ONCURATING.org

PUBLIC ISSUES

Train (Vinita Ghatne)

CONTENTS

02 Selma Dubach & Christoph Schenker Editorial

03 Richard Wolff The Tree-lined Road to Europe. Socio-economic Implications of Zurich's Main Station Europaallee Project

11 Prasad Shetty & Rupali Gupte The Production of the Public. Experiences from Mumbai

17 Li Zhenhua Understanding the Public and the Chinese Contemporary
认识"公共"和中国当代艺术

32 Jürgen Krusche A Different Sense of Space. Public Spaces in Tokyo and Shanghai
Das andere Raumempfinden. Öffentliche Räume in Tokyo und Shanghai

43 Minerva Cuevas Mexico City and the Construction of its Public Sphere
La Ciudad de México y la Construcción de su Esfera Pública

51 Derya Özkan Spatial Practices of Oda Projesi and the Production of Space in Istanbul

54 Derya Özkan in Conversation with Oda Projesi
Art's Indecent Proposal: Collaboration. An Attempt to Think Collectively
Sanatın Ahlâksız Teklifi: İşbirliği. Bir Kolektif Düşünme Denemesi

85 Siri Peyer in Conversation with Jeanne van Heeswijk
Community-in-the-Making

EDITORIAL

Selma Dubach & Christoph Schenker

This edition of *On-Curating.org* deals with aspects of the public sphere, public space, and public art in seven different metropolises around the world. The point of departure was a competition that was held for a master plan for public art in the new Europaallee district in the centre of Zurich, the first such plan in Switzerland.

In his article "The Tree-lined Road to Europe," the urbanist *Richard Wolff* presents the urban development project Europaallee, which is currently being built, and traces the around 50-year-long historical development of the project and its changing politico-economic conditions. Due to the central location and the high investment volume of 2 to 2.5 billion Swiss Francs, Europaallee is an extraordinary building project for Switzerland. A venture of this magnitude has to be seen in a global context. With Europaallee, the neoliberal city of Zurich is bolstering its position as a global city that is competing with other global cities economically. Europaallee is de facto an expansion of Zurich's central business district and as such seems to demand a cultural prop in the form of public art. To arrive at a curatorial concept for art in the Europaallee district, the City of Zurich and the Swiss Federal Railways held a two-stage competition in 2009 and 2010 (a selective procedure with prequalification).

What functions does public art claim to fulfil in the given economic and social context? What understanding of the public sphere underlies public art? And how does it create room for public activities? Our aim here is *not* to ask and answer these questions based on the competition entries. Rather, we are interested, taking the globally networked space of Europaallee as a starting point, in broadening our perspective and putting up for discussion how artists, curators, urbanists, and cultural studies experts in other cities think and act. This edition of *On-Curating.org* is a mosaic consisting of different perspectives of different authors from different disciplines from different big cities across the globe. It creates a picture of what the public sphere, public space, and public art can mean today against the background of regional conditions.

Under the title "The Production of the Public. Experiences from Mumbai," the architect *Rupali Gupte* and the urbanist *Prasad Shetty* impressively examine concrete urban formulations and different scopes of the much-discussed concept "production of space" in the Indian metropolis Mumbai. In his article "Understanding the Public and the Chinese Contemporary," curator and critic *Li Zhenhua*, who divides his time between Beijing, Shanghai, and Zurich, investigates the changed public sphere in China and the possibility of artists to interact with the Chinese public. In this context, he traces the social and political developments of his home country over the last forty years. In the essay "A Different Sense of Space. Public Spaces in Tokyo and Shanghai," the cultural theorist and photographer *Jürgen Krusche* shows the different notions and perceptions of the public sphere in the two Asian metropolises Tokyo and Shanghai. Even today, historical developments of private and public life in these cities give rise to divergent usages of public space. The artist *Minerva Cuevas* discusses the ways in which art uses public space in the megalopolis Mexico City. The works discussed in "Mexico City and the Construction of its Public Sphere" range from conceptual (Gabriel Orozco) to socially involved, activist works (Abraham Cruzvillegas). The theoretical discussion of the artist collective *Oda Projesi* (which literally means "room project") in the article "Spatial Practices of Oda Projesi and the Production of Space in Istanbul" by the cultural studies expert *Derya Özkan* is followed by a conversation between Özkan and the three members of the collective entitled "Art's Indecent Proposal: Collaboration. An Attempt to Think Collectively." The article addresses issues related to location and neighbourship, as well as the possibility to create (social) space through art. The focus is on Istanbul, where the artist collective operated an independent art space for five years. Curator *Siri Peyer* concludes this issue of *On-Curating.org* with an interview with *Jeanne van Heeswijk*, an artist who lives in Rotterdam. The two discuss different kinds of interventions, of interactive and participatory projects of the artist, that often accompany urban planning processes, as well as the understanding of public space as a social public domain which underlies the projects.

THE TREE-LINED ROAD TO EUROPE. SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF ZURICH'S MAIN STATION EUROPA-ALLEE PROJECT

Richard Wolff

Introduction

Europaallee is Zurich's largest inner city development. It is located right next to the main station and serves as an extension of the central business district of Bahnhofstrasse. Currently under construction, Europaallee will be a mixed-use development, with offices, apartments, shops, and the teacher training college. Because of the project's unique scale and location, it is of utmost importance for Zurich's urban development. Never before in Zurich has there been a comparable project for inner city development[1]. And never since the latter half of the 19th century, when the city was dramatically transformed by industrialisation and railways (Bärtschi 1983), has Zurich seen such a thorough intervention in its city centre.

This article focuses on the multiple contradictions of large-scale urban development projects. It analyses the various stakeholder interests, their socio-economic environment, and the final outcome of the project. To better understand the prerequisites of the current process, it is necessary to briefly go back 40 years and to explain the preliminary phases of today's scheme.

Origins of the plan and cross-national references

The first ideas for developing Zurich's main station date back to the 1960s. Zurich was in the middle of an economic boom and was lacking office space in the city centre (Hitz et. al. 1995). At the same time, SBB (Swiss Federal Railways)[2] were intending to renew and enlarge their station. In return for selling the air rights above the tracks, SBB expected private investors to finance a new station and to generate extra rental income.

Zurich's idea was not unique. In many cities, railway companies and city planners, often in conjunction with private developers, had developed similar ideas. In Europe, well-known examples of similar projects are Gare de Montparnasse in Paris or Liverpool Street Station (Broadgate) in London, Euralille in Lille, and Euro Ville in Basel (Bertolini 1998 and Peters Deike 2009).

Corner stones of HB Südwest and Eurogate

Between 1969 and 2002, plans to build across Zurich's main station tracks came in ever-changing guises (fig.1). First labelled HB Südwest (Main Station Southwest), then Eurogate[3], the project's appearance and contents varied time and again. The core uses in all versions were the extension of the station and a new commuter station, a pedestrian passage, offices and shopping facilities. Other uses that, over time, were proposed, added, enhanced, enlarged, reduced, or cancelled included housing, hotels, and schools. All the projects would have cost between 1 and 1.5 billion Swiss francs offering a total floor space of between 250'000 and 400'000 m^2.

Some versions included high-rise buildings, a hotel, and large auditoriums; others featured town squares, a car park, or up to 310 flats incorporated on the deck across the railway tracks. Only in the very first project would the historic station building have been demolished; but then, in 1972, it was listed as an historic monument and therefore protected under a conservation order.

Each of the project's phases was managed by a different alliance of developers. Only SBB was always a member. At first, in 1969, it was an alliance of purely public and semi-public agencies, consisting of the Swiss Federal Railways, the Canton of Zurich, the City of Zurich, and the Federal Post Office. After 1978, various public-private partnerships including Switzerland's largest banks, insurers,[4] contractors,[5] and other large corporations reinitiated the project.

The City of Zurich – crucial as a planning authority – was not always part of the consortia. City government changed its stance several times. Until about 1973 an overt supporter, the city was first stopped by a referendum and then, after a political shift, its attitude became critical of growth. For many years, Ursula Koch, Head of the City Building Department, and supported by an important share of the population, was responsible for slowing down the planning process. Only after the neoliberal shift of 1994 did the City of Zurich again

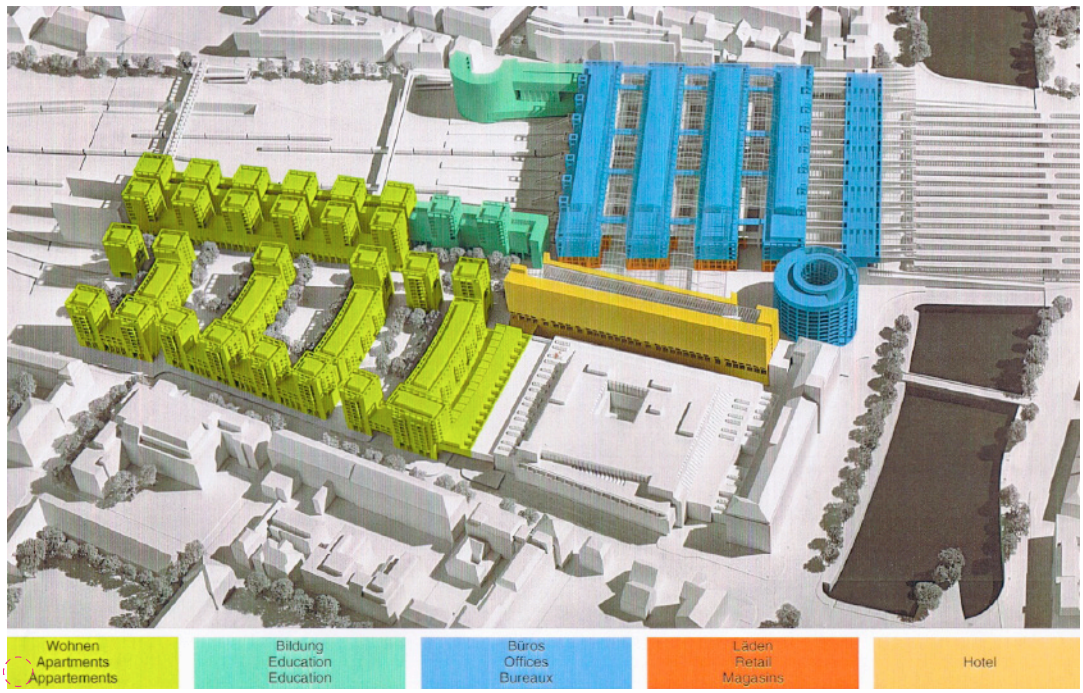
1 Only transport infrastructure schemes like the motorway-Y and the underground railway are larger in size (Schweingruber 1986, Lindenmeyer 1986, Senter for Applied Urbanism 1986, Kammerer 1986).

2 In this text, I use the German acronyms of national institutions, thus Swiss Federal Railways for SBB i.e., Schweizerische Bundesbahnen.

3 Eurogate was obviousliy an allusion to Zurich's gate towards Europe and not to the Watergate fiasco.

4 HB City Immobilien AG was established in 1981, and consisted of the then four largest Swiss banks Swiss Bank Corporation, Union Bank of Switzerland, Credit Suisse, Cantonal Bank of Zurich, two of Switzerland's largest insurers (Zurich and Pax), and various large electrotechnical and construction companies (POCH 1987).

5 Karl Steiner Immobilien AG, Göhner Merkur AG, and Bührle Immobilien AG.



1 — One of the many versions of HB Südwest, dated March 1995. Offices (blue) are over the main passenger tracks. Housing and hotel (green/yellow) above the side tracks. © Ralph Baenziger

change its position, ultimately becoming a fervent supporter of expansion. The opponent's camp consisted — in varying constellations — of neighbourhood associations and activists, green(-ish) and left(-ist) parties, some (very) conservative parties, building and nature conservation societies.

The arguments for and against HB Südwest/Eurogate

The City of Zurich's changing position reflects the ambiguity of the project. Good arguments in favour and just as good ones against the project could be brought forward with equal conviction. The whole issue became highly contested and caused countless debates and struggles. For both supporters and opposers HB Südwest/Eurogate became highly emblematic for the direction of the city's future development. Two contrary visions of urban development clashed. Zurich as a global city on the one hand, and the slow-growth city with more public and greener spaces, low rents, and less density on the other.

Promoters praised the positive impact of the project on the local economy, the supply of much-needed office space in a prime location in the city centre, located ten minutes from an international airport, its excellent accessibility by public transport, and hence its ecological quality and its role as a flagship in global city competition. Opponents denounced the damage the building across the railway tracks would do to the fragile urban landscape, its adverse ecological impact because of increased commuter traffic, and — most importantly — its devastating effect on adjacent traditional working class areas. Many feared the impacts of construction work extending to twenty-five years, rising taxes because of cost overruns, as well as increased traffic and pollution.

Which key elements decided the fate of HB Südwest/Eurogate?

Public opinion and stakeholders determination

Right from the beginning, the project was very controversial. The sheer size and the sensitive spot in the heart of the city made it the focus of attention. None of the various development groups were ever able to convince a solid majority of the public about the quality and the benefits of their project. HB Südwest/Eurogate could never rid itself of its image as a purely technocratic and profit-driven project. In addition, there continued to be a significant *critical mass* always ready to challenge the project. And in those few and short windows of opportunity, when the *go-ahead* would have been possible, the promoters and developers lacked determination. In fact, SBB's internal policies were intransparent and often contradictory. Their goals were too vague and prone to sudden redefinition. Developers did not show much perseverance in their commitment, and were unable to sustain stable coalitions. Diverging interests and expectations made them just as volatile as the other stakeholders. The deplorable part played by Union Bank of Switzerland in the dramatic showdown of 2001 is a perfect illustration of this dilemma (for details, see Wolff 2001).

Democratic and legal rights

The elaborate instruments of the Swiss model of direct democracy played another crucial role. Voting on contested issues, on all

political levels — municipal, cantonal, national — usually happens four times a year. Referendums are either mandatory elements of the decision-making process or they can be demanded by a specific number of voters. In the case of Zurich's main station there were two votes, in 1985[6] and in 1988 respectively.[7] Even though both referendums were decided in favour of the project, they delayed the development process, and were thus responsible for the loss of momentum at crucial moments.

It must be underlined that the sheer holding of a referendum prompts intense public debate, where issues are illuminated from all angles. Referendums play a decisive role in raising public awareness of issues of great public importance. Therefore, and while not clearly and easily understandable, even if these referendums are lost, they can contribute to a shift in general public opinion. The second referendum clearly showed this. It was won by the promoters, but only by 50.7%. This *chance* result was not enough to legitimize the promoters to continue at will. This result implied the mandate to seriously reconsider the opponents' arguments and, furthermore, to review the project.

Three legal instruments played crucial roles in the planning process. First, the old station building was listed in 1972 under the Monument Protection Act (Denkmalschutz), thus stopping the first planning attempt. Second, the federal Clean Air Act (Eidgenössische Luftreinhalteverordnung LRV) of 1985 made it possible to file a suit against polluters. Third, since 1966, national NGOs have the right to appeal against large building projects, thus enabling VCS (Switzerland ecological transport association) to challenge the number of projected parking lots, which — as it turned out — became the decisive issue in the almost endless legal fight (Wolff 2004).

Market forces

When everything else seemed to have fallen into place and construction was ready to begin, the economic situation shattered the plans. Every time there was a chance to proceed, in 1973, in 1992, and in 2001, the business environment was fragile, the global economic situation was uncertain, or the banks as main investors were in trouble. In 1973, it was the oil shock and the global economic recession that dealt the final blow to HB Südwest. In 1991, the collapse of the real estate market in the wake of another economic recession; and in 2001, after another real estate crisis, such mega-developments had definitely run out of time. Eurogate had become a dinosaur in a world that had changed.

In the meantime, industrial decline had opened up new development opportunities in Zurich. Huge brownfield sites had become available on the fringes of the inner city, where it was easier and cheaper to build than on top of a busy main station. Areas like Zurich West or Zurich North drew attention and lured investments away from the inner city. It is also in these areas that a new and more flexible *cooperative planning* paradigm was successfully developed (Hofer 2004).

Technical obstacles and the end

In the end, technical obstacles came on top of everything else. By 2001, when it was decided to construct a second SBB underground terminal (Tiefbahnhof Löwenstrasse). As part of this major project, SBB had to realign the tracks in the station area, thus making it impossible to build above the railway lands for the next ten years.

HB Südwest / Eurogate was too big, too expensive, too difficult, and last but not least too unconvincing. Over 30 years of planning ended in shambles, with a total loss of 80 million Swiss francs, the folding of two consortia, and the near bankruptcy of architect Baenziger's office. In the meantime, it had become clear that the project was hampered by one significant fauIt: its size and the required investments were too large and they could not be phased. Decking the tracks could only be done in one go. As one of the most experienced real estate developers put it: "HB Südwest is too large for a city like Zurich. The market can't take it" (Stuart Lipton, 1998).[8]

Stadtraum HB / Europaallee

The only value that remained unaffected by the multiple failures of HB Südwest/Eurogate was the physical attraction of the site. Zurich's boom as a global city continued unbroken. The demand for inner city office space remained high despite new developments at the edges of the inner city in Zurich West, Neu-Oerlikon, and in the Glattal. The decision to build the second underground station (Löwenstrasse) further boosted the centrality of Zurich's main station.

Thus, only two years after the final collapse of Eurogate, a total restart was announced. In 2003, the City of Zurich, SBB, and the Federal Post Office (the latter two were now semi-privatized), joined forces to start from scratch. Right from the beginning, they made it clear that they had learned their lessons and that nothing should remind anyone of HB Südwest/Eurogate: there would be no decking of the tracks and there would be a new planner/architect. To underline the fact that the new project would restart with a clean slate, the project was rebranded Stadtraum HB (literally 'City Space Main Station').

6 In September 1985, the popular initiative 'HB Südwest — So Nicht!' ("Main Station Southwest — Not like this!") put forward by a citizens association was clearly rejected by 70% of voters.

7 In September 1988, the battle over the 'real estate development of the century' and the fight against the 'folly above the rails' ('Das Unding über den Geleisen', Snozzi 1987), was decided by a 50.7% vote in favour of the promoters' area development plan.

8 Stuart Lipton of Rosehaugh & Stanhope, one of London's major developers (responsible for projects like Broadgate/ Liverpool Street Station), in a personal communication with the author.

Instead of building across the tracks (fig. 2), the new project would stand flank the two sides of the tracks. Because new plans now stated that many of the sidetracks, including access to the post office, the provisional extension of the station and shunting tracks would be given up, much more land became available. Also, the plot occupied by the Post Office's distribution centre[9] and further SBB plots in the northwestern vicinity were added to the building site to allow for a development comparable in size to the old one. Thanks to this new setup, a phased piecemeal approach became possible.

This total relaunch took place in a much changed political-economic environment. After many years of major uncertainty, Switzerland's economic and political future again looked much brighter and more reliable. First, a large number of so-called bilateral treaties was signed with the EU, amounting to de facto EU-membership minus voting rights. Second, the continuous attacks on the banking secrecy law were kept at bay and – at least temporarily – fended off. Third, contrary to the previous decades, on a national level Zurich was not anymore regarded as a presumptuous economic big mouth but its role as the economic motor of Switzerland became widely accepted. Fourth, this role was further strengthened by the successful attraction of new businesses like software research and development companies.[10]

The symbol of this political shift was the election of Elmar Ledergerber as city mayor in 2002. The former head of the building department represented the pragmatic, growth-friendly, neo-liberal wing of the social democratic party. Reinforced with newly-elected city councillors,[11] local politics entered a (ongoing) phase of an incredibly harmonious neo-liberal-red-green coalition, equipped with full coffers and few worries.

Railway politics had also changed fundamentally. In 1999, SBB were converted into a shareholder company, albeit with 100% of its shares held by the state. In 2003, its real estate division became an independent company, with the clear aim to become the cash cow for SBB's operational services. Not only was SBB real estate obliged to pay for deficits of its passenger services but it should also help reconstruct the finances of SBB's pension fund (Wolff 2010 and Marti et al. 2010). Stadtraum HB was clearly a cornerstone in this new policy. Urs Schlegel, head of SBB real estate, confirmed this by saying that he was 'expecting a higher rate of profit than with Eurogate' (NZZ, 5 March 2004, p. 51).

In view of all these changes, the outset for a restart was promising: Zurich's economy was strong and expanding with a high demand for quality office space; SBB was desperate to create additional income to cover gaps in their pension funds and to cross-subsidize passenger services; and Swiss Post Office as junior partner was ready to toss in valuable acreage in return for some nice money.

A new planning process

The new planning process was started with a series of workshops involving three teams of architects[12] working in a *competitive cooperation* accompanied by experts from the city's planning department. The public was included in the process via two sounding boards (Echoräume). This *test planning*, as it was called, started in September 2003 (Hochparterre 2005, p. 7).

The three project promoters – SBB, the City of Zurich, and the Post Office – specified the cornerstones of the project.

2 – Stadtraum HB (white inserts) with Europaallee on south (left) side and smaller future extension 'Zollstrasse' on north side of tracks. © SBB

It should be a mixed-use, dense, and lively new quarter of town, not a sterile office city. It should include housing and emphasize attractive public or semi-public groundfloor uses. The image looming large behind all this was one of the traditional European city attractively adapted to global urban standards. In sum, the teams should not propose a project but an urban development concept.

Based on the test planning results, the team of architect Kees Christiaanse[13] was then commissioned to draw a *masterplan* for the area on both sides of the tracks. This plan placed special emphasis on urban design, continuing the existing streetscape, linking up with the existing neighbourhood, enhancing public squares (space) with public art, and dedicating groundfloors to public and semi-public uses. All of these measures not only abated many critics but were widely acclaimed by the wider public.

The masterplan formed the basis for the SBB's outline development plan, which was approved by local parliament in December 2004. This outline development plan only covers the larger 78'000 m² area on the south side of the tracks, later relabelled Europaallee (see www.europaallee.ch). The north side

9 In fact, a merely 11-year-old post office building, built during the time when HB Südwest was being planned, was demolished to make way for Europaallee.

10 Google and Microsoft have joined long-time residents IBM to strengthen Zurich as one of Europe's leading IT (research) centres.

11 City council elections of 2002: Elmar Ledergerber, social democrat, becomes mayor, plus three members are replaced by Martin Waser, social democrat, Andres Türler, liberal democrat, Martin Vollenwyder, liberal democrat.

12 Devanthéry & Lamunière Architectes from Geneva, KCAP (Kees Christiaanse) from Rotterdam, and a Zurich-based team with Theo Hotz, Burkhalter Sumi Architekten, and Gigon/Guyer Architekten.

13 Christiaanse is also responsible for the masterplans of Hafen City in Hamburg, the London Olympics, and Science City in Zurich.

3 — Europaallee site and use plan, 2010. © SBB, text additions by Richard Wolff.
Pictures taken from http://www.europaallee.ch/maincontent/projekt/nutzungskonzept/index_en.php

1 Europaplatz (new)

2 Sihlquai-Passage (existing but much widened underpass and shopping arcade)

3 Gustav-Gull-Platz (new)

4 Lagerstrasse (existing)

5 Europaallee (new)

6 Teacher Training University

7 New pedestrian bridge across river

8 New pedestrian bridge across tracks

9 Kasernenstrasse (existing)

Buildings and uses (in order of construction)

A1 Sihlpost (built)
Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,000 sqm
Offices: approx. 10,000 sqm

A2 Shopping centre / PHZH, Teacher Training University (under construction)
Retail/Restaurant: approx. 6,000 sqm
Remaining space let to Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich

A3 Private bank Clariden Leu (under construction)
Retail/Restaurant: 1,200 sqm
Remaining space let to Clariden Leu

C UBS (under construction)
Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,100 sqm
Remaining space let to UBS
To be built between approx. 2011 and 2016

E (finished 2014)
Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,400 sqm
Offices: to let, approx. 1,300 sqm
Apartments to let: approx. 6,800 sqm
approx. 64 apartments
The remaining space let to Swisscanto bank

G (2015)
Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,200 sqm
Offices: approx. 7,400 sqm
Condominium apartments: approx. 7,700 sqm
approx. 42 apts
Homes for the elderly: 7,400 sqm, approx. 70 apts

H (2016)
Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,400 sqm
Offices: approx. 14,000 sqm
Rental apartments: approx. 5,000 sqm
Hotel: approx. 6,000 sqm, 130 rooms
Will be built after 2015

B Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,000 sqm
Offices: approx. 8,000 sqm

D Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,800 sqm
Offices: approx. 10,000 sqm

F Retail/Restaurant: approx. 1,800 sqm
Offices: approx. 12,000 sqm
Rental apartments: approx. 10,000 sqm

of the tracks, *Zollstrasse*, will only be developed after the year 2017 and will follow a separate planning process (see below). Christiaanse proposed 320'000 m² floor space, divided into eight separate plots (fig. 3) with mixed uses for shopping, housing, public spaces, a school, and a hotel. Whereas the specific mix may not seem new at all (all of Baenziger's projects had suggested pretty much the same use-mix), there was an unquestionable advantage: this project did not have to be built in one go.

Opponents demand a referendum

Despite concessions and improvements, critical voices persisted: the high density of the project caused much concern; the use-mix with mostly office space and only 16% of housing was still heavily criticised, especially as the (already small share of) housing will consist of luxury housing, expensive retirement homes, and even a hotel, which qualifies as housing under Zurich's building code. Ground floor usage was deemed user-unfriendly, alien to the neighbourhood, and unsafe; the lack of affordable housing and public infrastructure, the bad design of public space, and the lack of planning gains whatsoever for the public were other arguments against the project.[14] Opponents also denounced the blatant lack of public participation in the planning process. The so-called *cooperative planning process* chosen to achieve the outline development plan basically involved planning behind closed doors by the administration and the developers while excluding the public. Two open public meetings of two hours were the sole concession.

The strongest objections were those against the intensified gentrification of the neigbourhood, still dominated by the working class, immigrants, students, members of the artsy avantgarde, and political activists. Stadtraum HB was seen as an extension of Zurich's business centre, as such posing a threat to low rents, neighbourhood shops, small industry, low-end shops and bars. The long-time inhabitants feared the *intrusion* of bankers, brokers, and other white collar employees, into their refuge.

Neighbourhood initiatives, critical planners and architects, leftist and green parties, and the ecological transport association VCS took turns to rally and orchestrate popular resistance. Considering their limited financial and personal resources, their impact was enormous. The opposing camp collected almost 6,000 signatures to demand a city-wide referendum on the outline development plan (www.stadtlabor.ch). Ironically, the leading architect of all previous station projects, Ralph Baenziger, stood at the forefront of the protest. He joined forces with the community activists, the left and the radical green parties, spending his own money and time to combat his successors' project.

On 24 September 2006, Stadtraum HB was approved by 65% of Zurich's electorate.[15] Not even the most heavily affected districts had voted against the project. Resistance had clearly crumbled over time. Not only because the project without the decking of the tracks seemed less menacing, but also because there had been a shift in the neighbourhood's demography. Over the course of the last two decades, many longstanding inhabitants had left, most of them in the 1990s because of the rampant drug scene in Zurich's notorious *needle park* (Heller 1995, Bänziger 1990). Others were forced out when gentrification began after the dispersal of the drug scene (Stadtrat von Zürich 2004) and programmes against the red light district, like *Langstrasse Plus*, started to be effective (Schmid and Weiss 2004).

Europaallee: Evaluation and Outlook

Construction commenced in 2009. Currently (April 2011), two thirds of the area already have designated uses. Overall, 6,000 jobs and about 400 apartments will be located in Europaallee. The first building to be completed is Zurich's teacher training college (Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich, PHZ) for 1,800 students. The next projects are those for the headquarters for UBS for about 1,800 employees (despite massive losses in the global financial crisis), private bank Clariden Leu, Swisscanto (the umbrella association of Switzerland's cantonal banks, as such the third largest Swiss bank), 400 mostly expensive apartments (both for sale and for rent), senior citizen apartments, and a hotel. Much of the ground floor space has been allocated to shops, restaurants, and leisure facilities. The remaining plots B, D, and F are currently being used as a provisional station. They will be developed only after completion of the underground station.

The other side of the tracks, *Zollstrasse*, will be developed only after 2015. Having learned from some harsh criticism against their speculative real estate strategies, as demonstrated in Europaallee, SBB seemed to have somehow lowered their profit expectations. In the first public meeting, held in November 2010, they presented a development with four buildings. The one closest to the station will serve railway administration purposes, the two buildings in the middle would offer private rental and for sale apartments, and the building on the corner of Langstrasse would serve cooperative housing. Overall, Stadtraum HB will be finished by about 2020, over 50 years after the first competition for HB Südwest was launched.

14 See: http://www.stadtlabor.ch/uber-5976-unterschriften-fur-referendum-stadtraum-hb/#more-1167, accessed 25 October 2010.

15 See: http://www.stadtzuerich.ch/content/dam/stzh/portal/Deutsch/Abstimmungen%20%26%20Wahlen/060924/Resultate_Vorlage%202.pdf.

Who won, who lost?
Comparing the old plans and the current product
So what has been gained compared to the old HB Südwest / Eurogate plans? Is this project better or worse than the original one? What was improved, who won, who lost? How have the extended planning process and prolonged resistance affected the project?

The central aim of extending Zurich's limited central business district into the station area and of better using the railway lands has definitely been achieved, albeit with a different approach. As a consequence of the decision to build the new underground terminal and the Post Office's decision to give up its distribution centre, large parts of the trackfield became available for a development without expensive decking structures. In addition, extra railway plots were added in the northwestern part of the plot to further enlarge the project area.

By leaving the area over the main tracks untouched, much resistance and many problems were side-tracked. Still, the amount of total floor space and the mix of uses have remained within the same range. Of course, the land which would have been won by the decking is now not available. However, it must be repeated, it would have been expensive to create that land; the fact that its development could not be phased was one of the main economic reasons to stop the project.

The significant difference from an urban design perspective comes with abandoning the decking of the tracks. As a major gain, railway access to Zurich and the station platforms enjoy daylight exposure. The physical appearance and the perception of the station — including the trackfield — in the city have as such been preserved. What has been lost is the broad deck connection across the tracks between the two neighourhoods, districts 4 and 5, a feature many would have welcomed.

Whereas the physical project has changed and its substance has been adapted, the effects have by and large remained the same. Still, looking at the final outcome of the mixed use development under construction some of the results can be seen as a compromise after struggle lasting fifty years. More public space and semi-public ground floor uses, perhaps even the teacher training college in this location, can be listed on the positive side of the balance sheet. Some expensive apartments, senior citizen accommodation, a hotel, and much office space in a central location can be seen as positive or negative, depending on the standpoint.

From the opponents' point of view, the struggle for a more modest, eco-friendly, neighbourhood-protecting development has largely been lost. Europaallee does not have much to offer to the existing social environment. Its enrichening contribution will be marginal, limited to some new shops, slightly more public space, but all not corresponding much with the needs and desires of the area's current inhabitants. Europaallee is a stepping stone for the further expansion of the central business district into traditional working class areas. Whether and how much the adjacent neighbourhood will be gentrified and to what extent this is an effect of Europaallee will probably remain disputed.

Where does this development take Zurich as a whole?
The history of HB Südwest and its result as Stadtraum HB have taught the City of Zurich, its planners, politicians, developers, and corporate elite a number of important lessons. First, Stadtraum HB has proven that it is still possible to realize large scale projects in Zurich. After a number of failed or still contested projects (Zurich's Convention Centre, Kleeblatt highrise apartments, Hardturm football stadium), this is politically important. With Stadtraum HB Zurich has also created a new gateway for those entering the city by rail. Looking from the opposite direction, the traditional central business district of Bahnhofstrasse has been extended and strengtened.

Second, Stadtraum HB / Europaallee has also shown that an appropriate planning process is crucial for this type of (mega-)project. In stark contrast to its predecessors depending on a costly deck across the tracks as a lump pre-investment, Europaallee has allowed for a piecemeal approach *in pace* with economic up- and downturns. Giving up the decking and realigning the project's parameters was also instrumental in breaching the oppositional lines.

Thirdly, Europaallee and its pre-history have clearly shown the limits of private public partnerships, which in the Zurich case are labelled as a 'cooperative planning process'. Politically, the attempts to sideline democracy with the much-lauded but undemocratic *cooperative planning process* have failed. From a planning perspective, the limits to outline development plans have become obvious. Public participation remains the key factor to successful planning. The political and legal struggles have made it clear that without a very broad consensus, projects of this size and scope cannot be realized within a useful time frame. Planning experience from brownfield developments in Zürich Nord and Zürich West, gathered while HB Südwest tumbled from one crisis into the next, helped develop more intelligent cooperation processes. Europaallee is thus also a new approach to urban development. The specific style of planning and development represents a more sensitive and inclusionary approach to urban development. Taking into consideration many

of the opponents' arguments and combining them with developers' goals in a both economically and politically viable way was the key to success.

Within a more comprehensive view on urban development, some critical remarks must be added. Stadtraum HB is part of the adaptation process aligning Zurich and Switzerland with the ongoing globalisation of urban development and transnational competition between cities (Hochparterre 2005, p. 3). "There is a strong tendency to sell our cities to those who are able and willing to pay the most. Thus, cities are becoming exclusive places for international investments and privileged people, leading towards an increasing economization of urban life" (INURA Zurich 2009, p. 2).

The details of the development Stadtraum HB have now been largely decided on but further struggles are in sight. The future of the extended SBB landed property on both sides of the railway tracks is currently heavily disputed. There are plans to continue the development of railway lands on both sides of the tracks further outwards. The total prospective building area is around 500'000 m² (Amt für Städtebau 2004, p. 12). As yet, it is not clear what will happen there (NZZ, 23 December 2008; Tages Anzeiger, 20 February 2009).

Demands are wide and varied, often contrary to SBB's aspirations to maximise profits. Affordable housing, workshops, and storage space for small industry, spaces for creative enterprises (Klaus 2009), and cultural venues are only the most prominent demands. Whether or not they can prevail over demands for higher profits, more office space, and representative buildings is the contested issue of politics.

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THE PRODUCTION OF THE PUBLIC. EXPERIENCES FROM MUMBAI

Prasad Shetty & Rupali Gupte

The idea of *public* is central to urban planning. Most decisions in planning processes are taken in the name of *the public*. Public infrastructure, public spaces, public amenities, and so forth, are commonly used terms in the planners' vocabulary. Public here is agreed as *all people* or *everybody*. There is an *entirety* promised in the idea of the public, which is understood to be a clear entity. As any ambiguity or complications in the idea of public would destabilize planning, conceptual discussions on this subject are taboo for the discipline. Hence there is a conceptual closure of the idea, where the public explicitly means a definite entity. The messy urban conditions of Mumbai provide a clear illustration of how opening up the idea of public would destabilize planning processes. For instance, in the design of streets, a certain width is considered to accommodate pedestrians and vehicles. However, a street in the city of Mumbai is often used and claimed in multiple ways — by hawkers erecting their stalls, by shops extending their boundaries, by new shops opening, and so forth. Slowly, the street converts itself into a shopping place (fig.1). Being unable to accommodate the new activities, the street becomes congested and becomes an instance of the failure of the plan. While making the plan, the planner assumes the street to be a public space (infrastructure) — to be used by all people — but only for walking and driving. The planner further assumes the public to be pedestrians and car drivers who have no claims over the road, but use it to pass through. The planner can only handle such clearly defined and closed ideas of the public (without claims) for designing the street. Any attempt at a conceptual opening-up of the idea would make the situation unmanageable for the planner. Closer material examination of how streets are worked out as public spaces would clarify the difficulties arising from handling the conceptual opening up.

Planning uses the language of cartography to define and recognize property using points, lines and polygons, which represent positions, edges, and bounded spaces respectively. In defining and recognising property, polygons with clear boundaries are used along with a record of rights (that connects each polygon with a name of the owner). Any change in the polygons (and hence property) can only take place through elaborate administrative and legal processes of amalgamation and subdivisions. Property defined through cartography needs clear polygons with stable edges. The street is typically defined as space between polygons, which is not claimed by anyone (other than the state). The clearly defined *public* of the planner is supposed to use this space to pass through and do nothing else. But if the idea of the public is to be opened up to include the claims of hawkers, informal occupiers, and other claimants, then an unstable condition is expected where positions change, edges mutate, and spaces morph as these claims are not fixed and clear. The clarity of cartography has an inherent inability to deal with such instabilities of positions, edges and spaces — and, by further implication, planning is hence also unable to deal with it. While it takes years to change the polygons of property on the cartographic map — on the street it happens every hour. Recognizing such unclear claims hence becomes unmanageable for the planner as there is no language for dealing with such a scenario. The idea of the public is also not opened up to include the claims for another reason: this would mean recognizing the claims and installing a degree of formality to them. This would be in contradiction with the property regimes in the city and the state will be unable to deal with such contradictions. Hence in many ways, the planner is forced not to recognize such claims and to use a closed idea of the public for making the plan.

In the above discussion, the imagination of the planner forges a public which includes only pedestrians and car drivers. The entirety promised in the idea of the public is not possible on the ground. Hence, the idea of the public is not an established *entirety*, but rather a production (in this case, by the planner) for a specific purpose (in this case, the making of a plan). We argue that the idea of the *public* is a production/imagination rather than an established condition. It is produced for various reasons — as an object for consumption, as an ethic, as a space, and also as a strategy. We start from this claim, and aim to discuss the multiple ways in which the *public* becomes produced.

1 — Road

2 — Public Art

7 — Bandra Open Space

8 — NGO-Board

Public as object

A conceptual closing of the idea of the public produces the public as an object — for easy consumption. In the above discussion, the planner produces the *public* as a homogenous mass (of pedestrians and car drivers), with singular needs (of passing through). This public is an object — to be consumed to make plans. The production of the public as an object is best captured in the practices of public art.

There is a recent surge in the art practices concerned with the public. There are typically three ways in which these practices work out. The first one is where the artist takes up the cause of the disadvantaged, the oppressed, and the exploited. The typical modus operandi is to bare the facts about the disadvantage, exploitation, and oppression, and to present it to the world in creative ways expecting the arousal of large-scale outrage against the advantage-takers, the exploiters, and the oppressors. In this case, the whole purpose of art is to make it useful for a cause. The second one is slightly different in its intentions — these are the practices that become fascinated with material that is so to say *unusual*. The modes of operation in these practices include entering the depths of such material, knowing about it, and doing something with it. Here the question is not how art becomes useful to the cause but rather how the unusual material becomes useful to art. Various kinds of archiving practices are examples of this category of practice. However, the most vulgar form of this kind is the engagement with remote communities (tribes, for instance) and then work with them and bring their art to the city to be shown in the gallery space. The third are works that expect public engagement. These could be in form of objects installed within the gallery or outside in the city; or could even be performances and workshops involving the *public*. Intentions here include provoking the public, sensitizing it, or even simply expecting a response from unusual interventions in urban spaces.

The interrogation of relationships between the artist, the art object, and the public cast light on the problems of this kind of art. Various questions — Who is the public? What is the relationship of the artist with the public? What does such art do to the public? Does the public require such art? What happens when this art is sold? — emerge when such an interrogation is undertaken. Such questioning also reinforces the contention that the public is produced as an object in these kinds of works. The public is either represented in the art, or engaged with it during the production process, or is expected to engage with the art as it is produced or after it has been produced. The public, however, remains external to the artist and the art object. The art is either for, about, or by the public. The artist becomes a representative, interpreter, employer, or curator of the public, but seldom part of it. This externalization of the public turns it into an object to be consumed — by being represented, spoken about, employed, or curated. While these works claim to be public art, they end up producing the public as an object (fig. 2).

Public as ethic

The 1974 Bollywood blockbuster ROTI (directed by Manmohan Desai) contains a song on the idea of the public. Written by Anand Bakshi, the song is sung by Kishore Kumar and enacted by Rajesh Khanna. The opening lyrics, 'yeh jo public hai, ye sab jaanti hai, aji andar kya hai, aji bahar kya hai, ye sab kuchh pehchaanti hai' (This public, it is aware of everything, whatever is inside, whatever is outside, it recognizes everything), themselves bestow upon the idea of public an almost eternal all-knowing characterization. In the video, Rajesh Khannna walks along with a large crowd of people, but looks out of the screen talking to the audience and explaining the concept of the public. The song is shot at three locations — a street with a procession, a public meeting, and a park, clearly identifying with the popular understanding of the public. Along with the image and notions about the idea of the public, the song also encapsulates the power associated with it — namely, the power of encompassing knowledge about everything. The video of the song suggests the source of this power, which is the crowd. Rajesh Khanna acts simultaneously on behalf of the crowd and as a part of the crowd. Throughout the song he is involved in exposing many secrets of people. The suggestion that nothing escapes the many eyes of this crowd is amply (though simplistically) clarified. Here the public is produced as a watchdog, a guardian of truth, the bearer of knowledge, and a magnanimous whole above an individual. The individual is not only being watched by the public, but is also accountable and answerable to the public. The public here is produced as an ethic.

The production of the public as an ethic could be best described through the activities of the media. The high-decibled and aggressive television anchors of Indian news channels are generally seen pushing the politician/bureaucrat by repeatedly stating, 'today the public wants an answer…'. Although annoyed, the politicians/bureaucrats offer defensive responses to explain their position. However, they never ask the question, 'Who are you to ask that question?' or 'Who is the public?' The public here is not only produced as a set of people, but more as an ethic that cannot be challenged. In another instance, a few years ago, the government banned women dancers from the bars of Mumbai, stating that they were creating an immoral condition in the city. A small group of people opposed the ban

by arguing that the bars provided livelihood to the women and that such a ban would force the dancers into starvation or prostitution. The media conducted opinion polls asking people if they supported the ban and continuously flashed the results of the poll — an overwhelming majority of the people who took the poll supported the ban. Using the form of an opinion poll, the media had produced a public that was for the ban and which corroborated the government's position of bar dancing being an immoral activity. Here again the media produced the public as an ethic.

Public as space

The trains of Mumbai carry about six million people every day (fig.3).The basic unit of a train is a seat. Three seats make a row. Two rows are arranged facing each other. The gap between the two rows is efficiently designed such that when people sit there is just about a three-inch space between the knees of persons sitting opposite each other. Four such sets of rows are arranged to make one bay with a gangway between the rows. The doors of the compartments are located between the bays. Three bays make a compartment. Each train has nine to fourteen compartments. Each twelve-compartment train with a seating capacity of about eight hundred and sixty persons carries more than four and a half thousand persons during peak hours (fig.4). A recent transportation survey by the Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority recorded that during peak hours, the highest density spot in the Mumbai local train has sixteen persons per square meter floor area (fig.5). While this occurs between the two bays near the doors of the train, the inner areas with seats have better conditions. Rigorous discipline is followed to manage the crowd. Four persons sit in a row with three seats. The fourth person cannot sit on the seat upright as there is no space so he/she sits perpendicular to the direction of the seat such that only a part of his/her behind rests on the seat and the remaining part of the body spills out into the gangway. People carefully occupy the spaces between the legs of the seated passengers to stand. Three such persons generally occupy the spaces between the two rows of seats. Getting on and off the train is managed with utmost discipline such that one part of the door is left for people to board and the other part is from where people disembark. As spaces between the bays near the doors are extremely crowded, some people have to travel standing on the doorway (the train's doors are never closed), such that they have only parts of their feet inside the train and rest of the body hangs out (fig.6). They hinge themselves with their hands gripping some pole or rod of the train's interior. However as this is the best spot to get fresh air, a lot of people prefer to occupy the doorway. These people get off and on during every stop of the train to allow others to exit and enter. Persons not familiar with the disciplines of the crowd are first rebuked by others for their ignorance, but later helped to become accommodated. Men and women travel in different compartments.

Journeys generally vary between forty five minutes to one hour and a half. As journeys are long, people make friends on the way. These friends meet and prefer to travel together at the same time every day. A group forms like this, which follows a definite time to board the train. Such groups board only specific trains coming at a specific time. For example, the group travelling on the 08.57 a.m. train will not only travel by on 08.57 a.m. train every day, but it will also use the same compartment or sometimes even the same bay. People belonging to a group find it easy to board the train as they are generally helped by others. Seats are exchanged between people sitting and standing after half the journey. Throughout the journey, these travelling companions talk, tease each other, share food, and sometimes also sing songs. Today every train (and sometimes more than one compartment in a single train) between 06.30 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. in the morning has an organized singing group that sings devotional songs. These groups also return in the same manner in the evenings, but in the evenings they sing all kinds of songs — usually from Bollywood. The compartments with such singing groups attract more people as they provide a good source of entertainment and are significantly more crowded than other compartments on the same train. The group has its own dynamics — leadership is assumed, conflicts are resolved, problems are addressed, etc. New social configurations come into existence. These configurations make spaces in the journey livable and even enjoyable despite being extremely uncomfortable. These are spaces where an important part of social life is lived — this is the most important public space of Mumbai. Here it is not the physical place that produces a public space, but it is the travellers and their journeying which produce a public as space — to be occupied by themselves and others. Their songs could be considered public art — being produced by the public for itself. The artists, the art, and the public are all one here. This is public as space.

In the production of public as space, the idea of the private is not in traditional opposition with the idea of the public. On the other hand, many private individuals contribute to the making of this public (as a space). In fact, such an idea of the private (as a subset of the public and not as a contrast to the public) seems more relevant to affirming the idea of the public as an *entirety* and meaning *everybody*.

Public as strategy

In mid 2003, leading Mumbai newspapers carried articles stating that the government had allotted a piece of land in Bandra (a suburb of Mumbai) to certain developers. The newspapers also mentioned that the developers intended to develop commercial and residential real-estate on the site (fig. 7). This land was marked as a recreational ground in the Development Plan (the Master Plan) of the city and belonged to the Housing Authority. Due to its location, this piece of land was prime property and was valued at Rs. 200 Crores in the year 2003. Disturbed by the news, the Residents' Association of the neighboring apartments decided to approach the Bombay High Court with a plea for maintaining the use of this land as a recreational ground. The members of the Association were inspired by the case of Oval Maidan (another recreational ground in South Mumbai). The Oval Residents' Association had fought a court case, where they argued that the Maidan (large open space) was under severe threat of abuse and misuse as the Municipal Corporation was unable to maintain it. They also insisted that the responsibility of maintaining it should be handed over to the Oval Residents' Association. The Mumbai High Court had instructed the Resident's Association to prove their capacity in a pilot period of one year to organise resources and improve the Maidan. Subsequently the Residents' Association, with the help of several private groups, upgraded the open space. They made several small interventions: the area was fenced, the open space was levelled for efficient drainage, areas for different purposes were demarcated and several private agencies were appointed to use and maintain the area. Following the success of the first year, the court asked the Municipal Corporation to hand over the maintenance of the Maidan to the Oval Residents' Association.

