

After Belonging

Áfter Bēlòngĩŋǵ

The Objects, Spaces, and Territories
of the Ways We Stay in Transit

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Afṭer Belòngiṅ

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Oslo arkitekturtriennale (OAT) har siden opprettelsen i 2000 utviklet seg til å bli en betydningsfull arkitekturfaglig institusjon i Norge. Hvert tredje år danner hovedstaden utgangspunktet for en serie utstillinger, konferanser og arrangementer som samler norske og internasjonale fagmiljøer og byens befolkning i relevante diskusjoner om arkitektur- og byplanfaglige spørsmål.

Oslo vokser—raskere enn mange av Europas hovedsteder. Byveksten er i stor grad migrasjonsdrevet, og bringer med seg en rekke samfunns-messige utfordringer som bør få konsekvenser for hvordan vi planlegger og bygger i fremtiden.

Med triennalen «*Etter tilhørighet: Om å komme til—Om å komme fra*» tar årets kuratorer, After Belonging Agency, opp et tema som er relevant langt utover Norges grenser. I en tid hvor økonomien sirkulerer globalt, og gjenstander og mennesker forflytter seg mer enn noensinne er vår tilhørighet i spill. Økende migrasjon bidrar til at flere og flere befinner seg i en tilstand av permanent midlertidighet. Forskjellene mellom store grupper av mennesker øker. Vi er i ferd med å forandre måter å eie på, og hvordan vi bytter og deler ting. Forståelsen av «å være hjemme» og betydningen av eiendom og identitet er i endring.

Etter tilhørighet utforsker derfor hvilken tilknytning vi har til steder og fellesskap—hvor hører vi egentlig til? Hvilket forhold har vi til tingene vi eier, deler og bytter?

Med sitt hoved- og sideprogram er OAT et komplekst, men åpent arrangement som involverer en lang rekke samarbeidspartnere fra ulike fagområder og interessegrupper i samfunnet. Mange programpartnere fra inn- og utland bidrar til å løfte triennalens tema og diskusjoner ut til målgruppene.

I kjølvannet av den femte Oslotriennalen *Behind the Green Door* i 2013—der det belgiske kuratorteamet ROTOR undersøkte det forslitte begrepet bærekraft—publiserte OAT boken med samme navn. Den ga mulighet til kritisk å analysere og oppsummere arbeidet som ble lagt ned i forbindelse med triennalen. Like etter, i september 2014, var sekretariatet i gang med å forberede årets triennale med en ny kuratorutlysning. 73 team fra hele verden søkte, noe som viser den store interessen OAT vekker også internasjonalt. Grunnen er kanskje at OAT gir mulighet til å gå dypere inn i en valgt problemstilling. Denne dokumentasjons- og undersøkelsesfasener et fortrinn som skiller OAT fra andre tilsvarende begivenheter.

OAT forener de seks stifterne og medlemsorganisasjonene—Arkitektur- og designhøgskolen i Oslo (AHO), Norsk design- og arkitektursenter (DOGA), Norske arkitekters landsforbund (NAL), Nasjonalmuseet—Arkitektur, Oslo arkitektforening (OAF), og Oslo Business Region—og skaper en plattform for å samle ulike roller og kompetanse med et felles mål: Å skape et møtested for faglig utvikling, diskusjon og innflytelse.

En rekke støttespillere har kommet til det siste året, og har bidratt til at et profesjonelt sekretariat kan sørge for kontinuitet og kompetanseoverføring.

På vegne av styret i OAT vil jeg takke alle disse bidragsyterne: De åtte assosierte medlemmene—Bergen arkitektthøgskole, NTNU Fakultet for arkitektur og billedkunst, Oslo kommune Plan- og bygningsetaten, FutureBuilt, ROM for kunst og arkitektur, Norske interiørarkitekters og møbeldesigneres landsforening, Norske landskapsarkitekters forening og Arkitektbedriftene; triennalens generalpartner BARCODE; hovedsamarbeidspartnerne DARK og Kluge; samarbeidspartner Aspelin Ramm og de offentlige tilskuddsgiverne Oslo kommune, Kulturdepartementet, Utenriksdepartementet, Nordisk Kulturfond, Kulturkontakt Nord og KORO. En spesiell takk rettes også til Elise Jaffe og Jeffrey Brown for deres generøse støtte til denne boken.

