is turned against power when power takes life as its “aim or object.”<sup>30</sup> Yet if one wants to extrapolate these readings, and thus formulate a critique, does this mean that “mere” existence (“the power of life,” in Deleuze’s terms) is already considered to be a

form of resistance? That would seem to deny the harsh reality that being in close proximity to the border, to these spatial mechanisms of exclusion, can in fact have its origin in the reflexive, intuitive, or simply instinctive response to utter despair.

Is it not rather cynical to term this resistance? Or would the whole point be to confront the border with some kind of bodily presence? The process of mirroring, blurring, and differentiation in relation to the presence of the border, as we could also sense in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*, produces a condition in which all bodies are being brought into relational movement. Paul Virilio has termed this emerging condition the "ultracity" and argued that the "megapolis of the excluded of all stripes, who pour in from all sides, has now come to rival the all-too-real megapolis of the included."<sup>31</sup> Virilio thus foresees an uprootedness that will transform the sedentary city of the past into this nomadic "ultracity" of the nearby future, in which the various forms of dislocations and displacements will be the result of an overall avalanche of exoduses, creating "deportees of a new kind."<sup>32</sup>

With respect to the Berlin Wall, that classical, historical example of border production, it has been argued that each transgression of the Wall automatically instigated a change of its control mechanisms, the system adjusting to the revealed flaws. And since no border ever operates completely successfully, as there will always be ways "around" it, transgressions are considered to be an intrinsic part of the border's functioning. Consequently, resistance is also considered to be already embedded in the very fabric of the border. This is a tactical game that both strengthens the agency of the border but also invites its very overcoming. This is the moment where the transition from the initial, though never actually existing, state of clear border dichotomies (i.e., inclusion vs. exclusion, belonging vs. nonbelonging, native vs. non-native, us vs. them), transforms into the differentiated state of the simultaneous. Increasingly, in this bordered space, the emergence of simultaneities on either side means a transfer of dichotomies, an ongoing process of endless differentiation (as well as nomadism). Where Virilio talks about a constant state of outsourcing, this externalization of the internal produces precisely this space of simultaneity. "Elsewhere" is indeed and already "here."<sup>33</sup>

## 04. THE TERRITORY MAPPED

*Architecture is the source, the origin, a boundary in time and space and the transcendence and transgression of that boundary. And all of this in a very concrete, bodily, non-metaphysical way. In order to understand architecture, we need to return to the boundary, [...] to the moment that men joined together with nature, in other words, brought order into the chaos, set up a cohesive arrangement, gave the rambling, anonymous world a name, created, as Bataille put it, "human order."*

—Geert Bekaert, *Architecture Devoid of Shadow*<sup>34</sup>

The consequence for the previously mentioned changes with respect to the geopolitical territories has been that both issues of movement and technologies will have to be incorporated in the conceptualization of the border. Space and time have become intrinsically related through these issues (of movement and technology). The territory that is constructed out of a set of overdeterministic borders can be regarded as a thick surface that is simultaneously becoming a thinned substrate through the saturation of (digitized) border technologies. The border thus undergoes a gradual transformation of form and a continuous alteration of meaning through the accumulation of other significations.

The heterogeneity Balibar pointed to has inevitably been furthered by the differentiation brought forward in relation to contemporary border conditions. The agency of borders is their capability to differentiate (also preparing the ground for selection, exclusion, and externalization), but their encounter also produces experiential differentiation. On another occasion, however, Balibar argued for a different type of heterogeneity, one that is also relevant for the current border debates and which requires a full quote here, in order to properly appreciate its range of argumentation:

It is impossible to represent Europe's history as a story of *pure identities*, running the danger of becoming progressively *alienated*, but only in terms of *constructed identities*, dependent on a series of successive *encounters* between "civilizations" (if one wants to keep the word), which keep taking place *within* the European space, enclosing populations and cultural patterns from the whole world. Just as it is necessary to acknowledge that in each of its "regions" Europe always remains heterogeneous and *differs from itself* as much as it *differs from others* (including the "New Europes" elsewhere in the world). This *differance*, to put it in Derridian terminology, both internal and external, is irreducible. Which leads to the political conclusion that Europe's heterogeneity can be politically *mediated*, but cannot be *eliminated*. In this sense, only a "federal" vision of Europe, preserving its cultural differences *and* solidarities, can provide a viable historical project for the "supra-national" public sphere.<sup>35</sup>