The Residents' Association from Bandra approached an urban research group to help them with their intentions. They asked the research group to prepare a two-part document — the first part containing arguments for the court case towards keeping the space open and not allowing the government to hand it over to a private developer; the second part comprised designs for the improvement of the open space and (organizational and financial) plans for its maintainance. This document was not only prepared for the court, but it was also for the private parties who were to invest in the development of the area as well as for the various state and private institutions whose blessings were required for the development of the space. The Residents' Association wanted to prepare itself to take over the open space like the case of Oval Maidan.

The research group strategized the first part containing arguments for the court case around the ideas of public space. It made a detailed report, empirically proving the shortage of *public open space* in the area and the need to keep this place open for public use. So far this was simple. However things became complicated in the second part. The research group started the project with a detailed survey of the space and the community that was going to use it. They found that a part of the space was being occupied by a small informal settlement. Also, the open space was used by the dwellers of this settlement as well as other informal settlements in the neighborhood. There were also other users of the open space like occasional hawkers who sold their wares around the open space. Part of the open space was rented for exhibitions and other community activities like marriages. On the other hand, interviews with the members of the Residents' Association of the apartments indicated that they wanted to enjoy the benefits of open space for environmental reasons (ecological balance, ventilation, and breathing space) and also for cultural ones (recreational purposes, social and cultural gatherings). They were specifically concerned about the elderly and the children. A number of them did not have a problem with the land being developed into *congruent activities* like a Gymnasium, Sports Centre, Exhibition hall, Community Hall, Library, Swimming Pool, Theatre, etc. The entire group, however, was unanimous about its dislikes: it did not like the *slum-dwellers and hawkers* using the open space and felt that parcelling the land for other activities like exhibition and marriages was a public nuisance. The Residents' Association insisted that the space be developed as a public space and that non-congruent activities (like informal settlements, hawking, community activities, etc.) should not be allowed. They wanted the research group to develop the project with all these demands.

The research group found itself in a dilemma — while it was the research group itself that had produced the idea of the public as a strategy to save the open space from predatory developers, the idea of the public was highjacked and reproduced by the Residents' Association to evict the informal settlers from the open space. The idea of the public was produced as a strategy, but it was double edged: while it was useful against appropriation, it was also problematic when used as an intolerant and indiscriminate instrument (fig. 8).

While we have identified a few ways in which the idea of the public is produced, there may be many more ways in which this production must be taking place. We have not aimed to list all the ways in which the public is produced — there cannot be such an exhaustive list. Instead, we have first sought to explore the idea of the public as being the result of a process of production; and secondly, we have operationalised this idea by tracing some of the conceptual trajectories in which the production of the public takes place in urban Mumbai.

6 — Mumbai Local Train, Photo Courtesy of Ranjit Kandalgaonkar

3 — Mumbai Local Train
Photo Courtesy of Ranjit Kandalgaonkar

5 — Local Train, Mumbai

4 — Train (Vinita Ghatne)

UNDERSTANDING THE PUBLIC AND THE CHINESE CONTEMPORARY

Li Zhenhua

What is the public?

The concept of the public only exists in relation to the private. We are talking about the *public* that is represented through squares, restaurants, train stations, and other types of public spaces. This is a concept based on space, power, and the idea of sharing responsibilities. It is primarily a prediction and a keyword, inseparable from an apparent agenda.

Since 1949, several typical expressions have been used to describe the interrelation between ideology and reality. These include *the masses, the people, the liberation army soldier, the student* and so on. All these words were used only to convey this ideology of the public. None has ever represented any individual being, but they have served only as a replacement for identity — especially class and political identity. Institutional changes led to the collapse of this semiotic system. This transition was of tremendous significance, and its traces even withdrew from government propaganda. Instead, terms like *people, public, friends* came to represent certain groups for a certain time. While they have lost their former apparent political class indication, these terms have turned into impalpable representations of a continuously changing mass politic.

Already before the introduction of communism to China, there had been a period of constant rising and falling of great revolutions. China was in a special state of transition from feudal to civil society, mimicking revolutionary practices from Europe and the former Soviet Union. Public speeches (impromptu performances) advanced the notion of democracy, generated the impulse for the people's awakening, and created the preconditions for revolution and insurrection.

All of that was different from the Chinese people's former understanding of the public, the private, feudalism, democracy, dictatorship, etc. As many scholars have pointed out, under the circumstances in China back then, the concept of the nation state was only gradually understood and accepted. Neither did it have any characteristics nor did it target any special group of people, but rather it became only vaguely visible when an iniquitous incident occurred. Under those circumstances, any person or party who had understood prevailing social reality could have used the absence of the public to create any kind of common ideology.

The *public* discussed here is a constructed one. Similar people have a similar understanding of society. Through learning and observing, society, indeed even the world, can be understood and the more abundant such knowledge, the greater the potential to become open-minded. As a construct, the *public* can be traced back to the Chinese Communist revolution, whose propaganda and broadcasts are perfect practical examples of the concept.

The Long March (October 1934 — October 1936) is the best evidence for this kind of understanding. This revolutionary route was a necessity. It was not taken by choice, however, but created an even more expansive public space. Before, the public sphere was often confined to the class struggle between education and urbanity; moreover, it was always under Soviet influence, but ultimately these struggles ended in failure.

The revolutionary base, created through the Long March, and the vast revolutionary masses by far exceeded the number of residents in the cities. This also established mass mobilization as a main strategy of the revolution and consolidated the leadership position of Mao Zedong. One could argue that the Communist Party's propaganda strategies and methods still have an immediate effect. Whether they concern foreign affairs policies or the regimentation of internal information, they are all under strong control and supervision. Since that time, propaganda has turned into an instrument of the government, seizing hold of all kinds of cultural forms, and gradually infiltrating every aspect of the Chinese people's understanding of the world and society.

Between 1900 and 1949, the public sphere for urban intellectual movements was also created. Through the writings, publications, and speeches of those intellectuals, modern culture and knowledge started to spread. For a certain period, China found itself in a special state, a need awakened for independence and individuality, civil rights and the freedom of speech. Liang Qichao (1873—1929) took the first step.[1] Based on his knowledge of the world, he started to compare times of change and the inevitable transformations in China with those occurring globally. These considerations were evoked through the elite intellectual class' reflections on the change of dynasties, but also through his newspaper publishing work during his stay in Japan, as well as through his later employment as a teacher.

The next step was taken with the release of the first edition of *Ta Kung Pao* on 17 June 1902.[2] Further, the popularization of movies and many other cultural forms in the early 1920s showed for one thing that the level of freedom in China had reached an unprecedented state, for another that with this circulation and popularization of European and American technology, a post-industrial, globalized appearance of the world was created.

After 1949, attention should be directed towards the newly created public sphere called the *square*. Traditionally, people gathered at commercial and law enforcement areas, like East and West markets, and the execution ground. Only

1 Liang Qichao was a Chinese scholar, journalist, philosopher, and reformist during the Qing Dynasty (1644—1911). He inspired Chinese scholars with his writings and reform movements.

2 *Ta Kung Pao*, founded 1902 in Tianjing, was one of the most important newspapers during Republican China. It was re-issued in Hong Kong in 1948, and is the oldest active Chinese language paper today.

later did China come under the influence of the Soviet Union and pursue the establishment of an industrial civilization.

The expansion of Tian'anmen Square after 1949 and the demolition of Beijing are very much connected to this understanding: traditional architecture has to be reconstructed in accordance with political needs and the image of an industrial civilization. The dismantling of Beijing's city wall just provided the huge mass foundation for this top-down demand. Mao Zedong once said, standing on top of Tian'anmen Gate, "I wish I could see a forest of chimneys in front of me" (Wang, 2003, 2011). I shall not scrutinize this statement here; however, this comment perfectly illustrates the collision of different world views and values, as well as the conflicting perception of culture, tradition, and heritage. This can be considered as the emergence of the two coexisting and intertwined main threads of Chinese contemporary culture and public space.

Public can be seen here as a result that has transformed exterior space while starting out from knowledge.

Public Space

'Everything that belongs to the people, should be part of the concept of public space' — this understanding even applied to the public issue that was caused by the exhibition of the Stars Group (1979—1980) and the subsequent demonstrations on Tian'anmen Square (Zhu 2007).

Important public incidents have occurred continuously on Tian'anmen Square. However, one like the May 4th Movement, which was eternalized by its carving of the People's Hero onto the Monument has never occurred again. Most of the other incidents are preserved solely on photographic and cinematographic images. This raises the question whether this space, which belongs to the people, has been substituted by political and economic needs?

The *China/Avant-Garde* exhibition in the National Art Museum in 1989 was the final breakthrough for contemporary art, the moment where it stepped completely out of the traditional public sphere.[3] After 1989, the public sphere showed an even stronger bi-directional development towards politicization and privatization. Due to the government's withdrawal from mass movements and through its effective controls and restrictions, the public sphere only showed political needs or private needs that were sanctioned by the government. One effect this had on the art scene were government-commissioned exhibitions, which included many shows of foreign artists, and the renting of exhibitions spaces for economic reasons.

Curiously, Andy Warhol came to China in 1982 and visited the Great Wall; in 1985 Robert Rauschenberg had an exhibition at the National Art Museum; in 1993 Gilbert and George also exhibited there, as well as Henry Moore in 2000. The latter's works were also shown in Beijing's Jingshan Park among other locations. In 2004, the British artist Antony Gormley chose the outside of the National Museum, this new historical building adjacent to Tian'anmen Square, to set up his symbolic sculpture made of a pile of packing boxes, which resulted in the curators being interrogated and to its forced removal after a couple of hours.

In the early 1990s, contemporary artists continued their struggle in rural or urban rural areas. Beijing's Yuanmingyuan Artist Village served as an important meeting place from the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s.[4] Cultural events usually took place either there or in the later Songzhuang Artist Village or in the East Village.[5] Art performances, documentaries, and exhibitions attracted small, uniquely mixed groups, some of whom came from the cultural elite while others included passers-by and government spies. As a rule, spectators were restricted to less than one hundred and any kind of reporting was forbidden. These restrictions lasted until after the year 2000.

The evolution of the cultural public sphere is driven by the economy. Starting in the 1990s, art galleries gradually came into fashion in Beijing and Shanghai. In 1991, Brian Wallace, a student from Australia, made the beginning with *Red Gate*, Beijing's first art gallery. In 1996, Lorenz Helbling opened *ShangART*, Shanghai's first gallery. These galleries shared some similarities in the mid-90s: for economic and cultural reasons, both established their exhibition spaces in hotel lobbies and showed modern and contemporary Chinese artworks. Planted into a more international and upscale environment, these public spheres more or less hovered above the city.

China's contemporary and modern art developed correspondingly to this circumstance, starting with the Stars Group movement of the 70s, the subsequent nationwide 1985 New Wave art movement, and ending with the *China/Avant-Garde* exhibition in the National Art Museum in 1989. The Stars Group's only demands were a critical analysis of the fine arts and of the individual, as well as the need for art's independence, whereas the exhibition in 1989 dealt exclusively with the conflict between political and individual interests and with the dangers of what was officially called the 'liberalization of the bourgeoisie'.

In the 1990s, a certain degree of disorder was prevailing; artists' living spaces mostly also served as exhibition spaces. After the year 2000, with the emergence of the Internet, an even more comprehensive cultural policy was implemented. President Jiang Zemin advanced the notion that the cultural industry furthered the self-determination and internationalization of cultural events like the Shanghai Biennale of 2000, which provided an excellent example for the mixing of international curators and local culture. The first Guangzhou Triennale in 2002 solidified the history of experimental art for one thing; for another, it raised the question of the growing internationalization of Chinese contemporary art. This discussion had already started in the 1980s. Its main focus had been the translation of the name of an exhibition: *China Contemporary Art/Contemporary Chinese Art*, that is, two different concepts and denotations, blurred by the English language. Even today, this controversial issue is still being discussed in Chinese art publications.

3 See: http://www.artda.cn/www/42/2009-02/1332.html; http://goldsen.library.cornell.edu/special/wen.php.

4 See: http://www.cnarts.cn/yszx/12380.html; http://www.cnarts.cn/yszx/12381.html.

5 Since 1993, many international and domestic artists have moved to Xiaobao Village, located in Songzhuang, Beijing. Today, it has turned into a think tank of artists and is known as Xiaobao Artist Village. For further information on the East Village, see: http://www.artspeakchina.org/mediawiki/index.php/East_Village_Beijing_北京东村.

After 2003, the creative industries saw an even more extensive promotion by the government. As part of this strategy, many premises became available to be used as galleries, studios, private museums, companies, and so forth; culture turned into a product and started to drift away from its former ideology. This development was not only triggered by the government, but also by the people: political resistance completely disappeared from the scene, most conflicts concentrated on profit and relations, and political manifestos or cries for spiritual and physical freedom were no longer heard of.

In 2005, at the first China Blogger Conference, public communities started to come alive online. The mere fact that this conference took place demonstrated the significance of these communities. A new kind of public space was created, one which differed from the physical world and whose existence was restricted to virtual space.

Since the creation of public space through the interlinking of private spheres, a consistency of concepts between physical space and cyberspace has come into being. Through its convenience and technological power, cyberspace has already become China's most important private – but at the same time also most public – space today; it is moreover also the most extensive sphere of information exchange.

Of course, this has also brought a series of prohibitions and the development of subsequent wall climbing techniques (ways of bypassing the state firewall). Twitter, YouTube, Vimeo, Facebook, and other public websites from the West, but also some private Chinese blogs, are all affected by official censorship. Furthermore, it also concerns the search for certain sensitive keywords.

More and more people are growing aware of the necessity to bypass censorship, and wall climbing was probably one of the most important topics in 2009 and 2010. Consequently, VPNs have become the major information disclosure tool for netizens.

Unofficial art movements and unofficial fields of art

Misunderstandings about Chinese contemporary art, within and beyond China, have occurred for two opposing reasons: one is the opinion that its development is completely separate from other cultural currents. It is indeed growing increasingly stronger. However, mainstream culture continues to be dominated by curious and traditional painting styles. Contemporary art is still only emerging in China; after all, starting from the Stars Group in 1979, its history spans little more than 30 years. The other opinion is that Chinese contemporary art only adopted frameworks of Western culture; indeed, the influence of modern and contemporary Western culture cannot be ignored, so that consequently any overlapping would be a natural consequence. As mentioned, scholars have already been discussing these relations and parallels since the times of Liang Qichao.

Fine arts education broke apart after 1949. It was built on the foundations of the Soviet educational system, which means that besides the influence of traditional art, the roots of Chinese contemporary art are still located in the former Soviet Union.

From 1979 until today, contemporary art has been dealing with the questions of the independent transformation of Chinese art and with how to sinicize foreign ideas and art forms. Of course, the latter requires a deeper understanding of contemporary Chinese thinking, as well as the expertise of cultural scientists. Nevertheless, I shall try to answer the former question by considering some prominent events in the development of contemporary culture, as well as some geographical changes. For the moment, I shall call this the *development of unofficial art in China*.

Stars Group (1979–1980)

The Stars Group was an affiliation of friends that concentrated mostly on painting and drawings. Its greatest contribution was an exhibition in a small park, next to the National Art Museum, which is rather hard to find today. The members of the Stars were: Ai Weiwei, Bo Yun, Huang Rui, Li Shuang, Ma Desheng, Mao Lizi, Qu Leilei, Shao Fei, Wang Keping, Yan Li, Yang Yiping, and Zhong Acheng.

To a certain extent, this event was a sequel to the cultural needs developed during the Cultural Revolution. It started with the Democracy Wall on Xidan Street and *Jintian* (Today) magazine, as well as the convergence of the people's call for democracy and the intellectual's demand for free thought.[6] The Stars were born out of this situation. They eventually entered the art museums and institutions hosting official exhibitions, and even gained the approval of the cultural ministry back then. However, most of its members left China soon after.

For the occasion of their retrospective exhibition, curated by Zhuzhu in 2007, a special issue of *Jintian* Magazine was published. In *Jintian: The Stars Group,* most of its members recounted this chapter of the group's history.

6 The Democracy Wall was a long brick wall on Xidan Street, Beijing. It became the focus for democratic dissent and is considered the starting point for China's democracy movement. The short period of democratization is known as the "Beijing Spring". Jintian (Today) Magazine, co-founded in 1978 by Bei Dao in Beijing, is the centre of the Misty Poets movement, a group of Chinese poets who reacted against the restrictions of the Cultural Revolution. Banned in 1980, it has been reissued again since 1990 under the name Jintian Wenxue Zazhi (Today Literature Magazine), see: http://www.jintian.net.

85 New Wave (1980—1990)[7]
Reality diverges slightly from the accounts of the former curators and organizers. The *China/Avant-Garde* exhibition in the National Art Museum included over 200 Chinese artists from different groups, like the *Northern Art Group* founded in 1985 by Wang Guangyi, Shu Qun, Ren Jian and Liu Yan among others, or the *Southern Artists Salon*, or indeed *Xiamen Dada*. Other participants were artists or groups from the organizers' social circles.

The 85 New Wave can be seen as an extensive mass movement, initiated through the people, intellectuals, and students. It no longer bore any kind of relation to the Cultural Revolution. As more information on modern and contemporary art was obtained from abroad, cultural ideologies and activities experienced an unprecedented development. The 85 New Wave was a potent and democratic movement, a huge cultural trend that had sprung up in all provinces and cities. It concluded with Tang Song and Xiao Lu's perfor-mance *Two Gunshots Fired at the Installation: A Dialogue*, which marked the end of the *China/Avant-Garde* exhibition in 1989 (Berghuis, 2006). Its effect was not only the termination of communication between the people and the government, it can also be seen as a metaphor for the subsequent student movements.

At the exhibition entitled '85 New Wave: The Birth of Chinese Contemporary Art', curated by Fei Dawei at the end of 2007, the movement was described as follows:

> "The 85 New Wave was one of the most important art movements in China's 20th century art history, it created a new era, defeated the instrumentalism and monism of art and made the first step for China's contemporary art. Many groundbreaking works were also created during this period [...]."

The exhibition took place at the UCCA (Ullens Center for Contemporary Art). Eighteen years have passed since its exhibition at the National Art Museum in 1989. However, if we compare the locations, the former represents the sacred halls of China's institutionalized art, whereas the latter is a private gallery in Beijing's 798 art district opened by Guy Ullens and his wife.

Shanghai Biennale and Guangzhou Triennale (1996—2010)
The first Shanghai Biennale took place in 1996. Until the second, it tried to cut into Chinese contemporary art, but the effect was only very minimal. Neither exhibition is mentioned in official reports. Most people learned about the Biennale in 2000. Because of its international team of curators and artists, its record-breaking expansive exhibition space and media coverage, contemporary art reached a level of extreme publicity. This directly influenced the sudden increase of biennales across the country: one after another Chengdu, Guizhou, Nanjing, and Guangzhou all held biennales or triennales. The Guangzhou Triennale, which started in 2002, is especially noteworthy as it made the greatest contribution to improving the image of experimental art.

The absence of Western curators from the 2010 Shanghai Biennale aligns to a certain extent with predicated future trends. But the transfer of Wang Huangsheng from the Guangdong Museum of Art to the CAFA Art Museum (Museum of China Central Academy of Fine Arts) might spell the end of the Guangzhou Triennale. At the same time, however, biennales and triennales across the country are continuously being founded and disappearing again, so no clear tendency is visible. Moreover, these developments directly affect the government's understanding of contemporary art.

Yuanmingyuan, Songzhuang, East Village, 798 Art Zone, Caochangdi, and other art districts (1984—2010)
Yuanmingyuan artist village came into being in 1984, providing a home to several hundred art pioneers. Especially after 1989, this area developed into a meeting place for artists, poets, writers, stage and documentary directors, until the forced eviction of the whole area in 1995. Afterwards most of the artists scattered around Beijing and moved to places like Huajiadi, Songzhuang, Mudanyuan, Tongxian, just to name a few.

Around 1993, the East Village, which was located in today's Eastern part of the Third Ring Road, turned into an important location for performance art (see Annex). Ma Liuming and Zhang Huan's live performance *Dialogue with Gilbert and George* in 1993 foreboded for one thing Chinese contemporary art's future relation to the world; for another, it showed in a certain sense a continuity with the *China/Avant-Garde* of 1989, as both took place in the National Art Museum, that is, the sacred halls of Chinese institutionalized art. Unfortunately, the East Village only existed for two years before it was banned by the government.

As for Songzhuang, due to its remote location, which is an estimated 30 minute drive from the district town of Tongzhou, the two thousand resident artists have managed to create a stable working and living environment that still exists today.

798 was discovered in 2002, whereupon artists gradually started to move there. In 2003, it was almost demolished due to reconstruction plans of the local administration. From 2003 to 2006, while continuously accommodating artists and galleries, the question of the area's future demolition and renovation were still on the table. In 2008, 798 became a government promoted trendy art district, which eventually turned into an important location for the official creative industry. Only thereafter was its existence secured.

With the opening of UCCA in 2007, people took notice of the arrival of foreign funds, while at the same time Chinese contemporary art reached its second peak upon entering the auction markets. Through its location next to Huajiadi art district and the CAFA, 798 naturally expanded in a northeastern direction, assimilating the villages and creating today's Caochangdi and Huantie (circular railway) art districts and also a bit further away, the Feijiacun Artist Village, as well as the 1 Art Base and Beijing 318 Art Garden among others.[8]

All these art districts, studios, galleries, and private museums provided enough exhibition space, technical and

7 On the 85 New Wave, see http://www.artspeakchina.org/mediawiki/index.php. The New Wave Movement of the mid-1980s was a continuation of the past era. It was based almost entirely on the theories, conceptual ideas, and visions of Western modernism. It consisted of regional, folkloristic art groupings that mobilized a national modernist art movement on an unprecedented scale. Some of the noteworthy groups with a certain kind of continuity, size, and theoretical approach were the Northern Art Group, the Jiangsu Neo-Primitivism Group, the Red Brigade (Nanjing), the Pond Society (Hangzhou), Xiamen Dada, Tribe·Tribe (Wuhan), and the Southwest Art Research Group.

8 See the Beijing Art Zone map at http://www.ionly.com.cn/nbo/news info3/200708291/1635091.html.

financial support for Chinese contemporary art. Through the relocation affair in 2010, the legitimization issue of public space became apparent again. The present conflict is different than the previous one, which focused on ideology, political antagonism, and violent government interference. This time, the demolition and relocation that Caochangdi is facing, is a double attack led by the local village government and by the economy of relocations.

Public Media

This was only a rough summary of events. Many more incidents and locations where significant changes occurred were left unmentioned. But let us return to the issues of the public and of public art, which were among the necessary conditions and foundations influencing the development of public media.

After the public distribution of information, the most important breakthrough since the year 2000 have been the economic innovations in contemporary art that came with the globalized economy. The transformation of contemporary art and its artists' identity started at that moment. After the year 2000, public art and the country's development were completely aligned. The frequent exhibitions of contemporary art and its continuous advance into public space created different reactions among the people and the government. For example, the *Post-Sensibility* movement, which came into fashion in 1999, developed two tendencies, one focusing on space and media, the other on flesh and corpses.[9] This immediately met with general criticism and official investigations, and ultimately with a government ban on performance art. This was all due to the dissemination of information — a greater public had fallen into the sufferings of contemporary art.

Since the upcoming of new media education, the effect has become even more extensive: the interest in computers, science, or interdisciplinary studies has reached an unprecedented level, whether in art academies or among the wider population. The already overloaded government websites were no longer able to answer the public's needs. With the continuous rise of private websites and blogs, information dissemination multiplied rapidly. Similar to the practices of Western artists in the 1960s, who used television to directly broadcast performances or videos to the public, the Internet in China has assumed the functions of an exhibition platform and broadcasting tool.

Traditional forms of media like newspapers, magazines, and TV are also facing the end of their functions as mouthpieces of the government. They are undergoing transformation into individual cooperations. In response to the public demand for news and information, a blurred area of the public media has arisen.

In the 1980s, when people like Wen Pulin were working for China Central Television (CCTV), a lot of visual material of Chinese contemporary art was produced.[10] This is a perfect example of how private interest inside an official organ can affect its future transition. Chinese contemporary art is just becoming an extensive field, permeating all areas of culture and life. A recent article in Hong Kong's *Wen Wei Po* criticizing contemporary art ("Has contemporary art turned into nothing but hot air?") has also demonstrated how contemporary art is turning into mainstream culture.[11]

The annual Chinese Blogger Conference in 2005 can be seen as a turning point of the people's voice through economic and technological development. Every subsequent public event has had its own media appearance, widely discussed online, thereby creating a vast community of information exchange. Since the advent of information diversity, everybody has assumed the power of being a medium.

The above-mentioned prohibitions and *wall climbing* are part of this newly created sphere. Today, social media has become the synonym for public media. This area also concerns the progress of hardware (mobile phones, PCs, TV, internet, etc.), as well as software (3G, blogs, podcasts, etc.). Public media will replace the former one-way and single-track systems of information dissemination, and turn into today's communication network and information pool. The enormous amounts of data that were shared via mobile phones or PCs will slowly become the main sources of information and news.

Official public art and city construction

Opposite above-mentioned unofficial art stands official, mainstream art. There is nothing curious about this, as we are all surrounded by it.

The standardization of culture after 1949 meant that only eight Model Plays (there were some additions later) existed during the Cultural Revolution. Performances combined many different art forms (ballet, Peking Opera, theatre, Pingju Opera, classical music, folk music, etc.) and were thoroughly public products in every aspect. Even though these works were broadcast only for a short period, they have become eternal monuments, mental brand marks, something that will never be forgotten by any Chinese alive back then.

The most important event in 1972 was the visit of US-president Nixon, which is known today as the *ice-breaking* event. It had an immediate impact on the Chinese people's understanding of the world. Before, China and its knowledge base only existed as part of the communist camp. But through this event the country surfaced as an individual entity. This paved the way for the normalization of diplomatic relations with Japan later in 1972, for the establishment of Sino-US relations, and ultimately for Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms.

The *April 5 Tian'anmen Incident* in 1976 was a reaction to Premier Zhou Enlai's death and the people's anger against the Gang of Four. It was centered around the Tian'anmen Monument, the most significant memorial since the founding of the Republic.

The economic reforms in 1978 could not have been implemented without Deng Xiaoping's rectification in 1975. The reforms and the Stars Group movement of 1979 can be seen as the beginning of an open relationship between culture and politics, brought about by a certain kind of self-awareness within the government and the people.

The 1980s were a period of economic development, with both coastal areas and the inland undergoing development and construction. Stadiums, hotels, restaurants, and apartment buildings enjoyed the biggest popularity. By Mayor Chen

9 See: http://www.bjartlab.com.

10 See: http://wason.library.cornell.edu/Wen/archive.php.

11 See: http://arts.cul.sohu.com/20101229/n278569649.shtml.

Xitong's decree in 1983, all buildings in Beijing started to receive a green, antique-looking roof, which can be considered as a highlight of modern architecture history. This action, as well as the demolition of Beijing's city wall after the founding of the Republic, served to fulfill political needs.

The end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s were characterized by an atmosphere of repression. Most people chose silence as a countermeasure. In the 1990s, the Chinese economy was affected by the Asian financial crisis and came to a standstill. This caused a short period of distress for economy-driven, futuristic cities that had been built from the ground, like Shenzhen or Shanghai's Pudong district. The 1990s were also the beginning of the government's emphasis on the cultural industry, and they marked the start of city beautification campaigns. Many monuments were created and all of them had wonderful motifs. But no other city than Guangzhou found a sculpture that better represented its city culture than the *Stone Sculpture of the Five Goats*.[12] Yet the masses of old leader statues were still occupying too much public space; until today, flower beds and roundabouts in folkloristic styles still dominate public space.

Since the year 2000, the cosmopolitan cities of Beijing and Shanghai have been hosting massive actions to improve their image. On 13th July 2001, Beijing was awarded the Olympic Games, and started a worldwide design competition for the Olympic stadiums. After the Games, they all have become important landmark buildings and public culture venues. The Shanghai Expo 2010 used Beijing's experience to make the most of its own event. All the buildings were temporary, only the China pavilion was kept. Furthermore, the CCTV Headquarter, designed by Rem Koolhaas, and the Shanghai Tower came into being. These colossal and unique architecture projects were already designed as landmarks and media centers. While they are still connected to politics, they are also inseparable from business and culture.

Epilogue

This essay has attempted to depict the changes in China's public and public culture in the past 100 years. I hope to have provided the reader with a rough idea, despite the limited space available. *Public = people's need = standardization of political culture = media* can be seen as a summary of the meaning of the term public in China from 1949 to 1978; this is a one-way, vertical process, which responds to popular desires and party expectations. After 1978, whether political or popular needs, many more factors came into play. Public art is a vertical need of the government, a political need to reconstruct cities. As soon as the media and information distribution by the people came to life, the *public's* legitimacy and totality faced questioning and rejection. This led to the emergence of an even bigger information network, which then turned into an online public sphere. This phenomenon took an immediate effect on the formation of the public and of public art. Today, the public can be created for three different reasons: 1. political needs; 2. personal benefit; 3. media event. Coincidentally, these aspects are also shaping today's contemporary art.

Both domestic and international transitions have led to an overall variation and diversification of public awareness in the course of the globalization process, and are slowly helping to overcome national borders and boundaries. By way of comparisons, conversions and exchange, more public issues will be raised, like the environment question, youth education, unemployment, the emergence of migrant workers, the dangers of coal mines, and many more.

There is also the concept of *concealment*, which has always existed within tradition and culture. This has not ceased existing despite revolutions and reforms, but has become an integral part of China's cultural heritage and the backbone of the elite and intellectuals. Its traces can be found today in the structures of ancient buildings, gardens, and paintings.

Returning to the issue of ideology issue, if China's politics and public both belong to this domain, then it also concerns modern and contemporary art. Chinese artists have always had a pragmatic attitude towards this issue, as the famous final line in the film version of the novel *The Miraculous Pigtail* nicely illustrates: 'The pigtail is gone, but the spirit is still here' (Feng 1984). This clearly shows a non-compromising inner nature, while being able to adapt to reform and revolution. Here, we need to discuss the re-thinking of culture, a question already to be found in the writings of Joseph Needham (1900—1995):

> "First, why did modern science only develop in Europe, but not in Chinese (or Indian) civilizations?
>
> Second, why was the Chinese civilization between 100 B.C until 1500 A.D. so much more effective than Europe in applying mankind's natural knowledge to its practical needs?"

So what does China's current public environment and spirit look like? Everything that I have mentioned above needs to be considered to answer this question. Since we are living in a multifaceted era with many networks, all the events that took place before have a subtle butterfly effect on our world today. Never before has anything superseded the rules of a society within an existing ideology in such a short time. Ideological transition is the first step towards universal change. Those ideologies that are gradually dying away will cause a shift within the external world, from its buildings to its aesthetics.

After the creation of *sharism*, the ideology of sharing constructed by the public, what will a world look like where information is completely disclosed?[13] Will China, after its official entry into the WTO, be affected by the next financial crisis? Also, have the problems and morality constraints that arise from sharing led to the construction of self-imposed limits? How should we consider matters in such a complicated situation? Of course, these issues are already part of the ideology of contemporary art. What, we may ask, is not public today? Knowledge is like a speedboat: I am in the boat, looking at the sea, sometimes looking up at the stars.

What might be more important than all of this is perhaps simply forgetting to explain the concepts of public, contemporary, politics, sharing, and so on, or at least to stop using these memorized, simple words with some

12 Designed by famous sculptor Yin Jichang and others in 1959 to perpetuate the goat as Guangzhou's city symbol, this is an artwork full of poetic grace.

13 See: http://sharism.org

kind of preassigned values. Extremes can lead to the emergence of violence, but then every person is also empowered to have violent thoughts. When a person has mastered the power of writing and reading, books will also turn into power. Precisely that is part of the public.

Thus, Xu Tan justifiably asks: 'Knowledge is power, is power power?' (Xu Tan, 1998).

The Ai Weiwei incident that started with his investigations about Wenchuan has to be mentioned here as well.[14] Ai Weiwei's main interest lies in the information disclosure of the government, which led to him being beaten up and hospitalized (during the Frankfurt Book Fair) this time. This incident created a great stir and was widely reported by major German, French, British, and US media stations. However, Ai Weiwei's blog was the sole information source (as his blog was censored in China, as well as all other reports on this incident), which resulted in a biased news coverage.

Wikileaks suffered a similar fate in that the disclosure of over-sensitive information led to continuous bans and transfers.

All this leaves me confused about the credibility of information. I wonder about the reasons for the bans and censorship, as well as the reality created by all these incidents.

Furthermore, there are many different aspects of the public that would allow us to come closer to reality. These, however, would also make it impossible for us to cope with this multifold, parallel reality.

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14 Ai Weiwei launched an independent investigation into the death of more than 5,000 school children after the 2008 Wenchuan earthquake. See: http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2011/04/11/ai-weiwei-and-the-artists-role-in-china/how-ai-weiwei-challenges-the-political-order.

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Annex
Artists in Residence at
Yuangmingyuan Artist Village
1990—1995

1990:
Ren Ke (Sichuan)
Ding Fang (Jiangsu)
Fang Lijun (Hebei)
Tian Bin (Shaanxi)
Wang Yin (Shandong)
Yi Ling (Shanghai)
Zhang Baifang (Hunan)
Zhang Ge (Guizhou)
Zhang Huiping (Beijing)
Zhang Minqiang (Jiangsu)

1991:
Bu Jian (Xinjiang)
Cao Xiaodong (Jiangsu)
Chen Yiqing (Qinghai)
Colin Chinnery (UK)
Gao Yang (Inner Mongolia)
Guo Jian (Guizhou)
Huan Zi (Jilin)
Li Xinghui (Yunnan)
Lili (Shanghai)
Lu Lin (Shandong)
Luo Zidan (Sichuan)
Mo Gen/Morgan (Guizhou)
Pan Wenbin (Anhui)
Shen Yun (Hebei)
Wang Qiang (Guizhou)
Wei Lin (Xinjiang)
Wei Ye (Heilongjiang)
Xu Hongmin (Hunan)
Xu Yihui (Jiangsu)
Yang Shaobin (Hebei)
Ye You (Zhejiang)
Yue Minjun (Hebei)
Yun Hong (Liaoning)
Zhang Hongbo (Guizhou)

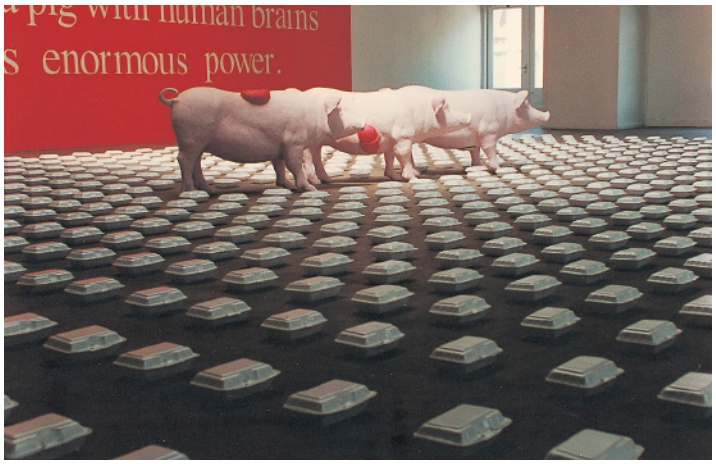
1992:
Chen Guangwu (Guangxi)
Chi Nai (Beijing)
Da Zhuo (Jiangsu)
He Ruijun (Inner Mongolia)
Hei Yue/Black Moon (Qinghai)
Hou Guangfei (Jiangsu)
Hu Yuepeng (Liaoning)
Huang Ou (Zhejiang)
Ji Xiaomei (Hubei)
Lai Wen (Anhui)
Li Song (Heilongjiang)
Liu Fenghua (Hebei)
Liu Guoqiang (Hebei)
Liu Hu (Jiangsu)
Liu Siang (Inner Mongolia)
Liu Wenjin (Jilin)
Liu Yan (Heilongjiang)
Ma Ziheng (Jiangsu)
Pan Qiang (Liaoning)
Qi Zhilong (Inner Mongolia)
Qiu Bing (Shandong)
Qu Jinzhong (Yunnan)
Rao Songqing (Hubei)
Shen Quancheng (Shaanxi)
Shitou/Stone (Guizhou)
Song Ye (Liaoning)
Sun Guanghua (Liaoning)
Wang Mai (Heilongjiang)
Wang Qiang (Heilongjiang)
Wang Qiuren (Shanghai)
Wang Weihong (Guangdong)
Wen Song (?)
Xu Ruotao (Liaoning)
Xu Yiming (Jiangsu)
Xu Zhiwei (Beijing)
Xue Mo (?)
Yan Zhengxue (Zhejiang)
Yang Maoyuan (Liaoning)
Yang Yi (Guangdong)
Yin Guangzhong (Guizhou)
Yin Jun (Jiangsu)
Yin Lichuan (Sichuan)
Yu Xinjiao (Jiangsu)
Yunfei (UK)
Zhang Bo (Liaoning)
Zhang Feng (Zhejiang)
Zhang Hongye (Liaoning)
Zhang Jianqiang (Xinjiang)
Zhang Wan (Liaoning)
Zhao Qing (Yunnan)
Zhao Xing (Inner Mongolia)
Zheng Xiaochong (Liaoning)
Zhuang Hong (Hebei)

1993:
[Wu Tao] (Liaoning)
[Zhou Zhanhong] (Jiangsu)
Cai Xiaohua (Shaanxi)
Che Che (Heilongjiang)
Chen Guangwu (Guangxi)
Chen Jun (Shandong)
Chen Qiqing (Shanxi)
Cheng Peimin (Shandong)
Dan Yi (Xinjiang)
Du Han (Shandong)
Du Peihua (Beijing)
Feng Jianwen (Yunnan)
Gao Cengyun (Jilin)
Gao Yansong (?)
Geng Xiaogang (Inner Mongolia)
Gou Hongbing (Guangdong)
Gu Rong (Jiangsu)
Hai Shang (Hunan)
Hao Zhiqiang (Inner Mongolia)
He Shang (Guizhou)
He Xuesheng (Ningxia)
Hei Tong (Guizhou)
Hong Qi (Xinjiang)
Hu Junjun (Zhejiang)
Huang Guangpeng (Guangxi)
Jia Qiong (Jilin)
Jiang Tianyu (Jiangsu)
Li Changxi (Liaoning)
Li Dafang (Liaoning)
Li Jingtao (Hubei)
Li Qingwen (Qinghai)
Liao Bangming (Sichuan)
Lin Hong (Jilin)
Liu Fengzhi (Heilongjiang)
Liu Mu (Shaanxi)
Liu Zheng (Hebei)
Lu Ying (Anhui)
Luan Hua (Henan)
Luo Lin (Germany)
Luo Yinglong (Sichuan)
Ma Han (Zhejiang)
Ma Ye (Shaanxi)
Ma Yue (Jilin)
Mo Yuan (Jiangsu)
Mu Chen (Liaoning)
Mu Yefeng (Liaoning)
Ren Hui (Jiangsu)
Shao Zhenpeng (Qinghai)
Shen Wei (Guangxi)
Shi Xinning (Liaoning)
Sun Da (Jiangsu)
Sun Guanghua (Liaoning)
Sun Ruoqiong (Heilongjiang)
Tian Zizhong (Jilin)
Wang Ai (Zhejiang)
Wang Guangli (Sichuan)
Wang Qingsong (Hubei)
Wang Shen (Liaoning)
Wang Xin (Zhejiang)
Wang Yan (Hubei)
Wei Ligang (Shanxi)
Wei Meng (Beijing)
Wen Quan (Hunan)
Wu Shiyou (Jiangxi)
Xie Hongjun (Jiangsu)
Yan Yinghong (Zhejiang)
Yang Fang (Xinjiang)
Yang Wei (Hunan)
Yao Junzhong (Hebei)
You Xiangyun (Hunan)
Yuan Tongyu (Jiangsu)
Zhang Dong (Fujian)
Zhang Ji (Hubei)
Zhang Lin (Sichuan)
Zhang Tianhong (Liaoning)
Zhao Dayong (Liaoning)
Zheng Xiuli (Inner Mongolia)
Zhou Shaobo (Guangxi)

1994:
[Zhang Huisheng] (Beijing)
A Jian (Shaanxi)
Ai Li (Hebei)
Bao Zhiming (Anhui)
Chen Huamei (Hunan)
Chen Jianfeng (Sichuan)
Chen Qiuchi (Jilin)
Dong Lu (Tianjin)
Dou Dou (Beijing)
Du Dan (Liaoning)
Feng Jin (Shanghai)
Gao Qiang (?)
Gu Chunlei (Guizhou)
Gu Xiangfei (Hunan)
Hao Xiangyun (Inner Mongolia)
Hao Zi (Guizhou)
Hei Zi (Guizhou)
Hu Jie (Jiangsu)
Huang Wenjun (Hubei)
Huang Xiang (Guizhou)
Li Changxi (Liaoning)
Li Xi (Heilongjiang)
Li Yandi (Yunnan)
Liang Tao (Guangdong)
Liu Chuanwen (Hubei)
Liu Hui (Heilongjiang)
Liu Huijun (Hebei)
Liu Jian (Jiangsu)
Liu Junfeng (Shandong)
Liu Liye (Shandong)
Lü Li (Jiangsu)
Lu Zhengcai (Jiangsu)
Luo Chaohui (Shandong)
Luo Zidan (Sichuan)
Ma Zhe (Guizhou)
Niu Ben (Liaoning)
Pian Shan (Guizhou)
Piao Guangyi (Jilin)
Ren Zhitian (Hubei)
Shen Weiguang (Hebei)
Si Mao (Guizhou)
Song Xiaofei (Shandong)
Sun Guangyi (Liaoning)
Sun Ke (Shaanxi)
Tan She (Guangxi)
Tian Bing (Gansu)
Wang Feng (Shanxi)
Wang Hui (Beijing)
Wu Nai (Guizhou)
Xie Tianxiao (Shandong)
Xue Changhe (Inner Mongolia)
Yang Hu (Jiangsu)
Yang Qing (Guizhou)
Yin Kun (Sichuan)
Yue Nan (Shandong)
Zhang Jianping (Guizhou)
Zhang Jianzhi (Sichuan)
Zhang Song (Liaoning)
Zhang Xiaojun (Henan)
Zhao Hai (Inner Mongolia)
Zhou Yunpeng(Liaoning)

1995:
Agula (Inner Mongolia)
Cao Hongfei (Sichuan)
Cao Ying (Shandong),
Da Hai (Beijing)
Da Peng (Liaoning)
Dong Congxian (Ningxia)
Du Ke (Anhui)
Gao Yan (Hebei)
Gou Hongbing (Shaanxi)
Guo Xuan (Beijing)
He Lu (Sichuan)
Hu Dasheng (Gansu)
Hu Xiangdong (Jiangsu)
Huang Weiguang (Gansu)
Jiang Jun (Shandong)
Li Gang (Shaanxi)
Li Mengna (Jiangsu)
Li Qiang (Xinjiang)
Li Quanlong (Xinjiang)
Li Taimo (Jiangsu)
Li Wei (Anhui)
Li Yuying (Shandong)
Liang Huamin (Shandong)
Ling Zi (Jilin)
Liu Jian (Jiangsu)
Liu Lang (Jilin)
Liu Xiaojun (Henan)
Luo Weidong (Guangxi)
Luo Weiguo (Guangxi)
Pang Yongjie (Shandong)
Ren Fusheng (Henan)
Ren Sihong (Hebei)
Run Zhi (?)
Tan Junjiang (Beijing)
Tang Jianying (Hebei)
Tian Ye (Ningxia)
Wang Fei (Henan)
Wang Jue (Hebei)
Wang Lei (Shandong)
Wang Xiujuan (Hubei)
Wang Yan (Hebei)
Wei Shanghe (Gansu)
Wei Shen (Guangxi)
Wei Xiaobin (Xinjiang)
Wen Quan (Anhui)
Wu Ke (Heilongjiang)
Wu Xiaoman (Sichuan)
Xiong Er (Jiangxi)
Xiong Zuguo (Sichuan)
Xu Shun (Jiangsu)
Yang Zi (Jilin)
Yu Bogong (Heilongjiang)
Yuan Hua (Hunan Province)
Zhang Donghong (Jilin)
Zhang Maocheng (Jilin),
Zhang Qianwen (Zhejiang)
Zhang Yao (Hunan)
Zhou Bin (Shaanxi)
Zhou Yunpeng (Jilin)
Zhou Yunxia (Jiangsu)

Zheng Lianjie, *Huge Explosion (Binding the Lost Soul Series)*, 1993, Performance, Great Wall in China, Courtesy of the Artist



Xu Tan, *Untitled, Dreaming Pigs*, 1998, Taipei Biennial, installation, sculptural pigs (fiber glass) with exposed organs on bodies, Courtesy of the Artist

认识"公共"和中国当代艺术 UNDERSTANDING THE PUBLIC AND THE CHINESE CONTEMPORARY

Li Zhenhua

什么是公共?