Takk til årets kuratorer Lluís Alexandre Casanovas Blanco, Ignacio González Galán, Carlos Mínguez Carrasco, Alejandra Navarrete Llopis, Marina Otero Verzier for deres høye ambisjoner og utrettelige arbeid. Med *Etter tilhørighet* setter de i gang en viktig diskusjon med stor betydning for utviklingen av arkitekturfaget framover.

Til slutt vil jeg takke sekretariatet for at vårt opprinnelige mål for lengst er nådd, i det Oslo arkitekturtriennale har fått status som en av verdens mest interessante, blant et økende antall triennaler, biennaler og festivaler.

—Nina Berre, Styreleder, Oslo arkitekturtriennale

Foreword

Since its inception in 2000, the Oslo Architecture Triennale (OAT) has evolved into a major architectural institution in Norway. Every third year, the capital serves as the venue for a series of exhibitions, conferences, and events that engage local residents and Norwegian and international professionals in meaningful and relevant discussions on architecture and urban development.

Oslo is one of Europe's fastest-growing cities. Largely driven by immigration, this urban growth brings new challenges that should influence how we plan and build for the future.

With *After Belonging: A Triennale In Residence, On Residence and the Ways We Stay in Transit*, our Chief Curators, Lluís Alexandre Casanovas Blanco, Ignacio G. Galán, Carlos Mínguez Carrasco, Alejandra Navarrete Llopis, Marina Otero Verzier (After Belonging Agency), address a topic relevant far beyond Norway's borders. At a time when the global economy allows for the unprecedented circulation of objects and people, our belonging is at stake. Ever more people find themselves in a state of permanent flux; inequalities between large groups of people are on the rise; and we are on the verge of changing the ways in which we own, exchange, and share our belongings. Our understanding of "being at home" and of property and identity is also changing.

After Belonging seeks to explore the attachments we feel to places and communities. Where do we actually belong? What relationship do we have with our objects?

With both its core and extended programmes, OAT engages a wide number of partners from various countries, professions, sectors, and interest groups. This approach enables the Triennale to disseminate its topics and discussions to a wide range of target groups.

Following the fifth Oslo Triennale, *Behind the Green Door*, in 2013—where the Belgian curatorial team ROTOR explored the well-worn concept of sustainability—OAT published a book of the same name, critically analyzing and summarizing the work of the 2013 Triennale. In September 2014, the secretariat began preparing for this year's Triennale by announcing a call for curators. Seventy-three teams from all over the world applied, testifying to the great international interest in OAT. The reason is, perhaps, that OAT makes possible the investigation of a topic in great depth. This opportunity for documentation and exploration is an advantage that sets OAT apart from similar events.

OAT unites its six constituent member organizations—the Oslo School of Architecture and Design, the Norwegian Centre for Design and Architecture, the National Association of Norwegian Architects, the National Museum—Architecture, the Oslo Association of Architects, and the Oslo Business Region—to constitute a platform that brings together various forms of expertise with a common objective: creating a meeting place for professional development, discussion, and influence.

A number of new partners have joined the Triennale organization over the past year. On behalf of the OAT board I would like to thank all of these contributors: the eight associated members—the Bergen School of Architecture, the NTNU Faculty of Architecture and Fine Art, the Planning and Building Department of the Municipality of Oslo, FutureBuilt, Gallery ROM, the Norwegian Association of Interior Architects and Furniture Designers, the Norwegian Association of Landscape Architects, and Arkitektbedriftene—as well as the triennale's general sponsor BARCODE, its main sponsors DARK Architects and Kluge Law firm, and the sponsor Aspelin Ramm. I would also like to thank the Triennale's public benefactors: the Municipality of Oslo, the Norwegian Ministry of Culture, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Nordic Culture Fund, Nordic Culture Point, Public Art Norway, and Elise Jaffe and Jeffrey Brown for their generous support of this publication.

Thank you to our Chief Curators, After Belonging Agency, for their high ambitions and tireless efforts and work with the Triennale. With *After Belonging*, they are putting a pressing and important issue on the agenda, and thereby raising a discussion which will shape and influence our profession in the future.