Excluding the European contextual framing of his argument for the moment, Balibar's more general plea for a "federal entity" is intriguing. As a consequence of realizing that any identity is by default a constructed one and any formulated collective thus inherently heterogeneous, the "mediating" of this heterogeneity becomes the central focus of attention. Any sense of belonging is thus a fabricated belonging, a process of in- and exclusion that can be mediated, i.e., guided, manipulated, and censored. But it can also be redirected. If, as indicated, life itself cannot constitute a form of resistance in and by itself, a form of "mediation" needs to be propounded in which commentary, reflection, agitation, protest, political positioning, and criticality find their mediated presence and expression. Resistance mapping is such a mediating tool, as it potentially offers another way of dealing with the problematics of borders sketched thus far, namely through the potential that is situated in the mediated projection of forms of opposition, obstruction, actions and activisms and, not to be underestimated, at least the idea of some kind of say (and thus control) in these matters.

As stated, borders produce territories, but so do maps. If the border is the moment in which the territory is framed and thus brought into existence, the territory is simultaneously differentiated and thickened (or thinned) by the border as well. The relationship between the map and the territory is complex, as the map is not a reduced version of the territory but constitutes an independent and autonomous discourse in itself. Originally, the map is a depiction, representation, model, or simulation of the territory, but since cartography has developed its own distinct set of discursive rules, it can henceforth only be partly related to its source, namely the "original territory." That "original" understanding of the territory is reinterpreted, transformed, and distorted over time, with each new map that is produced. The map's difficult relationship with the "real" is increasingly the result of the map setting out (spatial) relationships outside of the map. This is not "agency" just yet, meaning these relationships do not necessarily have an effect on reality, but at least invisible realities are produced, revealed, framed, and clarified by these maps.

Similar to architecture, cartography is a discipline in which various forms of spatial representation are produced through acts of drawing. In the production of maps, reality is decoded and recoded through notation. The coding that constitutes the core of the representational act constitutes a form of displacement through its "projection," namely its indicating of what will (have to) be. To "project" is to describe, to anticipate a future, a possible but envisioned, and therefore necessary future. But architecture is a casting present of the "here" and "now," of place and time, of Being, of being present. It does not foreclose future, it merely introduces this infinite becoming present of presence. To project is to insist on a certain control, but, as stated, such utopic desire is never without its diasporic effects.

Mapping the bordered territory means depicting a topological geography of simultaneity, a gravitational constellation of relations, that would reflect the sketched character of contemporary borders. Indeed, as is now commonplace in map thinking, maps produce territories as well. In a mapping, one is projected in an array of different localities, causing one to be im-placed with multiple frames and multiple groundings. The map orders the differentiated plurality the border produces. As it is the spatial object where things arrive at and depart from, the border thus reorders, an operation that involves the re-implication of objects within a territorial field. This reordering is also a redifferentiation, a making possible of the latent (forces, people, objects, social groups, what NOT), and allowing these to laterally reemerge. Borders are the unheralded heroes of architecture, the circumscribers of space, the means of making present. A border is every location, an incorporation of the inside and the outside, as a complexifying ever-becoming-different.