从概念谈起，公共相对于私人存在，如广场、饭店、火车站等公共空间，所代表的"公共"。这是一个基于空间和权利、责任分享理念之下的概念。这首先是一个预设，一个有着明显意识形态的关键词。

中国从 1949 年至今，有着几个代表性的词汇来描述这一意识形态和现实之间的联系，如群众、人民、解放军战士、学生等等都直指这一涉及到公共的意识形态。这些关键词从来也不是对某一单一个体的代表，而是对身份，尤其是阶级、政治身份的替代。体制上的变化，导致了这一基于尤其是阶级、政治身份替代的崩塌，其意义上的转变是巨大的，甚至已经逐渐的退出政府宣传的媒体。取而代之的是民众、公共、朋友们这样相对阶级、政治身份模糊的，对某一特定时间之下群体的代称。然而它也就失去了之前关键词明确的带有政治阶级的指向，转而成为某一不可见、随时变化群体政治的代表。

早在共产主义被引入中国之前，各种大革命此起彼伏之时。中国正处于从封建社会过渡到民主社会的特殊情况。模仿来自欧洲和苏联（现俄罗斯）的革命方式有之，公开的演讲（临时剧场）成为推动民主认识、人民觉醒和革命暴动的前提。这些都与之前中国人对公共、私密、封建、民主、独裁等等这些的认识不同，如同很多学者阐释的关于民族国家这一概念，在中国当时的情况下，是逐渐被认识的和被接受的观念。它并没有什么明确的指向和特定的人群，只是模糊存在于那些不公正的事件中。在当时的情况之下，如果认清这一社会现实，任何人和党派都是可以占有这一公共的缺失，创造出某种公共的意识形态来。

这里说到"公共"是被创造出来的，同样的人对社会的认知也同。都是通过对知识的了解和观察，得来对社会乃至对世界的认识，知识越丰富，人也就越有开放性及可能。"公共"是被创造的这一话题，可以被引申到中国革命中，共产主义革命对宣传和传播的实例中。

1934 年 10 月— 1936 年 10 月的长征[1]，就是对这一认识最好的证明，这一革命路线是在被动的情况下发生的，却创造了一个更加广阔的公共空间，之前这一公共空间多局限于对城市和教育相对普遍的阶层的争夺，并一直接受到苏联影响的战略方式，最终以战略和战斗中的失败告终。长征所建立的根据地，以及聚集的革命群众的数量远远超越了这些城市居民的数量，这也确立了发动群众这一革命主线，以及毛泽东的领导位置。共产党所使用宣传策略和方法，可以说一直影响至今，无论是从外交的手段上，还是国家内部的信息治理上，都有着强力的控制和监督，宣传从那一时刻开始，成为一个政权的工具，逐渐借助各种文化形式渗透到中国人对世界和社会的认识的各个方面。

1900—1949 年间，城市知识分子运动的公共也被创造了出来。来自这些知识分子的写作、出版和演说，先进文化和认识开始被传播。在中国有着一段时间的、特殊的公共情境，觉醒的针对独立个体、权利、言论自由等等方面的需要逐渐浮出水面。先有梁启超[2] (1873—1929) 对世界的认知中，梁开始比较中国相对世界所处的时代和必经的变革，这一来自精英知识分子阶层对朝代更迭的反思，及其在日本期间创办报纸和后来做教育。后有 1902 年 6 月17日天津创刊的《大公报》[3]，以及 20 年代初期电影的兴起，多种文化形式的兴起，一个方面昭示着中国的开放性，已经达到一个空前自由的状态，另外就是这一来自欧美的技术传播和普及，早已成就了工业革命之后藉由战争、商业构建的全球图景。

1949年之后，应该谈及的被创造的公共空间"广场"，对于中国，先有东、西市和法场这些传统的经济活动或是执法空间的传承，后受到苏联的影响，和对工业文明的追逐。1949 年之后天安门广场的扩大、北京城的拆除就与这一认知有关，传统建筑要按照政治需要和工业文明的想像被改造，北京城墙的拆除更是给这一自上至下的需要，提供了庞大的群众基础。毛泽东曾经站在天安门城头说：'我希望从这里看到烟囱林立。'（见王军《城记》[4]）在今天我们不用评判这一事件的对错，事实是这确实是一次来自不同世界观和价值观的碰撞，针对旧的、遗留的、文化的认识上的冲突。这可以被看作是中国当代文化和公共空间的两个并存交错的主线，出现在不同的时间节点中。

"公共"在这里可以被看作是从认知出发，改变外部空间的结果。

公共空间

属于人民的都应该是公共空间的范畴，这一理念一直延伸到星星画会[5] (1979—1980) 针对展出导致的公共话题，以及后来天安门的游行。发生在天安门广场之一最重要的公共空间的事件此起彼伏，但是像五四运动一样被铭刻于人民纪念碑的却再也没有了，这些事件多被保留在影像（图片和电影）资料中。这一属于人民的空间是否被后来的政治和经济需要所替代?

1 长征 http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E9%95%BF%E5%BE%81 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Long_March

2 梁启超（1873年2 月23日—1929年1 月19日，字卓如、任甫，号任公、饮冰子，别署饮冰室主人，广东新会人，中国近代思想家、政治活动家、学者、政治评论家、戊戌变法领袖之一。 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liang_Qichao http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E6%A2%81%E5%90%AF%E8%B6%85

3 大公报 中文：http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/大公报 English：http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ta_Kung_Pao 清末民国时期著名日报之一。1902年6月17日在天津创刊，创办人英敛之，富商王祝三(郅隆)为主要经济资助人。英主张变法维新《大公报》遂在北方言论界初露头角。《大公报》突出新闻特性，编排醒目美观，注重培养人才。尤其是社评，力求言之有物，见解独特。对时政有所批评，很快名闻国内《大公报》也一跃成为全国最著名的报纸和舆论界的代表之一。1927年以后《大公报》总体上对国民党持支持态度。"九.一八"事变后，随着日本侵略的加紧《大公报》主张抗日，并发表了著名记者范长江的西北通讯，首次披露了红军长征情况。为了应变《大公报》开始筹南方各版，1936年4月10日上海版发刊。抗日战争爆发后《大公报》天津版于7月底停刊，上海版12月13日停刊。《大公报》同人分赴各地办报，先后有汉口版、香港版、桂林版。最重要的重庆版自1938年12月1日起出版，销售额最高近十万份。它坚持抗日立场，鼓舞民心士气，对抗战起到了一定作用。1941年4月被美国密苏里大学新闻学院推选为当年最佳外国报纸，获荣誉奖章。1941年9月6日张季鸾逝世，王芸生接任总编辑，曹谷冰、金诚夫、徐铸成等领导《大公报》。

抗战胜利后《大公报》上海版于1945年11月1日复刊，天津版12月1日复刊，香港版1948年3月15日复刊，重庆版继续出版。《大公报》一度支持过国民党的内战政策，1948年后因立场有所改变受到当局迫害，重庆版一度被强行接收。中华人民共和国成立后，《大公报》重庆版、上海版先后停刊。天津版改名《进步日报》旋又恢复原名，迁至北京出版，主要报导财政经济和国际问题，1966年9月10日停刊。香港版出版至今。

4 《城记》作 者：王军 著 出 版 社：生活.读书.新知三联书店 出版时间：2003-10-1 版次：1 页数：357 字数：360000 印刷时间：2004-5 1 纸张：胶版纸 ISBN 9787108018168 包装：平装

5 "星星"画会 1，《今天：星星画会专号》朱朱 策划 冬季号 总第79期 /今天文学杂志社 /ISSN 0803-0391 2，http://www.arts-peakchina.org/mediawiki/index.php/The_Stars_Group_星星画会/zh

1989年美术馆的《中国现代艺术展》[6]，让当代艺术彻底的走出传统公共空间。1989年之后，公共空间呈现了更加政治化和私人化的双向性。一是来自政府对民众群体运动的回避，有效的控制和约束，让这一公共空间只呈现政治需要，或是在符合政府要求的某种私人化的需要。体现在展览上一部分是来自政治需要的指派性展览，指派性展览还包括很多来自海外的艺术家的展览；一部分是来自经济需要的场地租赁展览。

有趣的是1982年安迪沃霍来了中国，去了长城。1985年劳申伯格 (Robert Rauschenberg) 来到中国美术馆做个展；1993年吉尔伯特和乔治 (Gilbert and Gorge)也来过中国美术馆展出其作品；2000年亨利摩尔 (Henry Moore)来了中国美术馆，其作品还在景山公园等地展出。2004年英国艺术家安东尼·葛姆雷 (Antony Gormley) 选择了在国家博物馆，这一毗邻天安门广场的新历史建筑中，其在室外设置的由包装箱子堆叠的象征物，导致了策划人被质询，几个小时后作品被勒令拆除。

90年代伊始，当代艺术的艺术家们转战于农村或是城乡结合的地点。北京的圆明园画家村[7] 80年代末期—90年代初期的重要聚集地，文化事件发生在圆明园画家村和后来的宋庄[8]、东村[9]等地，行为艺术、摄影记录和展览，都呈现出一种独特的小圈子化，有些是文化精英，也有观望者和政府的侦探，一般此类项目不能有任何报道和超过百人的观众。这一现象一直维持到2000年以后。

经济带动着文化的公共化，画廊在90年代逐渐开始在北京、上海兴起，布朗(Brian Wallace) 这个来自澳大利亚的留学生，开设了北京的第一个画廊"红门"于1991年。劳伦斯 (Lorenz Helbling) 的"香格纳"画廊在上海1996年初创。两个画廊在90年代中期有着一些共同点，他们都在酒店的大堂设置了画廊空间，展出中国现、当代艺术作品，这一情况可也被看作，来自经济和文化需要的公共空间，被植入一个更加国际化和上层，如同悬浮在城市上空的公共空间之中。

中国现当代艺术的发展也与这一情况相对应，无论是70年代末期星星画会的运动，或是发生在各地的85新潮美术运动，到89年美术馆《中国现代艺术展》作为一个结点。70年代末期的星星画会，不过是要求绘画上和个人思考，以及美学独立的需求。89年展览却直指政治和个人利益之间的冲突，还有官方称为"资产阶级自由化"的危机。90年代有些散乱，艺术家的居所多成为展出的空间。2000年后伴随着网络的兴起，更加宽泛的文化政策的推行。江泽民提出了文化产业这一文化经济结合的政策，推动了更加自由和国际化的文化活动上的对应，如2000年的"上海双年展"，就很好的证明了来自国际策展人体制和本土文化交融的现象。首届广州三年展(2002年)，一方面在温顾过去的实验艺术的历程，一方面在讨论中国当代艺术更加国际化的现实。这一话题更早可以被追述到80年代，主要围绕着"中国当代艺术"或是"当代中国艺术"展开。直至今日，在涉及中国艺术的出版物上，依旧可以发现这一争论的话题，两个不同的概念和对区域的界定，被英文模糊掉了。

2003年之后更加广泛的政府对创意产业的推行，创造了大量的空间，这些空间成为画廊、工作室、私人博物馆、公司等等所占据，文化成为一种可以被生产的"物"，开始脱离之前文化和群体所代表的某种意识形态。这一情况即来自政府、也来自民间，政治对抗彻底退出历史舞台。主要的矛盾多集中在利益关系上，而不再是那些涉及政治的宣言，或是精神、身体上的自由之需要。

2005年第一届中文网志年会[10](China Blogger Conference)，从网络的角度开始构成公共群体，大会的召开更是说明了这一群体网络的可见。当然这就必然的创造了一个不同于物理世界的，仅存在于虚拟空间的公共空间。

自此私人空间的链接，构成的公共空间，开始和物理空间的通过聚众的公共理念相合，逐渐的因为其便利和技术的强大，网络空间已经成为现在中国最主要的私人的（也是最公共的）、信息传播最广泛的空间。

当然这伴随着一系列的禁止和翻墙，一方面是来自官方的对twitter, youtube, vimeo, facebook 等一些来自西方的公共网站，还包括国内一些人的私人博客。还有涉及到一些敏感词汇的关键词搜索，也都被禁绝了。这让更多的民众开始意识到翻墙的必要性，翻墙可以说是2009—2010年最重要的话题，使用VPN手段翻墙，成为了网民最重要的针对信息公开的行动。

非官方艺术运动，与非官方艺术场域

来自国内外的针对中国当代艺术情况认识的误区来自两个方面，一个是完全剥离了整个文化潮流、进程的中国当代艺术，中国当代艺术确实发展的越来越壮大，但是中国古董和传统绘画依旧是主流文化，当代艺术在中国还在成长中，毕竟从1979年星星画会算起也不过30年的历程。另一个就是中国当代是传承西方的文化线索，确实不能忽视来自西方现当代文化潮流的影响，但是如果有联系也是必然，上述曾经提及自梁启超时代文人学者就在找这个联系和比较了。美术教育自1949年之后则是割裂的，建立在前苏联美术教育基础之上的，也就是说除了传统艺术，中国当代艺术的传承根本还在前苏联。1979年之后至今，当代艺术的理念，必然的要涉及到来自中国自身的艺术变革，和如何中国化舶来思潮与美术形式这两个方面。当然后者需要更加深入的了解中国当代思想进程和文化比较研究的人，才可以回应，而前者我可以通过一些凸显在当代文化发展的事件和一些地理上的变化试图说明，在这里我暂且称之为非官方艺术在中国之发展。

星星画会(1979—1980)

说到星星画会，这一自由组织的、朋友圈子的活动方式，以绘画为主。其主要的贡献在于，展出于美术馆旁边的一个小公园中，现在的布局相对隐蔽。星星的组成人员为：艾未未，薄云，黄锐，李爽，马德升，毛栗子，曲磊磊，邵飞，王克平，严厉，杨益平和钟阿城。

这一事件可以被看作是对文革时期文化需要的一种延伸，首先此事起于西单民主墙[11]和《今天》杂志[12]，来自民间的针对民主发言的需要和来自知识分子阶层的对自由思想的融合。"星星"是对这一情况的延伸，最终进入了美术馆和官方展览系统，同时得到了当时文化部门领导的认可。但是不久之后其成员大多离开中国。

在之后朱朱策划于2007年对星星画会的回顾展览出版的《今天：星星画会》特刊中，大部分成员讲述了这一段历史。

6 89《中国现代艺术展》1, http://www.artda.cn/www/42/2009-02/1332.html 2, http://goldsen.library.cornell.edu/special/wen.php

7 圆明园画家村1, http://www.cnarts.cn/yszx/12380.html2, http:// www.cnarts.cn/yszx/12381.html

8 北京宋庄（小堡村）自1993年以来，大批国内外艺术家先后入住小堡村，进行艺术创作和文化交流。至今已完成 术家资源的聚集，早有"小堡画家村"之称。

9 北京东村1, http://www.artspeakchina.org/mediawiki/index.php/East_Village_Beijing_北京东村/zh 2, http://www.artspeakchina.org/mediawiki/index.php/East_Village_Beijing_北京东村

10 中文网志年会 http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E4%B8%AD%E6%96%87%E7%BD%91%E5%BF%97%E5%B9%B4%E4%BC%9A

11 西单民主墙 1，西单民主墙主要指的是1970年代北京西长安街和西单北大街交会处，西单体育场的约2米高、100米长（也有一说是200米左右）的宽阔围墙。民主墙被视 中國民主運動的開端。其發揮宣傳政治自由 民主化的短暫 時期被稱為"北京之春"。 2 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy_Wall

12 《今天》杂志《今天》是1978年由北岛等人创刊的民间诗歌刊物，地点在北京，该刊是朦胧诗派汇集的所在，但后来被查禁。1990年《今天文学杂志》在挪威复 刊，由北岛继续担任主编，编辑散集世界各地，2005年《今天文学杂志》网络版问世，2007年今天论坛开张，到2009年 一月已有5116位注册会 员。2008年牛津大学出版社出版了北岛、李陀主编的《七十年代》。2008年12月12—13日在香港举办《今天》30周年纪念活动，并有徐晓主编的《今天叁拾》。还按照当年铅字油印形式再次出品了《今天》诗刊第1集至第9集，今天文学研究会内部交流资料之一、之二、之三，这十二份刊物用两个三角木框 对角夹着。还有今天文学杂志社出品鄂复明主编的《今天》，将《今天》诗刊第1集至第9集，今天文学研究会内部交流料之一、之二、之三合订在一起。 http://www.jintian.net

85新潮[13]（1980—1990）

实际情况并非和后来几位当时的策划者、组织者的叙述完全一致。美术馆展出的《中国现代艺术展》包含了二百多位中国艺术家，这些艺术家分别来自几个不同的群体，如1985年，王广义与舒群、任戬、刘彦等人创立"北方艺术群体"，1986年"南方艺术家沙龙"和"厦门达达"[14]等，还有就是组织者关系网络中的艺术家和小组。

85新潮可以被看作是一个更大范围的，来自民间、教育系统中知识分子、学生阶层的群体运动，不再和之前文革的某种情绪接壤。因为开始获得更多的来自海外的现、当代文化信息，不同的艺术理念和行动得到了空前的发展。85新潮是一个潜在的并行的运动，来自中国的各个省市的一次大的文化潜流。89年的《中国现代艺术展》以唐宋、肖鲁的《对话》（枪击电话亭）事件[15]收尾，其作用不仅仅在于终结了民间到官方的沟通道路，还可以被看作是后来学生运动的隐喻。

2007年末期由费大为策划的《85新潮：第一次当代艺术运动》[16]展览中，85新潮被如此描述：

> '"85新潮"是中国20世纪艺术史上最重要的艺术运动之一，它创造了一个新的历史纪元，打破了艺术工具主义和一元化的状态，迈出了中国当代艺术的第一步。这一时期也产生了大量艺术史上杰出的作品……'

85新潮被呈现的场所是UCCA（尤伦斯当代艺术中心），从1989年的中国美术馆到2007年的UCCA，时间的跨度为18年，而空间上，一个代表着中国美术系统的最高殿堂，而后者是尤伦斯和夫人在北京798投资的私人美术馆。

上海双年展[17]与广州三年展[18](1996—2010)

上海双年展始于1996年，至第二届1998年试图切入中国当代艺术，影响甚微，官方多不提及这两届展览。大多数人知道的上海双年展始于2000年，因为其国际化的策划团队和艺术家群体，构成了当代艺术从传媒到场地最大化的公共特性。这直接影响了来自各地的对双年展的追捧，成都、贵州、南京、广州都陆续的出现了双年、三年展。广州三年展（2002年第一届）更是其中梳理中国当代艺术实验艺术方面，作出了巨大的贡献。

2010年上海双年展西方策展人的缺席，也许是一种对未来的隐喻，而王箐生从广东美术馆被调到中央美术学院美术馆，有可能导致未来广州三年展的缺席。同样来自不同地区的双三年展也在不断的增加和减少，并没有一个确定的态势，如此动态的情况更是直接影响到来自公共渠道的对当代艺术的理解。

圆明园，宋庄，东村、798[19]、草场地等艺术区(1984—2010)

圆明园画家村起于1984年，几百位艺术前锋曾经居住于此。尤其在89年之后，这里成为很多艺术家、戏剧导演、纪录片导演、诗人、作家的聚集之所。1995年彻底被政府清除，之后大部分艺术家四散于北京的各个地点，如花家地、宋庄、牡丹园、通县县城等地。1993年左右起于现在东三环的艺术家村"东村"成为一个重要的行为艺术之场所。

马六明、张洹1993年的《与吉尔伯特和乔治对话》这一现场行动，一方面预示了后来中国当代艺术与世界的关联，另一个方面艺术家的创作有着和之前89年《中国现代艺术展》的某种延续，其地点都是在中国美术馆，这一官方美术系统最高殿堂。东村成立大约2年，就被取缔。宋庄因为地理上相对偏远，离通州县城尚有30分钟的车程，艺术家也相对安静的争取一个平稳的创作、生活空间，一直保留至今，聚集艺术家超过2000人。

798在2002年被艺术家发现，逐渐移居其中，2003年因为当地管理集团的改造需要差点被拆除，2003年—2006年期间，798不断的接纳艺术家、画廊的同时，持续讨论着未来拆迁改造的问题，2008年798正式成为官方推广上的时尚艺术区，最终成为官方创意产业的一个重要场所，才得以保留。2007年798尤伦斯当代艺术中心 (UCCA)[20] 的开幕，让人发现海外资本的到来，同时这个时间也是中国当代艺术进入拍卖市场以来最好的巅峰。798因为有着花家地艺术区和中央美术学院的基础，自然的发展和兼并其东北方向的村庄，形成了现在的草场地艺术区、环铁艺术区等地，还有更远的如2000开始的费家村艺术区、一号地艺术区、318艺术区[21]等地。

这些艺术区、工作室和画廊、私人美术馆，为中国当代艺术的展出提供了足够的空间、技术和资金支持。2010年的拆迁事件，将公共空间合法化问题明朗化，矛盾与之前的意识形态、政治对立和政府暴力干涉不同，草场地地

13
85新潮
1、中文：http://ucca.org.cn/portal/exhibition/view.798;jsessionid=6CDC718234F86589925B87A68B4FE06E?id=2&menuId=27
http://www.ionly.com.cn/nbo/zhanlan/pic_13736.html

14
"北方艺术群体""南方艺术家沙龙""厦门达"等20世纪80年代中期的"新潮美术运动"是对上一个阶段的继续，这场运动几乎完全以西方各种现代主义理论与实践为思想准备和视觉参照，以地区性、民间性艺术群体为社会组织方式，在中国广大地区全方位、前所未有地发动了一场现代主义的艺术运动。具有一定组织规模、理论主张和延续性的艺术群体有"北方艺术群体"、"新野性画派"（徐州）、"池社"（杭州）、"红色·旅"（南京）、"厦门达达"、"南方艺术沙龙"（广州）、"部落·部落"（武汉）、"西南艺术研究群体"。

15
唐宋、肖鲁《对话》（89《中国现代艺术展》枪击事件）
1989年2月4日，农历腊月二十九，26岁的女艺术家肖鲁在中国美术馆里布置她的装置作品《对话》，这是她作为浙江美院油画系学生的毕业作品。两个月前肖鲁接到邀请参加在中国美术馆举行的中国现代艺术展，肖鲁的作品被安排在美术馆一楼东大厅进门第一展厅。帮她布置的是唐宋，唐宋也是应邀参展的艺术家。
下午2时左右，《对话》布置完毕：两个并列的、相距不到一米的玻璃电话亭，电话亭里各有一男一女打电话的背影——实际上是两张放大到与人身等高的照片，俩人应该在通话，但电话亭之间的红色电话机，话筒从桌上垂下来，孤伶伶地悬挂着，似乎可以听到那嘀嘀嘀的忙音…
晚上10点多，住在三姥姥家的肖鲁辗转反侧，她起来给李松松打了个电话。李松松感觉电话里肖鲁的声音有些慌乱："听说现在风声很紧，打枪这事打不打？"
李松松一听不无失望——15岁的少年觉得打枪这事挺好玩的——他说："哎呀，都决定了，还是做吧。"
肖鲁说："反正明天你先把枪拿来，然后咱们到时候看，是打还是不打"。肖鲁答应次日中午请他吃饭。
2月5日，大年三十上午，李松松跟家里人说他要去看个展览，家里人问他中午是否回来吃饭，他高兴地答："不了，肖鲁姐姐说请我吃饭，约好了"。
他穿了件羽绒服，羽绒服左边的内兜里揣着一把手枪，枪里有三发子弹。10点左右，他骑车到了美术馆，10点45，见到肖鲁，就在走廊边上，很多人走来走去的地方，李松松把枪递给她，并教她怎么用——一拉枪栓，子弹上膛，就可以用了。
肖鲁将枪揣在怀里，去找策展人汇报情况。肖鲁找到侯瀚如说了开枪的想法，侯瀚如说，再等会儿，等人少点儿再打。
11点，穿一身军大衣的唐宋也到了。肖鲁告诉他枪拿来了。唐宋很兴奋地说真的拿来了，他又问了一句，肖鲁你怕不怕坐牢。她说这有什么好怕的。他说那好，那就打吧，观众们从《对话》装置近前退到五六米远。肖鲁对李松松说，这是唐床。唐李二人匆匆握了下手。
11点19分。黑衣长发的肖鲁摆好姿势，右手握枪举至齐肩，其他人呈"U"形聚集在她的左右和身后。她直视着装置中电话机后面的镜子，枪口对准镜中的自己。手指扳动，肖鲁朝镜中人开了一枪。唐宋叫道"再来一枪！"肖鲁又开了第二枪。
因为是在室内，枪声非常响，而且突兀。人群潮水般地涌向这个展厅，又涌向美术馆大门。
开完枪后，肖鲁急急转身寻找李松松，李松松看到她"满脸通红，完全像西红柿那样"，她穿着半高跟的皮鞋，"哒哒哒"地快步跑到李松松跟前，把枪塞给他，李松松把枪放回衣服的内兜里，那里头还有一发子弹。肖鲁冲他连着大声喊了两遍"松松快把枪转移"——用的是当年地下党的措词。
枪声刚落，旁边的便衣就把唐宋抓了起来。此时，刚把枪交托出去的肖鲁躲进了另一个作品《东西南北》中的黑盒子里。接着在几个人的护送之下，她从后门溜出来，过马路，钻进百花美术用品商店。
11时30分，隔着商店的玻璃窗，肖鲁望着五四大街对面的中国美术馆，内心惶惶不安。这时她看到唐宋被穿军大衣的警察押着，从美术馆台阶上走下来，走过美术馆广场上"不许掉头"的标识，然后被押上警车带走了。
http://baike.baidu.com/view/1580995.htm#2

16
《85新潮：第一次当代艺术运动》
http://ucca.org.cn/portal/exhibition/view.798?id=2
http://ucca.org.cn/portal/exhibition/view.798?id=2&lang=en&menuId=0

17
上海双年展
http://www.sh-artmuseum.org.cn（上海美术馆网站）
http://www.shang-haibiennale.com

18
广州三年展
http://www.gdmoa.org（广东美术馆）
http://www.gdmoa.org/zhanlan/threeyear/shanni-anzhanlink/

19
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/798_Art_Zone
http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-cn/798%E8%89%BA%E6%9C%AF%E5%8C%BA

20
尤伦斯当代艺术中心UCCA
http://www.ucca.org.cn/

21
北京艺术区地图
http://www.ionly.com.cn/nbo/news/info3/200708291/1635091.html

22
后感性
http://www.bjartlab.com/read.php?93

区的拆迁面对的是来自当地村庄政府，和拆迁经济的双重攻击。

公共传媒

以上叙述颇为粗略，其中还有众多事件和场所，发生着重大的改变。回到关于公共和公共艺术这一话题，这些都是必要的条件和基础，大量的引发着来自传媒的发展。

公共传播完成了这些信息自2000年后最重要的突破，还有全球化经济带来的当代艺术经济上的创新。当代艺术和当代艺术家身份上的转型是从这一刻开始的。就在2000年之后，公共艺术和中国的临时特性完全同步，当代艺术的频繁展出和不断的侵入公共空间，构成了不同的来自公众的反应和来自政府的反应。如1999年兴起的"后感性"[22] (Post Sense and Sensibility Series) 运动，发展出了一个针对空间和媒介的方向，也发展出了针对肉和尸体的方向，这直接导致了来自各方的批判和审查。政府明令禁止"行为艺术"。这都依赖于信息的传播，更大的公众在一个特殊的地带遭遇了当代艺术。

自2000年兴起的新媒体教育更是影响广泛，无论是来自美术院校，还是来自民间的针对计算机、科学和跨学科的兴趣空前发展。已经成熟的官方门户网站已经不能满足公众的需要，逐渐更多的私人网站和博客的开设，让信息的传播成倍递增。如同60年代西方艺术家借助电视传媒，将行为或是录像直接传播给公众一样。网络在中国恰好就是扮演着展出平台和传播的双重身份。

之前的传统媒体如：报纸、杂志、电视，也在面临着脱离政治喉舌作用，转型成为独立经济集团的改革过程。对新闻的需求和对读者的需要，都导致了公共媒体的模糊地带。

80年代温普林[23]等人任职于中央电视台，拍摄了大量的中国当代艺术的视觉档案。这最好的说明了来自官方媒体内部的私人感性因素，影响着其未来的变化。中国当代艺术正在成为一个泛化的场域，渗透到文化、生活的各个方面，近期来自香港文汇报对当代艺术的批评[24]（当代艺术成了"嘴皮子功夫"？），也昭示了当代艺术主流化的真实写照。

2005年中文网志年会(Chinese Blogger Conference) 可以被看作来自经济、科技发展之下民声的一个拐点。为之后发生的，与所有公共事件相关的传播关联，构成了一个极端的大多数人组成的分享群体。自此信息多元的时代到来，每个人都可以是传媒。

上述提及的禁绝与翻墙，就是这一领域的实例，今天公共传媒的代名词为社群媒体 (Social Media)，这一领域涉及到硬件（手机、电脑、电视、网络等）的进步，也涉及到软件技术 (3G, 博客、播客等）的成熟。公共媒体这一社会媒体形态，将之前单向的、单线的媒体传播方式替代，成为今日传播网络和相互交融信息的现状，大量来自个人手机或是电脑的信息逐渐成为信息新闻的主流。

官方公共艺术和城市建设

与上述非官方艺术对应的，就是官方、主流的艺术。这一进程没有悬念，因为我们都生活在其中。

1949年之后文化上的一统，导致了文化革命中只有8个样板戏[25]（后来有所增加）的现象发生，这些综合了多种艺术类型（芭蕾、京剧、戏剧舞台、评剧、交响乐、民乐等等）的表演成为来自任何传播层面的完全公共作品。这些作品既是临时展播，也是永久性的纪念碑，是生活在那个时代的中国人不可能忘怀的，精神上的烙印。

1972年最重要的国际大事，是美国总统尼克松访华[26]，这一现在被称为"破冰"的事件，直接影响了整体中国人对世界的认识。之前的认识多停留在中国作为共产主义阵营的一分子而存在，而这一事件直接导致，中国作为独立的面貌出现。为后来1972年与日本邦交正常化[27]，中美建交，以及邓小平推行的改革开放铺平道路。

1976年4月5日"四・五天安门事件"[28]，这一事件的起自周恩来去世，民众对四人帮的反感，其中心为天安门广场纪念碑：建国以来最重要的标志性雕塑。

1978年改革开放[29]，这一政策的推行和1975年邓小平的整改分不开。改革开放和1979年星星画会的活动，可以被看作是来自官方和民间的某种自觉，导致的文化上、政治上的开放性的互联。

整个80年代中国都处于经济建设之中，沿海地区和内陆都在发展经济和建设，最多的是被兴建的体育场馆、宾馆、饭店、居民楼。北京自1983年以来陈希同政令要求，所有建筑开始有一个绿色的仿古建筑屋顶，这可以被看作是近代建筑历史的一个经典。和建国后拆除北京城墙，为现代建筑添加仿古元素，两者都来自政治需要。

90年代处于80年代末期的压抑氛围中，大多数选择静默以对。90年代中国经济受到来自亚洲金融危机的影响，处于停滞的阶段，导致了类似深圳和上海浦东这些针对未来经济兴建的人工城市的短期困境。90年代也是政府开始强调文化产业、城市美化的开始，大量的城市雕塑应运而生。这些城市雕塑多有着美好的主题，没有任何一个城市如广州五羊石雕[30]那样找到代表城市文化的雕塑。而之前大量遗留的领袖雕像，已经占据了过多的公共空间。大多这个时候的公共艺术还是来自民间审美的花坛、环岛的装饰物趣味，并且随着时间的变化不断更替。

2000年之后世界之都北京和上海都需要扭转世界形象的大动作。2001年7月13日中国申奥成功，北京开始全球招标设计奥运会场馆，这些场馆2008年比赛之后都成为重要的地标建筑和公共文化之所。2010年的上海世博会，更是在这一基础之上的锦上添花，所有建筑均为临时，除中国馆被保留以外。还有北京的中央电视台（库哈斯设计）和上海的上海中心建筑项目。这些庞大而独特的建筑项目，本身就是作为地标、新闻的中心被建造的，一方面它依旧有着和政治的联系，另一个方面却直接和经济、文化关联。

结语

此文试图叙述百年来中国公共和公共文化领域的变迁，篇幅很有限，希望能提供一个大致的脉络。"公共＝人民需要＝政治文化的统一＝传媒"可也被看作是1949—1978年"公共"的涵义，是一个单向的从上至下（或是从下至上）的过程，符合人民的意愿和政党的期望。1978年之后无论是来自政治的需

23
温普林文献库 Wen Pulin Archive http://wason.library.cornell.edu/Wen/archive.php

24
香港文汇报《当代艺术成了"嘴皮子功夫"？》http://arts.cul.sohu.com/20101229/n278569649.shtml （搜狐网转载）

25
8个样板戏
1967年5月9日至6月15日八个样板戏同时在北京上演，对样板戏的宣传登峰造极。在《人民日报》发表的社论《革命文艺的优秀样板》中，这八个样板戏分别为：《智取威虎山》、《海港》、《红灯记》、《沙家浜》、《奇袭白虎团》、《红色娘子军》、《白毛女》及交响音乐《沙家浜》。"样板戏"的数量正是在这一时期被确认为"八个"的。

26
尼克松访华 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1972_Nixon_visit_to_China http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/1972%E5%B9%B4%E5%B0%BC%E5%85%8B%E6%9D%BE%E8%AE%BF%E5%8D%8E

27
中日邦交正常化 http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/%E4%B8%AD%E6%97%A5%E8%81%AF%E5%90%88%E8%81%B2%E6%98%8E http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joint_Communiqu%C3%A9_of_the_Government_of_Japan_and_the_Government_of_the_People%27s_Republic_of_China

28
四・五天安门事件 http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E5%9B%9B%E4%BA%94%E8%BF%90%E5%8A%A8 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiananmen_Incident

29
1978年改革开放（中国1949年后历史年表）http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E4%B8%AD%E5%8D%8E%E4%BA%BA%E6%B0%91%E5%85%B1%E5%92%8C%E5%9B%BD%E5%8E%86%E5%8F%B2%E5%B9%B4%E8%A1%A8

30
五羊石像
1959年由著名雕塑家尹积昌等人设计的，作为羊城城徽的，富有诗情画意的艺术作品——五羊石像

要，还是民间的需要，都裹胁着更多的因素。公共艺术是从上至下的官方需要，是政治对城市改造的需要。当传媒和来自民间的信息传播开始，"公共"的合法性和唯一性，开始受到质疑和排斥。这导致了更大范围的信息网络的出现，构建了一个自我组织的公共网络空间。这一现象直接影响了公共和公共艺术的形态，至此公共有着来自三个不同源头的可能：1、政治需要；2，个人利益；3，新闻事件，同时这也在塑造着今日的当代艺术的形态。

还有就是来自中国内外的变化，导致了全球化之下，整体对公共认识的变化和多样化，逐渐超越了国家的疆界，通过比较、转译和走访，更多层面的涉及到公共的话题被打开，如环保问题、儿童教育、工人下岗、农民工现象、煤矿和矿工等等。

还有一个一直蛰伏在传统文化之中的关于"藏"和"隐"的概念，这一概念并未因为革命和改革的需要而消失，一直成为精英主义知识分子的文化传承和脉络。这一现象可以在今日的古建筑格局、园林以及文人画中找到映射。

回到意识形态[31]这个话题上，如果中国政治和公众都属于这一领域，那么现代艺术和当代艺术也是这一领域的类型。中国艺术家对这一领域的贡献在于实用主义的态度，如同小说《神鞭》[32]电影结尾处的经典台词：'辫剪了，神留着。'这里清楚的应对了关于改变和革命的外在适应，以及内在的不妥协。那么这里就要谈到文化的反思问题，这一问题同样出现在李约瑟(Joseph Terence Montgomery Needham 1900年12月9日－1995年3月24日)[33]的思考中：

> '1、为什么近代科学只在欧洲，而没有在中国文明（或印度文明）中产生?
> 2、为什么在公元前一世纪到公元十五世纪期间，在应用人类的自然知识於人类的实际需要方面，中国文明远比西方更有成效得多?'

什么是中国的公共环境和公共精神的代表和现状呢？我之前撰写的都与此有关，因为这是一个多层的、多网络的时代，那些之前发生的事件，都有着微妙的对今天的蝴蝶效应，从没有任何一个新生事物在短期取代已经存在的、意识形态化的社会前规则。意识的转变，是改变外部世界的根本，那些逐渐消亡的意识，会导致外部世界从建筑到审美的演化。

分享主义(sharism)[34]这一公众自我建构的意识形态之后，信息完全公开的世界是什么样子？如正式进入WTO的中国，是否会遭遇下一轮的金融风暴？而分享带来的困境和道德感的约束是否构建了自我组织的限制？如何在这一复杂的情况中反思，当然这些话题都已经被纳入到当代艺术概念之中，还有什么不是公共的？认知是一个飞速前行的船，我在船上时而看看海面，时而仰望宇宙中的星辰。

比这些都重要的也许是忘记解释什么是公共、当代、政治、分享等等概念，至少不要用这些去套用很多浅显易懂的东西，为其附加某种价值观念。而极端可能导致暴力的出现，同样暴力的去思考是每个人的权利，当人掌握了文字和文本的力量之后，书写也就变成了权利，而这就是公共的一部分。

"知识就是力量，力量就是权利？"——徐坦[35]

这里还要提及艾未未的事件，整个事件起于艾未未针对汶川的调查，艾未未的主要关注在于政府的信息公开问题，此间出现了他被打、住院（在德国法兰克福书展期间），将此事推向了高潮。来自德国、美国、英国的主要媒体针对此事的大量报道，信息来源是艾未未的博客（因为官方封锁其博客和其他传媒针对此事的报道），导致了信息的单一方向。

这一情况还发生在一个著名网站wikileaks[36]上，其发起者们针对那些潜在的过于敏感的信息的发觉，同样导致了其不断被封锁和转移的命运。

这都让我迷惑于这些信息的真实可靠，也迷惑于被封绝的理由，同样还迷惑于这些所导致的绝对真实?

还有很多方面的之于公共的线索，让我们更加接近现实，但是也让我们无法应对如此多样的，共时性的现实。

特别感谢毛向辉、郑连杰 、 徐坦对此文的贡献!

李振华
2011年1月12日于瑞士家中

31
意識形態 http://zh.wikipedia.org/zh/%E6%84%8F%E8%AD%98%E5%BD%A2%E6%85%8B（英语：Ideology，也寫作「意識型態」）是指一種系統化的觀念。通常是某些道德觀形塑了意識形態的基礎。英文Ideology這個詞是德崔希伯爵（Count Destutt de Tracy）在1796年所創造的，被用來界定一種「觀念的科學」。拿破崙稱帝之際，發現歐陸的哲學家多數對他有所批評，高傲的拿破崙遂以「意識形態家」輕蔑地稱呼他們，自後在言語的使用上，「意識形態」偶爾會表現出負面的意涵。特里·伊格尔顿（Terry Eagleton）认为："意识形态通常被感受为自然化和普遍化的过程，通过设置一套复杂的话语手段。（意识形态）把事实上是党派的，争议性的和特定历史时期的价值，呈现为任何时代和地点都确乎如此的东西，因而这些价值也就是自然的，不可避免的和不可改变。"
在廣義的意識形態概念的系譜上，其可追溯至柏拉圖《理想國》中的「高貴謊言」（the noble lie）的思想。
意識形態可以被理解為一種具有理解性的想像、一種觀看事物的方法（比較世界觀），存在於共識（參見日 常社會中的意識形態一節）一些哲學趨勢中（參見政治意識形態一節），或者是指由社會中的統治階級對所有社會成員提出的一組觀念（這是馬克思主義定義下的意識形態，參見作 為一種社會再造工具的意識形態一節）。

32
《神鞭》小说http://www.hudong.com/wiki/%E3%80%8A%E7%A5%9E%E9%9E%AD%E3%80%8B刊于《小说家》1984年第3期，是中国当代作家冯骥才的代表作品。1986年西安电影制片厂摄制完成电影《神鞭》。

33
李约瑟 Joseph Terence Montgomery Needham http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Needham

34
分享主义 Sharism, http://sharism.org/

35
"知识就是力量，力量就是权利！"——徐坦 http://www.xutan-works.com/

36
wikileaks http://213.251.145.96/About.html

附件
圆明园画家村艺术家居住年表
(1990-1995)

1990
丁方(江苏) 王音(山东) 方力钧(河北) 田彬(陕西) 伊灵(上海) *[任珂](四川) 张戈(贵州) 张方白(湖南) 张民强(江苏) 张惠平(北京)

1991
卜健(新疆) 王强(贵州)申云(河北)叶友(浙江)*云弘(辽宁) 环子(吉林) 李兴辉(云南) 罗子丹(四川) 陈逸清(青海)岳敏君(河北) *莉莉(上海) 徐一晖(江苏) 徐宏民(湖南) 秦思源(英国)杨少斌(河北) 郭健(贵州)张洪波(贵州) 高炀(内蒙) 曹小冬(江苏) 鹿林(山东)摩根(贵州) 潘文斌(安徽)魏林(新疆) 魏野(黑龙江)

1992
大拙(江苏) *王卫红(广东) 王迈(黑龙江) 王强(黑龙江) 王秋人(上海) 马子恒(江苏) *石头(贵州) 尹光中(贵州) *尹丽川(四川) 云飞(英国) 吉晓美(湖北) 余心焦(江苏) 陈光武(广西) 印俊(江苏) *庄红(河北) 刘文进(吉林) 刘彦(黑龙江) 刘虎(江苏) 刘枫桦(河北) 刘国强(河北) 刘思昂(内蒙) 孙光华(辽宁) 李松(黑龙江) 严正学(浙江) 沈全成(陕西) 祁志龙(内蒙) 迟耐(北京) 赵 兴(内蒙) 赵青(云南) 张波(辽宁) *张婉(辽宁) 张锋(浙江) 张红野(辽宁) 张鉴强(新建) 宋野(辽宁) 邱兵(山东) 何锐军(内蒙) 杨一(广东) 杨茂源(辽宁) 胡月朋(辽宁) 徐一明(江苏) 徐志伟(北京) 徐若涛(辽宁) 闻松() 侯光飞(江苏) 郑晓翀(辽宁) 黄欧(浙江) 黑月(青海) 饶松青(湖北) 赖文(安徽) 潘饿(辽宁) *薛 墨( ) 瞿金忠(云南)

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A DIFFERENT SENSE OF SPACE. PUBLIC SPACES IN TOKYO AND SHANGHAI

Jürgen Krusche

Roji in Tokyo, Tsukishima / roji in Tokyo, Tsukishima

Streets have formed the basic framework of every city since time immemorial. They are the lifelines of a metropolis and provide people with necessary connecting and common spaces, linking inside and outside, the private and the public. Besides parks and squares, streets also constitute very important public spaces. Street space is public space, an area of action and movement, of presentation and communication, of political expression and subversive intervention.

The research project *Taking To The Streets* (ETH s.a.), initiated by the Faculty of Architecture of the ETH Zurich, investigated street spaces in the West and in eastern Asia with a view to the quality of the public space. The focus was on the interface between the built environment and people's actions. The aim of the project was to show how the two sides interact and influence one another. To this end, the project made use of current discourse about city, space and the public, examining discourses in field work in four selected cities: Zurich, Berlin, Tokyo and Shanghai. The goal of the research was to develop criteria for assessing the quality of public spaces based on analyses of usages and interactions (Krusche and Roost 2010; Krusche 2011).

Trialectics of spatiality

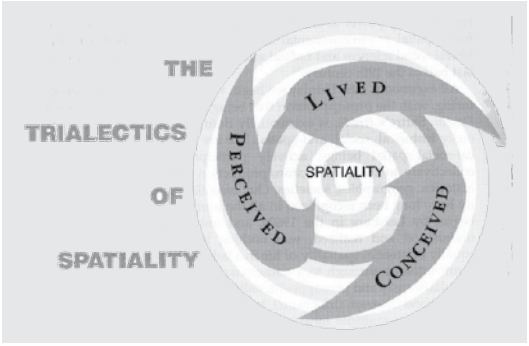
The relational space model of the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre has, since the 1990s, changed the understanding of space in many disciplines (Lefebvre 1974). The thoughts on space of the American social geographer and urban planner Edward Soja advanced Lefebvre's ideas, introducing a trialectics of spatiality in which three aspects of equal value were brought together to constitute space: sensually perceptible space, i.e. materially built space (perceived space); imagined, calculated or abstract space, the space of images and models (conceived space); and the space in which things are lived and experienced, the social space (lived space) (fig.1). Only these three aspects together yield space, or as Lefebvre says: produce space (Soja 1996). Space, and thus also public space, is a social product.

Since space is a social product, so are cities. Cities first emerge when people perceive the existing material structures there with their senses, use it and appropriate it. Individual perceptions are filtered through a manifold network of ideas, memories and images in the mind of the perceiver, are coloured and composed into a temporary superordinate total event. Each action resulting from this intervenes in the city's form and thus modifies the setting for those who constitute the urban space. Thus, the entire urban material and symbolic ensemble is in constant transformation and must continually be recreated, i.e. produced by residents in an active process. Hence the city is an expression of continual discontinuity.
The same applies to streets: built streets are part of the city's material structure. While their measurable material form cannot be changed, they are lively as space. The space of a street appears in a different form depending on usage and appropriation, action and interaction, on the time of day or the time of year. Street space – one of the last public spaces – is not fixed and rigid but dynamic, a product of social action.

When we observe life on the streets of a city, it becomes apparent that the activities on the pavements and small side streets are often more intense and varied than on many new very aesthetically designed squares. In Asian cities, the streets have formed the basis for urban life for centuries. The idea of the square as the place where people gather is a Western one. In India, China and Japan there didn't use to be any squares. The place for ceremonies and festivals was always the street (Kurokawa 2005). This seems to be one reason why many newly built squares in Japan don't function well. They are not – or not yet – part of the culture.
This raises some important questions. What exactly is public space in Japan and China? What takes place in public, and private, space? How are the two separated from one another? Or to go even further: Can we even speak of private and public space in Japan and China? These issues will now be addressed.

From XXL to XXS – the structure of Tokyo

Approximately 34 million people live in the Tokyo metropolitan area. As a result, many envision Tokyo as a monstrous metropolis with countless high-rises and impassable motorways. However, even a cursory glance at a map of the city shows that this impression is not entirely accurate. Unlike the much smaller city Berlin, Tokyo has a very finely structured road system (fig.2,3). Large through roads, many of which are elevated highways, branch out into two- to four-lane main roads that enclose residential areas (fig.4). Within the latter, there is a further refinement of the road system into smaller access roads and residential side streets. Some of them have speed limits and



1 – Trialectics of space according to Edward Soja / *Trialektik des Raums von Edward Soja*
2 – Berlin street grid (detail) / *Strassenraster Berlin (Detail)*
3 – Tokyo street grid (detail) / *Strassenraster Tokyo (Detail)*

Images from top to bottom, left to right:

4 — Layered arrangement of traffic ways / Schichtung der Verkehrswege

5 — Streets for pedestrians / *Strassen für Fussgänger*

6 — Roji in Nezu / *roji in Nezu*

7 — Roji in Asagaya / *roji in Asagaya*

some are only a few meters wide (fig.6). Consequently, pedestrians and cyclists dominate here (fig.5). Finally, the road system narrows so much that a confusing plethora of small back alleys (Jap.: roji) run through the districts where a small-town, almost village atmosphere prevails (fig.7).
Tokyo's road and path system is extremely differentiated, ranging from multi-lane motorways to a delicately structured network of footpaths, from size XXL to XXS. Therefore cars are not nuisance for pedestrians. They do not pass by endless series of parked cars, as is often the case in German cities, and they do not have to keep an eye out for cars at every intersection. Only rarely do you get a sense that there are more than three million cars in the city, and cars do not characterize the cityscape at all.

Berlin, however, lacks such a refinement of streets and paths. This is chiefly due to the city's perimeter block development, which does not exist in Tokyo. Tokyo's urban structure is still predominantly marked by two- to three-storey buildings standing alone, many of which are still wooden buildings. This explains the finely structured road network.
This is also what distinguishes Tokyo and Shanghai. To a certain extent, you could say that Shanghai has a kind of perimeter block development, although these "blocks" are formed by residential blocks standing in rows which are all surrounded by a wall and thus are separated from the large surrounding streets. Cars are found only rarely in these areas; the streets are mainly used by pedestrians and cyclists. Life in these settlements is somewhat similar to life in the small side streets, or rojis, of Tokyo.

