[00:00:06] **CAMILA PALOMINO**
Thanks so much for joining us today for the third Speaker Series of the semester. I'm Camila Palomino. My pronouns are she / her, and I'm a second-year graduate student at the Center for Curatorial Studies at Bard College.

[00:00:20] **NATASHA MATTESON**
I'm Natasha Matteson. My pronouns are she / they, and I'm also a second-year graduate student at CCS.

[00:00:29] **CAMILA PALOMINO**
Today, we are really honored to introduce Dr. Jasbir Puar, but first we'd like to thank Lauren, Paulina, Casey and Amanda for making this talk possible. Natasha and I were part of a group of students who nominated Jasbir Puar to speak at CCS this semester. Many of us have come into contact with Dr. Puar's scholarship while at CCS. Her influence is present in our research and discussions. Thank you so much for joining us today, Dr. Puar.

[00:00:59] **NATASHA MATTESON**
Yes, thank you so much. Dr. Jasbir Puar's background is in race, gender, sexuality and disability studies. She is Professor of Women's and Gender studies at Rutgers University and is the author of award winning books: "The Right to Maim. Debility, Capacity, Disability" and "Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times." She is currently completing a collection of essays on duration, pace, mobility and acceleration in Palestine, titled "Slow Life. Settler Colonialism in Five Parts".

[00:01:40] **CAMILA PALOMINO**
For those of you who might not be as familiar with Dr. Puar's work, her scholarship has propelled discourse around biopolitics and necropolitics during intersectional and Americanist standpoint. In "Terrorist Assemblages" Puar argues how race, sexuality, gender, nation, class and ethnicity are structured within processes of contemporary securitization, counterterrorism and US nationalism. And she has also proposed the

concept of homonationalism or how heteronormative values are adopted by queer communities, subsequently, allowing homosexuality and homonormativity to be instrumentalized as part of nationalist violence and geopolitical intervention.

[00:02:24] **NATASHA MATTESON**
Puar's recent work on maiming brings her biopolitical frame to bear on the liberal category of disability, which she complicates through the notion of disability or bodily injury and social exclusion brought on by economic and political factors. She develops this through the example of the bio / necro political control of Palestinian subjects enacted in Israel Palestine, where disablement of Palestinians is endemic rather than exceptional, and points to the way that systematic maiming makes strategic use of the decoupling of death from injury in definitions of collateral damage. In 2019, Dr. Puar organized with Francesco Sebregondi an exhibition called "Future Lives of Return" as part of the inaugural Sharjah Architecture Triennial about the Israeli state's strategic use of maiming and the brutal repression of the Great March of Return, the border protests in Gaza from 2018 to 2019, which she will be presenting on today.

[00:03:38] **CAMILA PALOMINO**
The talk will be about forty five minutes and after the presentation we'll be happy, Natasha and I will be happy to facilitate questions and conversations.

[00:03:51] **NATASHA MATTESON**
So please feel free to share questions that come up during the presentation in the chat and we can read them aloud at the end. Or you can ask them directly. And with that, welcome, Dr. Puar.

[00:04:04] **JASBIR PUAR**
Great, thank you. Thank you so much, Camila and Natasha, for that lovely introduction and thanks to all of you for being here. It's been an incredibly intense end of the week. So I just wanted to acknowledge that. And also, Lauren had mentioned that we might actually hear the call for Biden while we are here. So if you start getting texts and that

starts happening, we should just take a moment to kind of acknowledge and process that. As was mentioned in the introduction, I you know, I am a scholar and a theorist and not someone who works in the visual arts and not somebody who does any curatorial work. So where I'm speaking to an audience who knows for sure a lot more about curatorial work than I do. So I'm looking forward to this conversation and to hearing your feedback and your thoughts about this process, which is completely new to me. And I'm still learning a lot, and also kind of working through a lot of questions and concerns and points of interest that I kind of came across. I had been contacted by a group of architects from the Royal College of Art in London who had read "The Right to Maim" and had said, you know, we want to do an exhibition on the Great March of Return, and would you consider collaborating? And aside from how amazing it was that architects would be doing this work, which had never occurred to me that that would ever be the case. It was also just amazing that they took the argument at face value. And I wasn't in a position where I actually had to defend or refute or explain or anything about the argument. So there was already a kind of space clearing that I generally don't have in activist and academic circles in the US mostly, and in other parts of the world. This conversation is just not as fraught.