## NOTES

1. Umberto Barbieri, "Preface," in *Border Conditions*, ed. Marc Schoonderbeek (Amsterdam: Architecture et Natura Press, 2010), 19.
2. O.M.A., Rem Koolhaas and Bruce Mau, *S,M,L,XL*, ed. Jennifer Sigler (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1995), 2–21.
3. As is probably lesser known, *Exodus* and its reference to the Berlin Wall predate the wonderful cinematic reversal elaborated in Tarkovski's movie *Stalker*, in which the forbidden zone plays an equally appealing role. See: Andrei Tarkovski, *Stalker* (Mosfilm, 1979).
4. Lara Schrijver, "OMA as Tribute to OMA: Exploring Resonances in the Work of Koolhaas and Ungers," *Journal of Architecture* 13, no. 3 (2008): 235–61, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602360802214927>.
5. Respectively: Alvin Boyarsky, "Chicago à la carte: The City as Energy System," *Architectural Design Magazine*, 40 (1970): 595–640. The text also appeared as Alvin Boyarsky, "Chicago à la Carte," in *Architectural Association: The Idea of the City*, ed. Robin Middleton (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996); Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972); and Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1978).
6. Jeffrey Kipnis, *Perfect Acts of Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2001), 14–33. Also published in: Martin van Schaik and Otakar Máčel, eds., *Exit Utopia: Architectural Provocations 1956–76* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2005), 236–53.



7. Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*.
8. Alejandro Zaera Polo, "Finding Freedoms: Conversations with Rem Koolhaas," *El Croquis* 53, (1992): 6–31.
9. O.M.A., Koolhaas and Mau, *S, M, L, XL*, 2–21 and 212–33 respectively.
10. Lieven de Cauter and Hilde Heynen, "The Exodus Machine," in Van Schaik and Mácel, *Exit Utopia*, 263–76.
11. Apart from the authors cited (i.e., Schrijver, Kipnis, De Cauter, and Heynen), we could also mention Charles Jencks terming the work "ad hoc urbanist" in *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1977), as well as Rafael Moneo, *Theoretical Anxiety and Design Strategies: In the Work of Eight Contemporary Architects* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004). Intriguing counterpositions can be found in Felicity D. Scott, "Involuntary Prisoners of Architecture," *October* 106 (2003): 75–101; Tahl Kaminer, *Architecture, Crisis and Resuscitation: The Reproduction of Post-Fordism in Late-Twentieth-Century Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2011), 140–48.
12. Foucault's disciplinary reference to Bentham's panopticon, see: Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
13. Vladimir Kolossov, "Theoretical Limology: Postmodern Analytical Approaches," in *Diogenes* 53, no. 2 (2006): 11–22, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0392192106065968>.
14. James W. Scott, "Introduction," in *A Research Agenda for Border Studies*, ed. James W. Scott (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020), 3–24.
15. Henk van Houtum and Ton van Naerssen, "Bordering, Ordering and Othering," *Journal of Economic and Human Geography* 93, no. 2 (2002): 125–36.
16. J. M. Coetzee, *Waiting for the Barbarians* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1980).
17. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.
18. Though this goes outside the framework of this discussion, I would like to suggest that this understanding of the border as a space of simultaneity provides reasons for a certain critical distancing vis-à-vis the understanding of the territory as a palimpsest.
19. Franz Kafka, *Der Prozess* (Berlin: Verlag Die Schmiede, 1925), translated in English as *The Trial*.
20. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
21. Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 82.
22. Étienne Balibar, "What Is a Border," in *Politics and the Other Scene* (New York: Verso, 2002), 79.
23. Note that there is no territory without a defined "space" and that this space needs to be indicated, if not demarcated, i.e., bordered.
24. Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Pinguin Books, 1982).

25. Respectively: Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and The Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992); Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1997); and the terms used in the context of the “Bush doctrine” as well as by the CIA (with the nonintegrated gap as the extension of the “Axis of Evil,” which basically comes down to the global South).
26. Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).
27. Étienne Balibar, “Europe as Borderland,” Alexander von Humboldt Lecture in Human Geography, University of Nijmegen, November 10, 2004, <https://eclass.uoa.gr/modules/document/file.php/PHS498/4.1%20Europe%20as%20Borderland%20Balibar.pdf>.
28. Alexander R. Galloway, *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).
29. Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population; Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–1978* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 12.
30. Galloway, *Protocol*, 16.
31. Raymond Depardon and Paul Virilio, *Native Land: Stop Eject* (Paris: Fondation Cartier pour l’Art Contemporain, 2008), 185.
32. *Ibid.*, 192.
33. *Ibid.*, 12.
34. Geert Beekaert, *Architecture Devoid of Shadow* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1988), 21.
35. Balibar, “Europe as Borderland,” 13.

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