Inside/outside, closed/open
Although the structures of Shanghai and Tokyo are very different, the two East Asian cities have in common that the private/public conceptual dyad there has a different meaning. Our Western understanding of the private and public spheres differs from the East Asian understanding. The terms private and public do no exist in the Chinese or the Japanese language in the meaning we give them. While the Japanese characters 公共空間(kô kyô kû kan) are translated as public space, the first two signs mean something like "together under a big roof", and the roof used to symbolize the protection of the Daimyos or Samurais. The Chinese understanding is similar, as can also be seen from the following definition regarding China: "The expressions broad street and narrow alley represent the Chinese conception of public and private space" (Zhang 2004, 103). Thus, the relationships between inside and outside and closed and open are more suitable to express the concepts of private and public. For Tokyo, the conceptual dyad inside/outside is particularly important. The inner areas (Jap.: *uchi*) can be the family or the home, as well as the workplace or the neighbourhood. The outer area (Jap.: *soto*) is not only contrary to this inner space, but is also an area in which one feels foreign and does not stay for a long time. 'The public as a concept of negotiating social conflict and a space where divergent groups encounter one another cannot be connected with the ideal of a harmonious *uchi*. It is hard to imagine the public sphere as a place where people who are strangers to one another can mingle, because human life means being inside: in family contexts and residential buildings, in factories and open-plan offices' (Haarmann 2009).

Isolation in Shanghai
As opposed to Tokyo, which has only very few larger closed developments, Shanghai is characterized by closed 'islands of living space'. The *lilongs*, which were built in the 19th century, the danweis of the 1950s, and above all the *Micro Residential Districts* (chin.: *xiaoqu*) form closed-off city quarters, which are usually surrounded by a wall and often equipped with a guarded entrance (fig.8,9). 'In spatial terms, MRDs are precisely defined areas which are delimited not only by walls, fences or buildings, but are also consciously given an insular character via the layout of the streets and green areas. Like the courtyard houses and the old *danweis*, the modern residential districts not only have exact boundaries, but are also marked by a clear separation of inside and outside' (Münch 2004).
In the narrow side streets of the traditional *lilongs*, which unfortunately are increasingly disappearing from Shanghai's cityscape, yielding to anonymous high-rise estates, there is a neighbourly, almost familial climate. Laundry is hanging straight across the street, and vegetables for lunch are prepared in front of the flats. The pavements and streets right in front of the housing developments are also widely used, for improvised markets, for playing, or for cutting hair (fig.10—13).

The small streets constitute a protected inner area, a space that residents can retreat to, which is enclosed and clearly divided from the outside world. But not only walls and fences serve as enclosures. Many Chinese also practice a kind of "inner enclosure", developing the "ability to totally seal themselves off from the outside world when they are outside. [...] Sinking into oneself and self-centred behaviour is exercised as an enclosure mechanism for self-protection against the permanent onslaught of diffuse impressions and situations" (Schoon 2008).

Outside, on the other side of the wall, is open space or outside space, where, as in Tokyo, people do not like to linger longer than necessary. It is a transit space that people cross as quickly as possible in order to get to the next inner space. Nevertheless, shops and workmen settle at prominent places of these transit areas, or at their entrances or exits, occupying the pavement to offer their goods and services there (fig.14). As a result, some outer spaces are temporarily transformed into lively inner spaces. But the preferred places to stay are the inner alleyways of the *lilongs* and *MRDs*, as well as the parks, which are likewise surrounded by walls or fences and also represent inner spaces. In former times, people had to pay a fee to enter the parks — another indication that parks in Chinese cities are not public outer spaces but inner spaces. Hawkers on cycle rickshaws make it clear that the public spaces of the Chinese city are open transit spaces (fig.15,16).
All of the participants are moving, and purchases are made on the move (fig.18) or in the evening, when people have time to buy things (fig.19). During this time of day, some barren street-side areas transform for a short time into lively inner spaces. The best indication of this is the fact that some men or women like to go out on the streets in the evening wearing pyjamas in order to shop at the improvised markets, to smoke or to chat with neighbours. Ultimately, it is the residents who, due to their feeling and their shared usages, turn an outer space into a lived-in inner space. This gives rise to the situation, which Western observers have a hard time coping with, that no clear statement can be made about what exactly public space is in Shanghai and where it is located. Shanghai's (public) outdoor spaces are only good spaces when they are transformed into inner spaces, which often occurs only temporarily.

Images from top to bottom, left to right:
8 — Entrance to a residential district
Eingang in ein Wohnquartier
9 — Entrance with guardhouse
Eingang mit Wachhäuschen
10 — Laundry drying in a lilong
Wäsche in einem lilong
11 — Laundry everywhere
Wäsche überall
12/13 — The street as a multifunctional space
Die Strasse als Multifunktionsraum
14 — Street market
Strassenmarkt in Shanghai

Images from top to bottom, left to right:
15/16 — Cycle rickshaws in Shanghai / *Fahrradrikschsas in Shanghai*
17 — Cycling in Tokyo / *Fahrradfahren in Tokyo*
18 — Mobile shops in Shanghai / *Mobile Shops in Shanghai*
19 — Night market in Shanghai / *Nightmarket in Shanghai*
20 — Pot gardens in Tokyo / *Potgardens in Tokyo*

Usages and appropriations in Tokyo

Life on the streets of Tokyo is less versatile than it is in Shanghai, even on the very small streets, the *roji*. At the beginning of the 20th century, some intellectuals liked to stroll through the small streets of Tokyo's old town. Following Walter Benjamin, some writers turned strolling into literary content and a lifestyle (Schulz 2008). But not much of this remains in the 21st century. Strolling in the city, rather, seems to correspond to a European idea. Nowadays, Tokyo residents move through the city very purposefully, whether they cover great distances using the extremely efficient public transport system, or whether they only move within their quarter, in which most of the distances can be covered comfortably on foot or by bicycle. Tokyo is a paradise for cyclists. You can ride everywhere and in both directions, even on the pavements (fig.17). In addition, bikes are very cheap and are seldom stolen.

Tokyo's public space is appropriated much less intensively by residents than in Shanghai. A typical appropriation which is quite refined (and therefore accepted by the municipal authorities) appropriation in Tokyo are so-called pot gardens, which stand in front of the houses on the pavement and sometimes on the street (fig.20). Thus, in an unobtrusive way the residents of the buildings extend their interior space to the exterior space, thus transforming the *roji* almost unnoticeably from an open area to an inner area.

The street as task

This investigation of urban spaces in Tokyo and Shanghai shows that the Western way of dividing space into private and public areas cannot be transferred to Chinese and Japanese cities. The different sense of space — or better, the different production of space — in China and Japan has given rise in the course of the centuries to specific kinds of building, which cannot be meaningfully grasped by the private/public dichotomy. A *lilong* quarter in Shanghai or a *roji* in Tokyo are both designs that give this different constitution of space a visible form. The interplay between spatial perception, spatial conception and material space design has yielded an attractive living space where people have felt comfortable for generations. There is the danger that these spaces will disappear if municipal authorities and multinational investors do not respect the specific sense of space of their own culture and prefer architectures and master plans from the West. The street in particular — and this applies to both East Asian and Central European cities — plays a role for preserving active living spaces that should not be underestimated, which is why the architect Kisho Kurokawa, for one, has repeatedly pleaded (and I would like to close by joining him in this plea) that the street should be taken seriously as an urban development task (see note 5).

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DAS ANDERE RAUMEMPFINDEN. ÖFFENTLICHE RÄUME IN TOKYO UND SHANGHAI

Jürgen Krusche

Strassen bilden seit jeher das Grundgerüst jeder Stadt. Sie sind die Lebensadern einer Stadt und bilden für den Alltag der Menschen notwendige Verbindungs- und Aufenthaltsräume, verbinden Innen und Aussen, das Private mit em Öffentlichen. Neben den Parks und Plätzen stellen vor allem Strassen wichtige öffentliche Räume dar. Strassenraum ist Handlungs- und Bewegungsraum, Raum der Inszenierung, der Kommunikation und der politischen Äusserung wie auch der subversiven Intervention.

Das Forschungsprojekt *Taking To The Streets*[1] an der ETH Zürich untersuchte Strassenräume im Westen und in Ostasien mit Blick auf die Frage nach der Qualität des öffentlichen Raums. Im Fokus stand die Schnittstelle zwischen der gebauten Umwelt und den Handlungen der Menschen. Es sollte gezeigt werden, in welcher Weise beide Seiten aufeinander wirken und sich gegenseitig beeinflussen. Das Projekt rekurrierte hierfür auf aktuelle Diskurse zu Stadt, Raum und Öffentlichkeit und überprüfte diese in eigenen Feldforschungen in vier ausgewählten Städten: Zürich, Berlin, Tokyo und Shanghai. Ziel der Forschung war es, aufgrund der Analyse der Nutzungen und Interaktionen Kriterien zur Beurteilung der Qualität öffentlicher Räume zu entwickeln.[2]

Trialektik der Räumlichkeit

Das relationale Raummodell des französischen Philosophen und Soziologen Henri Lefebvre hat seit den 1990er-Jahren das Verständnis von Raum über viele Disziplinen hinweg verändert.[3] Das Raumdenken des amerikanischen Sozialgeografen und Stadtplaners Edward Soja führt Lefebvres Überlegungen weiter und stellt eine Trialektik der Räumlichkeit [Abb. 1] vor, in der drei gleichwertige Aspekte zusammengeführt werden, um Raum zu konstituieren: der sinnlich wahrnehmbare, das heisst der materiell gebaute Raum *(perceived space)*; der vorgestellte, errechnete oder abstrakte Raum, derjenige der Bilder und Modelle *(conceived space)*; der ge- und erlebte, der soziale Raum *(lived space)*. Erst alle drei Aspekte zusammen ergeben Raum oder, wie Lefebvre es nennt: produzieren Raum.[4] Raum, und somit auch der öffentliche, ist ein soziales Produkt.

So wie der Raum ein gesellschaftliches Produkt ist, ist dies auch die Stadt. Stadt entsteht erst, wenn Akteure das materiell Vorgegebene sinnlich wahrnehmen, es nutzen und sich aneignen. Einzelne Perzeptionen werden durch ein vielfältiges Netzwerk von Vorstellungen, Erinnerungen und Bildern im Kopf des Wahrnehmenden gefiltert, eingefärbt und zu einem vorläufigen übergeordneten Gesamtereignis zusammengesetzt. Jede daraus resultierende Handlung greift in die Gestalt der Stadt ein und modifiziert dadurch das Setting für die Raumkonstituierenden. Das gesamte städtische materielle und symbolische Ensemble ist auf diese Weise in ständiger Transformation begriffen und muss von den Bewohnern und Bewohnerinnen kontinuierlich aufs Neue als aktiver Prozess hervorgebracht, das heisst produziert werden. Stadt ist somit der Ausdruck kontinuierlicher Diskontinuität. Dasselbe gilt für die Strasse: Die gebaute Strasse gehört zur materiellen Struktur der Stadt. Sie ist in ihrer messbaren materiellen Form zwar unveränderbar, doch als Raum ist sie lebendig. Der Raum der Strasse erscheint je nach Nutzung und Aneignung, nach Handlung und Interaktion, nach Tages- oder Jahreszeit in einer anderen Gestalt. Gerade der Strassenraum — einer der letzten öffentlichen Räume — ist nicht starr und fixiert, sondern dynamisch, ein Produkt gesellschaftlichen Handelns.

Beobachtet man das Leben auf den Strassen einer Stadt, lässt sich feststellen, dass die Aktivitäten auf den Gehsteigen und kleinen Seitenstrassen oft intensiver und vielfältiger sind als auf den oft sehr ästhetisch gestalteten neuen Plätzen. Vor allem in asiatischen Städten bilden die Strassen seit Jahrhunderten die Basis des urbanen Lebens. Die Idee des Platzes als Ort der Versammlung ist eine abendländische. In Indien, China und Japan gab es traditionellerweise keine Plätze. Der Ort für Zeremonien und Feste war immer die Strasse.[5] Dies scheint auch der Grund dafür zu sein, dass viele neu erstellte Plätze in Japan nur schlecht funktionieren: Sie sind nicht — oder noch nicht — Teil der Kultur.
Das wirft einige zentrale Fragen auf: Was genau ist öffentlicher Raum in Japan oder China? Was findet im öffentlichen, was im privaten Raum statt? Wie sind beide voneinander getrennt? Oder, noch weiter ausholend: Kann man überhaupt von privatem und öffentlichem Raum in Japan und China sprechen? Diese Thematik soll hier erläutert werden.

1 ETH Zürich, Departement Architektur, Professur Günther Vogt.

2 Die Ergebnisse des Projekts wurden in zwei Publikationen veröffentlicht: Jürgen Krusche und Frank Roost, *Tokyo. Die Strasse als gelebter Raum*, Baden 2010; Jürgen Krusche, *Strassenräume in Berlin, Shanghai, Tokyo, Zürich. Eine fotoethnografische Untersuchung*, Baden 2011.

3 Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace*, Paris 1974.

4 Edward Soja, *Third Space*, Cambridge 1996.

5 Vgl. Kisho Kurokawa, *Das Kurokawa-Manifest*, Berlin 2005.

Von XXL bis XXS – die Stadtstruktur Tokyos

Der Metropolraum von Tokyo zählt circa 34 Millionen Einwohner. Man stellt sich deshalb Tokyo oft als riesigen Moloch mit unzähligen Hochhäusern und unpassierbaren Autobahnen vor. Dass dieses Bild nicht ganz zutreffend ist, zeigt bereits ein erster Blick auf den Stadtplan. Im Vergleich zu der deutlich kleineren Stadt Berlin findet man in Tokyo ein extrem fein verästeltes Strassensystem [Abb. 2, 3]. Grosse Durchgangsstrassen, die oft auch als *elevated highways* [Abb. 4] über die Dächer der Häuser hinwegführen, verzweigen sich in zwei- bis vierspurige Hauptstrassen, welche die Wohnquartiere umschliessen. Innerhalb dieser gibt es eine weitere Verfeinerung des Strassennetzes in kleinere Erschliessungs- und Quartierstrassen, zum Teil mit Tempobeschränkungen [Abb. 5], teils mit einer geringen Breite von wenigen Metern, sodass die Fussgänger und Fahrradfahrer hier dominieren [Abb. 6]. Und schliesslich verzweigt sich das Wegesystem so weit, dass das Quartier von einem schier unübersehbaren Netzwerk von kleinen Hintergassen (jap.: *roji*) [Abb. 7] durchzogen wird, in dem oft eine kleinstädtische, beinahe dörfliche Atmosphäre herrscht.

Tokyos Strassen- und Wegenetz ist hochgradig ausdifferenziert, von mehrspurigen Autobahnen bis zum engmaschigen Netz von Fusswegen, vom Massstab XXL zu XXS. Als Fussgänger wird man deshalb nur selten von Autos belästigt. Man geht nicht, wie oft in deutschen Städten, an unendlichen Reihen geparkter Autos vorüber und muss nicht bei jeder Strassen-überquerung auf den Verkehr achten. Dass es mehr als drei Millionen Autos in dieser Stadt gibt, fällt einem nur selten auf und prägt in keiner Weise das Stadtbild.

In Berlin dagegen fehlt diese Verfeinerung der Strassen und Wege, was grösstenteils mit der Blockrandbebauung zu tun hat, die in Tokyo unbekannt ist. Tokyos Stadtstruktur wird immer noch mehrheitlich von zwei- bis dreigeschossigen, einzeln stehenden Häusern – sogar oft noch Holzbauten – geprägt, was die fein gegliederte Strassenführung erklärt.

Hierin ist auch der Unterschied zwischen Tokyo und Shanghai zu finden. Bis zu einem gewissen Grad könnte man in Shanghai auch von einer Art Blockrandbebauung sprechen, wenngleich diese «Blöcke» hier aus einzelnen, in Zeilen stehenden Wohnblocks gebildet werden, die jedoch alle von einer Mauer umgeben sind und sich dadurch von den grossen umgebenden Strassen abgrenzen. Im Innern dieser Anlagen fahren selten Autos, die Strassen dienen hauptsächlich dem Fuss- und Radverkehr. Das Leben innerhalb dieser Siedlungen ähnelt ein wenig dem Leben auf den kleinen Seitenstrassen, den *roji* von Tokyo.

Innen/aussen, geschlossen/offen

Trotz den sehr unterschiedlichen Strukturen Shanghais und Tokyos ist beiden als ostasiatischen Städten gemeinsam, dass das Begriffspaar *privat/öffentlich* hier eine andere Bedeutung hat. Unser abendländisches Verständnis von Privatheit und Öffentlichkeit entspricht nur bedingt dem ostasiatischen.

Die Begriffe «privat» und «öffentlich» gibt es weder in der chinesischen noch in der japanischen Sprache in dem von uns verwendeten Sinn. Die japanischen Zeichen 公共空間 (kô kyô kû kan) werden zwar mit «öffentlicher Raum» übersetzt, doch bedeuten die ersten beiden Zeichen so viel wie «gemeinsam unter einem grossen Dach», wobei das Dach früher den Schutz des Daimyo oder Samurai symbolisierte. Für das chinesische Empfinden verhält es sich ähnlich. Zusätzlich kann man für China auch folgende Definition anwenden: «Die Ausdrücke ‹breite Strasse› und ‹schmale Gasse› stehen für die chinesische Auffassung von öffentlichem und privatem Raum.»[6]

Stellvertretend für die Begriffe privat und öffentlich wird deshalb besser von den Verhältnissen innen/aussen oder geschlossen/offen gesprochen. Für Tokyo ist vor allem das Begriffspaar innen/aussen von Bedeutung: Die inneren Bereiche (jap.: *uchi*) können die Familie oder die Wohnung sein, ebenso der Arbeitsplatz oder die Nachbarschaft. Der äussere Bereich (jap.: *soto*) ist diesem Innenraum nicht nur entgegengesetzt, sondern sogar eine Sphäre, in der man sich fremd fühlt und sich nicht lange aufhält. «Das Öffentliche als Konzept gesellschaftlicher Auseinandersetzungen und Begegnungsraum divergierender Gruppen ist mit dem Ideal eines harmonischen uchi nicht zu verbinden. Öffentlichkeit ist als Aufenthaltsort sich gegenseitig Fremder schwer vorzustellen, weil menschliches Leben bedeutet, drinnen zu sein: in den familiären Kontexten und Wohnhäusern, den Betrieben und Grossraumbüros.»[7]

Verinselung in Shanghai

Im Gegensatz zu Tokyo, wo es kaum grössere geschlossene Überbauungen gibt, ist Shanghai von geschlossenen Wohnrauminseln geprägt. Sowohl die *lilong*, die seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind, wie auch die *danwei* der 1950er-Jahre und vor allem die *Micro Residential Districts* (chin.: *xiaoqu*) bilden geschlossene, meist von einer Mauer umgebene und oft mit einem bewachten Eingang versehene Stadtquartiere [Abb. 8, 9]. «Räumlich sind *MRDs* genau definierte Gebiete, die nicht nur durch Mauern, Zäune oder Gebäude begrenzt werden, sondern auch durch Strassen und Grünflächen bewusst einen insulären Charakter bekommen. Wie schon die Hofhäuser und die alten *danwei*, zeichnen sich auch die modernen Wohngebiete nicht nur durch genaue Grenzen, sondern auch durch die klare Trennung von Innen und Aussen aus.»[8]

In den schmalen Gassen der traditionellen *lilong*, die leider immer mehr aus dem Stadtbild Shanghais ver-

6 Guanzeng Zhang, «Struktur und Wandel des öffentlichen Raums in Shanghai», in: *Die aufgeschlossene Stadt. Öffentlicher Raum in China von Anting bis Zhuhai*, hg. von Dieter Hassenpflug, Weimar 2004, S. 98–133.

7 Anke Haarmann, *Public Blue. Eine Besetzung des öffentlichen Raums* (http://www.thing-hamburg.de/index.php?id=499; aufgerufen am 4.6.2011).

8 Barbara Münch, «Verborgene Kontinuitäten des chinesischen Urbanismus», in: *Archplus, Chinesischer Hochgeschwindigkeitsurbanismus*, Februar 2004, S. 68.

schwinden und anonymen Hochhaussiedlungen weichen müssen, herrscht ein nachbarschaftliches, beinahe familiäres Klima. Die Wäsche hängt quer über der Strasse, vor den Wohnungen wird das Gemüse für die Mahlzeiten vorbereitet. Aber auch die Gehsteige und Strassen direkt vor den Wohnsiedlungen werden rege genutzt: für improvisierte Märkte, zum Spielen oder Haareschneiden [Abb. 10—13].

Die schmalen Gassen stellen einen inneren geschützten Bereich, einen Rückzugsraum dar, der umfriedet und deutlich von aussen abgegrenzt ist. Doch nicht nur Mauern und Zäune dienen der Abgrenzung. Viele Chinesen praktizieren auch eine Art «innere Umfriedung» und entwickeln die «Fähigkeit zur totalen Abschottung vom Aussen im Aussen. […] In sich selbst versunkenes und selbstbezogenes Verhalten wird als Umfriedungsmechanismus gegen das permanente Ausgesetztsein gegenüber diffusen Eindrücken und Situationen als Selbstschutz geübt.»[9]

Draussen, ausserhalb der Mauern, befindet sich der offene Raum oder Aussenraum, der ähnlich wie in Tokyo als ein Ort gilt, an dem man sich nicht gerne länger als nötig aufhält. Vielmehr ist dies ein Transitraum, den man möglichst zügig durchquert, um in den nächsten Innenraum zu gelangen. Geschäfte und Handwerker siedeln sich trotzdem an markanten Stellen dieser Durchgangsräume oder an deren Ein- und Ausgängen an und besetzen den Gehsteig, um dort ihre Waren und Dienstleistungen anzubieten [Abb. 14]. Auf diese Weise wird mancher Aussenraum temporär zu einem lebendigen Innenraum transformiert. Doch die bevorzugten Aufenthaltsräume sind die inneren Gassen der *lilong* und *MRDs*, aber auch die Parkanlagen, die ebenso von Mauern oder Zäunen umgeben sind und Innenräume darstellen. Noch bis in die 1990er Jahre hinein wurde für diese Anlagen Eintrittsgeld verlangt, was noch einmal darauf hindeutet, dass die Parks in den chinesischen Städten keine öffentlichen Aussenräume, sondern als Innenräume verstanden werden.
Fliegende Händler auf Fahrradrikschas [Abb. 15/16] machen deutlich, dass die öffentlichen Räume der chinesischen Stadt offene Durchgangsräume sind. Alle Akteure sind in Bewegung, der Einkauf passiert unterwegs [Abb. 18] oder abends, wenn man Zeit dafür hat [Abb. 19]. Auch dann verwandeln sich manche kahle Strassenräume für kurze Zeit in lebendige Innenräume. Bestes Zeichen hierfür ist, dass manche Männer und Frauen am Abend gerne im Pyjama auf die Strasse gehen, um auf dem improvisierten Markt einzukaufen, zu rauchen oder mit den Nachbarn zu plaudern.
Letztlich sind es die Bewohner, die durch ihr Empfinden aufgrund der gemeinsamen Nutzungen aus einem Aussenraum einen gelebten Innenraum machen. Daraus entsteht auch die für westliche Beobachter schwer ertragbare Situation, dass keine eindeutige Aussage darüber gemacht werden kann, was genau öffentlicher Raum in Shanghai ist und wo dieser zu lokalisieren wäre. Die (öffentlichen) Aussenräume Shanghais sind nur dann «gute» Räume, wenn sie zu Innenräumen — oft auch nur temporär — transformiert werden.

Nutzungen und Aneignungen in Tokyo

Anders als in Shanghai ist das Leben auf den Strassen von Tokyo weniger vielseitig, auch auf den kleinen Strässchen, den *roji*. Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts fanden zwar einige Intellektuelle Gefallen daran, durch die Strässchen der einstigen Altstadtgebiete Tokyos zu flanieren. In Anlehnung an Walter Benjamin gab es einige Schriftsteller, die das Flanieren zu ihrem literarischen Inhalt und Lebensstil gemacht haben.[10] Doch davon ist im 21. Jahrhundert nicht mehr viel übrig geblieben. Das Flanieren in der Stadt scheint doch eher einer europäischen Vorstellung zu entsprechen. In Tokyo bewegt man sich heutzutage sehr gezielt durch die Stadt, sei es über grosse Distanzen mit einem der aufs beste ausgebauten öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel oder nur innerhalb des Quartiers, in dem die meisten Wege gemütlich zu Fuss oder mit dem Fahrrad zurückgelegt werden können. Überhaupt ist Tokyo ein Fahrradparadies. Man darf überall und in beide Richtungen fahren, auch auf den Gehsteigen [Abb. 19]. Zudem sind Fahrräder sehr billig und werden selten gestohlen. Der öffentliche Raum Tokyos wird deutlich weniger intensiv von den Bewohnern und Bewohnerinnen angeeignet als in Shanghai. Eine jedoch typische und sehr feine, daher von der Stadtverwaltung akzeptierte Form der Aneignung sind die sogenannten *potgardens*, die vor den Häusern auf den Gehwegen und zum Teil auch auf der Strasse stehen. Auf unaufdringliche Art dehnen die Hausbewohner so ihren Innenraum in den öffentlichen, äusseren Raum aus, wodurch die *roji* [Abb. 20] beinahe unmerklich von einem offenen in einen inneren Bereich transformiert werden.

9 Sonia Schoon, «Umfriedung und Draussen in der dichotomen Lebenswelt Shanghai», in: *Die Stadt als Wohnraum,* hg. von Jürgen Hasse, Freiburg, München 2008.

10 Vgl. Evelyn Schulz, «Die ‹Renaissance der Stadt› *(toshi saisei)* und die Wiederentdeckung der Hintergassen *(roji)* — Aspekte der Literatur und Kultur des Flanierens», in: *Der Raum der Stadt,* hg. von Jürgen Krusche, Marburg 2008.

Die Strasse als Aufgabe

Bei der Betrachtung der urbanen Räume Tokyos und Shanghais wird deutlich, dass die westliche Art der Aufteilung des Raums in einen privaten und einen öffentlichen nicht auf chinesische und japanische Städte übertragen werden kann. Das andere Raumempfinden – oder besser: die andere Raumproduktion – Chinas und Japans hat über die Jahrhunderte spezifische Bauformen hervorgebracht, die mit der Einteilung privat/öffentlich nicht sinnvoll gefasst werden können. Ein *lilong*-Quartier in Shanghai oder ein *roji* in Tokyo sind beides Gestaltungen, die dieser anderen Konstitution von Raum eine sichtbare Form verliehen haben. Durch das Zusammenwirken von Raumwahrnehmung, Raumvorstellung und materieller Raumgestaltung ist ein attraktiver Lebensraum entstanden, in dem sich die Menschen über Generationen hinweg aufgehoben gefühlt haben. Diese Räume drohen zu verschwinden, wenn Stadtverwaltungen und multinationale Investoren das spezifische Raumempfinden der eigenen Kultur nicht beachten und aus dem Westen importierte Architekturen und Masterpläne bevorzugen.

Besonders die Strasse – dies gilt für die ostasiatische Stadt ebenso wie für die mitteleuropäische – spielt für den Erhalt aktiver Lebensräume eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle, weshalb auch Kisho Kurokawa immer wieder dafür plädiert hat, die Strasse als architektonische und städtebauliche Aufgabe ernst zu nehmen; diesem Plädoyer möchte ich mich gerne anschliessen.[11]

11 Wie Anm. 5.

MEXICO CITY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ITS PUBLIC SPHERE

Minerva Cuevas

> "Place is not territory that, being circumscribed, contains the singularity; rather it is human practice that the imaginary works by demarcating through affect and cognition: a situated facilitating continent-actor, a memorably projective point of reference."[1]

1 Vergara, Abilio, (2000). "La ciudad desde sus lugares". In: *Conaculta-UAM*, México.

Mexico City is a metropolis with a natural environment that generates æsthetic moments, infinite and unpredictable possibilities full of contradictions. It can be difficult to physically and conceptually locate the real public space, the social one, the one that has been legitimized by the intentions and activities of its inhabitants, rather than the one designated as public space on the basis of government decisions translated into urban planning, or one built on commercial interests. This social public space does not exist per se or to order: it has to be created. It is a territory that must, it seems, be continually conquered, starting with a direct relationship between human and social flows.

This *social public space* is the trigger for æsthetic exercises whose conceptual axis is urban space. It is also what has helped make Mexico City a geographical reference point in contemporary art at the international level from the 1990s on.

The elements that are relevant as triggers for the creative impulse and the conditions that create the need for artistic practices that appropriate the city, analyze its dynamics, exchange with it or intervene it, include both its physical characteristics and its social dynamics. This can be seen in works by many contemporary artists who have produced art in Mexico City, notably: Gabriel Orozco, Jimmie Durham, Francis Alÿs, Eduardo Abaroa, Abraham Cruzvillegas, Melanie Smith, Pedro Reyes, and the Tercer un Quinto collective. It also calls to mind the early work of artists like Damián Ortega, Jonathan Hernández and Luis Felipe Ortega. It seems to me that rather than there being a particular artist with a set of works totally dedicated to reflecting on the city's dynamics, the city itself is an element to which the creative energy of many artists needs to respond at one time or another.

In the work *Yielding Stone* (*Piedra que cede*, 1992), produced first in the city of Monterrey and later in Mexico City, Gabriel Orozco transports a plasticine sphere equal

1 — Gabriel Orozco, *Yielding Stone*, 1992, Courtesy of Kurimanzutto Gallery, Mexico City.
Gabriel Orozco, Piedra que cede, *1992, Courtesy of Galería Kurimanzutto. Mexico City.*

to his own body weight (fig.1). As it is pushed or rolled along, the ball of plasticine gradually picks up fragments of the city as it goes, incorporating into the plasticine the time and matter of an urban environment.

I aim here to give examples of works of art that establish a relationship with the context they are created in, rather than other types of works that, although urban, do not represent a reflection on the context, a situation that can be commonly observed in permanent or temporary pieces of public sculpture produced in the city. An exception to this is Jimmie Durham's work entitled *Still Life with Spirit and Xitle* (2007, fig.2). Here the artist relates to the geological characteristics of the residential area of Jardines del Pedregal. Going beyond a mere fascination with the volcanic rock that characterizes this area of the south of the city in order to use it as a material, he starts "throwing stones" at historical context, at the disregarded history, which is that of the American Indians. This work is now accompanied by the publication *Amoxohitli. Librro de Carretera. A Road Book* (Koenig, Köln 2011), produced in conjunction with Cesar Cervantes, in which all the texts are translated into Náhuatl.

2 — Jimmie Durham, *Still Life with Spirit and Xitle*, 2007, Courtesy of Collection Cesar Cervantes.
3 — Eduardo Abaroa, *Carnival of Trash* / Carnaval de la Basura 2010, Courtesy of Goethe Institute, Mexico City.

The recent work of Eduardo Abaroa deals with urban issues. As part of the *Residual* exhibition organized by the University Museum of Science and Art, which took as its thematic axis the rubbish produced in the city, Abaroa contributed with the project *Carnival of Trash* (2010, fig.3). The idea of the carnival was for all the elements to be made of waste materials and the festive parade to be created by modifying the logic of public sculpture. The event saw the participation of the city's street cleaners, who, much to their surprise, were applauded by the crowd in recognition of their work. This unpredictable reaction by the public generated the most powerful and successful element of the project.

Mexico City is a grey space and, at the same time, one full of colour. It is both friendly and hostile, a metropolis that is home to millions and yet is best experienced alone. It may be urban but its make-up is rural. It is itself and its opposite. It is a virtually indescribable context, necessarily defined on the basis of multiple imaginaries. Nobody can know it, traverse it or possess it in its entirety. It is an organism in constant transformation. This city is full of catastrophes and miracles, of infinite poverty and riches, and is also capable of giving one the feeling of being either at the centre of the universe or the end of the world.

The Federal District is the city that is not, one that self destructs and strives to survive. Its periphery advances and the urban sprawl spreads forever outwards to a more distant point in space. Its limits cease to exist. Its borders can be constantly seen and perceived but the metropolis is in fact already uncontainable.

Since 1950 Mexico City's population has multiplied and the urban area has begun to spill over from the central region to the unoccupied lands on the periphery. The concentration of industrial economic activity in the Federal District has encouraged rural immigration from other states in the country, particularly the poorest ones. This phenomenon is clearly depicted in Luis Buñuel's film *The Forgotten Ones* produced in 1950, which earned him the Best Director prize at the Cannes Film Festival and was also placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

In the early 1980s the Federal District was the most densely populated area in the country but it underwent major readjustment following the 1985 earthquake, part of the population of the central districts worst hit by the disaster moving to the south of the city. This resulted in these areas becoming populated by younger people, who popularized them, eventually leading to a process of gentrification, which is currently under way in another of the districts most severely affected by the quake, the Historic Centre. The nature of these districts has thus changed from being residential to mainly commercial.

In 2003 the city officially exceeded the territorial limits of the Federal District and has since been known as the Metropolitan Zone of Mexico City (ZMCM). This includes the entire metropolitan area that is part of the urban sprawl of the neighbouring states. Even under a new name the city is still vast. One of the works that documents this sheer magnitude is *Spiral City* (2002) by British artist Melanie Smith. In it she records the urban sprawl in a 5 minute video shot from a helicopter following the spiralling lines of Robert Smithson. The black and white video ultimately reduces the city to a grey texture.

But seen from close up, there is not just one Mexico City, there have been many throughout history. What used to be the lake around the island of Tenochtitlan is now paved over, traversing it involves moving back and forth through the ages, exploring the syncretism evident in its architecture and social relations.

The City of the Palaces

The loss of economic capacity in Mexico has profoundly affected its architectural development and urban development, which in the past has proved more pleasing to its inhabitants. The generous architecture, planned and crafted, has gradually been replaced by minimally functional structures, economical materials, standard designs and standard measurements, creating residential spaces that appear to be built on the socio-economic scale of the majority of the population, rather than on a human scale.

With a recent project that took the form of sculptural work, a film and a play, Abraham Cruzvillegas performs the important task of analyzing the urban practice known as *self-building* (fig.4). Using personal historical references as a starting point, he comes to see it as a warm-hearted process in which solidarity between neighbours and family members is fundamental, not just as shared capital but also as an educational environment that helps any individual who is part of a community to understand their own situation. And it is precisely this practice of self-building that has created the working class residential areas in which spaces such as markets, squares and streets fulfil their true function as social public spaces.

4 — Abraham Cruzvillegas, *Autoconstrucción: The Film*, 2009, Courtesy of Galería Kurimanzutto. Mexico City.

Public space in Mexico City is not necessarily the kind that usually includes open spaces for circulation. In fact this space varies according to social class conditions and the areas created as a result of these conditions. What to one inhabitant may be a place for strolling and leisure activities located in a working class neighbourhood, to another is an area where they are afraid to venture and where they would be seen as an outsider and made to feel self-conscious of their class.

One researcher in Mexico who has carried out numerous projects focused on public space in relation to Mexico City is Néstor García Canclini, who with his works on cultural and communicational development offers us the possibility of analyzing the imaginaries of such a sprawling city.

The meaning of public space in the city can be said to depend to a considerable extent on the *safety* factor assigned to an area by a particular individual. This factor is also mentioned by Florencia Quesada Avendaño as part of her text: *Imaginarios urbanos, espacio público y ciudad en América Latina (Urban Imaginaries, Public Space and City in Latin America)*, in which she produces a study of given phenomena in Latin American cities. One such example is the appearance of what are known as *malls*, places, she says, where the imported monumental architecture is associated with strolling and recreation, but above all spaces that are created and designed for consumption. At the same time they are a new public space for distinction and differentiation particularly symbolic of the middle and upper classes. New *pseudo-public spaces* for lifestyle consumption are thus created. These spaces promote a model represented by the values and culture of the US.

One large-scale economic project in Mexico City that is emblematic of this spatial/ cultural transition is the mega development known as Santa Fe (fig.5). Located in the west of the city, it was built on a landfill site and ended up becoming a business district that can only be reached by car, where the streets are not designed for walking and where the lack of public transport has prevented the area from achieving a wider appeal.

5 — Santa Fe, Courtesy of ImageShack

In his text *La Ciudad Latinoamericana S.A. o el asalto al espacio público (The Latin American City Ltd or the assault on public space)*, Gustavo Remedi states:

> "Reflecting on public space forces us to think of space as a resource, as a product and as a practice (whether sensual, social, political or symbolic). The appropriation and particular use of space (both materially and symbolically) as well as the transformation of existing spaces and the production of hitherto unheard of spatialities, corresponding to various 'emerging' and competing cultural projects. […] In this sense, 'the assault on public space' translates into both the displacement of spaces and spatial practices that encourage social relations and the growth of a healthy public sphere (one that is free, sophisticated and inclusive) as well as the increase in useless spaces and hostile forms, which distort, inhibit and hinder its development."

It is not possible to locate with any precision a social *public space* that might counteract this change in the cultural sphere. But we can begin to look for it in the efforts to defend the freedom of spaces that create a sense of community. One example is the National Autonomous University of Mexico, and I am not referring to the physical space of the *Ciudad Universitaria*, but to the series of relations of economic and political negotiation represented by free education in Mexico. This is clearly demonstrated by the sense of community generated over the decades of student struggle to defend it (fig. 6).

6 — *Rector's Office Tower and Muralb y David Alfaro Siqueiros*, UNAM National Autonomous University of Mexico, Torre de Rectoría y Mural de David Alfaro Siqueiros, *UNAM Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Courtesy of Victormoz, Dominio Público.*

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LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO Y LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE SU ESFERA PÚBLICA

Minerva Cuevas

> "El lugar no es el territorio que, circunscrito, contiene la singularidad; es más bien la práctica humana que trabaja el imaginario demarcándo(se) por el afecto y la cognición: actor-continente posibilitador situado, punto de referencia memorablemente proyectiva."[1]

La Ciudad de México es una urbe que posee una naturaleza generadora de momentos estéticos, de posibilidades infinitas e impredecibles, y llena de contradicciones. Puede ser difícil ubicar física y conceptualmente el espacio público real, el social, el que ha sido legitimado por las voluntades y actividades de los habitantes, no el denominado espacio público a partir de decisiones gubernamentales traducidas en planeación urbana, ni el establecido a partir de intereses comerciales. Este espacio público social no existe per se, ni por mandato; tiene que ser generado: es un territorio que, al parecer, tiene que ser conquistado continuamente partiendo de una relación directa de flujos humanos y sociales.

Es este *espacio público social* el que parece ser el detonador de ejercicios estéticos que tienen como eje conceptual el espacio urbano y el que contribuyó también a que la ciudad de México se convirtiera en un punto geográfico de referencia en el arte contemporáneo a nivel internacional a partir de la década de los 90.

Entre algunos de los elementos que parecen relevantes como detonadores del impulso creativo y las condiciones que generan la necesidad de prácticas artísticas que se apropien de la ciudad, analicen sus dinámicas, intercambien con ella o la intervengan se encuentran tanto sus características físicas como sus dinámicas sociales. Esto lo podemos observar en obras de muchos artistas contemporáneos que han producido obra en la Ciudad de México entre los que destacan: Gabriel Orozco, Jimmie Durham, Francis Alÿs, Eduardo Abaroa, Abraham Cruzvillegas, Melanie Smith, Pedro Reyes, el colectivo Tercer un Quinto. También me remite a la obra temprana de artistas como Damián Ortega, Jonathan Hernández, Luis Felipe Ortega. Me parece que más que existir un artista en particular con un conjunto de obra totalmente dedicado a reflexionar sobre las dinámicas de la ciudad, es la ciudad un elemento al que la energía creativa de muchos artistas necesita responder en un momento o en otro.

En la obra *Piedra que cede* (1992), realizada por primera vez en la ciudad de Monterrey y posteriormente en la Ciudad de México, Gabriel Orozco desplaza una esfera de plastilina que tiene su propio peso corporal. (Imagen 1) La bola de plastilina, empujada o rodando va coleccionando fragmentos de la ciudad a su paso, incorporando a la plastilina el tiempo y la materia de un entorno urbano.

En este texto tengo el propósito de mencionar ejemplos de obras de arte que establezcan una relación con el contexto donde son generados, no otro tipo de obra que, aunque urbana, no represente una reflexión sobre el contexto, situación que es común observar en piezas de escultura pública permanente o temporal realizadas en la ciudad. Una excepción es la obra de Jimmie Durham, *Still Life with Spirit and Xitle* (2007, Imagen 2), en la que el artista se relaciona con las características geológicas de la zona residencial de Jardines del Pedregal. Yendo más allá de una mera fascinación con la piedra volcánica que caracteriza esa zona del sur de la ciudad para utilizarla como material, se pone a tirarle pedradas al contexto histórico, al desatendido, que es el de los indios americanos. Esta obra ahora está acompañada de la publicación: *Amoxohitli. Librro de Carretera. A Road Book* (Koenig, Köln 2011), gestada junto con Cesar Cervantes en la que todos los textos se encuentran traducidos al idioma Náhuatl.

La obra reciente de Eduardo Abaroa atiende a problemáticas urbanas. Como parte de la exposición Residual, organizada por el Museo Universitario de Ciencias y Artes, que tomó como eje temático la basura generada en la ciudad, Abaroa contribuyó con el proyecto *Carnaval de la Basura* (2010, Imagen 3). En la propuesta de carnaval todos los elementos serían hechos con material de desecho y el desfile festivo trabajado modificando la lógica de la escultura pública. En el evento participó el personal de limpieza de

1 Vergara, Abilio, (2000). "La ciudad desde sus lugares". In: *Conaculta-UAM*, México.

la ciudad, quienes para su sorpresa fueron recibidos por la gente con aplausos de reconocimiento a su labor. Esta impredecible reacción del público generó el elemento más fuerte y exitoso del proyecto.

La Ciudad de México es un espacio gris y al mismo tiempo lleno de color, es un lugar amable y hostil, es una urbe que hospeda multitudes y se vive en solitario, puede ser urbana pero la constituye lo rural, es ella y su opuesto. Es un contexto casi indescriptible, necesariamente definido a partir de múltiples imaginarios, nadie puede conocerlo por completo, transitarlo o poseerlo, es un organismo en constante transformación. Esta ciudad está llena de catástrofes y milagros, de infinitas miserias y riquezas y puede generar de igual modo el sentimiento de estar ya sea en el centro del universo o en el fin del mundo.

DF es la ciudad que no es, la que se autodestruye y busca su supervivencia. Su periferia avanza y la mancha urbana se ubica a cada instante en un lugar más lejano en el espacio. Sus límites dejan de ser. Sus fronteras se ven y se presienten constantemente pero la metrópoli es ya en realidad incontenible.
Desde 1950 la población de la Ciudad de México se multiplicó y el área urbana comenzó a desbordarse del territorio central hacia los terrenos desocupados de la periferia. La concentración de la actividad económica industrial en el Distrito Federal estimuló la inmigración rural proveniente de otros estados del país, especialmente de los más pobres. Este fenómeno queda particularmente retratado en el filme de Luis Buñuel *Los Olvidados*, realizado en 1950, que le otorgó el premio al mejor director del festival de Cannes y que fue también reconocido por la UNESCO como Patrimonio de la Humanidad.

Hacia la década de 1980, el Distrito Federal era la entidad más poblada del país, pero sufrió un reacomodo significativo a partir del sismo de 1985 ya que parte de la población de las zonas del centro más afectadas por el terremoto se fue a residir al sur de la ciudad., Esto resultó en que esas zonas terminaran pobladas de gente más joven que las popularizó y ocasionó que finalmente se generara un proceso de aburguesamiento, que actualmente también se ha generado en otra de las zonas más afectadas por el terremoto, el Centro Histórico. Tal proceso ha mudado el sentido habitacional de esas zonas a uno principalmente comercial.

En 2003 la ciudad desbordó oficialmente los límites territoriales del Distrito Federal y desde entonces se le denomina Zona Metropolitana de la Ciudad de México (ZMCM), la cual incluye toda la zona metropolitana que es parte de la mancha urbana de los estados vecinos. Con nuevo nombre, la ciudad seguiría siendo inabarcable. Una de las obras que documenta esta magnitud es *Spiral City* (2002) de Melanie Smith, artista inglesa, en la que registra en un video de 5 minutos la mancha urbana tomada desde un helicóptero siguiendo el trazo en espiral de Robert Smithson. El video en blanco y negro termina abstrayendo la ciudad a una textura gris.

Pero mirándola de cerca, la ciudad de México no es una sola, ha sido muchas a lo largo de la historia. Ahora lo que antes fuera el lago de la isla Tenochtitlan está cubierto de pavimento, transitarla implica retroceder y avanzar en sus épocas, recorriendo un sincretismo manifiesto en su arquitectura y relaciones sociales.

La Ciudad de los Palacios
La pérdida de capacidad económica en México ha herido profundamente su desarrollo arquitectónico y planeación urbana, otrora más complaciente a sus habitantes. La arquitectura generosa, planeada y artesanal ha venido siendo paulatinamente reemplazada por estructuras mínimamente funcionales, materiales económicos, diseños estándar, medidas estándar, desarrollando espacios habitacionales que más que basados en la escala humana parecen basados en la escala de la economía de la mayoría de la población.

Abraham Cruzvillegas - con un proyecto reciente que se materializó en obra escultórica, una película y una obra de teatro-realiza un importante trabajo de análisis de la práctica urbana conocida como "autoconstrucción" (Imagen 4). Partiendo de referencias históricas personales, llega a entenderlo como un proceso cálido en el que la solidaridad entre vecinos y familiares es primordial, no solo como capital compartido sino como un entorno educativo que ayuda a cualquier individuo como parte de una comunidad a entender su propia circunstancia. Y es precisamente la práctica de la autoconstrucción la que ha generado las áreas residenciales de clase popular en las que espacios como mercados, plazas, calles cumplen en realidad su función de espacios públicos sociales.

El espacio público en la Ciudad de México no es necesariamente el que, como regla general, abarca los espacios abiertos de circulación. Este espacio en realidad varía de acuerdo a condiciones de clase y los territorios que a partir de éstas se generan. La que para un habitante pueda ser una zona de tránsito y esparcimiento ubicada en alguna

colonia popular, para otro representa un territorio al que teme acercarse y en el que sería visto como un extraño y con una carga de aprensión de clase.

En México, uno de los investigadores que ha realizado múltiples proyectos en torno al espacio público en relación a la Ciudad de México es Néstor García Canclini, quien con sus trabajos realizados sobre el desarrollo cultural y comunicacional nos ofrece una posibilidad de análisis de los imaginarios en una ciudad tan diseminada.

Es posible afirmar que el sentido de espacio público en la ciudad depende de manera importante del factor de seguridad que una zona represente para un determinado individuo. Este factor lo menciona también Florencia Quesada Avendaño como parte de su texto: *Imaginarios urbanos, espacio público y ciudad en América Latina,* en el cual genera un estudio de fenómenos dados en ciudades Latinoamericanas. Un ejemplo es el caso de la aparición de los llamados "malls", lugares, dice, donde la arquitectura monumental importada está asociada con el paseo y la recreación, pero ante nada espacios que son creados y pensados para el consumo. Y que, a la vez, son un nuevo espacio público para la distinción y diferenciación simbólica especialmente de las clases altas y medias, Se producen entonces nuevos "seudo-espacios públicos" para el consumo de un estilo de vida. En estos espacios se promueve un modelo, representado por los valores y la cultura de los Estados Unidos.