[00:06:20]
But in the United States, I end up having to justify the right to have an opinion, basically, whereas... And so it was just kind of a pure opening for me around thinking and process and a kind of affirmation of the kind of creative potential of theorizing actually. And so then the challenge became how to think through these frames around maiming and debilitation and disability and how to communicate that in an experience and a largely visual experience that was going to be like 10 or 15 minutes long. So this is a completely new challenge for me. As you know, the Great March of Return started in Gaza in 2018, on March 30th. And in the last two and a half years, there have been at least... There have been more than thirty thousand injuries. At least seven thousand protesters have been shot in the lower limbs and these injuries have required amputations, multiple surgeries. Some of them, many of them develop wound resistance because there's not enough antibiotics, etc.

[00:07:42]
So this is a kind of ongoing situation and a kind of layering, actually, of debilitation and disability that's been going on in Gaza for a while. And so I don't write about the Great March in "The Right to Maim", but the Great March turns what is a kind of covert strategy of maiming into this explicit spectacle of maiming, that the entire global audience is actually sanctioning by not having a major force of intervention. So what I'm going to do here is kind of talk through some of the intentions behind the exhibition and the dilemmas of it that came up for us and show a few pictures and a couple of videos of the exhibition and kind of leave the theoretical apparatuses of it for more Q&A kind of stuff. Since Camila and Natasha, you've conveyed some of it and that stuff, you know, it is kind of worth discussion.

[00:08:57]
So one of the first things we wanted to do was to decenter the Great March of Return, because it became this focal point as if this has been the first time that this had ever happened or these were the first practices of maiming and injuring that the Palestinians had been subjected to. So we started, we opened the exhibition with a piece from Ghassan Kanafani, who's who is a major Palestinian revolutionary who was assassinated in Beirut in the early 80s and had done quite a bit of organizing with the PLO. If you don't know who he is, you should Google his... Google him on YouTube. And there's just a plethora of incredible interviews that he's done with journalists while he was alive. So this is a letter he wrote. It's called "Letter from Gaza". And I'm just going to... I'll read you the paragraph that we kind of opened the exhibition with. "My friend, never shall I forget Nadia's leg amputated from the top of the thigh, no, nor shall I ever shall I forget the grief which had molded her face and merged into its traits forever." Nadia is his niece. "I went out of the hospital in Gaza that day. My hand clutched in silent derision on the two counts I had brought with me to give Nadia. The blazing sun filled the streets with the color of blood, and Gaza was brand new. You and I never saw it like this." He's speaking to his best friend, who has left Gaza for [inaudible 00:10:36] . And had a meaning and they seem to have been put there for no other reason but to explain it.

"This Gaza in which we have lived and with whose good people we had spent seven years of defeat was something new, it seemed to me just a beginning. I don't know why I thought it was just a beginning. I imagine that the main street that I walked along the way back home was only the beginning of a long, long road leading to [inaudible 00:11:07]. Everything in this, Gaza throbbed with sadness, which was not confined to weeping. It was a challenge. More than that, it was something like a reclamation of the amputated leg." This is from 1956.

[00:11:21]
So we opened the exhibition with this to show that there's already this working through of what amputation is, what injury is, what disability is in a kind of Palestinian imaginary that's already been working these kinds of bodily assaults into a manifesto of liberation. So my reading of this piece is that he's providing us with this kind of rousing reorientation, which isn't a predictable call for resilience, and it's not about soliciting a kind of empathic humanitarian gaze. But the amputated leg here signifies a kind of unquantifiable momentum of collective subjectivity that is inherently in excess of and escapes the kind of aims and calculations and desires of the biopolitical state to strip Palestinian bodies of vitality and resistance. So in this brand new Gaza that he's talking about, there's not a kind of prosthesis or a form of rehabilitation that can redress the missing limb. And I think here the missing limb is, you know, of the amputated leg, is the kind of standing in for the return of Palestinians to their 1948 homes. So the image of Nadia's leg in our exhibition signaled the resistance to occupation. And then the kind of phantom limb of this amputation is no less than liberation itself. So this is how we tried to shift the register from the kind of theater of maiming that Gaza has become in the past years to something from 1956 to kind of understand the kind of consciousness or suggest a kind of longue durée of this consciousness.

[00:13:23]
We really wanted to reorient the experience of Gaza from this spectacle of humanitarian crisis to, back to this Palestinian liberation movement. And I think that's one of the most damaging things or the most insidious things that happens in these

humanitarian aid and disaster capitalism relief economies is that it moves from a political struggle and a struggle for liberation to a kind of global uptake of concern around medical needs and the needs of an afflicted population. And then we lose the actual point of what's happening, in some ways. It's a very effective way in which humanitarian economies kind of diffuse the political capacities of liberation movements. The humanitarian gazes... diffusing humanitarian gazes is really important here, also as you I'm sure know, because these humanitarian crises are kind of sealed with empathy-inducing images of pain, images that are already decided in advance. And these kinds of images convey more about humanitarian saviors than the actual kind of photographs of Palestinians. So we saw a lot of this imagery coming out in the mainstream press. In May of 2018 you saw rows and rows of men who had been shot during the protests with their amputated legs or with crutches or in wheelchairs. And on one hand, it was incredible that this conversation finally entered mainstream US media. And then, on the other hand, the way in which it's entered the media gets very complicated in terms of these visual representations because it really keeps reproducing the kind of scene of tragedy and tragicness in this coverage.

[00:15:41]
So part of our goal was to kind of short circuit this libidinal investment in the suffering body. And even these suffering bodies are used to solicit humanitarian effects. They are encased in this kind of recourse or impulses of the evidential. So one of the first things we decided was that we weren't going to have any representations of wounds. We weren't going to necessarily portray the wounded as wounded as such. We didn't have any representations necessarily of walls or borders. We didn't want any images of Israeli soldiers per se. And we also stayed away from any kind of documentarian work. So we didn't have... The video art we chose was deliberately against a kind of documentarian tradition. And that's not to say that we didn't use evidential materials, but we tried to figure out how to deploy these materials beyond the kind of context of their immediate consumption to try to kind of illuminate a kind of semiotic excessive images that exceed the evidential, so exceed the presentation of logic, of proof of empiricism. One reason why I think this is so important in the context of Palestine, but not only in Palestine, is that

there's always a kind of... and we've seen this play out so much politically in the past years, there's always a liberal investment in thinking if you have knowledge, you will do the right thing. And that's just not the case.

[00:17:28]
And so there's a plethora of knowledge about this state violence that doesn't seem to kind of shift the status quo, the political status quo in Palestine itself. So we wanted to be wary of piling more evidence onto what is already a huge strata of data and evidence and kind of archives of violence that exist in Palestine. One of the other things... So this was a challenge, how do we communicate maiming in Gaza without resorting to kind of direct imagery or evidential form. We also understood something about... And Francesco and I, we didn't have Palestinians on this project to begin with. Although we brought them in later. But we both are people who had been studying Gaza from the outside and thinking about Gaza from the outside and differently. For me, it's been about kind of thinking through scholarly commitments to movement activism and to Palestinian activism. And so what does it mean to be a scholar who's committed to the kind of solidarity scholarship, in a way. We didn't understand that we couldn't kind of explicate Gaza from the vantage of biopolitical violence. And this is a critique that I have of my work in "The Right to Maim," that it really takes up Palestine as it is violated in a way, as it is treated by biopolitics, by the biopolitical state, and not so much as it is lived, in some sense. And so that's also part of, you know, it's kind of conditioned by my training.

[00:19:41]
I'm an Americanist. I'm not a Middle East studies person. But it also then reproduces this idea of Gaza as this open-air prison that's kind of excluded from flows of thought and movement and excluded from... You can only offer a kind of counter representation. So we thought it was important not to reproduce the blockade of Gaza in the actual exhibition, obviously. Francesco had come to this problem a little differently and had said, well, you know, the exhibition represents the inaccessibility of Gaza. And so that's how he had been approaching it. And I actually had already been kind of in contact

with organizers in Gaza around the Great March and also artists who had been thinking through their art practices in relation to political protest. And so I thought it would be really good to bring in what art we could actually pull in. And this is an architecture triennial. So curating art was not really on the minds of any of these architects.