Un proyecto económico a gran escala en la ciudad de México que es emblemático de esta transición espacial/cultural es el magno desarrollo llamado Santa Fe (Imagen 5). Ubicado al poniente de la ciudad, fue construido sobre un relleno sanitario y terminó convirtiéndose en una ciudad corporativa a donde necesariamente se accede en automóvil, donde las calles no son para caminarse, y donde la falta de transporte público ha puesto en jaque la popularización de la zona.

En su texto *La Ciudad Latinoamericana S.A. o el asalto al espacio público,* Gustavo Remedi anota:

> "Reflexionar sobre el espacio público obliga a pensar el espacio como recurso, como producto y como práctica (sensual, social, política, simbólica). La apropiación y utilización particular del espacio (tanto a nivel material como simbólico) así como la transformación de los espacios existentes y la producción de espacialidades inéditas, en correspondencia con distintos proyectos culturales 'emergentes' y en pugna. En este sentido, 'el asalto del espacio público' se traduce en el desplazamiento de espacios y prácticas espaciales que favorecen las relaciones sociales y el crecimiento de una esfera pública sana (libre, sofisticada, inclusiva) y el aumento de espacios inservibles y formas hostiles, que distorsionan, inhiben y obstaculizan su desarrollo."

El espacio público social que contrarreste este cambio en la esfera cultural no puede ser localizado con precisión pero es en los ejercicios de defensa y libertad de los espacios que generan un sentido de comunidad por donde se puede comenzar la búsqueda. Un ejemplo es la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, y no me refiero a su espacio físico: Ciudad Universitaria sino a la serie de relaciones de negociación económica y política que representa la gratuidad de la educación en México. El sentido de comunidad generado en esta defensa a través de décadas de lucha estudiantil lo hace manifiesto (Imagen 6).

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SPATIAL PRACTICES OF ODA PROJESI AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN ISTANBUL

Derya Özkan

In 1997, Özge Açıkkol, Güneş Savaş, and Seçil Yersel, three women artists who met as graduate students at Marmara University Fine Art Academy (Istanbul), rented a ground floor apartment in one of the buildings surrounding the Italian Courtyard in Galata. Initially, they intended to use the apartment as a shared artists' studio. Born into urban middleclass families and having grown up in Istanbul, the three women, by then in their early to mid 20s, and who would later initiate the art collective Oda Projesi[1], were in search of a space that would allow them to dissociate themselves from their parental homes and to work in a relatively independent environment. Diverging from the attitudes of most of their fellow artists moving into Galata in the 1990s, Özge, Güneş, and Seçil started to communicate with their low-income neighbors living around the Italian Courtyard, which physically facilitated face-to-face encounters.[2] The first encounters were with local children, who began to pay frequent visits to their artist neighbors' apartment to join them painting or chatting. Next came the women of the neighborhood, who felt comfortable enough to share their daily lives with the artists. Acquaintances developed and the studio gradually transformed into a gathering place for the children and women living around the courtyard. In 2000, the three women artists gave themselves the group-name Oda Projesi, deciding to operate as an art collective and to further explore the possibilities arising from their lived experiences in Galata.

The motivation for initiating the art collective lay in questions around how to make art in relation to and with an awareness of their immediate urban surroundings. In other words, for Oda Projesi members, deciding to form an art collective meant deciding to explore how art could not only be inspired by but also become a material response to urban social life in Istanbul. Defining Oda Projesi as an *art project proposition* or an *initiative in search of new ways of art-making*, Özge, Güneş, and Seçil describe their work as "an everyday life performance both shaping and being shaped by relationships between people and spaces" (Interview, 24 April 2006; Oda Projesi Archives 2005). Asked about what is at the basis of their work, Seçil defines their initial motivations in the following way:

> "Oda Projesi is so much related to Istanbul in many different senses. First of all, we take inspiration from the spatial relationships that form the city of Istanbul. [This is about] a creative way of thinking about how spaces function. (...) We are making a direct appropriation of the ways in which this city functions, by using the existing potentials of the spaces in which we live together with other people. (...) You can easily see that there are always interventions in urban space in Istanbul, small or big touches... Everybody touches the city and in a way makes it his/her own (Interview, 31 May 2005)."

Becoming aquainted with everyday life in and around the courtyard and exploring the city from 1997 to 2000, Özge, Güneş, and Seçil recognized the prevalence of the inhabitants' interventions in urban space in Istanbul and the roles such interventions play in the social production of space in the neighborhood they were actually part of. Motivated by the complex spatial constellations produced via the inhabitants' interventions, and taking them as their model, Oda Projesi started to realize art projects in Galata. In their own words, "the constantly changing courtyard, the multiple uses of penthouses, the makeshift ladder used as a shortcut from the courtyard to the apartments on upper floors, the kitchens extended into balconies in relatively small apartments, the laundry drying rope stretched between windows" are some of the habits, practices, or situations Oda Projesi members consider as *models* which they borrow from everyday life in the neighborhood (Interview, 24 April 2006).

Oda Projesi experiments with these *models* in various art projects that could be grouped in numerous ways. Filtered through my perspective that highlights their involvement with space and urban spatial practices, a major group is what I call situational works in Galata. The situational works functioned almost like a catalyst for Oda Projesi in its process of becoming an art collective; and the art collective continues using the artistic strategies developed in Galata in projects realized elsewhere. The situational works interweave several strategies: the first strategy is to make use of already available socio-spatial situations in the neighborhood, interact with them, learn from them, and develop a response to them. The second involves creating situations by bringing to the Italian Courtyard people, ideas, and practices which are normally foreign to the neighbors – although they are readily available within walking distance around Tünel. This strategy was deployed to create collaborative artworks or realize various events (such as a book reading, a shadow play show, an experimental music workshop) that took place either in the apartment, in the courtyard, or elsewhere in its close vicinity. All these works are necessarily site-specific and require corporeal involvement. They animate social spaces and create spatial situations, in search of innovative forms of artistic representation.

1 Oda means *room* in Turkish. A literal translation of Oda Projesi would be "The room project". For more information on the art collective, see the Oda Projesi website: (www.odaprojesi.org). This website is currently under maintenance (accessed in March 2011), but the Turkish contents of the website are accessible at http://www.odaprojesi.blogspot.com.

2 I use the artists' first names for two reasons. First, the works that the art collective produces in Galata have a *live* quality and they rely greatly on face-to-face relationships, where artists and neighbors know each other often only by first names. Also, and based on the foregoing, my analysis of Oda Projesi's work has an ethnographic dimension and this makes my personal relationship to them indispensable from my research.

Oda Projesi plays with alternative forms of representation also in its exhibition works that are made to be displayed in traditional art spaces such as museums, galleries, and biennials. In the exhibition works, Oda Projesi changes its artistic strategy, remaining within the space of the art institution and bringing into space things from the *outside*. For instance, a shanty, an illegitimately produced building that does not deserve to be called proper architecture due to its precarious existence is constructed by workers (hired by the art collective) in the backyard of a biennial venue, the legitimate site for art.

Alternatively, in some other works, the art collective situates itself inside the art institution while simultaneously extending its artwork towards the outside. An example of this was Oda Projesi's contribution to the exhibition *Becoming a Place,* curated by Vasıf Kortun in 2001[3] (Açıkkol 2001). *Becoming a Place* took place at Proje 4L, a museum of contemporary art located in the middle of a low-income neighborhood of run-down apartment buildings, as well as near a business district full of high-rise business blocks with glossy facades. Oda Projesi had a poster on the wall of the gallery space that directed the museum visitors to another address in the neighborhood — that of an apartment rented by Oda Projesi and turned into a space for various events from home visits to discussions on art. In the case of Oda Projesi's contribution to the exhibit, this apartment was in the process of *becoming a place* as it was constantly being filled with people and activities.

A handout produced by Oda Projesi reads: "Spatial practices taking place in a specific place are what make it exist and give it its shape" (Oda Projesi Archives 2005).[4] The *stuff* of the situational works in Galata is this process of activation. Galata works, in this sense, are spatializing actions that animate the social dynamics embedded in established places and transform them into political spaces of representation. The inhabitants actively participate in the making of the social space, be it their own apartments or the courtyard. In the situational works, then, the concrete lived experiences of the project participants turn space from an inert thing, a being in and of itself, into a fluid and alive, thereby becoming process.

The conception of space as *a becoming process* rather than *a being as such* is reminiscent of Henri Lefebvre's understanding of the production of space (Lefebvre 1991a). Considering space no longer as a thing in itself, a container in which things are located or practices take place, Lefebvre shifts the emphasis from space solely as an object to the spatiality of social life. Just as Marx, who made the conceptual and political shift from *things in exchange* to *social relations of production*, Henri Lefebvre worked through a shift from *things in space* to *the production of space* (Lefebvre 1991a; Merrifield 1995). Lefebvre opens his spatial thought to the unsettling effects of rethinking the everyday and its instabilities; and thus one of the major buttresses of his spatial thought is the *becoming* quality of space (Lefebvre 2006, 2002, 1991b).

For Lefebvre, space is a process; it is fluid and alive. It is not a dead or inert thing; it is not merely a physical container (Lefebvre 1991a). Thus space is always *becoming*, not a *being* as such. Lefebvre's work troubles the dualistic understanding of space restricted to its use and exchange values and to a merely causal (determined-determining) relation between the two. Combining his work on space with a critique of everyday life, Lefebvre elevates lived experience to the status of a critical concept in rethinking the production of space (Lefebvre 1991a, 2002; Kaplan & Ross 1987). This move, in turn, leads Lefebvre to expand his spatial thought and to develop a spatial trialectics.[5] Seeking to exceed the dualism between use and exchange values of space inherent to normative definitions of the capitalist production of space, Lefebvre draws attention to a third level at which space can be understood. He calls this third level lived/social space or representational space; and he argues that the relationship between space and politics can be understood only if this third level is also included in the analysis of the production of space (Lefebvre 1991a, Merrifield 1995).

In its artistic commentary on the production of space and spatial practices, Oda Projesi relies on a definition of representational space akin to that in Lefebvre's trialectics. For Lefebvre, representational/lived/social spaces are political spaces; and their politics is colored by the social practices that they are made up of. Similarly, the art collective explores the politics of the user-inhabitants' spatial practices in Istanbul. In Oda Projesi's projects, everyday spatial interventions by the inhabitants in their immediate urban environments appear as integral to the production of space in the city. In other words, just like practices of urban designers, decisions of the state and real estate developers, processes of gentrification and large-scale urban regeneration projects, these minuscule interventions that are relatively difficult-to-name should nonetheless be recognized as practices and processes that play roles in giving shape and color to urban space.

Oda Projesi's work can be seen as one among many contemporary art practices that have recently been explored by critics and theorists as suggestive of an emerging rubric in the history of art. These practices go by a variety of names such as collaborative, relational, socially/politically engaged, situationist, or new genre public art. There is an ongoing discussion on the definition of this new rubric which comprises multiple discourses. Suzanne Lacy situates some of these practices within the tradition of *public art*, and thus calls them "the new genre public art" (Lacy 1995). While Miwon Kwon rethinks these practices in terms of *rethinking site-specificity* with regard to locational identity (Kwon 2002; Demos 2003), Claire Doherty calls them the *new Situationists* with reference to the interventionism of the Situational International of the 1960s (Doherty 2004). Carlos Basualdo and Reinaldo Laddaga argue that this new rubric can be defined as the politically engaged art of the age of globalization dedicated to social change through the creation of experimental communities (Basualdo & Laddaga 2004). Last but not least

3 The art collective employed this strategy also in some other site-specific projects. In Riem, Munich, for instance, Oda Projesi members were artists in residence, and the center of operation was Kunsthalle Riem. Yet the artwork extended into the neighborhood and made actual living spaces—both indoors and outdoors — parts of the artworks (Oda Projesi Archives 2005).

4 The original is in Turkish, the translation is mine.

5 For a more detailed discussion of Lefebvre's trialectical understanding of the production of space and my update on it with reference to Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, please see my unpublished Ph.D. thesis available online in the University of Rochester Digital Archives: http://hdl.handle.net/1802/6201.

importantly, Nicolas Bourriaud coins the phrase *relational aesthetics* to theorize these practices (Bourriaud 2002). Bourriaud's theory is in turn confronted by Claire Bishop, who considers the emergence of these practices as a social turn in aesthetics and criticizes them for privileging ethics over aesthetics (Bishop 2006, 2004).

These critical discourses share an emphasis on the artwork less as a product than as a process, as well as an interest in collective production and social communication. Taking place either inside traditional exhibition spaces or in actual public space, some of these practices look like urban activism, some like community-based art education. While some of the artists considered under this rubric went so far as to instrumentalize art to help disadvantaged urban inhabitants or empower them, some others self-consciously distanced themselves from this instrumentalization and strived not to resemble the *social work* services provided by the state to offer solutions to social problems and help maintain the stability of the existing society.[6] Some of the artists in this last group, who refrained from *educating* the ordinary inhabitants who become collaborators in their art projects, prefered rather to *learn from* them. The projects realized in Galata by Oda Projesi followed this last strategy, by recognizing their collaborators' already existing forms of relating to urban space, and by making use of these forms as models in their own art projects.

This *new culture in the arts,* as Carlos Basualdo and Reinaldo Laddaga call it, problematizes the definitions of art's production, exhibition, and consumption by rethinking them with regard to contemporary social issues, and by reconsidering art's proximity to the social sphere in the particular historical conjuncture of globalization. Basualdo and Laddaga further state that the growing number of artists that characterize this emergent culture effects a "globalization from below" (Basualdo & Laddaga 2004, p. 169). Engaging in "the creation of exchange networks" through a "non-hierarchical collaborative production," these artists are in search of "new representational forms" (Basualdo & Laddaga 2004, pp. 166–169).

Considering both the art institution and the urban realm as spaces of political representation, Oda Projesi superimposes the social practice of art onto social practices of urban everyday life. The art collective raises questions about the relation between space and authorship, comments on the discursive representations of space, and experiments with the political potentials of representational spaces. Oda Projesi investigates the cases in which normative definitions of the capitalist production of space is complicated by everyday spatial practices of the inhabitants of Istanbul. Oda Projesi's work is a demonstration of how the user-inhabitants of the city of Istanbul create spatial constellations and become spatial authors by activating/actualizing what I call *the misuse value of space*.[7] Oda Projesi pushes the boundaries of spaces beyond their prescribed definitions and creates openings where the inhabitants' practices come to acquire spatial authorship. Space is thus *realized* through an activation of the misuse value of space, at the point where the causal relationship between the use and exchange value of space is transgressed.

The misuse value of space is an excessive value that comes into being as an excess of the practices that *make* social spaces. This value is neither required nor predictable. It comes on the scene when space is realized by the users at the moment of its deflection. Oda Projesi's spatial practices are partial experiments where this realization is sought. Through transgressions of spatial boundaries, the art collective explores the political openings engendered by the activation of the misuse value of space. In this sense, the works of Oda Projesi are propositions that strive to rethink the multiple definitions of the production of space and to imagine emancipatory representational forms that urban space potentially can take in the contemporary social geography of Istanbul.

6 Thomas Hirschhorn is among the artists who subscribe to this approach.

7 For more on the theoretical concept of the misuse value of space, which I developed in my Ph.D. thesis, please see the University of Rochester Digital Archives: http://hdl.handle.net/1802/6201.

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ART'S INDECENT PROPOSAL: COLLABORATION. AN ATTEMPT TO THINK COLLECTIVELY

Derya Özkan in Conversation with Oda Projesi

Picnic in the courtyard in front of the Oda Projesi space in Galata, 2003 / *Galata'da Oda Projesi mekânının önündeki avluda piknik, 2003.*

This discussion, originally conducted in Turkish, took place in April 2006 through e-mails exchanged between Istanbul and Rochester. At that time, Derya Özkan was writing the chapter of her Ph.D. thesis which focused on Oda Projesi. She read a text by Claire Bishop in the February 2006 issue of *Artforum*. In this text, Bishop criticises collaborative art practices and discusses Oda Projesi. After reading Bishop's text, Derya addressed some questions to Oda Projesi's three members (Özge Açıkkol, Güneş Savaş, Seçil Yersel), and thereby initiated this discussion. The text then grew from the answers given to Derya's questions and comments; new questions were then added to the existing answers. This version of the text, which was very difficult to read in a linear fashion, was reviewed by its four authors in February–April 2011. We have added subtitles to mark the discontinuities in the text, but they are not meant to divide the text into sections devoted to a single issue. We suggest that our readers think of these subtitles as cumulative discussion topics. In other words, when there is a new subtitle, this does not mean that the discussion under the previous subtitle is completed. Rather, one topic adds to the other and they keep accumulating.

Bu muhavere, 2006 Nisan ayında İstanbul ile Rochester arasında gidip gelen e-mail'ler üzerinden Türkçe olarak gerçekleştirildi. Derya Özkan o esnada doktora tezinin Oda Projesi ile ilgili bölümünü yazıyordu ve 2006 yılı Şubat ayında Artforum *dergisinde yayınlanmış olan, işbirliğine dayalı sanatı eleştiren ve Oda Projesi'nden de bahseden Claire Bishop imzalı makaleyi okudu. Derya, bu okuma esnasında kafasında oluşan soruları Oda Projesi sanatçıları Özge Açıkkol, Güneş Savaş ve Seçil Yersel'e yöneltterek muhavereyi başlattı. Başlangıçtaki sorulara verilen cevaplara, onlar hakkında yapılan yorumlar ve yeni sorular eklenerek bir metin oluşturuldu. Doğrusal olarak okunması çok güç olan bu metin, 2011 yılının Şubat-Nisan aylarında muhaverenin dört müellifi tarafından yeniden gözden geçirildi. Metindeki kesintilere işaret etmek üzere ara başlıklar eklendi. Bu ara başlıklar, metni tek bir konunun tartışıldığı parçalara bölmek için konulmadı. Okuyucularımıza, bu ara başlıkları üstüste, birbirine eklenen, yığılan, biriken tartışma konuları olarak düşünmesini öneriyoruz. Yani, yeni bir başlık açıldığında bir önceki başlık altındaki tartışma bitmiyor; aksine, bir konu diğerine ekleniyor, konular üstüste yığılmaya devam ediyor.*

Derya: When I read the *Artforum* text by Claire Bishop (Bishop 2006), I was intrigued by some of her arguments.

1. She argues that Oda Projesi strives to minimalise authorship, that this is a conceptual gesture, and that this move is used by Oda Projesi to develop an ethics based on the rejection of the authorial position (Bishop 2006, pp. 180–181).

2. She claims that aesthetic judgement is not something that concerns Oda Projesi and that, for the art collective, even the concept of aesthetics is a dangerous word that has to be kept out of the discussion (Bishop, p. 180).

3. She further argues that the group openly conceives its work as antagonistic or activist (Bishop 2006, p. 180).

4. Referring to Grant Kester's *Conversation Pieces*, she writes: "for (...) supporters of socially engaged art, the creative energy of participatory practices rehumanizes or at least dealienates a society rendered numb and fragmented by the repressive instrumentality of capitalism. But the urgency of this political task has led to a situation in which such collaborative practices are automatically perceived to be equally important artistic gestures of resistance: there can be no failed, unsuccessful, unresolved, or boring works of collaborative art because all are equally essential to the task of strengthening the social bond" (Bishop 2006, p. 180).

5. For Bishop, in collaboration-based art practices, creativity is reduced to collective action and to sharing ideas (Bishop 2006, p. 180).

6. She says that unlike the practices of artists like Thomas Hirschhorn, who deliberately makes visible the exploitative character of his relation to his collaborators, Oda Projesi expresses a kind of generosity that has a tendency to turn its collaborators into volunteering and harmonious participants (Bishop 2006, p. 181).

7. Finally, there is also the problem of how we should conceive the concept of *community*. Bishop does not elaborate on this issue in her 2006 essay but instead she discusses it at length in her previous *Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics* (Bishop 2004). There is no reference to Oda Projesi in this earlier text, but one might find a similar criticism about collaborative art in general. She claims that such an artistic approach tends to comprehend community as something unified, requiring the mutual identification of its members and relying on harmony rather than conflict or contradiction. However, she argues, community can be transformed into something democratic and political only if it is understood as a platform for continuous antagonism.

Neighbouring

Seçil: The issue of *community* is rather significant here. I prefer to define it as an ensemble of people whose qualities establish a whole. The motif of *artists working with community* should lead us to reflect upon what reducing community merely to a material for art involves.

Could we say that Oda Projesi proposes the concept of the neighbour rather than that of community? I am not only referring to our experiences and positioning in the Galata neighbourhood in Istanbul. What I am trying to indicate is the need to reverse the process in which both the neighbourhood in which we spent eight years and our neighbours are reduced to a mere category by some of those seeking to describe our work. Does theorisation necessarily entail squeezing a group of people into the term *community*? Neighbouring is a state of becoming which has to be metaphorically substantiated and constantly re-formed. A unified and harmonious structure is always already unrealistic and impossible; or if any such claim exists, it is perhaps constructed retrospectively, or amounts to pretension. For instance, we were once invited to an exhibition project in Bristol and the organisers asked us to work with *that group* or *that community*. We suggested working with people who form a collectivity upon meeting us and each other, and who then disperse once the project has finished, rather than working with a predefined group of people. Our proposal was rejected. Community is indeed a fragmented, procreative, disharmonious, and conflictual structure. That's why it can survive and produce new thinking. Therefore, I would propose a definition of Oda Projesi as a project involving *neighbours* rather than a pre-defined community

Derya: I suppose what you mean here is not physical proximity but something else. So not only your neighbour next door, right? What exactly do you have in mind? Something like states of becoming, in a world that is multiple, antagonistic, and fluid?

Özge: To understand where one stands, one has to look at those who stand nearby. The word neighbour refers to people who are sharing the same space, coincidentally or not, that is, who are face-to-face. This sense of sharing shapes the course of life. We don't construct our lives alone. The power of architecture emerges at the boundary lines that separate lives from each other. If this boundary refers to the walls of a flat or a house, we can argue that the situation intensifies in certain spaces and cases more forcefully than in others. Oda Projesi, on the other hand, is perhaps willing to soften and erase these sharp divisions. Neighbourhood is actually a notion that relies on spatiality; it is something that shapes space; it requires everyone to define the boundaries of private life as they want to: some neighbours prefer to remain unseen and hidden and that creates particular uses of space, whereas some others develop more extroverted structures. For instance, some people use curtains, some do not; and these decisions depend on to what extent people want to relate to the exterior world and the people who are physically nearby. In that sense, establishing a relationship with one's neighbours is perhaps the first step to becoming part of the public sphere. Therefore, for Oda Projesi, it is perhaps important to discuss public-private divisions, and how architectural paradigms shape these divisions along with different modes of neighbourhood. This includes not only two persons being neigbours but also two urban spaces being neighbours...

Derya: Here, I perceive a positive significance that you attach to the process of becoming part of the public sphere. This reminds me of a perspective that presumes the state of being public as something automatically good – which I find problematic. Would definitions like *becoming collective*, *collective living*, or *commonality* perhaps be more suitable in this context?

Authorship

Derya: Using Hirschhorn as an example for the concept of authorship, Bishop argues that Hirschhorn's decision not to abandon artistic authorship is a correct move. I think Bishop does not really discuss the issue of authorship in a way that questions it. What I find appealing in Oda Projesi's works is exactly a dimension that is missing in Bishop: namely, the problematisation of authorship. A complete abandonment of authorship is perhaps impossible for artists today. Yet raising the subject for discussion is quite meaningful. I would say that Oda Projesi problematises authorship in two different senses of the term: artistic authorship and spatial authorship. For me, the central problem is not about who holds authorship, or whether it is transferred (easily and heroically) from the artists to the participants (or from the architect/city planner to the neighborhood community) or not — as exemplified in Bishop's argumentation. The main issue is conceiving and dissecting authorship itself as a problem. When it comes to spatial authorship, it becomes even more difficult, since the knowledge of architecture, urbanism, and design is taken as a given and its authority and dominance are usually not challenged. This dominant expert knowledge and its professional ideology do not allow any dispute about who holds the authorship of space. I would say, here one also needs to think of the concepts of *autonomy* and *authorship* together. Authorship involves an authorial position and almost implies some sort of authority. Is it possible to hold authorship and be autonomous at the same time? Perhaps there is a need to reflect upon the concept of *autonomy* from the scratch. These questions remind me of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's work, the Zapatistas, and John Holloway's *Change the World without Taking Power*. Perhaps there is a need to conceive autonomy not as the autonomy of the individual but as autonomous sites emerging at the intersections of singularities. Can we think of autonomy in this sense as a concept challenging authorship?

Özge: The real issue is to generate states of autonomy in contexts formed through authorship. Only at this point can autonomy perhaps equalize anonymity and authorship. Yes, Oda Projesi is a signature, and I think there is room for autonomy in the spheres it creates as long as it maintains open-endedness in its projects. I guess you are bringing up the issue of rethinking this spatially when you talk about the intersection points of singularities?

Derya: Yes, I mean a rethinking of authorship in spatial terms.

Özge: This is also an issue that is bound to context. For instance, Hirschhorn produces his work as an artist in the context of contemporary art. He pays the participants from the neighbourhood and as an artist he himself is also a remunerated part of the chain. This is also what distinguishes the early phase of Oda Projesi: if there is no public funding for contemporary art in Turkey, we told ourselves that we can then develop alternative strategies. As Hüseyin Alptekin once said, "complaining does not help." I think it is important to be aware of these kinds of institutional conditions while discussing the works of artists operating in these kinds of art systems in a European context. There the artist is paid for criticising the state; and this is a by-product of compensation policies in Europe. Artists oppose the state with funds from the state; that is, and I am exaggerating of course, the state is buying self-criticism.

Additionally, the lived experiences have to be taken into consideration. Relationships and art works in a way lose their lived quality when they are discussed according to theories. In this sense, artistic and everyday experiences are not shared to a sufficient extent. For instance, the ethical, aesthetic, and political dimensions of Hirschhorn's work are discussed intensively, but as someone coming from the Oda Projesi experience, I am more curious about the background events of that particular work: what kind of experiences did the artist make during the project? What kind of interventions, changes, or exchanges did the work produce within the lives of its contributors? There is an instance of having contact with a community, and therefore it cannot be perceived as a one-dimensional work and it cannot be read solely through the context of art. We made a similar mistake in our work *Ada* in that we could not reflect sufficiently on the details of our collaborative experience with Mustafa Tetik.[1]

Güneş: I want to go back to the question of "what kind of interventions, changes, or exchanges the work produces within the lives of its contributors". Each project brings me a sense of excitement and unforeseeability. Then come moments of exchange. When the project comes to its end, what remains are relations that are produced during these exchanges. In several instances, we realized that we could not fully manage to share the relations that had emerged during the project. Intervention sounds to me to be an excessively sharp concept. I would say that Oda Projesi does not intend to intervene but it imagines an exchange triggered by the sense of being displaced in the places and positions it occupies, and by a corresponding potential transformation. The question is what kind of things can you

1
Ada was Oda Projesi's contribution to the 8th Istanbul Biennial. As part of this contribution, a *gecekondu* called "Mustafa Tetik Model" was built on the premises of the Biennial venue Antrepo by Mustafa Tetik and his friends, who were experienced *gecekondu* master-builders. The building process and the accompanying discussions were videotaped but this footage was not used later in the presentation of the work. The *gecekondu* was accompanied by *Annex*, a newspaper composed of texts discussing urban issues by way of the idea of the *gecekondu*. *Annex* was designed by Oda Projesi and distributed free of charge during the Biennial.

see anew while reinspecting routine and banal elements of your everyday life?

Making Mistakes

Derya: Özge, can you elaborate a little bit more on what you have called a *mistake*?

Özge: The mistake was that we got lost in the process that made the project. The part of the project that we presented to the public was limited to a presentation that did not reflect the process of production; in other words, it remained mere decoration. This is what I call a mistake. Although it might sound much too much like a generalisation, Marius Babias's *On the Strategic Use of Politics in the Context of Art*, published in the catalogue of the Istanbul Biennial in 2005 is relevant here. He writes: "Within the process of globalisation, art was given a new role as embellisher and visual coloniser of everyday life... For instance, artists organised exhibitions and projects first to criticise the city and its urbanity in the 1990s, only to see them become politically instru-mentalised and absorbed by city marketing strategies." (Babias 2005, p. 291).

Derya: What Babias describes is happening at the present. I could cite many examples, but one also has to be cautious about generalisations... Teddy Cruz is a case in point in the field of architecture. A US citizen of Guatemalan origin, Cruz places the makeshift settlements in Tijuana on the US-Mexico border at the center of his architectural philosophy, and thus elevates the status of these *shacks* made informally of mostly found materials. He emphasises the flexibility of these dwellings, their democratic and creative qualities, and cites them as inspirations of his own architectural production. Against the dullness of gated communities and American suburbs that are breeding alienation, he proposes "a humane model" inspired by these dwellings.

If we go back to the notion of *mistake* that you mentioned, I suppose that the structures of relations are quite different from those of presentation (or exhibition, or indeed of representation). Could this be the reason for the difficulties one encounters while exhibiting? It seems to me that those works of Oda Projesi which rely on relations or, in other words, which are based solely on relations, diverge considerably from those projects where something is displayed as part of the exhibits. In the latter case, difficulties arise as a consequence of the exhibition setup, the artworld and its institutionality. There is a given framework of representation which has to be challenged. In some cases, this forces your work to convey too literal political messages. I am saying this from my own perspective, as someone who has reflected upon and written on Oda Projesi. For instance, it is really difficult to put into words and describe what you did in Galata since these are practices that challenge theorisation. But *Ada*, the work that we have just talked about, almost loses the richness that comes from the ambiguity of the process behind the work and acquires an explicitly political message. We can even say that it acquires a certain kind of representational force within the framework of the biennial, which you would not expect or necessarily want.

Özge: Here, we can bring up the issue of the transformative power of theory. Could we say that we as a group make use of transformative means at experience-sharing stage? This refers both to shifting the space of that experience and also to its presentation. I would prefer to use the concept of *re-presentation* rather than *representation*. Exactly at that point when we start reflecting upon the *work* or the *action*, we are interested in discussions that emerge from our presentation rather than in speculating on its success or failure.

Seçil: I do not believe that projects lose their lived-ness when they are exposed to various sorts of theoretical deliberation. Lived-ness is lived-ness, and in projects like ours it is fairly instant. What can ever replace these moments anyway? I think sound theorisation does not damage lived-ness but transforms it. We also enjoy theorising our experiences while explaining them to others, and sometimes we find ourselves in situations of over-theorisation. The ideal case is when the project itself develops its own terminology and theoretical tools. I guess we intend to, or at least tend to, do it this way. I think in our experience there are four stages of project making: 1. Pre-project reflection; 2. The practice itself; 3. Theory of lethargy; 4. Theory of the project. These occur in this sequence but they also merge into each other.

Özge: Can you expand a little bit on the theory of lethargy? What I am really trying to say is that lived-ness disappears in the depths of theory when it is not shared.

Seçil: What I mean is this: after the intensive practical phase, a sense of alienation emerges in relation with the case and the space — which is actually something positive. It entails some sort of intermission, distantiation, and even a little bit of escape from the project. We can describe this as the theory of the impossibility of perpetual production. The state of lethargy, which involves stillness and to a certain extent resignation, can be considered as a healthy period following intensive lived-ness; but the control over the duration of this period should be in the hands of the artist or of the collective as the producer(s) of space and relations. I think that this intermediate period also needs theorisation and reflection. While complete withdrawal or relaxation is not possible, or should remain short-termed, there are occasions within this phase that enable theoretisation — with the help of new perspectives emerging in the distance. The theory of lethargy is a transitional state that proceeds towards the theory of the project. It softens the shift and the leap from practice to theory: it operates as an awareness of the potentiality of theory construction, in opposition to swift, drastic transitions and over-theorisation.

Özge: Actually these are not the goals but the outcomes. They are required to discuss the ethical dimension of the work. It is crucial for Oda Projesi to make effects and consequences visible. But let me return to the issue of *mistake*: I am perhaps repeating myself, but I still think that it was crucial for us to present points of convergence between the experience of Mustafa Tetik, who constructed the *gecekondu* as part of *Ada* in the biennial venue, and our experience with them. These convergences could not be made visible for people who we consider a secondary audience. How could we have succeeded without exotising these characters? This makes the problem of presentation significant. In that sense, visual media such as video also have their own traps.

Seçil: Oda Projesi explains its own practice as an intention, and this affords its production coherence. In a certain aspect, this is also a protective definition: appealing to the word *intention* would narrow down our field of responsibility and enable concentration. In that respect, intention is not the end product but the

(bottom left) Oda Projesi poster, courtyard wall: "Whose neighbourhood is this?" *101.7 Efem* radio project in collaboration with Bookstr and THEN, Galata, Istanbul, 2005 / *Avlu duvarında Oda Projesi posteri: "Bu mahalle kimin?" Bookstr and THEN işbirliğiyle* 101.7 Efem *radyo projesi, Galata, Istanbul, 2005.*
(top) *Ada*, Mustafa Tetik Model, in collaboration with Mustafa Tetik and his colleagues, 8th Istanbul Biennial, 2003 / Ada, *Mustafa Tetik Modeli, Mustafa Tetik ve meslektaşlarıyla işbirliğiyle, 8. Istanbul Bienali, 2003.*
(bottom right)"Gecekondu for sale" billboard advertisement, *Ada*, 8th Istanbul Biennial, 2003. "*Gecekondu* for Sale: Homes in Beautiful City *Gecekondus*, in coherence-with the complexity of the city, open to modification in case of necessity. Two options in size: one bedroom or two bedrooms. Open a space for yourself." / "*Satılık gecekondu*" *ilanı*, Ada, *8. Istanbul Bienali, 2003. "Güzelşehir Gecekonduları'nda kentin karmaşık yapısıyla uyumlu, tek göz ya da iki oda seçenekleriyle, eklemelere açık, yıkıp yeniden yapabileceğiniz, bir gecede terk edebileceğiniz evler. Kendinize yeni bir yer açın."*

process. This differentiates the practices of art collectives from those of social workers. Intention is the nexus between projects. One might relate the *gecekondu* project to the notion of intention, considering that it was presented at the biennial; yet it emerged as an outcome. It passed through the stages I mentioned above and presented itself.

Here I would pose a question to the other members of Oda and Derya: what does it mean to exoticise a situation? Özge, do you use this term because it is about *gecekondu*? Would we then say, in relation to our work *Picnic*, that the notions of picnic and neighbourhood were exoticised as well?[3] And relative to *The Picture of My Life*, were the contributors from the neighbourhood exoticised as well?[4]

Derya: Well, criticism actually emerges at this stage.[5] Accordingly, the response to your questions should be: "yes, there is exoticisation in these works". Exoticisation can emerge during the process as well as at the outcome. It is not intended but it may arise anyway. The crucial question is what kind of strategies can be produced to avoid this.

Özge: Exoticisation means presenting a situation, object, or subject without establishing a mutual relationship or exchange with it, contending with merely seeing it, perceiving it, and displaying it to others, or indeed exhibiting it to others. In that respect, what I value is striving for the visibility of the established relations and for openness about further participation. And I find it understandable that the *gecekondu* building was conceived as an exotic and authentic object by the audience since it was presented in isolation from its production process (although its presentation was supported by our Annex publication and billboard advertisements).[6] The processual character of relations brings with it stories. I don't have any problem telling these stories. I don't think that these stories are exotic. But in the case of *Picnic* and *The Picture of My Life* there is a process; both the process and the story are visible. Perhaps *Picnic* can be considered a special case: what became a spectacle was the constructed space and not its content; moreover, we had our experience on this constructed stage. The photographs of the neighbourhood are exotic when they are considered in their isolated presentation. But we never exhibited them in isolation; well, actually, we didn't exhibit them at all. These photographs were taken and given to their owners. What mattered there was the mutual experience.

İstanbul

Seçil: Could we perhaps reformulate the question of authorship in terms of "Istanbul and authorship"?

Derya: Yes, this makes sense to me. In the final analysis, what makes us discuss issues concerning space and authorship are the spatial practices that produce everyday life in Istanbul. And we cannot start discussing Istanbul without touching on the issues of space and authorship.

Seçil: The European Capital of Culture projects brought the emerging triangle between culture, art, and the city to public attention. Also, it seems that this might trigger attempts to redefine what is minor and what is major in the context of urban problematics of Istanbul.

Özge: The concept of authorship, just like the concept of gentrification, originates in *the West*. We might argue that authorship never existed here in Istanbul in the Western sense; the city was not structured predominantly according to this dynamic. Perhaps we should look for a corresponding concept of authorship in Turkish, our own language; that is, we should ask what the equivalent for authorship would be in the context of Istanbul. Actually, space is first formed and then appropriated. That is, from the beginning there is no authorship. We can discuss the author of the space of Oda Projesi from this perspective. The space is first established and then come the signature and naming.

Seçil: Actually, what now heads the agenda are the urban lots entrusted to prominent, giant architects — an urban situation formulated through ownership. When we examine the scale of our existence in the Galata neighbourhood, we can talk about situations and experiential modes to which we partly conform and from which we borrow things as the renters of a certain space. We can consider these things through the misuse value. The author of the space seems to be us — but only as an *as if*.

Derya: The culture-arts-city triangle is actually not that new. We are already witnessing the transformation it has entailed, I think. The cultural industry evolves into a position of comprising all of these three fields and of blending them into each other. I agree with Seçil; the process of transformation which has become evident in the last couple of years in Istanbul forces us to reformulate our understanding about scales. The production of urban space in Istanbul has long been based on makeshift structures, and the city has been reproducing itself based on this character.

3 The project undertaken by Erik Göngrich (June 10th, 2001) was based on his observations about Istanbul as a picnic city. The courtyard of Şahkulu Street and its garden were open to all passers-by who wanted to take a breath. On the day of the courtyard picnic, everyone left their shoes "outside" and came into the carpet-covered courtyard, which became like the living room of the neighbourhood, a private space within public space. The courtyard was redefined in this project. Food, beverage, cutlery, pots and pans were provided from the nearest neigbourhood public market. Invitations were prepared and sent to the neighbours one week before the event. For the picnic, the courtyard was covered with multi-functional plastic carpets. According to Eric, "wherever you put these carpets, in public or private space, the place becomes immediately yours!" Producing a sense of displacement with shoeless people picnicking on the street, the picnic posed the following question: to what extent does the distinction between "public" and "private" spaces have a relevance in the specificity of Istanbul?

4 *Ada* also included a series of activities in Galata under the title *Saturday Meetings*. Oda Projesi invited various artists to produce projects that involved collaboration with the residents of the neighbourhood. *The Picture of My Life*, a project by Belmin Söylemez and Orhan Cem Çetin, consisted of producing photographic portraits of whoever wanted to be a part of the project. The neighbours decided on the details of their portrait, such as the setting, the pose, etc. This process was video-taped. The resulting photographs were given to the participants. A collage of all of these photographs and the video footage were later exhibited in the Oda Projesi space.

5 Derya is grateful to Rachel Haidu, her dissertation advisor and dear friend, for her criticism on this subject.

6 As part of *Ada*, advertisements were posted on actual billboards around the city to promote a fictional *gecekondu* for sale.

What would be the impacts of large-scale projects on small-scale interventions? The former are driven by big capital and hailed as so-called urban transformation. This is a crucial point. Will giant projects swallow up small interventions?

Özge: Actually, what Oda Projesi can do at the moment is try to excavate such micro-situations as much as possible. Just as in the theory of *throw-away cities*, what we find here is the case of throwing away of a whole past — and micro-formations are parts of this wasted past. But on the other hand, these survival structures are completely reliant on the economy. As long as there is a need for survival, these micro-formations will be able to keep reproducing themselves. But everything changes along with the economy — from marketing campaigns of newly constructed gated communities, which are displayed flagrantly in public space, to discourses that are shaped to find solutions to the congestion problem in the transport sector. The latter should be taken seriously since, along with improving access to neighbourhoods in the city, there are increasing proposals for beautifying these neighbourhoods. The upper-middle classes are tired of wasting time in traffic; improving transport would accelerate *innercity safaris*; the accessible parts of the city are already being exposed to transformation. One example is Bilgi University, which located its campuses in decaying suburbs or slum areas of the city twenty years ago; another is the development of city marketing strategies along with the increasing interest in the city of Istanbul, aimed at generating capital from tourism — all these phenonema proceed with mutual interaction. Yet I am inclined to see all of them as urban dynamics — carnage committed in the name of the European Capital of Culture, for example. That is, the negligence and destruction of spaces that are considered to be a problem — we can well define some of these things as spatial genocide. The shift is undertaken at a terrifying speed, along with mottos like "we have to destroy all gecekondu buildings until the year 2010 and we must renovate all buildings that are of historical importance".[7] Such problems have been overlooked so far since the macro-economy was based largely on micro-economies. But what they are trying to do now is to destroy all of these at a miraculously swift speed. They see the residents of neighborhoods under urban transformation simply as a mass — whereas all these residents have particular needs, different desires, and different lifestyles.

Empathy

Güneş: Oda Projesi does not aim to strike roots at the sites it visits. Instead, it adopts a curious and sometimes even skeptical approach. But the issue of empathy intrigues me. What we do entails being a spectator and a guest, listening and opening things up to discussion. If empathy is about placing oneself in someone else's position, Oda Projesi's attitude involves prompting others to ask themselves questions rather than empathizing with them. This might sound fine at first glance but I think such an approach has its own problems.

Özge: I don't think that we have a negative approach to the concept of empathy. I even think that it has been one of the basic dynamics of Oda Projesi. The first three years in the neighbourhood, which were not marked by art projects, attests to this fact. One question has remained significant throughout: "How can I establish togetherness with someone who is different?" The neighbourhood had also this dimension. Empathy is a precondition for establishing this togetherness.

I have never lived in a flat that consisted only of a single room but I saw it there, existing in the life of my neighbour. I experienced it spatially when I visited its residents; I became a guest in a flat that was basically a single room. This is quite different from seeing similar things on the TV screen. If I were not present in that space, I would not believe that such living conditions existed. That single room and our *room* established a natural affinity.
Just next to a space that was overloaded and saturated with functionality, our definition of a space of no use gained a different meaning. How could these two opposites live next to each other without appealing to the sense of empathy? I am talking about a mutual empathy, for sure. Without it how can I relate to anyone other than myself? If a relationship emerges in the absence of empathy, it would be absolutely superficial. Empathy is something that relates to what has been experienced. Another example of this was the Marmara Earthquake in 1999. If we hadn't experienced that trauma ourselves, not many people would have rushed to support those badly affected by the earthquake. We encounter news of disasters only through the coldness of the media; and since television tends to blend tragic things with entertainment, images of trauma seem to us not sufficiently credible. Experiencing a situation by inhabiting a place induces empathy.

Representation

Derya: Has Oda Projesi become a trademark? This branding does not necessarily involve being an art collective representing Turkey. Perhaps it represents collaborative art practices? I don't necessarily mean a negative implication in asking this and I'm not saying that Oda Projesi is confined to this. I would just say that

7 When this text was undergoing revision in March–April 2011, the events of Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture had already been finalized. It would be meaningful to evaluate the EcoC and rethink our discussion here in the light of this evaluation, but we shall leave this for a later occasion.

(top) *The Picture of My Life*, in collaboration with Orhan Cem Çetin and Belmin Söylemez, 8th Istanbul Biennial, 2003 / *Hayatımın Fotoğrafı, Orhan Cem Çetin ve Belmin Söylemez ile işbirliğiyle, 8. Istanbul Bienali, 2003.*
(middle left) Entrance to the courtyard from the street above, Galata, Istanbul, 2001 / *Avlunun üst girişi, Galata, Istanbul, 2001.*
(middle right) The courtyard, Galata, Istanbul, 2001 / *Avlu, Galata, Istanbul, 2001.*
(bottom) *Locked room*, Güneş Savaş, from *One Day in the Room* series, Oda projesi space, Galata, Istanbul, 2000. / Kilitli Oda, *Güneş Savaş*, Oda'da bir gün *serisinden, Oda Projesi mekânı, Galata, Istanbul, 2000.*

there is a need for developing strategies that could respond to the contingencies of differing situations. And this links back to the issue of representation, of course. Oda Projesi acts. And when these actions enter the field of presentation, an exterior of these actions starts to form and Oda Projesi is forced to somehow come out of its protective shell. Dealing with this exteriority requires cultivating strategies. This would be like a perpetual re-thinking, re-reading, and re-discussing.

Özge: The issue of context is significant here. If you consider things only through the perspective of representation, the things that you see in urban life or in an exhibition come to the same level. And I don't see a problem in that. The pleasure I derive from graffiti is the same as the pleasure I experience in front of a piece of art. I try to read them by considering their intention or the things they represent since they result from a productive process and have become exhibits; so naturally they represent something. I guess what is problematic with the art context is that art is still conceived to be something sublime while it remains part of consumer culture. Advertisements, promotion efforts, and signatures become components of the context. From our perspective, this should be something disturbing and questionable, something that leads to the problematisation of art, its circles, its buyers, exhibition openings, and modes of presentation. Problematisation may take place by writing or talking; it might also be undertaken through experimenting with exhibition making.

Production of Space

Derya: Can we expand a little bit more on the subject that Seçil has just raised, namely, "temporal, nomadic, mundane, and future-less uses"? I believe these nomadic uses refer to the uses of space that Oda Projesi found already existing in the neighbourhood and borrowed. It seems to me that the spatial author of the nomadic practices that you mention in the context of Galata are the neighbourhood people themselves. Don't you think so? And can we say that Oda Projesi can be defined as an author as much as it belongs to the neighbourhood? I mean as much as it contributes to the production of space in the neighbourhood. And we can even consider whether we are obliged to define the author of space.

Seçil: Let's consider the neighbourhood as a stratified structure. Rigo, an apartment building built at the end of the 19th century on Şahkulu Street, has a specific character with its courtyard and passage, while its design complied with the conditions and needs of its historical urban context. This specific architectural fabric started hosting temporary uses along with incoming migrants in the second half of the 20th century. Building blocks in this region keep changing their functions according to the endless demands of the city, and they have been maintaining their existence by being adapted to new situations. Some examples of borrowed situations are: the constant changes in the courtyard; the transformation of terraces into rooms by covering them up with walls or plastic panels; the iron staircase, which was installed to provide a short cut to one of the flats in the upper floor and to have a visually dominant position from the top to monitor the courtyard; a balcony-kitchen, that is, a balcony transformed into a kitchen to create a larger cooking space for the single-room flat; clothes lines that fly over the courtyard from one window to the other...[8]

Özge: Probably, it is difficult to talk about a state of authorship on our side unless we come up with an intervention into the space or add a piece of art onto it. Things that happen there are built upon lived experience; at that stage who is the author and who isn't becomes rather complicated. The stage that turns Oda Projesi into an author is the moment at which it claims that what is happening is an art project — now whether this happens in the neighbourhood or in the gallery doesn't matter. But in the meantime, let's also remember that we aren't making any such claim. We aren't saying that this is an art project. Instead we say that it is a proposal for an art project. Lived experience forces us to say so; that is, it remains a proposal since there are no strict definitions and rigid limitations in daily life.