[00:21:11]
So I had to kind of convince folks that this would be an important element of the project itself. I understood something about the difference between art biennials and triennials and architecture triennials and biennials. This idea of curating versus creating that seemed to be a split between the artists and the art or architects. Which I found very, very, very interesting. So in relation to the question around perspective and perspectives, we also were kind of moving away from the approach that Forensic Architecture usually prioritizes around conflict zones and areas of occupation and war and struggle. Forensic models that Forensic Architecture use, which again has been really effective in kind of educating, I think, liberal viewerships... But they're invested in a kind of scientific model of forensic data, precisely tracking the position of elements in a Cartesian space, a long timeline, along spatial coordinates. So everything is very oriented around data. We organized the exhibition around a model, actually, of the Great March. The model that we built tried to focus instead of on positionality and the accuracy of data, it tried to work with intensities, with durations. It tried to convey a sense of collectivity that was expressed in the density of the protests and how they were organized and to kind of think through affectively the kind of charge of solidarity, relationships of emotion, feelings of conviviality and so on.

[00:23:25]
So we really tried to shift the focus from looking at to looking from, in some sense. Casey, do you mind going through? We can go through some of the slides at this point. OK, so this is the... So this is Sharjah, this is the room of the finished exhibition and the exhibition took place in an old school that the Sharjah Architecture Triennial folks renovated, basically, for the exhibition. So this was our room, "The Future Lives and the Return." On the right side by the windows we have Ghassan Kanafani's layout, the

paragraph that I read to you. We can go to the next slide. This is the model that we built again in the center of the room. And Francesco knew a lot more about this than I did, but it was deliberately sized and was at a certain level that in order to really see the model, you had to crouch down if you were actually upright to begin with. And in order to understand the model, you really had to kind of move around it and move your own body in certain ways to take a look at it. So that, again, was a kind of attempt to move from looking above to kind of looking within some level. We can go to the next. Oh, and so then back here is a series of photographs in the back, which I'll talk about a little bit later, from Activestills. On the side over here, you see, this was a kind of map projection that moves from what Gaza, the kind of density of architecture in Gaza from 20 years ago to the current time.

[00:25:48]
And you can kind of see the erosion of infrastructure and of residential and institutional structures deteriorating over the years. We can go to the next one. There's another view of that. So this is the model from the other side, and then there are seven video screens that you can see, four on one side and three on the other, that showcase the video art pieces that we picked. On the very back wall over here, and I'll talk about this in a moment, are the data charts that we did. And there's twenty four of them. I'm hoping I have another picture in here that's a little bit closer up, but I'll talk a little bit about what we did with the data charts in a second. We can go to the next one. These are some pictures from Activestills. Activestills is a photography collective of Israeli and Palestinian photographers. They work across the green line and they have been documenting the occupation since 2005, I think. And so they have tens and tens of thousands of photos and we decided to pull out the photos that seemed least typical of... Well, first photos that we didn't usually see in the media. So some of that had to do with, like, foregrounding women who were at the protests or who are resisting in various ways, foregrounding some of the activities at the Great March that involved women and were generally left out of media coverage.

[00:27:53]
Again, there are some scenes of destruction, but we tried to work with really subtle manifestations of what kind of engaging with debilitation could be like. So I will talk a little bit more about these photos in a minute. But I did go through some twenty thousand photos to pick thirty two photos. And it was a kind of unbelievable task to think through how visual archives come together from something so vast and how to create a story from such a huge collection of documents. And so that kind of speaks to the original issue that I have brought up, which is there's so much data. So how do we... We have an abundance of proof of violence. So how do we create a different kind of story from that abundance of data and archives?

[00:29:00]
We can go to the next one. So that's the model from a certain view, from a lower view. These are the protesters, we printed these out. They're made of resin and they were printed out. And so, all of the protesters, there were thousands of them on this model, and all of them were different sizes and shapes. They were different genders or not, different kinds of configurations. Some of them were able bodied, some of them were not. And they were all in different modalities of activity. You can kind of see in the middle over here maybe that there's a scene of protesters carrying someone on a stretcher. So we had different kinds of activities and different sizes as well. We tried to, this is harder to see from the photos, we kind of created a sense of swarming and movement in this kind of model through the different sizes of the pieces and kind of what they were doing. We can go to the next one, so you can see.

[00:30:18]
OK, so that's another view of these 32 photos. The next one. And that's another view of the encampments from the model as well. In the models in the center of the room, and you can see from various vantages, wherever you are in relation to the model, you can see the rest of the exhibition, the rest of the other elements of the exhibition, so that there's always a kind of centering of this model. Over here on the side are... I was not comfortable with this decision at all, but we received x-ray images from Doctors Without

Borders and had a long discussion about what it would mean to show those x-ray images. And so that's what's going on here. These x-ray images of limbs being repaired or not, are moving across the screen. For me, it was just... It just became... it was kind of against the ethos of not showing injury. But the way the architects rationalized it was that it was a more complicated representation of injury than would otherwise succumb to so, I don't know how much I agree with that, but that was one part of the exhibition I really didn't love.

[00:31:53]
You can see the data charts are in the back again of this picture. And the next, is there one more left? Oh, here we go. So here are the data charts again. These data charts, I will talk about a little bit more in a bit, they are kind of homage to W.E.B. Dubois's data charts. So if you haven't seen that book, "The Data Portraits", which is a collection of Dubois's data charts, it's a really incredible book. And the, you know, I think reading Dubois on the data charts, the idea behind the charts was really to kind of communicate like one data point in each chart, like to think through one relationship in each chart and to kind of strip down all of the visual noise into something really simple and beautiful and also deeply communicative and affectively piercing. So these charts were our attempt to do that with all of the humanitarian data and all of the data that came from humanitarian organizations, which I'll elaborate on in a second. Is there anything else? OK, so that's another one of the photos and anything, is there anything left on it?

[00:33:30] **CASEY ROBERTSON**
That's the last slide.

[00:33:31] **JASBIR PUAR**
OK, thanks. There's two other elements of the exhibition. One was a sound installation and the other... So one was a sound installation called "Perceptual Siege", and it incorporated protest noises, and incorporated the Doctors Without Borders video testimonials from people who had been injured in the Great March, particularly folks

who had been amputated. And so we wanted to incorporate the voices of folks who had been injured or were dealing with wounds, but not to kind of reiterate a kind of representational purity around those voices. So they were incorporated, they were taken.... We kind of moved the image away from the sound and then put the sound into this isolation. And so this sound artist is [inaudible 00:34:55] who's a Palestinian who works in Germany. We weren't seeking to replicate any kind of sensorial experience of being there, but rather to kind of wrap the experience of the exhibition in the kind of confines of not being there and to kind of make that kind of starkness of these faces of protests in relation to a kind of a gallery space clear.

[00:35:30]
And so it was a very intense sound installation. I will talk a little bit more about these video pieces and I'll show you a bit. The video pieces, so when we first started researching this, it became clear pretty early on that it would be impossible without many, many, many months of logistical navigations to move actual print art in and out of Gaza. The insurance costs just from an insurance level were so unbelievably high to insure the transit of materials and then the actual possibility of damage or loss was also very high. So we moved to a kind of portable media and found artists who are doing video work on their phones. So this was a kind of, you know, way in which I think mobility gets redefined, actually, is through the work of these artists who are able to kind of... They're not able to move, actually, they're not able to leave, but their work is able to move back and forth. And so in some sense, these transferable media become these kinds of avatars in the space of this siege. Again, we chose non-representational pieces. We were trying to refuse this kind of documentarian gaze and the humanitarian gaze. We can, I think we can show a few of those like snippets of as right now that would be great.

[00:37:26] **CASEY ROBERTSON**
Is there any video in particular that you'd like?

[00:37:28] **JASBIR PUAR**

Yeah, why not? So let me just give you a little snippet. So "Bath Time" is a piece by Sharif Waked. So there was a zebra that had been killed in a zoo in Gaza, and the zookeeper then painted his donkey to be a zebra. And so Sharif has a kind of great, you know, thinking through of what it means to kind of pass, to kind of create a kind of interspecies passing. So we could just watch a few, like 30 seconds of this.

[00:38:40]
Thank you. So that's, I mean, Sharif has a whole, if you Google this, he has a whole thinking through the process of making that video, what he was trying to communicate, the relationship with the donkey and the kind of care taken with the donkey. But again, that kind of ambivalence around this process. Whatever's next too, we can see that.

[00:39:03.760] - **VIDEO PLAYING**

[00:41:37] **JASBIR PUAR**
Casey, we can stop this now. Thank you. So this goes on for a bit, but you can kind of see the kind of melding of the domestic and the public of the war kind of coming together in this conversation. This is a relative from Houston who's listening to this, having this exchange with this person. What's the next video? So, Casey, if you could, yeah, let's watch this.