Derya: At this point, we can return to the issue of the production of space. Within this production, especially in the case of Istanbul, it is rather a confusing task to decide who is the author, and of what exactly. Following Antonio Negri, can we define it as the production of the common space of the metropolis, by everyone living in the city, defined as a multiplicity of complicated singularities that do not necessarily make a unified and harmonious whole? What I refer to as the misuse value of space emerges at this very point: the activation of the misuse value of space in Istanbul has a profound impact on the production of urban space. Can we argue that this mode of space production, which is based on the activation of the misuse value of space, has been the dominant mode of production in Istanbul for a long time? I'm asking this with reference to the ongoing large-scale urban renovation programmes: how does the big capital invested in urban transformation projects alter the dominant mode of space

8 There have been drastic changes in the neighbourhood since this conversation took place in 2006. The facades of the buildings around the courtyard have meanwhile been redone, painted, and the courtyard redesigned. The Rigo apartment block is now "secured" by two gates fitted with an electronic security system. Some of the renovated flats are being used as apart-hotels and the neighbourhood is perceived by popular media as one of the hip places in town.

production that is currently based largely on misuses; and how is it going to alter it in the future?

Seçil: The activation of the misuse value of space sounds quite appealing but it contains a paradox. Using the term *misuse* means presuming that a structure generating itself through *conservative* and *functional* uses actually exists. That would mean that we are inserting what we have been criticising so far into the definition of space. However, space already does have this quality; we don't need to name it as a separate value.

Derya: I would say what you are referring to here is a capitalist definition of the production of space. Or we could talk about hegemonic, normative definitions of space in the present. These definitions do exist, even if they are never ideally realized or realizable, or even if we don't believe in them or accept them. We cannot deny them. But their presence does not mean that we cannot be critical of them and cannot search for alternative definitions. Just the opposite: being aware of such definitions should indeed urge us to be critical. I have created the concept of the misuse value of space to develop an alternative perspective. All the disciplines that are based on spatial design, from architecture to urban planning, operate through such conservative definitions. I was educated at architecture school very much this way. Just a short time after I became aware of the prevailing definitions, I became skeptical because life didn't resemble these definitions at all. And having the urge to think of other possible ways of producing space that would not fit into these conservative definitions, I departed from them completely and became a restless thinker! And once you see things from a different perspective, you find out that potentials and alternative practices have existed all along. Istanbul urges us to conjure up new definitions since when seen from the normative perspective Istanbul becomes reduced to an unconceivable, peculiar thing, and not much more. But Istanbul says, look once more! As regards the use and exchange values of space as prescribed by normative capitalist definitions, I add the misuse value of space and refer to Istanbul as evidence.

Özge: Actually, we can adapt Maria Lind's phrase of the *actualisation of space* to this case: activation and also a constant actualisation (Lind 2004). At the sites which Seçil has defined as temporary spaces, I believe that we are witnessing a process of that sort. Do we not keep saying that Oda Projesi always borrows the dynamics that are active in the city? So in a space undergoing constant actualisation, I mean in the city, Oda does in effect actualise its own sub-space. And it does this via its art projects. Can we see the city in this sense as a primary space, and Oda as one of the sub-spaces in it? Actually, we aren't talking about an act of writing here (which entails authorship) but one of translation: the translation of space, but a translation into a hybrid language. And this language is involved in a due process of formation. Instead of claiming that this is the correct translation, I refer to a sense of translation suited to constantly and even spontaneously changing situations; sometimes even translation itself requires translation.

Seçil: The actualisation of space is the realisation of space, I believe — and not exactly making the space active or actual. Activation sounds like mobilising a static situation; and actualisation may be understood as adaptation. But the phrase is important since it refers to a process and implies an intention.

Signature

Özge: There is an additional problem in relation to art and authorship: should Oda Projesi be seen as a signature despite being an art collective composed of three persons working together?

Seçil: Yes, inevitably.

Güneş: A signature with multiple partners. A group of partners in which the partners constantly change.

Derya: A provocative question then would be: does Oda Projesi lose the partners with whom it (actually) shares the signature at the very moment it starts putting up its signature?

Özge: It is rather difficult for the audience to instantly understand what the unity called Oda Projesi is composed of. Nevertheless, I would still insist that there is a need to distinguish Oda's neigbourhood projects from those in which we act more like an author. There are signatures in each project and these can be bracketed under the umbrella of Oda Projesi. If we claim that we work collectively, then we talk about partners. Concentrating on the concept of authorship slightly displaces the context. It is of course quite easy to say that this is a signature when art is our sole framework.

Derya: Here I think the attempt to imagine a collective authorship is important. For this takes us one step further than authorship-as-we-know-it, that is, individual authorship. Can we not imagine a world in which authorship is shared or doesn't exist at all in its present sense? Eventually, the current definition of authorship is based on the notion of *private ownership*, one of the main pillars in the construction of capitalism.

Seçil: Authorship is inevitable. But it is in our hands to challenge and dissect it. Even we can argue that challenging it without denying its presence facilitates the production of new forms. I think a world without authorship is not possible, but a world in which it is endlessly contested is. Its full cancellation would evoke new types of authorships. What we can do is to accept its presence but also to try to transform it by questioning it.

Derya: A world in which authorship is endlessly contested sounds to me like a world in which its familiar meanings would dissolve, new descriptions would emerge, and these alternative descriptions themselves would also be questioned. I'm not talking about a world in which authorship is banned or forcefully abolished. I'm rather referring to a world in which authorship in its present (capitalist) sense becomes insignificant.

Özge: Can we say that Oda Projesi creates situations in which authorship becomes insignificant? On the other hand, a discussion about authorship within the framework of Oda Projesi would not lead us anywhere since no present structures are based on such a notion. This is why I prefer to talk about translatorship rather than authorship. I think it is useful to read Oda through the concept of translation. But can this evolve into a state in which a sort of common language can be expanded, stretched, and given form? Since even linguistic translation, if analysed roughly, is undertaken with questions in mind like "how would the writer express this in the Turkish language?". At that point, interpretation is also possible and we may then consider a state of authorship that is tied to the existing text/space. But the translator is an intermediary between two languages, which is reminiscent of Oda Projesi's situation. The issue of language is also crucial for Oda Projesi; therefore, the project has to be analysed through the perspective of

language as well. What we call *third space* may well be seen as third language.

Translation and Mimicry

Seçil: Özge, you have been emphasising the issue of translation. Would you expand on that with concrete examples? It sounds to me somewhat optimistic to explain Oda Projesi through the notion of translator-ship; it sounds even a little bit too positive.

Özge: Authorship is something rigid; it is about signing a completed work. Oda Projesi is about a series of intentions and proposals, just like the difference between two different translations of the same text. A translator may come up with a completely different translation in comparison with others because what he or she produces is a proposal of the original text in a second language. When I speak of translation, I also refer to the play with the inner dynamics of translation – a translation made with the intention of generating a common language. And I don't give a single meaning to the word. What we were doing in our long-term projects, realised outside the Galata neighbourhood, was the translation of the everyday life of these new neighbourhoods. We did exactly what people were doing in their everyday lives over there and we didn't add any object to these spaces. What we did was the translation of space; and there was also the translation of everyday life into what was being experienced within the art space. Seçil, perhaps you could further explain what you have in mind in relation to the link between translation and optimism.

Seçil: Claiming that Oda Projesi has the position of a translator means saying that Oda Projesi has done a good job by transforming an intention from a process into an outcome. I would suggest the concept of mimicry instead of translation. I think there is more authorship in translation, whereas in mimicry there is some sort of repetition and de-authorization. The translator proposes her/his own translation of a text, s/he rewrites the original text in her/his own language. If you think of mimicry in the light of the concept of the original, you can think of it as an interpretation of *the original*. The optimism I am talking about lies in an assumption that there can be no bad translation. When you, as a translator, say "I see it in this way, therefore I give voice to it in this way," this provides you with a kind of defense.

Derya: The issue of mimicry seems crucial to me. Is there a potential creativity in mimicry? At what point do translation and mimicry converge? What I have in mind here is that translation is more a matter of mediating than a question of authorship. And interpretation is present in both mimicry and translation, I would say.

Özge: I definitely wouldn't regard translation as an end result, which explains my emphasis on the word translation; everyone produces a specific version of the text, and this refers to a state of enunciation. Indeed, translation is a type of mimicry, the mimicry of the original text. At this point, differentiation between good and bad disappears; this is how I define translation that operates outside the context of art; even the translator's mood or frame of mind has an impact on how the enunciation is built up. Just like Derya, I share the view that the translator is actually a mediator, and therefore I consider the experience of Oda Projesi through the context of translation. Interpretation is definitely present within translation (a notion some people would certainly object to). The state of translation is a stance that resists literal perceptions and rigid definitions.

Derya: We are talking about a common production but at the end the signature appears to belong to the artist(s) and not to the people that have had a part in the project. This is because the artist is positioned and acts within the art world as long as he or she holds onto the artist's identity. But this is not doom and gloom. One can raise questions about authorship and problematize the art world, and such questioning can lead to institutional critique.[9]

Özge: Instead of collaboration with groups, can we perhaps define what is happening as the merging of different groups on a platform facilitated by Oda Projesi? In that sense, does Oda Projesi let itself disappear? It's like when the radio project was halted for a day when there was a funeral in the neighbourhood – that is, allowing projects to conform to the flow of everyday life.[10] A normal radio station cannot afford a similar interruption for it is financially dependent on broadcasting advertisements. But our radio project could be suspended or make swift changes to its programme. Coming back to the issue of signature, I think when there is no audience the signature also fades away automatically. And in that sort of relational, live, collective projects, we call whoever isn't participating the audience.

Seçil: I don't think that signature ceases in this instance either; it cannot cease. For example, there was no audience in Özge's *Bring Something From Home* and Güneş's *Locked Room* (both presented within *A Day in Oda*) but there were still signatures. Why? Because we decided to add them to our résumé and count them as works of Oda Projesi. Another option would be to say that we did

9 Here I refer to what is called "institutional critique" in art history, which includes self-reflexive art practices that treat the art world and its conventions in a critical fashion. The works of Hans Haacke are good examples of this.

10 The radio project *101.7 EFEM* is the last work of Oda Projesi before moving out of the neighbourhood. The space of Oda Projesi was transformed into a radio studio in collaboration with Matthieu Pratt from February 19th to March 16th, 2005. The radio programmes focused on the gentrification process of the neighbourhood. The radio was accessible only to the neighbourhood residents and those who came to Oda Projesi space especially to listen to the radio station.

(top left) *Bring an object from your home*, Özge Açıkkol, from *One day in the room* series, Galata, Istanbul, 2000 / Evinden bir eşya getir, *Özge Açıkkol*, Oda'da bir gün *serisinden, Galata, Istanbul, 2000.*
(top right) *So far so good/so weit so gut*, Nadin Reschke, Oda Projesi space, Galata, Istanbul, 2004 / Şimdilik fena değil, *Nadin Reschke, Oda Projesi mekânı, Galata, Istanbul, 2004.*
(below left) *About a useless space*, Özge Açıkkol, Oda Projesi space opens, Galata, Istanbul, 2000 / Yararsız bir uzama dair, *Özge Açıkkol, Oda Projesi mekânı açılıyor, Galata, Istanbul, 2000.*
(below right) A random day in the room, Galata, Istanbul, 2000 / *Oda'da rastgele bir gün, Galata, Istanbul, 2000.*

these works but we don't mention them and don't list them in our résumé.

Derya: Another question would concern the issue of child labour in relation to your work *One Day in Oda* (this issue has also been raised by Rachel Haidu). Could someone detect therein an example of exploitation — in the case of Nurşen's labour, I mean? This question could also be raised in relation to Claire Bishop's comparison between Hirshhorn and Oda Projesi. In her article in *October*, Bishop discusses the same thing with reference to Santiago Sierra. It sounds as if for Bishop Sierra and Hirschhorn are more honest since they paid those who contributed to their projects. And in her analysis, projects based on collaboration, including Oda Projesi, only pretend to integrate participants into the process. A sound discussion about Oda Projesi first requires considering everyday life in Istanbul, the way in which people in Galata relate to each other, and so on. As a matter of fact, Bishop talks about "the aesthetic regime of art ... as we understand it in the West" (Bishop 2006, p. 183). Thus, she adopts what she calls a Western-centric perspective, and this perspective prevents her from seeing some of the local specificities in Oda Projesi's work. What would you say about this?

Güneş: What I can say about the issue of child labour is this: I guess what differentiates the case is the bracketing of what will normally be considered daily experience. When I share the video recording of the half day I spent with Nurşen, something strange happens. And it becomes even more complicated because she is a child. It was such a long time ago; even I am struggling to reflect upon the case now. At that time, what mattered to me was to share things with her and to create a temporal space for her. But now, even I find it odd to have shared the video recordings with others and to have signed them as Güneş Savaş. But I can also add that my main intention at the time was definitely not to add these works to my résumé. I guess I did it under the influence of my previous art education. My contact and collaborations with children started at that period and the time I shared with them had a deep impact on me. I still work with children, albeit in a different format. How to share these works with others still puzzles me. Although there is no problem of signature in these works, the question still exists.[11] Regarding the signature of Oda Projesi, I think that it is rather a consequence of the process of re-collecting and sharing accumulated experiences. It can be regarded as some sort of editorial work perhaps. What matters is that when we go and stay somewhere we don't have the same intentions as the residents. As new neighbours, our intentions differ from theirs. We start a process and we proceed step by step with the directions given by the people with whom we share the process. And then we try to share those experiences with others in other environments.

Özge: Why do we place so much emphasis on the issue of résumé? Do we not consider it as a memo book, an account of what we have done so far? Do we not see it as something different than a simple CV? It is a summary of a whole, in which we make visible everything of Oda Projesi, a wide collection of things ranging from the smallest gestures (one-day events) to large-scale productions such as *Annex* at the Venice Biennial.[12] Résumé is just an instrument for sharing information and otherwise it has no representational role. In the meantime, perhaps we can look closer at the concept of gesture. It is an important concept for Oda Projesi, I believe, since our projects are comprised of gestures: a short visit to the neighbourhood, going on trips and making observations within the city, reading texts... It's all about these minor gestures, and they comprise the whole project. Giorgio Agamben defines gesture as something belonging "to the realm of ethics and politics and not simply to that of aesthetics." He adds that "what characterizes gesture is that in it nothing is being produced or acted, but rather something is being endured and supported. The gesture in other words, opens the sphere of ethos as the more proper sphere of that which is human" (Agamben 2000, p. 57). I would like to discuss further the notion of gesture, as I think it also resolves the issue of signature.

Derya: This is an interesting point. But does signature really disappear? Does it not keep on existing after the work is finalised and begins to be conceived and acclaimed as an artwork? It is true that signature disappears during the process of making live art works like Oda Projesi's; but when the work is titled and put into your résumé, and when you become the subject of critics like Bishop and others, does its ghost not reappear?

Özge: Yes, Oda Projesi is a name. And as long as it remains a name we cannot avoid talking about signature. This is a result of acting within the art field. But playing with signature, and trying to displace it, is nevertheless possible and crucial. As long as the site of signature shifts, one might make it flexible, I believe. For instance, Oda Projesi sometimes publishes newspapers, sometimes it acts as a radio station, sometimes it appears on the banner of an art exhibition.

Güneş: It doesn't mean much to probe deeper into the meanings of the word signature. At the end, we operate as three people who come together as Oda Projesi; we collaborate with others and we share the results of such collaboration under the name Oda Projesi. Or we

11
I have been working in a kindergarden for the last seven years. I work with children between the ages of two and four, and we make compositions with paint, textiles, thrown-away objects, and various other types of material in my own small studio — separate from other courses and classrooms. The fact that the sharing of the photographs, and video and audio recordings of these practices is under my control raises questions in my mind.

12
Annex was produced for the exhibition *The Structures of Survival*, curated by Carlos Basualdo within the framework of the 50th Venice Biennial in 2003. It dealt with the informal extensions attached to prefabricated houses designed for those who survived the earthquake in the Marmara region in 1999. These extensions were architectural units that were made by the families inhabiting these houses. They built these annexes to expand their rather limited living space. *Annex* included photographic documentation of some examples of these extensions and it was distributed in the form of postcards free of charge to Biennial visitors. One of the prefabricated houses that was no longer used was transported from the earthquake region to Venice and the first issue of the newspaper *Annex* was also published as part of this biennial work.

receive invitations to other occasions as Oda Projesi. The names of the participants are always shared, but for the next round we are invited again as three people. Therefore it's not possible to cancel out signature. But constantly protecting one's own attitude and signature would be quite problematic for a formation like ours. Oda Projesi does not have a clear-cut style or attitude. As Özge has just tried to explain, we are trying to deal with the burden of signature by sharing it in various sites and in many projects, inscribing it commonly into projects undertaken with other people.

Özge: I am not calling for a full cancellation; what I am trying to do is to underline the relation of signature to audience. What I meant was this: if there is no audience at the moment of realisation, then there is no need for signature. But this moment is crucial. If someone observed us during the project or entered it from the outside as a participant, then the project would take another shape. Video-recordings are a different matter since the decision whether to use them or not is up to you; they can also be seen as dead archival material. It is not theatre or staging, this is what I mean: we all become an audience or we don't become an audience at all... Our one-day projects required face-to-face relations and intimacy; they were close to private life, even mimicking it – something like bringing an object from your home or celebrating someone's birthday... What I wanted to say was that the absence of audience in the moment of experiencing an intensive relationship helps to establish a healthier relationship. Here the issue of sharing resurfaces. The field of art is actually a space in which we can share these things. It is a field that we value as democratic, that we want to become democratic, or that, we think, has to be democratic.

Derya: Art has been something that is seen, watched, looked at, that appeals to sight, or is something forever visual. The question about why it has been so and similar questions that follow from such a view are also significant. Even conceptual art cannot become a lived thing, even though it appeals to the senses other than seeing. Here, we can link our discussion to the art historical debates about the relationship between art and life, and to discussions about art movements such as Dadaism and Fluxus.

Özge: Do you consider the practices of Oda Projesi conceptual art? It is partly true, of course, when we say that Oda is a proposal for a project. This question actually bugs me as well. On the other hand, categorisations such as social art and so on are also very restrictive[13]. Reflections on Oda Projesi should not be devoid of considering the localities that it is tied to. Perhaps it is a particular category in itself. Perhaps we should read different types of art formations from that angle. For example, in which category would you locate Hafriyat or HaZa VuZu art collectives? In the case of Oda Projesi, we can perhaps open up the discussion about the issue of authorship through the notions of artwork and audience. And we can also discuss the problems of studying groups like Oda Projesi from the outside. I guess that just because of these problems we strive for establishing face-to-face contacts. For instance, as we did in Tensta, tactics like the artist's presence next to his or her work, his or her direct contact with each visitor, which attempt to facilitate mental participation, become prominent.[14] Or the preference of the speaker's mode over those of the author or the writer...

Derya: Does this lead us to suggest that we speak to rather than listen to the *other*? There is also a reference to that in Necmi Erdoğan's *States of Poverty*.

Presentation

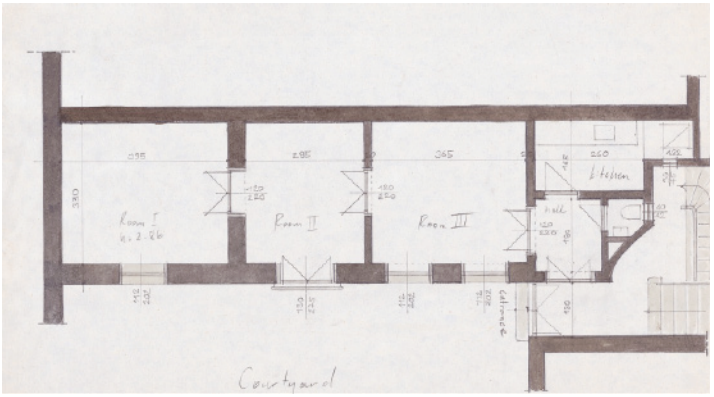
Özge: Let's also consider Gayatri Spivak's *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Spivak criticises Gilles Deleuze for charging the concept of representation with a single meaning. She is especially critical of the following assertions made by Gilles Deleuze: "A theory is exactly like a book of tools. It has nothing to do with the signifier." Or "representation no longer exists; there is only action" (Deleuze 1977, p. 205). In response, Spivak makes a distinction: "two senses of representation are being run together: representation as 'speaking for,' as in politics, and representation as 'representation' as in art or philosophy. Since theory is also only 'action,' the theoretician does not represent (speak for) the oppressed group. Indeed, the subject is not seen as a representative conciousness (one representing reality adequately)." This distinction touches upon the issues we are trying to discuss here. On which side of this distinction does Oda Projesi stand? We don't speak for others but represent; could we put it like that?

Güneş: This is an important question. Re-presenting or proposing something new? Let's consider an example, the radio project... Radio is basically a means of communication. And what Oda Projesi did in the context of radio was to design sound collages based on distorted sounds and interferences. So was Oda Projesi proposing a new radio methodology or only reflecting upon a multiplicity of possibilities through a change of methods?

Özge: There is actually no new proposal in representation.

13 (http://www.republicart.net/disc/aap/kravagna01_en.htm). Kravagna, 1998

14 *Proje4L* took place in Tensta Konsthall, Stockholm, between August 17th – October 24th, 2004. It was the first exhibition of the institution after it was reopened under the curatorship of Ylva Ogland, Rodrigo Mallea Lira, and Jelena Rundqvist. Oda Projesi was unfamiliar with the institution and its neighbourhood. In order to have a contact with the dynamics of the context, the members of Oda Projesi set out to study Tensta and to employ the art space as a means to generate some energy out of the existing social networks. Tensta is a suburban district which is populated mostly by large families from migrant backgrounds living in five-floor apartment blocks. The title of the project refers to the Proje 4L contemporary art museum in Istanbul. The museum was located in Gültepe, close to working-class neighbourhoods. Oda Projesi remained in Tensta for the duration of the entire project. A series of working islands were created in the art space and each island, marked with yellow on the ground, referred to specific spaces in Tensta: library, shopping mall, women's center, school, gym, and so on. One of these islands, whose shapes were determined according to the geometric projection of their reference spaces, was atttributed to the flat of Oda Projesi in Galata, and this space hosted the documentation of Oda Projesi's earlier works, including catalogues and other materials.



(top) *Swing, Seçil Yersel*, 2000, Oda Projesi space, Galata, Istanbul / Salıncak, Seçil Yersel, *Oda Projesi mekânı, Galata, Istanbul, 2000.*
(below left) Neighbourhood children's drawings hung on clotheslines in the courtyard, Galata, 1999 / *Mahalle çocuklarının yaptığı çizimler avluya çamaşır iplerine asılıyor, Galata, 1999.*
(below right) Plan of Oda Projesi space in Galata, 2000–2005 / *Oda Projesi'nin Galata'daki mekânının planı, 2000–2005.*

I think of re-presentation as taking an existing thing and presenting it again in its re-formed version (rather than deforming it); this re-formed version takes shape according to changing spaces and situations. The radio example follows the same procedure. Oda changes methodologies, and thereby reflects upon a multiplicity of possibilities.

Seçil: The quest and intention for cancelling out representation and for enacting its finalisation are significant. Otherwise we might easily be caught up within the vortex of contemporary discourses while trying to repeat the present we are inhabiting and to elaborate a critique or re-reading from the inside. This is pleasurable but at the same time dangerous! There is a need to escape from presentation, I believe. And the concept of re-presentation does not sound very different to me. Oda Projesi has been reflecting upon models of relationships all along. Is production devoid of any (re-)presentation possible? It's actually a somewhat self-destructive attitude; could we start from scratch by nullifying ourselves?

Özge: This depends on what you mean by *without presentation*. I'm using the word in its basic meaning. If Oda Projesi is about making things visible, then it would mean that it presents something. For me the real issue is how to position ourselves against the spectacle that unfolds under the influence of marketing. Where does our spectacle reside in relation to this spectacle. or does it not reside anywhere at all in relation to the spectacle? But representation is not something bad; as long as we look at our surroundings, as long as we are interested in the city, we are going to be bombarded by representations. Perhaps we can escape from the stableness or the single-signification of representation by regarding representations simply as signs. Or can there be a counterstance in relation to what Roland Barthes describes: "Now, for a very long time — probably for the entire classical capitalist period, i.e. from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, in France — the uncontested owners of the language, and they alone, were authors; if we except preachers and jurists (enclosed moreover in functional languages), no one else spoke, and this 'monopoly' of the language produced, paradoxically, a rigid order, an orderless of producers than of production: it was not the literary profession which was structured (it has developed greatly in three hundred years, from the domestic poet to businessman-writer)" (Barthes 1982, p.185).

The Misuse Value of Space

Derya: If we go back to the concept of the misuse value of space that I have proposed, can we say that Oda Projesi misuses space? Oda Projesi bends and transforms space by trying to find usages that are beyond the prescribed meanings of space; it makes visible and realises the potentials of spaces by misusing them — on the condition that we understand misuse not in a negative sense. The question of spatial authorship enters the discussion here. Consequently, the status of specialists who are assumed to possess the authority on the production of space is opened up for interrogation. What I'm actually trying to do is to talk about space by looking at the field of art. What are the convergences between art and authorship, between space and authorship, in the context of Oda Projesi?

Özge: Perhaps we can go back to the beginning of Oda Projesi's activities. Perhaps we should first look at the ways in which designed space fails to operate as a consequence of the dynamics of everyday life and is forced to change. Perhaps we should also take the temporal dimension into consideration as we speak about process; and here we might look at the concept of *pause*, as elaborated by the curators of the Gwangju Biennial, who wanted to relate it to the ways in which relational projects tend to arrest time.[14] It is about regarding the present instead of glorifying the past (official history) or the future (ideals). It is about stopping and reflecting for a while (this is also a mental process) in the midst of experienced time and space in order to produce a puncture. And doing it with other people and formations of course, since the other route is being experienced naturally among ourselves. Actually at this point we can talk about Oda Projesi's function as the preservation of memory: paradoxically, we are trying to document what seems to be fragile, short-lived, or awaiting imminent destruction. The temporal dimension is important in that respect — not in the sense of lost time but rather of captured time.

Derya: I also think that the temporal dimension is crucial. Placing time, that is history, next to space... But for a moment I want to go back to Bishop now. How does Oda Projesi consider the issue of political engagement? Is Oda Projesi an activist project, as Bishop portrays it? Can we see the works of Oda Projesi as gestures of resistance? And if we can talk about resistance, what kind of resistance is this and what does it resist? Is it oppositional, and if so, what is it opposing?

Özge: Actually, the first act of resistance was to create a space for ourselves in Istanbul, the city we live in and that we are deeply concerned with. But it was not a conscious resistance. As time went by, and as we started operating within the sphere of art, we realized that we don't fit into the model of the artist locked up in her/his studio and who doesn't produce artworks

14 *Moving Room* was exhibited within the framework of the 4th Gwangju Biennial from March 29th to July 29th 2002. It was the first occasion on which Oda Projesi participated in an art event outside the Galata neighbourhood. The biennial, curated by Charles Esche and Hou Hanru, was devised to bring together collectives from all around the world and to display their working methods. The sub-exhibition that hosted Oda Projesi re-built the working spaces of collectives on a one-to-one scale. The three rooms of Oda Projesi were re-activated with documents and workshops in collaboration with students and teachers of primary schools nearby.

unless s/he is invited to diplay works at an exhibition. We realized it is important for us to be in that particular space in Galata. It was important for us to be able to realize a project we had in mind right there whenever we wanted. Oda Project transformed later on, of course. At this point, it is also important to take the initiative. The second resistance, I believe, involves producing art beyond all kinds of top-down definitions or requests. We can resist the macro by researching micro-situations and relationships, and by looking at their dynamics.

Seçil: I rather think that Oda Projesi purposefully enacts resistance. It's rather a matter of reading a particular project in such a way retrospectively. We create gestures of resistance. But I cannot claim something like we resisted this first, and later we resisted that. Resistance is a process. It contains tensions and conflicts; in some areas you win, in others you lose. During resistance, the sides feel the presence of their rivals, and resistance emerges accordingly. Resistance is something more than opposition; it creates new spaces. And there is a continuity in resisting.

Güneş: For me the project involved curiosity rather than resistance at the beginning. This involved creating a space for ourselves in a declining neighborhood in central Istanbul and transforming it over time into a space of resistance. I also think that we interpreted this as resistance retrospectively. Well, opening an art space and funding this with pocket money in the midst of a huge art system is itself a kind of resistance. However, I think we weren't necessarily doing all this as a challenge to that system; or at least I didn't think of it that way as a member of the collective at the time.

Aesthetics-Ethics

Derya: Let me raise another question, again by referring to Bishop's argumentation: how does Oda Projesi see the relationship between aesthetics and ethics? How does it approach aesthetics? Does it sacrifice aesthetics in favour of ethics, as Bishop puts it? What are the roles of aesthetics and ethics in the works of Oda Projesi, and how and where do they arise?

Özge: Well, Bourriaud's *Relational Aesthetics* was also criticised. Perhaps here we should talk a little bit about the risks of aestheticisation. For instance, while Istanbul is not an *aesthetic* city in the most well-known meaning of the term as that which is beautiful, it is being *aestheticised*. The fact that there is always an act of aestheticisation behind the notion of aesthetics somewhat annoys me. I think Oda Projesi creates a series of scenes – aesthetic or not. A possible scene of what could be done together, micro set-ups, etc. When I say scene, I don't only mean this in a visual sense of the word, of course. I am talking about an approach that realizes projects without thinking via aesthetics.

Ethics work similarly. We realize a project without thinking ahead about its artistic success or failure. We simply rely on our personal ethics, as we move along proportionally with everyday life. If you establish a rule for this is ethical and that is not, you unavoidably end up *otherising* whom you are faced with. But if you see your counterpart as someone with whom you can share an experience, at that point the relationship between you and the other develops its own specific ethics. It is also useful to think the other way around: we have also produced *products* and we cannot ignore their relationship with aesthetics. Nonetheless, the aesthetic is not necessarily bad. But I say we cannot talk about an aesthetic structure in the works of Oda Projesi, because this isn't our aim. In other words, I think aesthetics is something that you aim at, whereas we have no such aims in our way of production: we produce by taking risks; and we usually don't make decisions in advance about how a project will end.

Community

Derya: I would like to come back to one of my initial questions: how does Oda Projesi approach the neighbourhood community? Do you aim to achieve community empowerment? This also raises another question, namely, about the place of subjectivity in Oda Projesi's works. How relevant is the distinction between *the self* and *the other* (which Bishop also talks about) in the neighbourhood?

Özge: In fact, the problem is right there. Christian Kravagna (1998) also talks about an approach that he calls "working with others". I think this is a problematic approach. For Oda Projesi, the question of "who are our neighbors?" was always important. Community, in this sense, corresponds to those sharing a common space. If we think of a common space, then Oda Projesi is one of many community members who share this space; that is, it is integral to that community. In this sense, we cannot talk about a target group; nevertheless, many times we are labeled as "Oda projesi works with such and such kinds of groups". At this point, I think we should rethink Oda Projesi's definition of community via space. Those who share a common space make a community; life takes shape in relation to space and space in turn takes shape in relation to life. Sharing as neighbors is important, because only then can we talk about exchange. Experiences

vary, of course, but once you open yourself up to the other's experience, that otherness can undergo change. For instance in the neighbourhood, we were perhaps the others ourselves, a minority group with a way of life different from that of the majority of people living there at the time. Isn't it more healthy if those who have this other role keep changing? Empowerment is too large a claim; it actually suggests that we have the power. Why don't we take this as something done together, collaboratively? At that point we can talk about empowering space and everyday life rather than persons. Empowerment is not something that can be done only by one side in a relationship. Oda Projesi, which takes nourishment from urban space, and whose survival is based on the city's dynamics, cannot have power by itself.

Open-endedness

Derya: What is the role of open-endedness in Oda Projesi's works? In her article in *October*, Claire Bishop (2004) discusses the question of open-endedness, and argues that it is a problematic artistic strategy. She thinks that art can convey political messages by performing disruptive gestures that make spectators question themselves rather than by being open-ended.

Özge: Open-endedness is not something that those sharing an environment (including us) are aware of in practice. Rather, this is specified during the process; in other words, we cannot design a project as open-ended from the beginning. Only if the will of the participants has continuity or if a state of action-reaction is created may the project become open-ended. This is like not cutting the process with an abrupt end; and if there is a halt, it is a matter of resuming the process with new things to say... the fact that objects appearing as products actually function as vehicles defines open-endedness.

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SANATIN AHLÂKSIZ TEKLİFİ: İŞBİRLİĞİ. BİR KOLEKTİF DÜŞÜNME DENEMESİ

Derya Özkan in conversation with Oda Projesi

Derya: Claire Bishop'un *Artforum* dergisinin Şubat 2006 sayısında yayınlanan makalesini[1] okurken kafama şunlar takıldı:

1. Bishop, Oda Projesi'nin müellifliği *(authorship)* minimum düzeye indirerek kavramsal bir jest yaptığını, ve bunun nihaî olarak müellifliği reddetmek üzerine kurulu bir etik geliştirmeye yaradığını iddia ediyor.[2]

2. Estetik değerin Oda Projesi için muteber bir mesele olmadığını, Oda Projesi'nin estetiği tartışmaya açılmaması gereken tehlikeli bir kelime olarak gördüğünü söylüyor.[3]

3. Oda Projesi'nin kendi işlerini açıkça muhalif veya aktivist olarak kavradığını düşünüyor.[4]

4. Grant Kester'in *Conversation Pieces* başlıklı kitabına referansla şunları söylüyor: "(...) sosyal angajmana sahip sanat işlerini destekleyenlere göre, katılımcı pratiklerin yaratıcı enerjisi, kapitalizmin baskıcı araçsallığı tarafından uyuşturulmuş ve bölünmüş olan toplumu yeniden insanîleştiriyor, ya da en azından onu yabancılaşmaktan alıkoyuyor. Bu politik vazifenin aciliyeti, işbirliğine dayalı pratiklerin otomatik olarak eşit derecede önemli sanatsal direniş jestleri olarak algılanması gibi bir duruma yol açtı: adeta işbirliğine dayalı sanat başarısız, kararsız veya sıkıcı olamazmış gibi, çünkü toplumsal bağı güçlendirme vazifesi açısından bakıldığında bu tür sanatın her türlüsü eş derecede elzem görünüyor."[5]

5. Bishop'a göre işbirliğine dayalı sanatta yaratıcılık, kolektif eylem ve paylaşılan fikirlerden ibaret bir düzeye indirgeniyor.[6]

6. Hirschhorn'un işbirliği yaptığı insanlarla kurduğu istismarı kasten vurgulayan ilişkiden farklı olarak Oda Projesi'nin işbirliği yaptığı insanları gönüllü ve uyumlu katılımcı kılmaya eğilimi olan bir tür "cömertlik" sergilediğini söylüyor.[7]

7. Son olarak, "ahâli" *(community)* kavramını nasıl anladığımız meselesi var. Bishop buna *Artforum* yazısında pek değinmiyor, ama daha önce *October* dergisinde yayınlanan başka bir yazısında bunu uzun uzun tartışıyor.[8] Orada Oda Projesi'nden doğrudan bahsetmiyor, fakat işbirliğine dayalı sanatı genel olarak eleştiriyor. Bu tür sanatın, ahâliyi birleşik *(unified)*, onu oluşturan kişilerin birbiriyle özdeşleşmesine *(identification)* dayalı, çatışma ve çelişki *(conflict, contradiction)* değil uyum *(harmony)* üzerine kurulu olduğunu düşündüğünü söylüyor. Halbuki Bishop'a göre ahâli ancak çatışmaların sürdürüldüğü bir şey olarak anlaşıldığında demokratik ve politik hale gelebilir.

Komşuluk

Seçil: Şimdi bu "*community*" meselesi önemli; ben bu kavramı topluluk olarak çevirmeyi tercih edeceğim; yani nitelikleri açısından bir bütün oluşturan kimselerin tümü. "Topluluk ile çalışan sanatçılar" kalıbı ise malzeme haline getirilen topluluk ve bu durumun içerdikleri üzerine düşündürmeli bizi.

Oda Projesi aslında kavram olarak topluluk yerine komşuyu önerir diyebilir miyiz? Bunu sadece mahalledeki duruşumuzu düşünerek söylemiyorum; kimi zaman birileri bizi tanımlarken gerçekleşen, içinde 8 sene geçirdiğimiz mahallenin ve komşularımızın bir kategoriye dönüştürülmesi durumunu tersine çevirme ihtiyacından hareket ediyorum. Teorize etmek, bir grup insanı "bir topluluk" tanımı içine sıkıştırmayı gerektirir mi? Komşuluk ise metaforik anlamda içi yeniden doldurulması ve her an yeniden şekillendirilmesi gereken bir oluş hali. Bütünlüklü ve uyum içinde olan herhangi bir yapı zaten mümkün ya da gerçek değildir, sonradan oluşturulmuştur ya da "mış gibi" yapılmıştır diyebiliriz. Örneğin Oda Projesi Bristol'e davet edildi ve bize "şu toplulukla ya da şu grupla çalışabilirsiniz" dediler. Biz tanımlı bir grup yerine bizimle buluştuğunda şekillenip sonrasında dağılan insanlar ile çalışmayı içeren bir proje önerdik ve kabul edilmedik. Topluluk aslında parçalı, üreyen, uyumsuz, çatışmalı bir yapı. Bu yüzden de bu yapı ayakta kalabilir ve yeni sözler üretebilir. Belli tanımlı bir topluluk ile çalışan Oda

1 Claire Bishop (2006) "The Social Turn: Collaboration and its discontents" *Artforum* Sayı 44(6) (Şubat), s. 178-183.

2 Bishop 2006: 180.

3 Bishop 2006: 180.

4 Bishop 2006: 180.

5 Bishop 2006: 180.

6 Bishop 2006: 180-181.

7 Bishop 2006: 180.

8 Claire Bishop (2004) "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics" *October* Sayı 110 (Sonbahar), s. 51-79.

Projesi yerine "komşusu" ile çalışan bir Oda Projesi yapısı öneriyorum.

Derya: Komşu derken burada fizikî bir komşuluktan değil, daha farklı bir şeyden bahsediyorsun sanırım. Yani sadece kapı komşusu değil. Doğru anlıyor muyum? Çeşitli, çatışmalı, değişken bir dünyada farklı birarada oluş halleri gibi mi?

Özge: Kendinin "nerede" bulunduğunu daha iyi görmenin bir yolu aslında "yanındakine bakmak". Komşu, rastlantısal ya da değil, aynı mekânı paylaşan, birbirinin yüzüne bakan insanlar demek, ilk anlamıyla. Bu mekân paylaşımı yaşamı şekillendiriyor. Tek başımıza bir yaşam kurmuyoruz aslında. Mesela mimarinin gücü, bu yaşantıları birbirinden ayıran sınırlarda ortaya çıkıyor. Bu bazı mekân ve durumlarda daha da keskinleşiyor, mesela bu sınır evin duvarı olarak karşımıza çıktığında. Oda Projesi bu keskin ayrımları silikleştirmek istiyor. Bu anlamda komşuluk mekâna işaret eden veya mekânın kendisini şekillendiren bir olgu. Orada özel yaşamın sınırlarının ne olacağına herkes kendisi karar veriyor: bazı komşular daha gizli saklı olma isteğiyle farklı bir mekân kullanma biçimi yaratıyor, kimisi daha dışa dönük bir yapı kuruyor. Mesela kimisi perde kullanıyor, kimisi kullanmıyor; ve bunlar tamamen dış dünyayla ve öncelikle de mekânsal konumu sana yakın olan kişiyle ne kadar ilişki kurmak istediğine bağlı olarak değişiyor. Bu anlamda komşuluk ilişkisi dediğimiz şey kamusallaşmanın ilk adımı aslında. Bu noktada, Oda Projesi için önemli olan, kamusal/özel alan ve onu biçimlendiren mimariye ek olarak komşuluk biçimlerini tartışmak belki de... İki kişinin komşuluğu kadar, kentte iki mekânın komşuluğu da buna dahil.

Derya: Burada "kamusallaşma" derken olumlu bir imâ hissediyorum. Bu da bana, kamusal olanın otomatik olarak "iyi" olduğunu varsayan ve sorunlu bulduğum bir bakışı hatırlatıyor. Acaba kolektifleşme, ortak yaşama veya ortaklık *(commonality)* gibi bir kavram burada daha mı uygun olurdu diye soruyorum.

Müelliflik

Derya: Bishop, Hirschhorn örneği üzerinden müelliflik *(authorship)* meselesini tartışırken, Hirschhorn'un sanatsal müellifliği elden bırakmayarak doğru bir şey yaptığını söylüyor. Burada Bishop müellifliği tartışıyor gibi yapıyor ama onun esasını sorgulayacak bir tartışmaya yanaşmıyor aslında diye düşünüyorum. Bana Oda Projesi'nin işlerinde çekici gelen ise tam da bu: müellifliğin tartışmaya açılıyor olması. Müelliflikten vazgeçmek, sanatçı ne yaparsa yapsın zaten mümkün değil. Ama onu tartışmaya açmak anlamlı. Oda Projesi'nin işlerinde müellifliğin iki anlamda tartışmaya açıldığını düşünüyorum: sanatsal müelliflik ve mekânsal müelliflik. Bence sorun (Bishop'un sandığı gibi) müellifliğin kimin elinde olduğu ya da sanatçıdan alınıp (gayet kolayca ve kahramanca) katılımcıya (veya mimarın/şehircinin elinden alınıp mahalle ahâlisine) verilmesi değil. Esas mesele müellifliğin kendisinin bir sorun olarak masaya yatırılması. Konu mekânsal müelliflik olduğunda bu iyice zorlaşıyor çünkü mimarlığın/şehirciliğin/tasarımcılığın bilgisi, verili kabul edilen, otoritesi sorgulanmayan, hâkim bir bilgi. Bu hâkim uzman bilgisi ve onun meslek ideolojisi, mekânın müellifinin kim olduğuna dair herhangi bir tartışmanın açılmasına zaten izin vermiyor.

Burada bir de özerklik *(autonomy)* ile müelliflik *(authorship)* kavramlarını birlikte düşünmek gerekiyor gibi geliyor bana. Müelliflik sanki bir tür otorite imâ ediyor. Aynı anda müellif ve özerk olmak mümkün mü? Belki "özerk"in tarifini de yeniden düşünmek gerekiyor. Ki bu sorular bana Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri'nin yazılarını, Zapatista hareketini ve John Holloway'in *Change the world without taking power* başlıklı kitabını hatırlatıyor.[9] Belki de özerkliği bireyin özerkliği olarak değil de, tekilliklerin *(singularity)* kesiştikleri yerlerde oluşan özerk alanlar olarak anlamak lazım. Bu anlamıyla özerklik acaba müellifliği zorlayan bir kavram olarak düşünülebilir mi?

Özge: Aslında mesele, müelliflikle yaratılmış durumlar içinde de otonomluk kurabilmek. Ancak o noktada belki otonomluk anonimliği ve müellifliği eşit kılabilir. Evet, Oda Projesi bir imza ve projelerinin açık uçluluğunu koruduğu sürece yarattığı alanlarda otonomluğa yer var demektir. Sen de tekilliklerin kesiştiği yer derken buna mekânsal olarak bakmaktan bahsediyorsun sanırım.

Derya: Evet, müellifliğin mekân üzerinden düşünülmesini kastediyorum.

Özge: Bu aslında bir yandan da bağlam meselesi. Mesela Hirschhorn sanatçı olarak işini yapıyor, sanat bağlamında hareket ediyor. Sanatçı işini yaparken ahâliye para ödüyor ve sanatçı olarak kendisi de bu zincirin bir parçası, yani o da ödenekli. Oda Projesi'nin başlangıç dönemindeki farkı buradan da kaynaklanıyor aslında; Türkiye'de sanata para ayrılmıyorsa eğer, o zaman farklı stratejiler geliştirilebilir demiştik. Hüseyin Alptekin'in dediği gibi, "yakınmak faydasız." Avrupa'daki sistemler içinde eyleyen bir sanatçının yaptıklarını bu durumu bilerek tartışmanın önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum.Sanatçıya devletin eleştirisini yapması için destek olunuyor; ve bu durum Avrupa'daki telafi politikalarının bir ürünü. Sanatçılar, devletin

9 Holloway, 2002, Pluto Press.

parasıyla devlete karşı geliyorlar; yani aslında, çok abartarak söylüyorum, devlet özeleştiri satın alıyor.

Bir de, ben açıkçası burada yaşanmış deneyimin önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. İlişkiler, yapıtlar çeşitli teoriler üzerinden tartışıldıkça bir anlamda yaşanmışlıklarını yitiriyorlar. Hem sanatsal hem de gündelik deneyimin bu anlamda yeterince paylaşılmadığını düşünüyorum. Örneğin Hirschhorn'un yapıtının etik, estetik, politik boyutu tartışılıyor ama örneğin ben, Oda Projesi deneyiminden gelen biri olarak, işin arka planını daha çok merak ediyorum. Bu proje katılanların yaşamını nasıl etkiledi? Nasıl bir müdahale, değişim ya da mübadele yarattı? Bir ahaliyle ilişkiye geçme durumu söz konusu ve tek boyutlu bir iş olamaz bu, sadece sanat bağlamından bakarak okunamaz. Biz de bir kere bir hata yaptık, *Ada* işinde Mustafa beyle olan deneyimimizi yeterince yansıtmadık.[10]

Güneş: "Nasıl bir müdahale, değişim ya da mübadele yarattı?" sorusu üzerine düşünüyorum. Her projenin başlangıcı benim için yoğun bir bilememe hali ve heyecan içeriyor. Sonra bu belirsizlik değiş tokuşlar, mübadelelerle şekillenmeye başlıyor. Bir projeyi tamamladığımızda elimizde kalan, bu ilişkiler oluyor. Çoğu zaman bu kurduğumuz ilişkileri yeterince paylaşamıyoruz projeyi paylaşırken. Müdahale bana çok keskin bir kelimeymiş gibi geliyor. Oda Projesi bulunduğu alanda ve kurduğu ilişkilerde bir müdahaleye niyet etmese de, bir değiş tokuş, olduğu yeri ve konumu biraz yadırgamak ve bundan yola çıkarak belki oluşabilecek bir dönüşümü hayal ediyor bence. Her gün yapageldiğimiz, sıradan, her gün gördüğümüz ve aslında sıkıcı olan bir şeye tekrar bakarken ne görebiliriz?

Hata yapmak

Derya: Özge, "hata" diye bahsettiğin bu sorunu biraz daha açar mısın?

Özge: O projeyi oluşturan sürecin içinde yitip gittik. İşin ortaya çıkan ya da kamuyla paylaşılan kısmı, oradaki "üretim" sürecine yabancı bir sunumdan ibaret kaldı, yani sadece bir "dekor" haline geldi. "Hata" diye buna diyorum. Meseleyi çok genelleştiriyor olsa da, Marius Babias'ın bienal kitabındaki "Politikanın Sanat Ortamındaki Stratejik Kullanımı Üzerine"[11] yazısı bu bağlamda ilginç olabilir aslında; şöyle diyor: "küreselleşme süreci içinde sanata gündelik hayatın süslenmesi ve görsel anlamda sömürgeleştirilmesi rolü verildi" ya da "mesela doksanlı yıllarda sanatçılar tarafından düzenlenen sergi ve projelerin şehir ve şehircilik kavramlarını eleştirmeleri sonucunda bu konular politik anlamda araçsallaşmış, kent pazarlama stratejileri tarafından tüketilmiştir."

Derya: Bu noktada, Marius Babias'in söylediği şey bence de oluyor, bir sürü örneği de bulunabilir, ama genelleştirmemek şartıyla. Teddy Cruz buna mimarlık alanından verilebilecek bir örnek. Guatemala asıllı Amerikalı mimar Cruz, ABD - Meksika sınırındaki Tijuana şehrinde çoğu buluntu malzemeler kullanılarak üretilmiş derme çatma yerleşimleri mimarlık felsefesinin merkezine taşıyor. Cruz, Tijuana'daki enformel mekânların esnekliğinden, demokratikliğinden, yaratıcılığından dem vuruyor ve onlardan ilham aldığını söylüyor. Ruhsuz kapalı sitelere, yabancılaşmaya yol açan Amerikan banliyölerine karşı "insani bir model" olarak bu yerleşimleri savunuyor.[12]

Bahsettiğin "hata"ya dönmek gerekirse, ilişkilerin yapısıyla sunumun (veya sergilemenin veya temsilin [representation]) yapısı çok farklı galiba. Sergileme aşamasında yaşanan sıkıntı bundan kaynaklanıyor olabilir mi? Bana öyle geliyor ki Oda Projesi'nin ilişkilere dayalı hatta onlardan ibaret olan işleriyle, sergide bir şey göstermesini gerektiren durumlarda ürettiği işler arasında çok fark var. İkincisinde sergi düzeneği ve sanat dünyasının getirdiği, kurumsallaşmalara dayalı bir zorluk var. Verili bir temsil çerçevesi var ve onunla didişmek gerekiyor. Bu da "kör göze parmak" anlamında politik mesajlar vermeye itiyor işlerinizi. Oda Projesi üzerine düşünme ve yazma pratiğimden yola çıkarak söylüyorum bunu. Galata'da gerçekleştirdiğiniz işleri söze dökmek, tarif etmek epey zor; çünkü bunlar teoriyi zorlayan pratikler. Halbuki mesela yukarıda sözü geçen *Ada* işi, muğlaklığından kaynaklanan zenginliğini yitiriyor ve fazla net bir politik mesaja dönüşüyor. Hatta bienal çerçevesinde hiç ummadığınız ve belki de arzu etmeyebileceğiniz bir temsil gücü kazanıyor.

Özge: Burada teorinin dönüştürücü gücünden bahsedebiliriz. Deneyimi paylaşma aşamasında dönüştürücü araçlarla hareket ediyoruz diyebilir miyiz? Bu, o deneyimin mekânını kaydırmakla ilgili olduğu kadar, onu sunmakla da ilgili bir durum. Ben aslında yeniden sunmayı "temsil etme" ye tercih ediyorum *(re-presentation/representation)*. İşte o noktada yaptığımız "iş" ya da "eylem" üzerine biz de düşünmeye başlıyoruz ve birtakım araçlarla onu sorgulamaya açıyoruz. Yani sunumun başarısı ya da başarısızlığından öte, neden olduğu tartışmalarla ilgileniyoruz.

Seçil: Ben projelerin çeşitli teoriler üzerinden eleştirilerek yaşanmışlıklarını yitirdiklerine inanmıyorum. Zaten yaşanmışlık adı üzerinde yaşanmışlıktır, hele ki bizim tarz projelerde bu çok da anlık bir şey. Zaten hangi durum o anı karşılayabilir ki? Ben iyi yapılan teorinin yaşanmışlığa zarar verdiğini değil onu dönüştürdüğüne inanıyorum. Biz bile

10 *Ada*, Oda Projesi'nin 8. İstanbul binealine katkısıdır. Bu çerçevede, İstanbul'da yaşayan bir gecekondu ustası olan Mustafa bey ve arkadaşları, Antrepo bahçesine Mustafa Tetik Modeli adlı bir gecekondu inşa ettiler. İnşa etme fikri ve edilme süreci etrafındaki diyaloglar videoya kaydedildiği halde kullanılmadı. Gecekonduya, gecekondu fikrinden doğru kente bakmaya çalışan yazılardan oluşan *Annex* isimli gazete eşlik etti.

11 Marius Babias (2005) "On the Strategic Use of Politics in the Context of Art" *Art, city and Politics in an Expanding World, Writings from the 9th International Istanbul Biennial*, IKSV, s. 291.

12 New York Times, 12 Mart 2006(http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/12/arts/design/12ouro.html?_r=1).

deneyimimizi anlatırken onu teorize etmekten keyif alıyoruz ve hatta bazen fazla teorize ederken bile bulabiliyoruz kendimizi. Projenin kendi teorisini ve terminolojisini oluşturması da ideal durum oluyor. Sanki buna doğru bir niyet veya eğilim de var. Bence bizim deneyimimizde bir proje içinde dört bölüm var; 1.Proje öncesi düşünüm, 2.Pratiğin süreci, 3.Rehavet teorisi, 4.Projenin teorisi. Bu dört bölüm birbiri ardından içiçe geçerek oluşuyor denebilir.

Özge: Rehavet teorisini biraz açar mısın? Yaşanmışlık eğer "paylaşılmazsa" teoriyle kayboluyor diyorum aslında ben.

Seçil: Rehavet teorisi şöyle bir şey: projenin gerçekleştirilmesinin ardından yoğun "pratik" dönemden çıkmış olunduğu için bu dönem projenin gerçekleştiği mekâna ve duruma bir yabancılaşma getiriyor ki bu iyi bir durum. Bu yabancılaşma bir tür durma, uzaklaşma, projeden bütünüyle sıyrılma halini içeriyor. Bunu sürekli üretim halinde olmanın olanaksızlığı üzerinden açıklayabiliriz. Rehavet dönemi yani kendini bırakmışlık ve durgunluk hali, yoğun bir yaşanmışlıktan çıkılmış olduğu için sağlıklı bir dönem ama bu dönemin geçeceği sürenin kontrolü, mekânın ve ilişkilerin üreticisi olan sanatçının ve kolektif yapının elinde olmalı. Yani bazen bu dönemin de teorisinin yani düşünümünün yapılması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Salt bir geri çekilme ve dinlenme hali mümkün olamıyor, ya da kısa süreli mümkün olabiliyorken, mesafenin getirdiği başka bakışların projeye bakışı teorize etmesine imkân vermekten bahsediyorum. Rehavet teorisi aslında projenin teorisini yapmaya geçişte bir tür ara dönem; yarı farkındalık yarı esrimeyi içinde barındıran bir hal. Rehavet teorisi pratikten teoriye sıçramayı, atlamayı, zıplamayı yumuşatan bir aralık. Sert bir geçiş ve kendi deneyimini fazla teorize etmek yerine, teorinin kurulmasına olanak sağlayan sürecin kolektif için farkındalığını yaratmak gibi de düşünebiliriz bunu.

Özge: Aslında bunlar amaç değil sonuçlar. İşin etik boyutunu tartışabilmek için gereken bilgiler. Oda Projesi işlerinde etki ve tepkiyi görünür kılmak önemli. "Hata" meselesine dönmek gerekirse, gecekonduyu inşa eden Mustafa beyin deneyimi ve bizim onlarla yaşadığımız deneyimlerin kesiştiği noktaları sunmak önemliydi. "İkinci izleyici" denen kişi için bunlar pek görünür olmadı. O kişilikleri egzotize etmeden bunu nasıl başarabilirdik? Bu yüzden bu sunum sorunu önemli. Video gibi araçların tuzağı da aslında bu.

Seçil: Oda Projesi kendi sanat üretimini bir niyet olarak anlatır. Bunun kendi içinde bir tutarlılığı var, ve bu bir anlamda koruyucu da bir tanım. Niyet dediğimizde sorumluluk alanımızı biraz daraltmış, odaklanmış oluyoruz. Bu anlamda niyet aslında sonuç değil süreçtir. Bu da sanatçı kolektiflerinin üretimini sosyal sorumluluk projelerinde çalışanların (İngilizce'de "social worker"ların) üretiminden ayıran bir bakışa işaret eder. Niyet, projeleri birbirine bağlayan bir ara bağdır. Gecekondu projesi bir bienalde yer alması açısından bir niyet bağlamında düşünüebilir ama sonuç olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Yukarıda saydığım proje aşamalarından geçmiş ve kendini sunmuştur.

Burada sorum hem Oda'ya hem de Derya'ya olacak: bir durumu egzotize etmek ne demektir? Konu gecekondu olduğu için mi bu soruyu soruyor Özge? *Piknik*[13] projesinde piknik ve o bağlamda mahalle egzotize edilmiş olabilir mi? *Hayatımın Fotoğrafı*[14] projesinde mahalleden projeye katılanlar egzotize edilmiş olabilir mi?

Derya: Evet, işte tam da bu noktada geliyor eleştiriler.[15] Bu eleştirilere göre bu sorulara evet cevabı verilebilir, yani *Ada*'da da, *Piknik*'te de, *Hayatımın Fotoğrafı*'nda da bir tür egzotikleştirme vardır. Egzotikleştirme sonuçta da süreçte de ortaya çıkabilir. Hatta amaçlanmadığı halde ortaya çıkabilir. Burada can alıcı soru sanki şu: Bu egzotikleştirme mekanizmasına teslim olmamak için ne gibi stratejiler geliştirilebilir?

Özge: Bir durumu egzotize etmek, o durum, nesne veya özneyle karşılıklı hiçbir ilişki kurmadan, hiçbir "mübadele" yapmadan onu başkalarına sunmak, yani sadece görüp, algılayıp, onu bir de başkalarına göstermektir. Ben kurulan ilişkilerin görünürlüğünü, katılımcılığa açık oluşunu bu anlamda önemsiyorum. Onun için gecekondu orada tek başına kaldığında (her ne kadar *Annex* gazetesi ve bilbordla desteklenmiş olsa da)[16] izleyici tarafından egzotik veya otantik bir nesne olarak algılanması normal diye düşünüyorum. İlişki kurduğunuzda, o ilişkinin bir süreci olduğundan, bir hikâye anlatmış oluyorsunuz. Bu hikâyenin anlatılmasında bir sakınca görmüyorum ben. Yani o hikâyenin egzotik olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Ama *Piknik* ve *Hayatımın Fotoğrafı*'nda bir süreç var ve o süreç, o hikâye görülebiliyor. Piknik özel bir durum aslında, orada gösteriye dönüşen, içindekiler değil kurulan mekândı öncelikle. Mahallede çekilmiş fotoğraflar tek başlarına elbette egzotikler ama biz onları tek başına göstermedik, hatta hiç göstermedik. O fotoğraflar çekildi ve sahiplerine teslim edildi. Önemli olan karşılıklı yaşanmış deneyimdi.

İstanbul

Seçil: Acaba müelliflik meselesine, "İstanbul ve müelliflik" üzerinden yaklaşabilir miyiz?

Derya: İstanbul ve müelliflik ilişkisini düşünmek bana anlamlı geliyor çünkü son tahlilde bizi mekân ve müelliflik tartışmasını açmaya zorlayan İstanbul'un gündelik hayatını üreten

13 Berlinli sanatçı Erik Göngrich'in İstanbul'u piknik-şehir olarak gözlemleyen *Piknik* projesi, 10 Haziran 2001. şahkulu sokağının avlusu, isteyen herkesin doğal olarak içinden geçtiği, bir soluk alma ve, içindeki bitkiler de düşünüldüğünde, aynı zamanda bir soluk verme yeri idi. O gün avluda hep beraber piknik yapılırken herkes ayakkabılarını avlunun dışında bıraktı. Avlu mahallenin salonu oluverdi, kamusal alanda özel bir mekân yaratılmış oldu, böylece avlu yeniden tanımlandı. Piknikte yenecekler, içilecekler ve kullanılacak kapkacak, sabahtan en yakın mahalle pazarına gidilerek temin edildi. Bir hafta öncesinden davetiyeler hazırlanıp komşulara dağıtıldı. Davetiyede herkesten bir piknik yemeği pişirmesi de rica ediliyordu. Sonra sıra avluyu plastik halılarla kaplamaya geldi. Erik, kent içinde kullanılan bu çokişlevli halıları şöyle tanımlıyordu: "Yere koyduğunuz an, özel ya da kamusal alan farketmez, orası sizin oluveriyor." İstanbul'daki kamusal alanın bir nevi sorgulaması gibi de olan piknik, sokakta ama ayakkabısız olmanın tuhaflığı içinde, "kamusal" veya "özel" diye tanımlayabil-eceğimiz mekânların İstanbul'da gerçekten var olup olmadığı sorusunu ortaya atıyordu.

14 8.İstanbul Bienali kapsamında gerçekleşen *Ada* projesinin Galata ayağı "Cumartesi Buluşmaları" adı altında bir dizi etkinlikti. Oda Projesi bu çerçevede birçok sanatçıyı mahalleli ile işbirliği içinde projeler üretmeye davet etti. *Hayatımın Fotoğrafı* projesi Belmin Söylemez ve Orhan Cem Çetin'in ortak projesiydi. Mahalleden projeye katılmak isteyenler, çektirmek istedikleri en güzel fotoğraflarını çektirdiler ve bu sırada yapılan görüşmelerin video filmi yapıldı. Çekilen fotoğraflar sahiplerine verildi, Oda Projesi mekânında sadece fotoğraflardan oluşan bir kolaj ile çekilen video sergilendi.

15 Sözkonusu eleştirilerin sahibi, doktora tezi danışmanım ve sevgili arkadaşım Rachel Haidu'ya teşekkür ederim.

16 *Ada* adlı proje kapsamında kentin bazı reklam panolarında satılık bir gecekonduya dair sahte bir ilan yer almıştı.

mekânsal pratikler. Yani bir anlamda mekân ve müelliflik tartışmasını yapmadan İstanbul'u tartışamayız zaten.

Seçil: İstanbul Kültür Başkenti konusu ile gündeme oturan kültür, sanat ve kent üçgeni, minör ve majör olanın İstanbul için yeniden tanımlanmasına yol açacak gibi görünüyor.

Özge: Müelliflik kavramı da, mutenalaşma *(gentrification)* gibi "Batılı" bir kavram. İstanbul'da şimdiye dek müelliflik pek olmamış zaten, kent böyle yapılanmamış. Belki de müellifliğin bizim kullandığımız dildeki karşılığını bulmalı, yani İstanbul'da *authorship* neye denk geliyor diye sormalıyız. Aslında önce mekân kuruluyor sonra oraya sahip olunuyor. Yani başından itibaren bir müelliflik söz konusu değil. Oda Projesi mekânının müellifini de bunun üstünden tartışabiliriz. Yani önce mekân kuruluyor, sonra imza geliyor gibi.

Seçil: Aslında şu anda çok güncel olan "mühim, dev mimarlara" emanet edilen kent parçalarıyla, "sahiplik" kazandırılmak istenen kent gibi bir durumu yaşıyoruz. Galata'da mahalledeki varoluş ölçeğimizde düşündüğümüz zaman, mekânın kiracısı olan bizlerin, çevremizdeki yaşantı biçimlerine bir tür uyum sağladığımız ve onlardan ödünç aldığımız durumlar sözkonusuydu. Hatta bu komşuların ev sahipliğinde gerçekleşiyor gibi dursa da aslında her biri geçici, göçebe, dünyevi ve geleceksiz kullanımlardı. Bunları belki Derya'nın önerdiği "mekânın suiistimal değeri" üzerinden düşünebiliriz. Mekânın müellifi bizmişiz gibi duruyor, ama sadece "mişiz" gibi.

Derya: Kültür-sanat-kent üçgeni aslında çok da yeni bir mesele değil. Biz bir dönüşüme tanık oluyoruz şu sıralarda gibi geliyor bana. Kültür endüstrisi bu üç alandaki her şeyi birbirine eklemleyip içermeye doğru evriliyor. Seçil, sana katılıyorum, İstanbul'da son birkaç yılda ayyuka çıkan bu dönüşüm, hem küçük hem büyük ölçeğin yeniden tanımlanmasını gerektirecek. Yıllar yılı derme çatmalık üzerine kurulu bir şehir mekânı üretimi var İstanbul'da; şehir bunun dinamiğiyle kendini yeniden üretegelmiş. Kentsel dönüşüm adı altında gerçekleştirilen büyük ölçekli büyük sermayeye dayalı projelerle birlikte şehirdeki küçük ölçekli müdahaleler nasıl değişecek? Bu soru önemli. Büyük projeler küçük müdahaleleri tamamen silip yok mu edecek.

Özge: Aslında bu noktada Oda Projesi'nin yapabileceği şey, mümkün olduğunca bu mikro durumları kazıp çıkartmak belki de. "Çöp kentler" teorisinde olduğu gibi burada da bir geçmişi çöpe atma durumu yaşanıyor. Mikro oluşumlar da bu geçmişin bir parçası. Bu ayakta kalabilme yapıları, bir yandan da tamamen ekonomiye bağlı. Bir ayakta kalma ihtiyacı olduğu sürece, o mikro oluşumlar kendini üretmeye devam edecektir. Ama ekonomiye bağlı olarak her şey değişiyor, kapalı site reklamlarının söylemlerinden tutun, ulaşım zorluğunun giderilmesi söylemlerine kadar. Mesela İstanbul mahallelerine ulaşım kolaylaştıkça, güzelleştirilmeleri de elzem hale geliyor. Örnegin çok çalıştığı ve çok yorulduğu için kent trafiğinde zaman kaybetmek istemeyen üst orta sınıf için ulaşım kolaylaştıkça, "kent içi safarisi" durumu daha da yoğunlaşıyor; böylece ulaşılabilir mekânlar değişime dönüşüme maruz kalıyor. Örneğin Bilgi Üniversitesi'nin varoş olarak nitelendirilen ya da kentin çöküntü bölgelerindeki mekânlara yayılması, İstanbul'a ilgi arttıkça kent pazarlama stratejilerinin gelişmesi, turizm üzerinden kazanılan sermaye, bunların hepsi birbirine bağlı olarak gelişiyor. Ama ben yine de herbirini bir kent dinamiği olarak görme taraftarıyım. Örneğin "Avrupa Kültür Başkenti" olmak uğruna büyük kıyımların gerçekleştirilmesine bakalım. Mekân soykırımı diyebiliriz bunların bazılarına, "sorun" olarak algılanan mekânların yok sayılması ve yıkıma maruz bırakılması anlamında. Çünkü "2010'a kadar tüm gecekonduları yıkmalıyız, 2010'a kadar tüm tarihi değer taşıyan binaların onarılması gerekir" gibi korkutucu bir hızla ilerleyen bir hareket söz konusu.[17] şimdiye kadar bunlara göz yumulmuş, çünkü makro ekonomi bir anlamda bu mikro ekonomi üzerine kuruluymuş. Birdenbire bunları mucize hızıyla yıkmaya çalışıyorsun ve bu "kentsel dönüşüm" mahallelerinde barınan insanları bir kitle olarak algılıyorsun. Halbuki herkesin farklı gereksinimleri, farklı arzuları, farklı yaşam biçimleri var.

17 Mart-Nisan 2011'de bu metin son defa gözden geçirildiğinde İstanbul 2010 kültür başkenti projeleri son ermişti. Bu süreçte olan bitenin bir değerlendirmesini yapmak ve bu değerlendirme üzerinden buradaki tartışmayı yeniden düşünmek anlamlı olacaktır. Fakat şimdi burada bu işe girişmeyeceğiz.

Empati

Güneş: Oda Projesi bir çalışma yapmak için gittiği yeri sahiplenip oraya kök salmaya çalışmıyor. Çoğu zaman meraklı hatta bazen şüpheci bir yaklaşımı olduğunu bile söyleyebiliriz. Ancak empati meselesi benim kafamı karıştırıyor. İzleyici olmak, misafir olmak, dinlemek, tartışmaya açmak gibi yaklaşımlar sergiliyoruz. Empati kendini karşısındakinin yerine koymak diye tarif edilebilir. Öyleyse bence Oda Projesi kendini karşısındakinin yerine koymaktansa o kişiyi kendisine sorular sormaya yönlendirmeye çalışıyor sanki. Bu aslında çok olumlu bir yaklaşım gibi dursa da bana biraz sorunlu geliyor.

Özge: Ben empatiye soğuk yaklaştığımızı düşünmüyorum. Hatta ben Oda Projesi'nin tamamen empati yoluyla ortaya çıkmış bir proje olduğunu düşünüyorum. Mahalledeki "sanat projesiz" üç yıl bunun göstergesidir. "Ben, nasıl olur da benden farklı olan bir kişiyle birliktelik kurabilirim?" sorusu önemli. Mahallede bu tür bir ilişki de vardı ve bunu kurabilmek için empati şarttı bence.

Mesela ben tek odadan ibaret bir evde hiç yaşamadım, orada komşumun evinde bunu ilk kez gördüm. O tek odalı evde misafir olarak bulundum. Bunu yaşamasaydım, böyle bir yaşama biçimi olabileceğine

"inanmazdım." O tek oda ile bizim "oda"nın da bir kardeşliği vardı tabii. Yani orada işlevselliği patlama noktasına gelmiş, işlevselliğe doymuş bir mekân karşısında bizim önerdiğimiz "yararsız uzam"ın yanyanalığı çok önemliydi. Birbirinin tamamen zıddı olan bu iki mekân empati olmaksızın nasıl bir arada yaşayabilirdi? Karşılıklı empatiden bahsediyorum elbette. Yani bu empati meselesi olmazsa ben, kendimden başka kimseyle ilişki kuramam ki. Kursam da yüzeysel bir ilişki olur bu.

Empatinin bir başka örneği de Marmara Depremi'dir. Deprem sırasında ve sonrasında kendimiz o travmayı yaşamamış olsaydık, deprem bölgesine destek olmaya o kadar çok kişi gitmeyebilirdi. Çünkü kendimiz yaşamadığımız sürece felaket haberlerine soğuk medyadan ulaşıyoruz. Televizyon denen platformun magazin haberiyle felaket haberini eşitleyici bir yapısı var ve bu yüzden bana pek inandırıcı gelmiyor. Ancak bir durumun içinde yer alarak onu yaşamak empatiyi beraberinde getiriyor.

Temsiliyet

Derya: Oda Projesi bir marka haline geldi diyebilir miyiz? Bu markalaşma, illa ki Türkiye'yi temsil etme anlamında olmayabilir. Mesela işbirliğine dayalı sanatı temsil ediyor olabilir. Ayrıca bunu illa negatif bir şey olarak söylemiyorum, ya da Oda Projesi buna mahkumdur da demiyorum. Bana öyle geliyor ki, bu bir durum ve bu duruma göre stratejiler geliştirmek gerekiyor. Bu da aslında dönüp dolaşıp yukarıda bahsettiğimiz temsil meselesine bağlanıyor. Oda Projesi eyliyor. Bu eylemler sunulmaya başlandığı andan itibaren işleriyle etrafına ördüğü kabuğundan çıkmak durumunda kalıyor, çünkü bu eylemin bir "dışarısı" oluşmaya başlıyor. İşte bu dışarıyla baş etmek için bazı stratejilerin geliştirilmesi gerekli sanki. Sürekli bir yeniden düşünme, yeniden okuma, tartışma halini kastediyorum.

Özge: Bence burada bağlam meselesi çok önemli. Yine de, temsiliyetler üzerinden okuduğun zaman, zaten kentte gördüğün veya bir sergide gördüğün "şey" aynı düzlemde yer alıyor. Bence bu bakışı koruduğun sürece mesele yok. Ben kentteki bir duvar yazısına ya da sergideki bir işe bakarken aynı hazzı alıyorum. Onları, niyetleri ya da temsil ettikleri şeyler üzerinden okumaya çalışıyorum, çünkü o bir kez yapanın elinden çıkmış ve gösteriye açılmış, tabii ki bir şeyi temsil edecek. Bence sanat bağlamındaki sorun hâlâ sanatın yüce bir şey olarak algılanması ve tüketim kültürünün bir parçası olması. O zaman işin içine reklam, tanıtım, imza gibi unsurlar giriyor, ki bunlar bizim açımızdan rahatsız edici ve sorgulanan şeyler. Bu durumda sanatın, çevresinin, alıcısının, açılışının, sunulma biçiminin yeniden ve yeniden sorgulanması önem taşıyor. İster sadece yazarak ve konuşarak olsun, ister sergileme biçiminde olsun.

Mekânın Üretimi

Derya: Yukarıda Seçil'in bahsettiği "geçici, göçebe, dünyevi ve geleceksiz kullanımlar"ı biraz daha açabilir miyiz? Bu göçebe kullanım biçimleri, mahallede Oda Projesi'nin hazır olarak bulduğu ve ödünç aldığı mekân kullanımları, değil mi? Bana öyle geliyor ki, Galata'da sözünü ettiğiniz göçebe pratikler sözkonusu olduğunda, mekânın müellifi mahallelinin kendisi aslında, öyle değil mi? Oda Projesi de bu anlamda mahalleli olduğu kadar müelliftir denebilir mi? Yani mahallede mekânın üretimine katıldığı oranda. Kaldı ki mekânın illa bir müellifini saptamak şart mı?

Seçil: Katman katman bir yapı olarak mahalleye bakmaya çalışalım. Şahkulu Sokak'ta yer alan 1800'lerin sonunda inşa edilmiş Rigo apartmanı, avlusu ve geçidi ile kendisine o dönemin koşulları ve ihtiyaçları gereği işlevler belirlemiş. Bu mahallenin mimarisi üzerinde, 1970'lerden bu yana göçlerle birlikte oluşan bir sürü geçici kullanım var. Bu bölgede sürekli işlev değiştiren, kentin sonsuz isteklerine cevap veren yapı adaları üstüste, çakışarak, yeni durumlar yaratarak varoluyorlar. Sürekli değişen avlu, kapatılan teraslar, kestirmeden eve ulaşmak ve mahalleye hakim olabilmek için konmuş demir merdiven, küçük bir evin mutfak ihtiyacı için kapatılarak dönüştürülmüş bir alan olan "balkon-mutfak," camdan cama çamaşır ipleri gibi ödünç alınan durum ve tavırlar bunun örnekleri.[18]

Özge: Mahalleye müdahale etmediğimiz, oraya bir sanat yapıtı eklemediğimiz sürece, pek de müellif olduğumuzdan bahsedemeyiz belki de. Orada olup biten canlı deneyim üzerine kuruluyor, bu noktada da kim müellif kim değil sorusu biraz birbirine giriyor. Oda Projesi'nin müellif olduğu nokta bunun bir sanat projesi olduğunu iddia ettiği nokta, ister mahallede olsun, ister galeride. Ama aslında biz bu bir sanat projesidir de demiyoruz tam olarak, "bu bir sanat projesi önerisidir" diyoruz. Yaşanmış deneyim bunu söylemeye zorluyor, yani gündelik yaşamda katı tanımlar ve keskin sınırlar olmadığı sürece bu bir öneri olarak kalıyor.

Derya: Bu noktada yine mekânın üretiminden bahsedebiliriz. Bu üretimde, özellikle İstanbul örneğinde, kimin neyin müellifi olduğu meselesi çok karışık. Nihayetinde karmaşık tekilliklerden oluşan ve illa ki birleşik ve uyumlu olmayan bir çokluk olarak şehirde yaşayanların hepsinin bir ucundan katıldığı "metropolün ortak mekânının üretimi" diye tarif edilebilir mi bu?[19] Benim mekânın suiistimal

18
2006 yılında gerçekleştirilen bu söyleşiden bu yana geçen beş senede mahallede birçok değişim gerçekleşti. Dış cepheler boyandı, avlu yenilendi ve geçişe kapatıldı, iki şifreli kapı ile Rigo apartman bloğunun "güvenliği" sağlandı. Avlu etrafındaki dairelerin bazılarında tadilat yapıldı ve bunlar apart otel olarak işletiliyor. Artık Galata popüler medyada şehrin en "çekici" yerlerinden biri olarak anılıyor.

19
Burada Antonio Negri'nin şu makalesini düşünüyorum: "The Multitude and the Metropolis" (2002) *Posse* [İngilizce çev. Arianna Bove, http://www.generation-online.org/t/metropolis.htm].

değeri dediğim şey de tam bu noktada beliriyor: İstanbul'da mekânın suiistimal değerinin aktifleştirilmesi şehir mekânının üretiminde çok önemli bir rol oynuyor. Bu aktifleştirme üzerine kurulu olan mekân üretim biçimi İstanbul'da uzun zamandır hakim üretim biçimi diyebilir miyiz? Yukarıda bahsettiğim büyük ölçekli kentsel yenileme projelerini hatırlayarak soruyorum: bunlara yatırım yapan büyük sermaye, sözkonusu suiistimale dayalı hakim mekân üretim biçimini nasıl değiştiriyor, değiştirecek?

Seçil: "Mekânın suiistimal değerinin aktifleştirilmesi" demek kulağa güzel geliyor ama burada bir çelişki var. Böyle bir cümle kurduğumuz zaman mekânın, bildiğimiz anlamda "tutucu," "işlevsel" kullanımlardan üreyen bir yapı olduğuna inanıyoruz demektir. Yani eleştirdiğimiz şeyi, mekân tanımının içine sokmuş oluyoruz. Oysa ki mekân dediğimiz şey zaten buna sahip, yani bu ayrıca bir değer değil.

Derya: O senin bahsettiğin bana göre mekânın üretiminin kapitalist tanımı. Veya hakim, kural teşkil eden *(normative)* bir tanımdan veya tanımlardan sözedilebilir. Hiçbir zaman en ideal haliyle hayata geçirilememiş veya geçirilemez de olsa, buna inanmıyor, kabul etmiyor olsak da var bu tanımlar. Yoksayamayız. Varolduğunu bilmek ise eleştirmeye ya da alternatifini düşünmeye engel değil. Mekânın suiistimal değeri kavramını tam da bu noktada yaratma ihtiyacı duydum, bir alternatif bakış geliştirebilmek için.

Mimarlıktan şehir planlamasına mekân tasarlama işi yapan bütün disiplinler, bu türden tutucu tanımlar üzerinden ilerliyor. Ben mimarlık okulunda bizatihi bunun eğitimini gördüm. Bu tanımlarla karşılaştıktan kısa bir süre sonra şüpheye düştüm, çünkü hayat bu tanımlara hiç benzemiyordu. Bu tutucu tanımlara uymayan başka mekân üretimleri olabileceğini düşünmeye başladıktan sonra da zaten iflah olmadım! İnsan böyle bakmaya başlayınca zaten halihazırda potansiyeller, alternatif pratikler olduğunu da görüyor. İstanbul bizi alternatif tanımlar düşünmeye zorluyor, çünkü kural oluşturan tanımlar üzerinden İstanbul'a bakınca insan "anlaşılmaz, acayip bir şey bu" demekten öteye pek gidemiyor. "Yeniden bak!" diyor İstanbul. İşte bu kural oluşturan tanımların öngördüğü mekânın kullanım ve değişim değerlerine ben bir de mekânın suiistimal değerini ekliyorum ve bakınız İstanbul diyorum.

Özge: Aslında Maria Lind'in "Actualisation of Space" ini[20] de buraya uyarlayabiliriz. Yani aktifleştirme ve ayrıca sürekli bir güncelleştirme *(actualisation)*. Seçil'in geçici mekânlar dediği yerlerde bu türden bir süreç yaşanıyor sanki. Oda Projesi bu manada hep kentteki dinamiği ödünç alıyor. Sürekli güncellenen bir mekânda, yani şehirde, Oda da kendi alt mekânını güncelliyor. Bunu da sanat projeleri yoluyla yapıyor. Buradan yol çıkarak, kente bir üst mekân, Oda'ya da onun alt mekânlarından biri olarak bakabilir miyiz?

Aslında (müelliflik ima eden) bir yazma eyleminden değil, bir çeviri eyleminden bahsediyoruz burada bence; mekânın çevirisi, ama melez bir dile çevirisi. O ölçüde de şekillenebilir bir dil bu, yani "doğru çeviri budur" diyen bir dil değil. Sürekli, anlık olarak bile değişen durumlara uygun çeviriler bunlar, hatta çeviriyi bile bazen yeniden çevirmek gerekiyor.

Seçil: "Actualisation of space" mekânın gerçekleştirilmesidir bence. Aktifleştirme ya da güncelleme değil tam olarak. Aktifleştirme, durağan bir durumu harekete geçirme anlamını taşıyor. Güncelleme ise uyarlama anlamında da anlaşılabilir, ve süreç belirtmesi ve bir niyet içermesi açısından önemlidir.

İmza

Özge: Sanat ve müelliflikle ilgili bir de şu mesele var: Kolektif olarak yani üç kişi ortak çalıştığı halde Oda Projesi bir imza mıdır yine de?

Seçil: İmzadır, kaçınılmaz olarak.

Güneş: Çok ortaklı bir imza. Ortakları sürekli değişen bir ortaklar grubu.

Derya: Provokatif bir soru: Oda Projesi imza atmaya başladığı anda o imzayı (aslında) paylaştığı ortaklarını yitiriyor mu?

Özge: Oda Projesi denen bütünün nelerden oluştuğunu bir izleyicinin bir çırpıda anlayabilmesi imkansız. Ben burada mahalledeki projeleri Oda Projesi'nin biraz daha fazla müellif gibi davrandığı başka projelerden kesinlikle ayırmak gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Her projeye göre değişen bir sürü imza var ve bunlar sonuçta Oda Projesi adı altında toplanılabilir. Kolektif çalıştığımızı dile getiriyoruz, demek ki ortaklardan bahsedebiliriz. Müelliflikten konuşmak gerçekten biraz bağlamı kaydırıyor. Sadece sanat bağlamı içinden bakarak "imzadır" demek çok kolay tabii.

Derya: Bence burada kolektif bir müellifliği hayal etme çabası önemli. Bu bizi alışık olduğumuz anlamda yani bireysel müellifliğin bir adım ötesine götürüyor. Müelliflliğin ortaklaştığı ya da bugünkü anlamıyla hiç varolmadığı bir dünya düşünemez miyiz? Nihayetinde müellifliğin bugünkü tanımı, kapitalizmin temellerinin dayalı olduğu "özel mülkiyet"e göre şekilleniyor.

Seçil: Müelliflik, kaçınılmazdır. Ama müellifliği sorgulamak ve parçalara ayırmak elimizdedir. Hatta müelliflik durumunun varlığını yadsımadan onunla

20 Maria Lind (2004) "Actualisation of Space: The Case of Oda Projesi" *From Studio to Situation*, Claire Doherty (Der.) Black Dog Publishing, s. 109-121 veya bkz. www.republicart.net/disc/app/lind01_en.htm.

mücadele etmek yeni biçimlere yol açar. Müellifliğin olmadığı değil, ama bence sonsuzca tartışıldığı bir dünya başka bir dünya olabilir. Tamamen kaldırılması ise yeni başka müellifliklere yol açar. Varlığını kabul edip tartışarak dönüştürelim.

Derya: "Müellifliğin sonsuzca tartışıldığı bir dünya" sanki zaten müellifliğin bildiğimiz dar anlamını yitirdiği, yeni tariflerinin yapılmaya başlandığı, o tariflerin de sorgulandığı bir dünya olacaktır gibi geliyor bana. Müellifliğin yasaklandığı veya zorla ortadan kaldırıldığı bir dünyadan bahsetmiyorum. Bugünkü (kapitalist) manasıyla müellif olmanın önemsiz hale geldiği bir dünyayı kastediyorum.

Özge: Oda Projesi aslında müellifliğin önemsiz hale geldiği durumlar yaratıyor diyebilir miyiz? Öte yandan da Oda Projesi çerçevesinde müelliflik tartışması bizi bir yere götürmez diye düşünüyorum, çünkü yapılar bunu dikkate alarak kurulmuyor. Bu yüzden müelliflik degil çevirmenlikten bahsettim aslında. Bence Oda'yı "çeviri" üstünden okumak daha faydalı olabilir. Buna bir ortak dilin yaygınlaşabilir, esneyebilir, şekillenebilir hali diyebilir miyiz? Çünkü dilsel çevirinin kendisi bile aslında, çok düz bakarsak, "yazar Türkçede nasıl yazardı?" diye düşünerek yapılan bir şey. Yani o noktada yorum katılabilir, o zaman varolan metne/mekâna bağlı olan bir müelliflik durumunu tartışabiliriz belki. Ama çevirmen aslında iki dil arasında bir aracıdır, ki bu da Oda Projesi'nin eyleme geçtiği durumlardaki konumuna uygun bir şey. Oda Projesi'nde dil meselesi de önemli; bu yüzden proje, "dil" üstünden de okunmalı diye düşünüyorum. Üçüncü mekân dediğimiz şey biraz da üçüncü dil demek ne de olsa.

Çeviri ve Taklit

Seçil: Özge, çeviri meselesine sen genel olarak çok yer veriyorsun, bunu daha somut örneklerle açıklar mısın? Bana Oda Projesi'ni sadece tercümanlık üstünden açıklamak fazla iyimser bir bakış gibi geliyor, hatta biraz da olumlayıcı bir bakış gibi...

Özge: Müelliflik katı bir şey, bitmiş bir işin altına imza atmak yani. Oda Projesi bir niyet ve öneriler dizisinden bahsediyor, aynı metnin iki ayrı çevirisi arasındaki fark gibi. Bir çevirmen diğerinden çok farklı çevirebilir, çünkü o, orijinal metnin ikinci bir dildeki önerisidir aslında. Çeviri derken onun kendi iç dinamikleriyle de oynamaktan bahsediyorum bir yandan. Yani ortak bir dil oluşturma niyetiyle yapılan bir çeviriden bahsediyorum. Çeviriyi de tek anlamlı kullanmıyorum. Galata'daki mekânımızın bulunduğu mahalle dışında yaptığımız diğer uzun süreçli projelerde de bulunduğumuz mahallelerdeki gündelik yaşamın bir çevirisini yapıyorduk aslında. Yani mekânlara bir nesne eklemeksizin, orada gündelik hayatta ne yapılıyorsa biz de onu yaptık. Mekânın çevirisi de vardı, gündelik yaşamın sanat mekânı içinde yaşantılanan şeye çevirisi de vardı. Seçil, çevirinin iyimserlikle ilişkisini biraz açarsan belki daha iyi anlarım ne demek istediğini...

Seçil: Oda Projesi çevirmendir demek, bir niyeti süreçten sonuca ulaştırdığı için olumlu bir iş yapmıştır demek gibi geliyor bana. Ben çeviri yerine taklidi önereceğim. Çeviride müellif olma hali varken, taklitte bir tür tekrar ve müellifsizleşme *(de-authorization)* hali var diye düşünüyorum. Çeviri yapan kendi çevirisini önerir, yeniden yazmıştır "orijinal" metni kendi dili ile... Taklit "orijinal" kavramı ışığında görüldüğünde bir çeviri olarak da düşünülebilir; bu anlamda "orijinal"in bir yorumudur. Burada bence, kötü bir çeviri ihtimalinin gözardı edilmiş olmasında yatan bir olumlayıcılık var, iyimserlikle bunu kastediyorum. Çeviri "ben böyle görüyorum, böyle duyuyorum, bu yüzden de böyle dillendiriyorum" derken bir tür savunma sağlıyor sanki.

Derya: Bu taklit meselesi önemli geliyor bana. Taklidin yaratıcılığından bahsedebilir miyiz? Çeviri ile taklidin kesiştiği yerler nereler? Çevirinin bir müelliflik sorunu olmaktan çok bir "aracılık" meselesi olduğunu düşünüyorum bunu söylerken. Yorum ise hem taklitte hem de çeviride var sanki.

Özge: Ben çeviriye kesinlikle bir sonuç olarak bakmıyorum, o yüzden çeviri diyorum yani aynı metni herkes "kendine göre" çevirir, ki bu da bir "söyleme" halidir. Aslında çeviri de bir tür taklittir bu anlamda, orijinal metnin taklidi. Kötü ya da iyi bu noktada ortadan kalkıyor zaten, yani ben sanat bağlamı dışındaki çeviriye de böyle bakıyorum, çevirmenin ruh hali bile nasıl "söylediğini" etkiler. Derya'nın dediği gibi ben de çevirmenin bir aracı olduğunu düşünüyorum, o yüzden Oda Projesi'ne bir de çeviri bağlamı üzerinden bakmak istiyorum. Çeviride yorum kesinlikle vardır. (Buna bazı görüşler karşı çıkacaktır elbette). Çeviri hali, her şeyi olduğu gibi algılamaya, katı tanımlamalara karşı direnen bir tavırdır.

Derya: Ortaklaşa üretimden bahsediyoruz ama imzayı atan nihayetinde işin içindeki bütün insanlar değil, sanatçı (lar) oluyor. Çünkü sanat dünyasının içinde yer alıyor, onun içinde hareket ediyor sanatçı, sanatçı kimliğini taşıdığı sürece. Ama bu bir çaresizlik, bir mahkumiyet değil belki. Çünkü mesela müelliflik üzerine sorular ortaya atarak sanat dünyası hakkında sorular üretebilirsiniz ve bu pekala bir tür kurumsal eleştiriye dönüşebilir.[21]

Özge: Oda Projesi yaratmış olduğu ortamlarda farklı

21 Burada "kurumsal eleştiri" derken referansım sanat dünyasını ve onun konvansiyonlarını eleştirel biçimlerde ele alan self-refleksif sanat pratikleri. Mesela Hans Haacke'nin işleri buna iyi örnek teşkil eder.

grupların birbirine geçmesine olanak sağlıyor ve kendisini yok olmaya bırakıyor diyebilir miyiz? Kurgulanmış bir şey yok, gündelik yaşam nasıl akıyorsa projeler de öyle oluşuyor. Örneğin mahallede bir vefat olduğunda radyo projesi[22] bir günlüğüne duraksıyor, halbuki radyo gibi reklam akışını her ne olursa olsun durdurmaması gereken bir yapının duraksaması pek düşünülmez... Ama bu radyo durabiliyor, veya yayınını kendi isteğiyle değiştirebiliyor.

İmzaya gelince, izleyicinin olmadığı durumda imza da kendiliğinden ortadan kalkıyor diye düşünüyorum. Ki bu türden ilişkisel, canlı, kolektif projelerde, "katılımcı" olmayan kişiye izleyici diyoruz.

Seçil: Bence bu durumda da imza ortadan kalkmıyor, kalkamaz da. Mesela *Oda'da Birgün* kapsamında Özge'nin *Evinden bir eşya getir* ve Güneş'in *Kilitli Oda* projelerinde izleyici yoktu ama imza vardı. Neden? Çünkü biz onları özgeçmişimize almaya ve Oda Projesi projeleri demeye karar verdik bir kere. Aksi şöyle mümkündü "biz bunları yaptık ama bunlardan bahsetmiyoruz, özgeçmişimize almıyoruz" demek.

Derya: Bir soru da *Kilitli Oda*'daki "çocuk emeği" meselesiyle ilgili.[23] Orada Nurşen'in emeğinin sömürülmesi gibi bir durumdan bahsedilebilir mi? Bu soru aslında Bishop'un Hirschhorn ile Oda Projesi karşılaştır-ması çerçevesinde de sorulabilir. Bishop aynı şeyi, *October* dergisindeki yazısında da Santiago Sierra üzerinden tartışıyor. Bishop'a göre Sierra ve Hirschhorn işlerinin katılımcılarına para ödedikleri için daha dürüstler. Ona göre Oda Projesi'nin de dahil olduğu bazı işbirliğine dayalı sanat projeleri ise bunun yerine katılımcıları sürece dahil edermiş gibi yapıyorlar. Bunu Oda Projesi örneğinde tartışmak için tabii önce İstanbul'un gündelik hayat kültürünü, Galata'da insanların birbiriyle nasıl ilişki kurduklarını tartışmak lazım. Nitekim Bishop "Batı'da anladığımız anlamıyla sanatta estetik rejimi"nden bahsediyor.[24] Yani kendi deyimiyle "Batı" merkezli bir açıdan bakıyor ve bu bence onun Oda Projesi örneğinde bazı yerele özgü durumları görmesine engel oluyor. Ne dersiniz?

Güneş: "Çocuk emeği" ile ilgili meseleye bakarsak, olayı farklılaştıran aslında gündelik olarak deneyimleyip geçip gideceğin bir şeyi tırnak içine alman oluyor sanırım. Ben Nurşen'le yaptığım yarım günlük buluşmanın video kaydını alıp paylaştığımda bir tuhaflık oluşuyor. Nurşen bir çocuk olduğu için durum iyice zorlaşıyor. Bu deneyimler geride kaldıkları için şu an ben bile üzerinde düşünürken bocalıyorum. Benim için o esnada önemli olan Nurşen'le bir paylaşım ve ona ait geçici bir mekân üretimiydi. Buna rağmen bu video kayıtlarını başkalarıyla paylaşmış ve altına Güneş Savaş imzasını atmış olmayı şimdi yadırgıyorum. Ama açıkçası bu projeleri yaparkenki asıl niyetim onları özgeçmişime koyabilmek değildi. Aldığım sanat eğitiminin beni buna yönlendirmiş olduğunu şimdi dönüp bakınca çıkarsayabiliyorum. Aslında o dönem başlayan çocuklarla çalışma ve ilişki kurma, birlikte zaman geçirme deneyimi beni çok etkiledi. Hâlâ çocuklarla farklı da olsa çalışmaya devam ediyorum. Ve bu çalışmaların başkalarıyla nasıl paylaşılacağı halen benim için bir soru. Artık imza ile paylaşmıyorum, ama yine de bu soru var.[25]

Oda Projesi'nin imzasına gelince, bence bu daha çok yaşanan deneyimin toparlanıp paylaşılması sürecinin bir getirisi aslında. Belki bir çeşit editörlük olarak da bakılabilir. Önemli olan bizim gittiğimiz mekânda, orada yaşayanlarla aynı niyetle bulunmuyor oluşumuz. Yeni komşular olarak orada bulunanlarla niyetlerimiz farklı oluyor. Bir süreç başlatıp o süreci paylaştığımız kişilerin de yönlendirmesiyle adım adım ilerliyoruz. Ardından bu deneyimleri başka bir ortamda başka kişilerle paylaşmayı deniyoruz.