[00:44:37.330] - **VIDEO PLAYING**

[00:47:10] **JASBIR PUAR**
Casey, we can stop this here. Thank you. So this goes on for a little while. "Governors' Game" is probably my favorite piece. It's really kind of beautiful... You can see the pomegranate is being reconstructed, kind of returned to its home, as it were. And so it is kind of a really beautiful, re-narrativization of the "Right to Return" happening in that video. There were a couple of other videos, too. I'm happy to send over links to the rest of them that we chose. I'm mindful of time, so I'm just going to make a few last comments so that we can have some discussion as well. I was going to come back to

the thirty two photos that we chose. We actually chose thirty one photos. There was a photo that had gone viral and had received, you know, international photography awards. It was the photo of Saber Al-Ashqa and I'm sorry, I don't have the actual photo here, but if you Google his name, it will come up pretty quickly.

[00:48:22]
So this is a double amputee in a wheelchair and he had a slingshot in his right hand. And then he's at the protest. And there are all of these kinds of clouds of smoke behind him. And, you know, for me, that photo went viral because it was taken up in this kind of human rights empowerment discourse that it played into. So the disabled body can protest, it can have agency and envigor. But what we wanted to do was re-situate and kind of de-spectacularize that scene and put it in relation to this kind of mundane and kind of banal daily activities that are informed by maiming and debilitation. So in some ways, we're trying to expose the humanitarian gaze in creating a kind of series of relationships to banal debilitation and moving away from the kind of icons of disability or the tragedy of disability to the endemic and kind of quotidian nature of it.

[00:49:38]
And in particular, I was interested in moving our attention away from the wheelchair as a prosthesis, to the kind of slingshot. Thinking of the slingshot as the prosthesis that the humanitarian gaze kind of misses and is focused on the disabled body that can resist. I just want to explain a little bit more about the charts. So we used and went through a huge amount of information that have been released by humanitarian aid organizations on the statistics of the blockade. And I'm sorry, I don't have a better picture of that. And if you're familiar with these humanitarian aid infographics, they're just full of information. They're kind of chock a block. And there's so much of this stuff coming out from dozens of humanitarian aid, non-profit organizations, Doctors Without Borders, it's all really, really important. But the communication strategy is, again, presuming that kind of liberal audience is... Just needs information and then it will shift kind of politically.

[00:51:06]
So we really wanted to strip away all of the I'll call it noise, not in a negative way, but just the desire to inform through the abundance of information. We kind of stripped all of that away and focused on some metrics that were not typically isolated or foregrounded or highlighted in a lot of this information. So some things really... Like a really simple example of this is that there's so much information on how many people have been killed and how many people have been injured over the years during the siege of Gaza. And actually there wasn't just, really a simple way or any... There was not any representation of the relationship or the ratio between killing and injuring over the years and how that ratio had waxed and waned and altered. And so that's one of the examples of just kind of taking all this information, tabulating it over a period of time, synthesizing it and then realizing, oh, this one way of explaining the relationship between injuring, between maiming and killing is actually a very simple thing to do, and it's nonexistent. So we made that chart to kind of show, OK, in 2014, there was a lot of killing and then kind of covert amount of maiming. But in 2018, there were thirty thousand injuries and just very few people killed.

[00:52:57]
One of the reasons why... And so the other forms of information that we focused on included organizations of flows of water, electricity, the destruction of hospitals, patient transport, fishing, flows of goods, agriculture, Internet availability, bandwidth, waxing and waning. And in particular, we wanted to convey the elasticity of the blockade, that the blockade itself doesn't... The intent of the blockade is not to keep things out and keep people in, but actually to create a spectrum of logistics as a kind of form of logistical governance. That means you're constantly kind of... Things are constantly being traded in and out. So we wanted to communicate that elasticity and that praxis of titration as well by putting together these data charts in a different way that is conventionally conveyed. One of the reasons why this was so urgent for us is that you might recall that in 2014, the United Nations said that Gaza would become uninhabitable in 2020. And so this exhibition was like a year ago. And so we're like, OK, we're on the threshold of 2020. There's one point eight million Gazans living here. And so

we had to interrogate the notion of livability that what is livable is not about a universal understanding of a kind of humanistic existence, but actually a kind of constant redefining of what constitutes the livable. And so titration is this form of modulation by a degree that starts asserting a kind of change in kind and a kind of approaching thresholds that only really appear retroactively. So this kind of livable / unlivable binary is actually underpinned by this logistical governmentality that's constantly producing incremental degrees of being. And I think I'm going to stop there and we can have some discussion.

[00:55:34.220]
Questions and comments not transcribed.