Özge: Bu özgeçmiş meselesini niye bu kadar önemsiyoruz? Ona bir tür günlük, yapıp ettiklerimizin bir dökümü olarak, yani farklı bakmıyor muyuz zaten? Yani o bence bütünün bir özeti aslında. Çünkü orada Oda Projesi'nin en ufak jestinden (bir günlük projeler), Venedik Bienali'nde yaptığı *Annex*[26] gibi büyük bir prodüksiyona uzanan bir yelpazeyi görünür kılıyoruz aslında. Bilgiyi paylaşmak için bir araç özgeçmiş ve bunun dışında da hiçbir temsiliyeti yok.

Jest demişken: bunu pek tartışmadık ama jest önemli bir sözcük bence Oda Projesi'nde. Oda Projesi jestlerden oluşuyor: mahalleye küçük bir ziyaret, kentte gezip gördüklerimiz, okuduklarımız, hepsi böyle ufak ufak jestler ve tüm proje bunlardan oluşuyor aslında. Giorgio Agamben, jestin basitçe estetiğin değil etiğin ve siyasetin alanına dahil olduğunu düşünüyor ve şöyle yazıyor: "Jesti karakterize eden, onun içinde hiçbir şeyin üretilememesi ya da canlandırılmaması ama bazı şeylerin destekleniyor ve etkilerini koruyor olmasıdır. Başka bir deyişle, jest *ethos*'un sahasına, insana ait olana uygun olan sahaya açılır."[28] Jest meselesini tartışmaya devam etmek isterim, zira bu imza meselesini de çözümlüyor kanımca.

Derya: Bu çok ilginç bir tespit. Ama sahiden imza ortadan kalkıyor mu? İş yapılıp bitirilip sonunda iş olarak adı anılmaya başlandığı andan itibaren imza girmiyor mu yine işin içine? Oda Projesi'ninki gibi "yaşanan" sanat işlerinde, süreç esnasında, yani sanat işi yapılırken belki imza ortadan kalkıyor, bu doğru, ama işin adı konup da özgeçmişinize girmeye, Bishop ve diğerlerinin yazılarına konu olmaya başladığı noktada imzanın hayaleti tekrar ortaya çıkmıyor mu?

Özge: Evet, Oda Projesi bir isimdir, ve isim olduğu

22 Radyo projesi "101.7 EFEM", 19 Şubat–16 Mart 2005 tarihlerinde, Oda Projesi mekânından ayrılmadan önce gerçekleştirilen son projedir. Sanatçı Matthieu Pratt ile işbirliği içinde Oda Projesi mekânı bir aylığına radyo stüdyosuna dönüştürüldü ve ana teması mahallenin dönüşümü ve mutenalaşması olan bir radyo yayını tasarlandı. Bu yayını, sadece sokağın sakinleri ve özel olarak radyo yayını için mekâna gelenler dinleyebiliyordu.

23 Bu sorun da Rachel Haidu tarafından dile getirilmişti.

24 Bishop 2006: 183.

25 Yedi senedir özel bir anaokulunda bana ait küçük bir atölyede 2–4 yaş çocuklarla birlikte atık malzemeler, kumaşlar, boyalar ve pek çok farklı malzemeyle çalışmalar yapıyorum. Sınıf öğretmenlerinden ayrı ve sınıftan başka bir ortamda, çocuklarla birlikte kendimize ait objeler üretiyoruz. Bu çalışmaların fotoğraflarının, video ve ses kayıtlarının paylaşımını benim yönlendiriyor oluşum da kafamda sorulara sebep oluyor.

26 *Annex*, 50. Venedik Bienali, 2003. Carlos Basualdo'nun küratörlüğünü yaptığı "The Structures of Survival" sergisi. Bu projede Oda Projesi, 1999 Körfez depremi sonrasında evini kaybetmiş ailelere verilen prefabrik konutlara ek olarak inşa edilen yapılarla ilgili bir proje yaptı. Bu ek yapılar, tek bir prefabrik konuta sığmayan ailelerin, ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda, farklı işlevler için kendi kendilerine inşa ettikleri veya birine yaptırdıkları, daha çok kulübe şeklindeki mimari biçimlerdi. *Annex* projesi kapsamında bu mimari eklemelerin bir dokümantasyonu yapıldı ve kartpostal formatında çoğaltıldı. Ayrıca proje çerçevesinde, deprem bölgesinden Venedik'e artık kullanılmayan bir prefabrik ev taşındı ve *Annex* gazetesinin ilk sayısı basıldı.

28 Giorgio Agamben (2000) *Means Without End: Notes on Politics* Minneapolis: *University of Minnesota Press,* s. 57.

sürece imzadan bahsetmek zorundayız. Bu da sanatın içinde hareket ediyor olmanın bir sonucu aslında. Ama imzayla oynamak, onu kaydırmak hem mümkün hem önemli. Bu imzanın atıldığı yerler değişebildiği sürece imza da esnek kılınabilir sanki. Mesela Oda Projesi kimi zaman gazete çıkarıyor, kimi zaman radyocu gibi davranıyor, kimi zaman bir sanat sergisinin etiketinde yer alıyor.

Güneş: İmzanın anlamları üstünde ne kadar yoğunlaşırsak yoğunlaşalım, neticede biz üç kişi olarak Oda Projesi adında birleşip başkalarıyla birlikte bir üretim sürecine giriyoruz ve süreci Oda Projesi adıyla paylaşıyoruz. Veya başka bir sürece Oda Projesi olarak davet ediliyoruz. Katılımcıların adları her zaman paylaşılıyor ama bir sonraki maceraya biz yine üç kişi olarak davet ediliyoruz. Yani imzanın kalkması mümkün değil. Ama imzasını ve tavrını sürekli korumaya çalışmak sanırım bizim gibi bir oluşumun büyük bir sorunu olurdu. Oda Projesi kesin bir tarz ve tavır değil. Burada Özge'nin dediği gibi farklı alanlarda imzayı paylaşarak, çoğu projede başkalarıyla imzamızı ortak atarak imzanın ağırlığıyla da bir şekilde baş etmeye çalışıyoruz.

Özge: İmza ortadan kalkmalı demiyorum ama bunun izleyici ile de ilişkili olduğunu söylemeye çalışıyorum. Yani onu izleyen biri olduğunda imzanın bir anlamı var. Yani olayın gerçekleştiği an, izleyen kimse yoksa, imzaya da gerek yoktur demek istedim. Ama o an önemli işte. Biz o projeleri yaparken, izleyen ya da dışarıdan katılan biri olsaydı o proje çok farklı bir proje olurdu. Yani video kaydı yapmak farklı bir şey, çünkü onu kullanıp kullanmama kararı sana kalmış, ölü arşiv olarak değerlendirmek her zaman mümkün. Bu bir tiyatro ya da gösteri değil, bunu demek istiyorum: ya hep birlikte izleyici oluruz, ya da olmayız... Yaptığımız bir günlük projeler çok yüz yüze ve iç içe bir ilişkiyi gerektiren projelerdi, özel yaşama yakın olan, onu taklit eden şeylerdi. Yani evinden eşya getirmek, birinin doğumgününü kutlamak gibi... Orada yoğun ilişkinin yaşandığı bir anda izleyicinin olmaması daha sağlıklı bir ilişkinin oluşmasını sağlıyor demek istedim. İşte belki de bu "paylaşma" meselesine geliyor yine. Sanat ortamı, bunları paylaşabileceğimiz bir mekân aslında. Demokratik olduğunu düşündüğümüz ya da öyle olmasını istediğimiz, öyle olması gerektiğini düşündüğümüz bir alan.

Derya: Sanatın izlenen, seyredilen, bakılan, yani "göze hitabeden," görselliğe dayalı bir şey olagelmesi, bunun sebepleri ve bunun etrafında şekillenen sorular da önemli. Kavramsal sanat bile, görme dışındaki duyulara hitap ettiği halde, yaşanan bir şey haline gelemiyor. Buradan da tabii sanat tarihindeki sanat-hayat ilişkisine dair tartışmalara, Dadaizm'e, Fluxus'a bağlanabiliriz.

Özge: Peki sen Oda Projesi'nin yaptıklarını "kavramsal sanat" olarak mı değerlendiriyorsun? Oda bir proje önerisidir deyince kavramsallaşıyor, bu doğru. Bu aslında benim de aklımı kurcalayan bir soru. Bir yandan sosyal sanat kategorizasyonları da[29] çok sınırlayıcı. Oda Projesi kesinlikle bağlı olduğu yerelliklerden koparılmadan düşünülmeli. Yani belki de kendisi başlı başına bir kategoridir. Yani belki de çeşitli oluşumlara bu gözle bakmalıyız. Örneğin, Hafriyat'ı ya da HaZaVuZu'yu hangi kategoriye koyabiliriz?

Oda Projesi vakasında müelliflik meselesini sanat yapıtı ve izleyici üzerinden tartışmaya açabiliriz gibi geliyor bana. Oda Projesi türünden grupların projelerini "dışarıdan" izliyor olmanın yarattığı sorunları tartışabiliriz.
Bu yüzden aslında çabamız galiba daha çok yüzyüze gelmek. Mesela Tensta'da[30] yaptığımız gibi, sanatçının fiziksel olarak işinin başında durması ve ziyaretçilerle birebir ilgilenmesi, zihinsel anlamda işe katılım sağlamaya çabalaması gibi taktikler önem kazanıyor. Yani müellif ya da yazar olmaktan çok "konuşan" olmak…

Derya: Bu bizi "öteki"ni dinlemek yerine "öteki"yle konuşmayı önerme noktasına mı getiriyor? *Yoksulluk Halleri* kitabında da bahsi geçiyordu bunun.[31]

Sunum

Özge: Bir de Spivak'ın "Can the subaltern speak?" metnine bakalım.[32] Bu metinde Spivak, Deleuze'ü temsil *(representation)* kavramını tek anlamda kullandığı için eleştiriyor. Bunu, Deleuze'ün, "Bir teori tıpkı bir alet edevat kutusu gibidir. Göstereniyle hiçbir ilgisi yoktur." ve ayrıca "Artık temsilden bahsedemeyiz; sadece eylem söz konusudur"[33] sözlerine karşılık yapıyor. Şöyle bir ayrım yapıyor Spivak: "Temsilin iki anlamı bir arada işler: politikada olduğu gibi '... adına konuşmak' ve sanat ya da felsefede olduğu gibi '... için konuşmak'. Teori de sadece bir 'eylem' olduğundan, teorisyen ezilmiş grubu temsil etmez (onlar adına konuşmaz). Aslında özne, tipik bir bilinçlilik örneği (gerçekliği layığıyla yeniden sunan kişi) olarak görülmez". Yani aslında mesele biraz da buradan başlıyor, Oda Projesi bu iki ayrımın neresinde duruyor? Yani temsilci degiliz, peki yeniden mi sunuyoruz?

Güneş: Bu çok önemli bir soru. Yeniden sunmak yeni bir öneride bulunmak mı? Bir örnek üzerinden gitmeye çalışacağım, mesela radyo projesi.[34] Radyo bir iletişim aracıdır en basit anlamıyla. Peki Oda Projesi bu iletişim aracını kendisine göre tekrar yorumlayıp sunarken, mesela özellikle parazitler, bozuk seslerden de oluşan ses kolajları hazırlarken, yeni bir radyo metodu mu öneriyor yoksa sadece metodları değiştirerek imkânların çokluğuyla ilgili düşünmeye mi çalışıyor?

29 Bkz. http://www.republicart.net/disc/aap/kravagna01_en.htm

30 *Proje4L* adlı proje. 17 Ağustos – 24 Ekim 2004. Tensta Konsthall, Stokholm, İsveç. Küratörler: Ylva Ogland, Rodrigo Mallea Lira ve Jelena Rundqvist. 11 Eylül 2004'te, Oda Projesi yeni Tensta Konsthall'in açılışını yaptı. Mekân kısa bir süreliğine kapanmıştı. Hem mekâna hem de mahalleye henüz yabancı olan Oda Projesi ilk önce, mahallenin dinamiklerini yakalamayı, Tensta hakkında bilgi edinmeyi ve sanat mekânını araç olarak kullanıp yeni bir enerji yaratmayı denedi. Tensta, beş katlı bloklarda çocuklu göçmen ailelerin yaşadığı, Stokholm kentinin dışındaki bir banliyö mahallesi. Projenin adı, İstanbul' da Gültepe'de bulunan ve 2004 yılında kapanan Proje4L İstanbul Güncel Sanat Müzesi'ne gönderme yapıyor, müzenin ölümsüz ruhu için yeni bir altlık gibi olan Tensta Konsthall'e işaret ediyordu. Oda Projesi proje süresi boyunca Tensta'da ikamet etti ve ilk adım olarak sergi alanında bir dizi çalışma adası yarattı. Her bir ada Tensta'daki belirli bir mekâna işaret ediyordu ve bu adalarda çeşitli projeler yürütüldü. Bu adalar, tekabül ettikleri mekân planının izdüşümü olarak ve sarı bir renkle belirlenmişlerdi. Kütüphane, alışveriş merkezi, kadın merkezi, okul, spor salonu gibi adalar vardı. Mekândaki adalardan biri Oda Projesi'nin Galata'daki apartman dairesinin yerini tutuyordu. Diğer proje adalarının aksine burası, daha retrospektif bir yaklaşımla, Oda Projesi'nin daha önce yaptığı projelerin dokümanları, malzemeler ve kataloglarının gösterildiği bir alandı.

31 Necmi Erdoğan (2002) (Der.) *Yoksulluk Halleri: Türkiye'de Kent Yoksulluğunun Toplumsal Görünümleri*. İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı.

32 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1994) "Can the subaltern speak?" *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), New York: Columbia University Press.

33 Bkz. "Intellectuals & Power" (A conversation between Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze) Donald F. Bouchard (1977) *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault* içinde, Cornell University Press, s. 205.

34 Bkz. yukarıdaki 22 numaralı dipnot.

Özge: Yeniden sunmanın içinde yepyeni bir öneri yoktur aslında. Yeniden sunmayı ben, varolan bir şeyi alıp, kesinlikle bozmak değil ama mekâna ve duruma göre yeniden şekillendirip tekrar sunmak olarak düşünüyorum. Radyo durumunda da bu böyle, yani şu daha doğru: Oda burada metodları değiştirerek imkânların çokluğuyla ilgili düşünmeye çalışıyor.

Seçil: Temsili ortadan kaldırma çabası ya da niyeti ve bunu "eylem" ile sonlandırmak önemli. Yoksa bana sonsuz olasılıkların içinde, içinde bulunduğumuz çağı tekrar ederek, içerden eleştiri yapalım ya da yeniden okuyalım derken kolayca çağın söyleminin girdabına yakalanabiliriz gibi de geliyor. Bu keyifli tabii ama tehlikeli! Sunmaktan kurtulmak gerekiyor diye düşünüyorum. Bu anlamda yeniden sunmak da pek farklı gelmiyor bana.

Oda Projesi başından beri ilişki modelleri üzerine düşünüyor. (Yeniden) sunumsuz bir üretim mümkün değil mi? Bu biraz da kendini içerden yokeden bir tavır aslında; yani sıfırlanarak yeniden başlayabilir miyiz?

Özge: "Sunumsuz"la neyi kastettiğine bağlı. Ben sunumu çok basit anlamıyla ele alıyorum. Yani Oda Projesi bir şeyleri "görünür kılıyor"sa, bir şeyleri sunuyor demektir. Bence mesele, pazarlamanın yönetimi altındaki "gösteri"ye karşı nasıl bir tavır alabileceğimizle ilgili. Yani bizim gösterimiz bu "gösteri"nin neresinde duruyor, ya da durmuyor?

Ama temsiliyet kötü bir şey değil, yani daha önce de dediğim gibi etrafı gördüğümüz sürece, örneğin kentle ilgilendiğimiz sürece temsiliyetlerin bombardımanı altındayız. Onlara birer "gösterge" olarak baktığımızda belki de temsiliyetin durağanlığından ya da sürekli tek bir katmana işaret ediyor oluşundan kurtuluruz.

Ya da belki Barthes'ın tespit ettiği şu duruma bir karşı duruş olabilir mi? Barthes şöyle diyor: "Oysa çok uzun zamandan beri, belki de tüm klasik kapitalist dönem boyunca, yani 16. yüzyıldan 19. yüzyıla kadar Fransa'da dilin tartışmasız sahipleri yalnızca ve yalnızca yazarlardı; vaizleri ve hukukçuları saymazsak, onlar da zaten meslek dillerinin içine kapanıp kalmışlardı, başka kimse konuşmazdı; ve bu tür dil tekelciliği, şaşılacak derecede katı bir düzen, üretenlerden çok üretim getiriyordu: yapılanmış olan edebiyat mesleği değildi (üç yüz yıl boyunca evcil şairden, yazar işadamına doğru çok değişme oldu)…"[35]

Mekânın suiistimal değeri

Derya: Yine benim önerdiğim mekânın suiistimal değeri kavramına başvurmak gerekirse, Oda Projesi mekânı suiistimal ediyor diyebilir miyiz? Negatif anlamda olmamak koşuluyla mekânı "yanlış" kullanarak, veya tarif edildiği biçimlerin dışında kullanım yolları arayarak onu eğip büküyor, dönüştürüyor, mekânın potansiyellerini hem görünür kılıyor hem de gerçekleştiriyor. İşte mekânın müellifi sorusu bu suiistimal noktasında tartışmaya açılmış oluyor. Oda Projesi'nin projelerine katılan herkes mekân yapar hale geliyor. Mekân yapmak konusunda otorite sahibi olduğu varsayılan uzmanların statüsü de böylece sorgulanır hale geliyor. Yani ben aslında sanata bakarak mekân üzerine bir söz söylemeye çalışıyorum. Sanat ve müelliflik ile mekân ve müelliflik ilişkilerinin kesiştiği yerler nereler, Oda Projesi'nin işlerinde?

Özge: Belki Oda Projesi'nin nasıl başladığına bakabiliriz. "Tasarlanmış" mekânın, etrafındaki gündelik yaşamın etkisiyle nasıl "işlemediğine" ve nasıl dönüştüğüne bakmalı belki de ilkin. Yani İstanbul gibi bir şehirde mekânların nasıl dönüştüğüyle paralel giden bir süreç bu. Süreç demişken belki de bu soruya "zaman" boyutunu da eklemek gerekiyor, öncelikle Gwangju Bienali küratörlerinin geliştirmiş olduğu "pause" kavramına bakmak iyi olabilir.[36] Yani bu türden ilişkisel projelerin zamanı durdurmasıyla ilgili bir kavram. Geçmiş (resmî tarih) veya gelecek (ülküler) yüceltmesine karşılık, şimdiki zamana bakmakla ilgili bir şey. Yaşantılanan zamanın veya mekânın içinde bir durup bakmak (bu aynı zamanda zihinsel bir süreç), bir delik açmakla ilgili. Bunu da etrafındaki kişiler ve oluşumlarla birlikte yapmak tabii ki, çünkü diğeri zaten doğal olarak kendi kendimize yaptığımız bir şey.

Aslında bu noktada Oda Projesi'nin bir de bellek tutmak gibi bir rolü var; yani bir yandan da paradoksal bir biçimde kırılgan olanı, yıkılacak veya kısa ömürlü olanı belgelemeye çalışıyoruz. Zaman boyutu bu anlamda da önemli. "Kayıp zaman" gibi değil de "yakalanan zaman" gibi...

Derya: Zaman boyutu bence de çok önemli. Mekânın yanına zamanı, yani tarihi de koymak. Ama ben bunu şimdilik bir kenara bırakıp Bishop'a dönmek istiyorum. Oda Projesi politik olarak angaje olma meselesine nasıl bakıyor? Bishop'un söylediği anlamda aktivist mi Oda Projesi? Bu anlamda Oda Projesi'nin işlerinin birer direniş jesti olduğu söylenebilir mi? Eğer bir direnişten bahsedilebilirse, bu nasıl bir direniş ve neye direniş? Bir "karşı" olma halini içeriyor mu, ve eğer öyleyse, neye karşı?

Özge: Aslında ilk direniş, İstanbul'da, yani yaşadığımız ve yakından ilgilendiğimiz şehirde kendimize ait bir mekânımızın olmasıyla başladı. Ama bu bilinçli bir direnme

35 Roland Barthes'ın *Yazarlar ve Yazanlar* adlı kitabından aynı başlıklı makale, Ekin Yayınevi, 1995.

36 Oda Projesi'nin bulunduğu mahalleden çıkarak ilk kez başka bir ülke ve bağlamdaki bir sergiye katılması Gwangju Bienali ile oldu. ("Hareketli Oda," IV. Gwangju Bienali, 29 Mart – 29 Haziran 2002, Güney Kore). Charles Esche ve Hou Hanru'nun küratörlüğünü yaptığı IV. Gwangju Bienali, dünyadaki birçok sanat kolektifinin çalışma biçimlerini görünür kıldığı bir bölüme sahipti. Bu alt sergide, kolektiflerin mekânları birebir ölçekte yeniden inşa edilmişti. Oda Projesi'nin üç odası da burada yeniden işlevlendirildi, çeşitli proje dokümanları sunuldu ve çevredeki özel ilkokulların öğrencileri ve öğretmenleriyle işbirliği içinde çeşitli atölye çalışmaları yapıldı.

değildi. Zaman içinde, sanatın içinde hareket etmeye başlayınca, atölyesine kapanmış, bir sergiden davet gelmediği sürece iş üretmeyen sanatçı modeline benzemediğimizi farkettik. Galata'da o mekânda bulunmanın bizim için önemli olduğunu düşündük. Orada istediğimiz zaman, aklımızdaki bir projeyi hayata geçirebiliyor olmak önemliydi. Ama sonraları Oda Projesi de şekil değiştirdi elbette. Bu noktada işte "inisiyatif" alıyor olmak da önemli.

İkinci direniş de aslında her tür tepeden inme tanımın/talebin dışında üretebiliyor olma haliydi. Makroya karşı bir direnişi ancak mikro durumları, ilişkileri araştırarak, onların dinamiğine bakarak yakalayabiliriz.

Seçil: Ben direnmenin Oda Projesi tarafından kasıtlı ve taktik geliştirerek yapıldığını değil, projenin sonradan böyle okunduğunu düşünüyorum. Direnme jestleri yaratıyoruz, diyebiliriz. Ama "önce buna, sonra buna direndik" diyemem ben. Direnme bir süreçtir, içinde gerilim ve çatışma vardır, kazanılmış alanlar kadar kaybedilmiş alanlar da vardır. Direnmede taraflar birbirinin varlığını hisseder, bu anlamda doğar direniş. Direnme, salt bir karşı koyuştan öte bir şeydir, "yeni alanlar" yaratır. Ve direnmenin sürekliliği vardır.

Güneş: Başlangıç noktasında proje bir direnişten çok bir meraktı benim için. İstanbul'un merkezinde ama çöküntü alanı olarak görülen bir mahallede kendine bir alan yaratmak ve bu alanı zamanla bir direniş alanına çevirmek söz konusuydu. Ben de bu "direniş"i sonradan yorumladığımızı düşünüyorum. Tamam kocaman bir sisteme karşı kendine ait bir "sanat mekânı" açmak üstelik bunu cep harçlığı gibi küçük bütçelerle kotarmak kendi başına bir direnme hali. Ancak biz bunu hiç bir zaman sisteme meydan okuma olarak yapmadık ya da ben bu grubun üyesi olarak böyle düşünmedim.

Estetik-Etik

Derya: Yine Bishop'un değindiği noktalardan hareketle şunu sormak istiyorum: Oda Projesi estetik ile etik arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl görüyor? Estetiğe nasıl yaklaşıyor? Bishop'un dediği gibi estetiği etiğe kurban mı ediyor? Oda Projesi'nin işlerinde estetikle etik ne gibi roller oynuyor ve nerelerde, ne şekillerde beliriyor?

Özge: Evet, Bourriaud'nun *İlişkisel Estetik'i*[37] de eleştirilmişti. Burada belki estetize etmenin risklerinden biraz bahsetmek gerekiyor. Mesela İstanbul, bildik "güzel" anlamında "estetik" olmayan bir kent, ama estetize edilmeye çalışılıyor.

Estetik düşüncesinin ardında hep bir estetize etme eyleminin bulunuyor oluşu biraz rahatsız ediyor beni. Oda Projesi, estetik ya da değil, bir "görünümler" dizisi yaratıyor diye düşünüyorum ben. "Birlikte ne yapılabilir"in olası bir görünümü, mikro düzenekler, vs. Görünüm derken sadece görsel boyutunu kastetmiyorum tabii işin. Estetik üzerinden düşünmeden projeleri gerçekleştirmek diyebileceğimiz bir yaklaşımdan bahsediyorum.

Aslında etik de böyle. Biz bir projenin sanatsal anlamdaki "başarı"sını ya da "başarısızlığı"nı düşünmeden hareket ediyoruz. Gündelik yaşamla doğru orantılı gittiğimiz için aslında kendi kişisel etik yaklaşımlarımızla hareket ediyoruz. Zaten bu etiktir şu değildir gibi baştan bir kural koyduğunda, karşındakini hemen ötekileştirmiş oluyorsun. Ama karşındakini deneyim paylaşabileceğin biri olarak görürsen o noktada o ilişkinin kendine özgü bir etiği oluşuyor.

Bir de tersinden düşünmekte fayda var: biz tabii birtakım ürünler de yaptık ve bunların estetikle ilişkisi olduğunu gözardı edemeyiz. Zaten estetik olan illa ki "kötü" de değil. Ama Oda Projesi'nin işlerinde estetik bir yapıdan bahsedemeyiz diyorum çünkü Oda Projesi'nin amacı bu değil. Yani estetik amaçlanan bir Şey gibi geliyor; ve bizim üretim biçimimiz bunu amaçlamıyor: risk alarak üretiyoruz, bir yapıtın nasıl biteceğine en başından karar vermemiş oluyoruz.

Ahâli

Derya: Yine başta bahsettiğim Bishop eleştirilerine dönmek ve şunu sormak istiyorum: Oda Projesi'nin projelerinde mahalle ahâlisine yaklaşımı nasıl? Ahâliyi muktedir kılmak *(community empowerment)* gibi bir derdi var mı? Bu soru beraberinde, Oda Projesi'nin işlerinde öznelliğin neye tekabül ettiği sorusunu da getiriyor. Mahallede mesela, Bishop'un da bahsettiği ben ve benden farklı olan "öteki" ayrımı ne kadar geçerli?

Özge: İşte sorun tam burada aslında. Christian Kravagna da "başkalarıyla çalışmak" dediği bir yaklaşımından bahsediyor.[38] Ben böyle yaklaşmanın sorun oluşturduğunu düşünüyorum. Oda Projesi için kime komşu olunduğu önemli oldu her zaman. Ahâli de bu anlamda aynı mekânı paylaşan insanlara denk düşüyor. Mekânsal ortaklıktan bahsedersek, mekânı paylasan kişiler olarak Oda Projesi de bu ahâlinin içinde yer alıyor. Bu durumda belli bir hedef kitleden bahsedemeyiz, ama yine de "Oda Projesi şu tür gruplarla çalışır" gibi bir etikete de maruz kalıyoruz çoğu zaman. Burada Oda Projesi'ne özgü ahâli tanımını mekân üstünden yeniden düşünmek gerek diye düşünüyorum. Yani ortak bir mekânı paylaşanlar cemaattir, ahâlidir, çünkü yaşam mekâna

37 Nicolas Bourriaud (2005) *İlişkisel Estetik*, Bağlam Yayınları.

38 Bkz. http://www.republicart.net/disc/aap/kravagna01_en.htm

göre şekillenir ve sonra mekân da yaşama göre şekillenir. Komşuluk paylaşımı önemli, ancak o zaman mübadeleden bahsedebiliriz. Deneyimlerimiz farklı tabii ama kendini o öteki denen kişinin deneyimine açtığın oranda ötekilik farklılaşabilir. Örneğin mahallede yaşam biçimi farklı olan, azınlıktaki kişiler olarak belki de öteki olan bizlerdik. Bu "öteki" rolünün de sürekli yer değiştirmesi sağlıklı değil midir?

Muktedir kılmak *(empowerment)* çok büyük bir iddia, bu demek oluyor ki, "güç bizde". Bunu neden birlikte yapılan bir şey olarak ele almıyoruz? O noktada kişilerin güçlendirilmesinden değil mekânın, gündelik yaşamın güçlendirilmesinden bahsedebiliriz. Güçlendirme tek bir tarafın yapabileceği bir şey değil bence. Hele ki kent mekânından beslenen, kentin dinamiğiyle ayakta kalan Oda Projesi tek başına bir güç oluşturamaz.

Açık uçluluk

Derya: Oda Projesi'nin işlerinde "açık uçluluk"un rolü nedir? Claire Bishop *October* dergisinde yayınlanan yazısında "açık uçluluk" meselesini tartışıyor ve bunun problemli bir sanatsal strateji olduğunu söylüyor.[39] Sanat eğer politik mesaj vermek istiyorsa bunu "açık uçluluk" la değil, izleyicisine kendini sorgulatan "yıkıcı" *(disruptive)* jestlerle yapabilir ancak diye düşünüyor.

Özge: Açık uçluluk bence bir ortamı paylaşan kişilerin (bizler de dahil) eylem halindeyken çok farkında olmadığı bir şey. Bu süreç içinde belirlenir, yani bir projeyi en başından "açık uçlu" olarak kurgulayamayız. Katılımcıların ilişki kurma arzusu devamlılık gösteriyorsa ya da bir etki/tepki durumu oluşabildiyse ancak proje açık uçlu hale gelir. Sürece bir son nokta koymamak, ya da nokta konduğu anda yeni bir cümle ile devam etmek gibi. Yani açık uçluluk içinde de "bitmiş ürün"den bahsedebiliriz aslında. Ürün gibi duran nesnenin aslında bir araç işlevi görüyor oluşu "açık uçluluğu" tanımlar.

39 Bishop 2004.

COMMUNITY-IN-THE-MAKING

Siri Peyer in an E-mail-Conversation with
Jeanne van Heeswijk, conducted from February to June 2011

Siri Peyer: Dear Jeanne, before talking about some of your work more specifically, I wanted to ask you if you have a theoretical understanding or explanation of how you define public space?

Jeanne van Heeswijk: Public space in most of our contemporary cities is highly regulated. The term suggests that social interaction is obviously implied, but actually it is not. We see more and more people feeling left out in what is often a clinical understanding of the public domain. Something we often seem to forget is that the public domain is not evident. It is a source of conflict between residents, developers, and government.

Just to be clear: the public domain is more than what we describe as public space: it is the actual physical space, the social interaction, the media, and the means of communication. All of these together determine someone's living environment. It concerns the space in which people live, and the relationships both with each other and with the outside world. To become an active citizen, you are not only a user of public space but you are also engaged in its creation and are an integral part of the *image* (imagining) of that space.

The public domain is based on the meeting and confrontation of people, cultures, and ideas. It is exactly in that confrontation that new ideas and social formations originate. Public life is but for a small part oriented toward the physical environment. Furthermore, it is much more a process of social, economic, and cultural activities that move — certainly today — on various scale levels. At the heart of the processes, and especially those around which urban life revolves, cultural interventions are often the only manner in which an engagement in these processes can again be generated. We must no longer view the public domain solely as the result of economic and legal considerations, but instead we can start viewing and using it as the (per)formative basis of a community-in-the-making.

Has this understanding changed because of your practical experience?

For this it is important that more friction is created. For friction to occur, there must be more communal participation in that space. To realize this communal use, people must feel that the space actually belongs to them. The question for me became to create places in which we, in discussion with one another, can face up to the confrontation in order to address one another as co-producers of the city. Can we make this arena of tension visible and develop instruments that make it possible to intervene? Can we collectively develop a public domain in which everyone has a place? And can we then develop the instruments that enable people to genuinely shape, deepen, sharpen, or question their daily surroundings. This needs a form of reciprocity, an exchange of knowledge, collectivization, and cohabitation in the process. (fig.1,2)

To assist the building of urban spaces that allow for cultural, social, economic, and political changes, I started to create platforms where people are able to encounter each other and where, on the basis of the meetings that take place, they can construct representations of their environment. In other words, I intervene in a given situation in such a way that those involved can increase the number and intensity of their ties. To this extent, I propose action programmes, incitements to conversation, sites of exhibition, and systems of circulation. For this, a practice of dealing with questions of urban spaces is needed, one that

1 — Freehouse — Tomorrow's Market - speak your mind, 2009, Rotterdam South. Photo: Jeanne van Heeswijk
2 — Freehouse — Tomorrow's Market — show your style, 2009, Rotterdam South. Photo: Marcel van der Meijs

arises from a necessity to draw from and merge different disciplines and perspectives from many voices.

Often you are asked to develop projects that accompany urban planning. For example the Dwaallicht *(2007) project in Rotterdam. In your experience, what expectations do the cities or developers have about you as an artist?*

Often the expectations of the developers are their own immediate interests in executing an urban redevelopment or master plan with as little friction as possible with the involved parties, such as the local population, inhabitants, shopkeepers, and other users. The hope an art project will smooth the process and ease the pain. (fig.3) Like in the Nieuw Crooswijk area in Rotterdam, where a massive regeneration took place, tearing down more than 90 percent of the social-sector dwellings and replacing them with middle-class residences, which displaced 90 percent of the residents, mainly working-class people from a whole range of ethnic backgrounds. They basically asked for a project of nice *saying goodbye* events. When I accept engage such a commission, it is because I feel an urgency to address precisely the formulation of the commission and the implied position of the local inhabitants. I try to create a more radical narrative from within. I know this implies the risk of my being completely co-opted by the commissioning body. This is why I always also try to break open the commission by arranging independent funding and co-commissioners.

And what are the interests and aims you have when becoming involved in such projects?

I aim to create platforms of exchange that bring together all urban forces, thereby enabling the development of places where intimate social and formal situations can meet. From this exchange, and through meeting and confrontation, I envisage a more broadly supported and comprehensive idea of living together in an area. As it is precisely at this moment that a community begins to shape itself, begins to articulate its own voice and aesthetic, and begins to organize itself, it becomes clear that it knows what it actually wants with its environment. At such a moment, you will see people rising up and demanding the right to the area.

What do you think is most often forgotten when planning new urban areas?

Most new urban areas, and IJburg outside Amsterdam comes to mind as an extreme example, are devised completely on a drawing board. The amount of planning done is intense, and the future of its inhabitants is often charted for more than 20 years, calculated around the increasing amounts of people that will come to live there and building services for them when certain population metrics are met. I think that these areas lack space for the unplanned, the yet to be desired. They lack space for people who move into such overregulated places to try to make them their own, to establish a habitat that might differ from the planners' original intentions.

The Blue House on IJburg tried to be such a place, one that offers the opportunity to express these frictions, to match local desires with external imagination, and to intervene in these processes of *accustomization*. On an island that has become almost fully privatized, it is one of the few public places that can give voice to the struggles of an emerging community. (fig.4)

Your projects, such as Face your World, StedelijkLab Slotervaart *(2005) in Amsterdam, where you designed the plans for a park together with the local residents, often try to engage the inhabitants. In your experience, which factors are needed for people to be willing to actively participate in such processes?*

To be able to create with and from within the community, my projects depend on the community for their sustainability. For the work to become more than my single ownership, but the collective ownership of everyone involved, it is essential for the projects to step into the community and become part of them, and to develop the ability *to listen* to how to interject my creative energy. For this you simply have to spend time,

3 — *Dwaallicht (Will o the wisp)— The knight of memory*, 2007, Rotterdam, Nieuw Crooswijk. Photo: Roger Teeuwen
4 — *Het Blauwe Huis (The Blue House)*, 2005-2010 — *Pump up the Blue by Herve Paraponaris*, 2008, Amsterdam, Ijburg. Photo: Ramon Mosterd

time to work together and to disagree. Spending time together seems to be quite simple but over the course of my practice I have learned how difficult it is.

In 2008, you developed the project Shanghai Dreaming, Holding an Urban Gold Card within the 7th Shanghai Biennale. What did you know about the notion of the public sphere in China?

In 1985, I was an exchange student at Sichuan *Fine Arts* Institute in Chongqing. Since then, I have closely followed China's developments, its rapid economic growth, and its urban politics in the news, academic studies, and on blogs. When I arrived back in Shanghai for preparation for the Biennale, after an absence of more than 20 years, nothing could have prepared me for the shock of experiencing the proactive way the Chinese state welcomed and embraced economic globalisation as a golden opportunity for China to modernise itself. I decided to take that be-wilderment as a starting point to work with. While construction is ongoing everywhere, filling every possible space in the city, every few minutes new businesses are being set up on every street, selling food, toys and T-shirts, collecting recyclable paper, cans, wood and textiles by migrant workers streaming in from the countryside in search of a better life. (fig.5) Vendors operating without license form an increasingly dense web of informalities that serves the entire city and by that defines its public face. I found it intriguing that the combined free enterprise of this temporary population, which is granted only restricted citizenship, should be the city's shaping force. So I went looking for ways in which the dreams of fortune arising from migrant workers' personal initiatives inform a new shared language of change.

How did the project Shanghai Dreaming, Holding an Urban Gold Card respond to this experience?

To show this language of change, we chose to work with T-shirts, as they are used a lot on the streets of Shanghai as a means of expressing different viewpoints in public. (fig.6) This was one of the reasons for the government to ban T-shirts bearing slogans from the stadium during the Olympic Games. We worked with a young couple that normally organizes freebee sessions and sample presentations of big brands on the street. They organized a freebee presentation of T-shirts, for which we registered a new brand called Fortune. Together with 40 volunteers, they offered over 2,000 T-shirts to passers-by saying "you can have this sample of Fortune but we would like you to put it on straight away." Although this was merely a small gesture, it turned the "people's square" red in less than an hour. That was how we bypassed gaining permission to show the T-shirts on the street, as displaying 35 red T-shirts would be considered a demonstration by the authorities.

5 — *Shanghai Dreaming, Holding an Urban Gold Card* — public action, 2008, Shanghai. Photo: Wenying Liao
6 — *Shanghai Dreaming, Holding an Urban Gold Card* — installation detail, 2008, Shanghai. Photo: Wenying Liao

BIOGRAPHIES

Minerva Cuevas is an artist whose work is characterised by socially engaged and site-specific actions that take place in a range of settings, from public space through museums to the Internet. Her works are always based on in-depth critical research, in her endeavour to examine the potential of informal and alternative economies. Her works provide viewers with an insight into the complexities of the economic and political organisation of the social sphere and its structures. She lives and works in Mexico City. www.minervacuevas.org

Selma Dubach studied art history, media studies, and business administration in Bern. Since 2010, she has worked as a research assistant at IFCAR Institute for Contemporary Art Re-search at Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK), before which she held a position at the Institute for Art History at Bern University. In addition to curating and co-curating various projects, she has written numerous articles and texts for catalogues.

Rupali Gupte is an architect and urbanist practicing and teaching in Mumbai. She is a founding member of the Collective Research Initiatives Trust, which is committed to urbanism research and practice. She is also a partner with RRarchitecture101, a design practice. She is interested in tactical urban conditions and design interventions. Her works include, among others, studies of post-industrial landscapes and housing types in Mumbai, a multimedia novel on a semi-fictional history of Mumbai's urbanism, a story-map installation about Mumbai's mill lands, and other urban design projects.

Jeanne van Heeswijk is a visual artist who creates contexts for interaction in public spheres. Her projects distinguish themselves through a strong social involvement. With her work, Van Heeswijk stimulates and develops cultural production, and creates new public (meeting-)spaces or remodels existing ones. To achieve this, she often works closely with artists, designers, architects, software developers, governments, and citizens. She regularly lectures on topics such as urban renewal, civic participation, and cultural production. www.jeanneworks.net

Jürgen Krusche is a researcher and publicist who focuses on urbanism and public space in the intercultural exchange between Europe, China, and Japan. He has worked at Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK) since 2001, and from 2007 to 2011 headed the research project "Taking to the Streets: The Street as Public Space Exemplified by Berlin, Shanghai, Tokyo and Zurich" at the Faculty of Architecture of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) in Zurich. He also works as a freelance photographer.

Li Zhenhua is a writer, curator, producer, and artist living in Beijing/Shanghai and Zurich. He is the founder of Laboratory Art Beijing (www.bjartlab.com) and the Mustard Seed garden (www.msgproduction.com). In 2010, he served as chief planner of the Shanghai eART Festival. He has delivered numerous talks and presentations at new media art symposia, as well as at leading galleries and museum spaces around the world.

Derya Özkan studied architecture and sociology before earning a Ph.D. degree in Visual and Cultural Studies. She currently works at the Institute of European Ethnology at the University of Munich. Her research focuses on the politics of space, popular culture, consumption, contemporary art, informal urbanism, migration, and the postcolonial city. In the fall of 2011, she will start working on a research project entitled "From Oriental to the 'cool' City. Changing Imaginations of Istanbul, Cultural Production and the Production of Urban Space" as an Emmy Noether Fellow of the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

Siri Peyer is a Zurich-based curator. She was recently appointed research assistant at at Kunstmuseum Thun. From 2008 to 2011, she served as an assistant on the Postgraduate Programme in Curating at the Institute for Cultural Studies in the Arts (ICS), where she co-organised the non-profit White Space (www.whitespace.ch). Previously, she was curatorial assistant at the Shedhalle Zurich from 2008 to 2009. She has curated or co-curated several exhibitions and projects.

Oda Projesi is an artist collective based in Istanbul; its members are Özge Açıkkol, Güne Savaş, and Seçil Yersel, who turned their collaboration into an art project in 2000. From 2000, their Galata-based studio functioned as a non-profit independent space, hosting nearly 30 collaborative projects and actions up until 2005, when Oda Projesi was evicted from the apartment following the area's ongoing gentrification. Oda Projesi has since been a mobile operation, one committed to to raising questions on the production of space and place, and creating social relationship models by using different media like radio stations, books, postcards, newspapers and by depending on the creativity of the inhabitants of the city of Istanbul.

Christoph Schenker is Professor ZFH of Philosophy of Art and Contemporary Art at Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK). Since 2005, he has been head of the newly founded Institute for Contemporary Art Research (IFCAR), part of the ZHdK Department of Art and Media. His main research fields are artistic research as well as art and the public sphere. www.ifcar.ch

Prasad Shetty is an urbanist based in Mumbai. He studied architecture and urban management. His work involves research on issues related to contemporary Indian urbanism, including architectural practices, post-liberalization developments, entrepreneurial practices, cultural dimensions of property, and investigations into mapping processes. He is a founding member of the Collective Research Initiatives Trust, a research-based urban practice, and he also teaches at the Academy of Architecture in Mumbai.

Richard Wolff Dr. sc. nat. ETH, is an urbanist, researcher, campaign leader, organizer, moderator, and activist. He grew up in Switzerland and Venezuela, studied in Zurich and London, and has been a visiting lecturer in the USA. He is a partner of INURA Zürich Institute for Urban Development Issues, a lecturer at the Center for Urban Landscape of the School of Architecture at the Zurich University of Applied Sciences, and co-head of the International Network for Urban Research and Action INURA. He specializes in urban development, living, traffic, planning, and the environment. He has been a member of Zurich municipal council since 2010.

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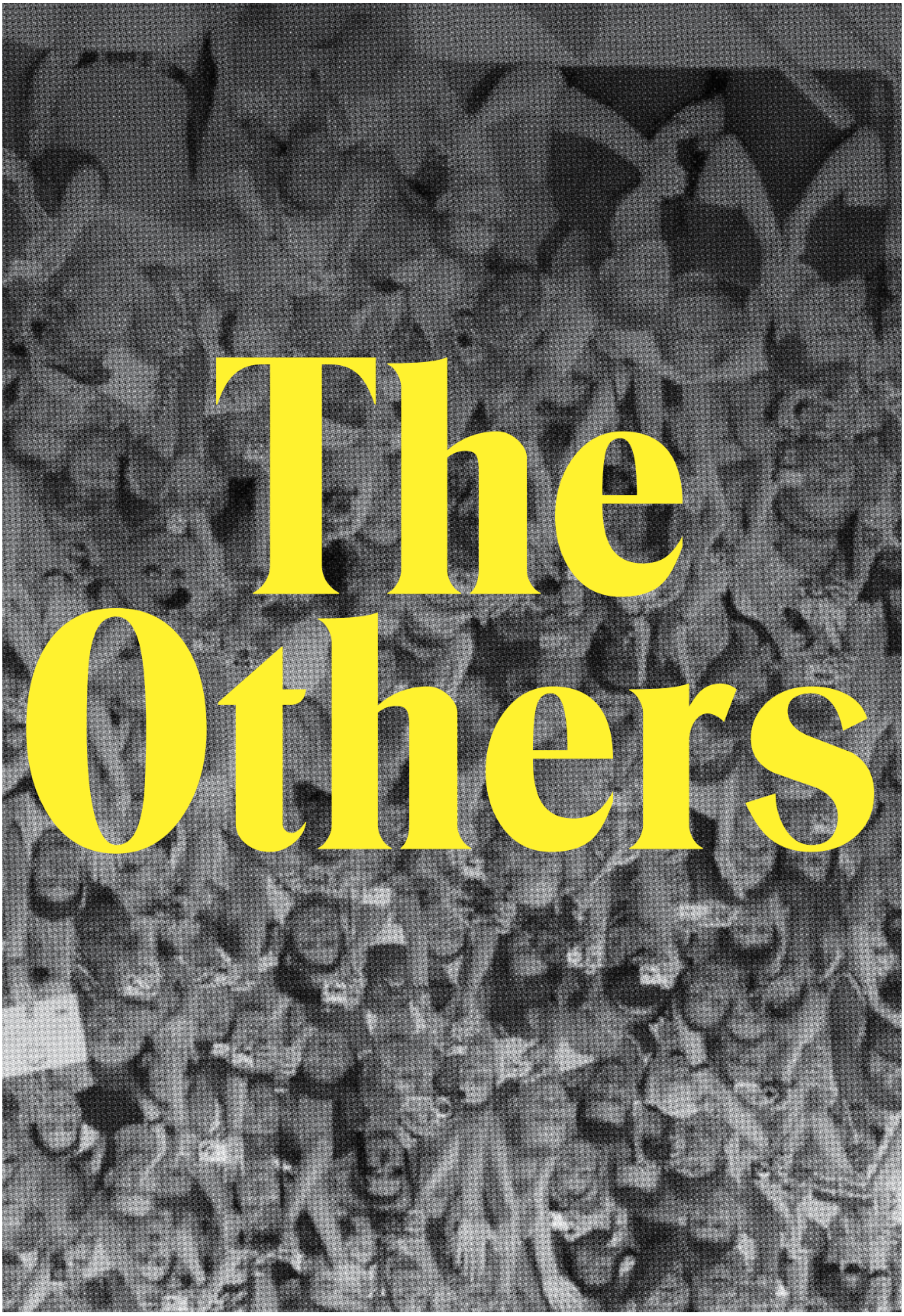

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