Finally, I would like to thank the secretariat for working steadily towards the achievement of our goal: to establish the Oslo Architecture Triennale as one of the world's leading events of its kind, amidst a growing number of architecture triennales, biennales, and festivals.

— Nina Berre, Chair of the Board, Oslo Architecture Triennale

Aft̥er Belòngiņg

Lluís Alexandre Casanovas Blanco, Ignacio G. Galán,
Carlos Mínguez Carrasco, Alejandra Navarrete Llopis,
Marina Otero Verzier

¹ Description of scenes in the Sri-Lankan-born British singer M.I.A.'s music video "Double Bubble Trouble." "Double Bubble Trouble" is a song from the album *Matangi* (2013), written by Maya "M.I.A." Arulpragasam, Ruben Fernhout, Jerry Leembruggen, and Rypke Westra, produced by The Partysquad, and released on May 30, 2014.

² Alibaba Group Holding Limited, "Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ended March 31, 2016," p. 77, http://www.alibabagroup.com/en/ir/pdf/form20F_160525.pdf.

³ <https://www.instagram.com>, accessed June 5, 2016.

⁴ United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, "Population Facts: Trends in International Migration, 2015," December 2015, accessed May 24, 2016, <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationPopFacts2015.pdf>.

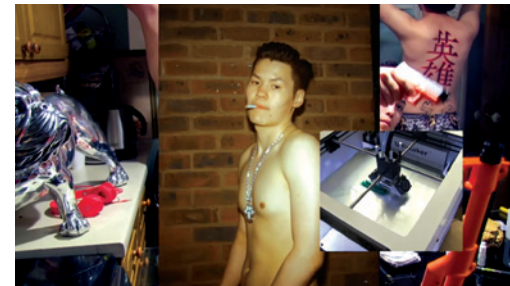
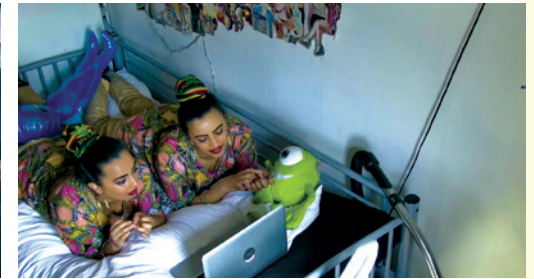
⁵ "Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, 1 January 2016," Statistics Norway, March 3, 2016, accessed July 1, 2016, <https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvbe/aar/2016-03-03/>.

In the domestic interiors of a Brutalist council estate, new fabrication technologies coexist with laminated wood furniture, neon-colored drones, souvenirs from remote territories, faux animal prints, and leather sofas. It is mid-afternoon. Shots of colorful parrots and Capuchin monkeys interweave with scenes of teenagers who, while sitting in front of TVs displaying international channels, communicate through phones and laptops, share images with close and distant friends, and place orders online. 3-D printing alternates with hookah smoking. Jeans and leggings are combined with smiling-face-printed niqabs; hoodies, with Afropunk-patterned bomber jackets. Japanese kanji tattoos cover arms and backs. These scenes depict a weekday in Peckham, South London, the home of communities with diverse origins from all over England and from East Asia, South Asia, the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe.¹

The scenes in these spaces exemplify a larger condition. In 2015, the online retailing company Alibaba shipped 12.2 billion packages to home addresses.² The social media platform Instagram contained 58,940,079 posts tagged #home.³ And, at present, more than 240 million people are living in a place where they were not born.⁴ In Oslo alone, the Triennale location, over 30% of the population consists of migrants.⁵ At the same time, the number of tourist arrivals throughout the world—stays of less than twelve months—is over one billion.⁶ In Norway, this number is almost five million, roughly the same as its stable population.⁷ Contemporary spaces of residence are shaped around the circulation of goods, images, and individuals moving throughout wider territories.

Being at home has different definitions nowadays—both within domestic settings and in the spaces defined by national boundaries—under these global regimes of circulation grounded in changing geopolitical relations, the uneven developments of neoliberalism, and the expansion of media technologies. Belonging is no longer just something bound to one's own space of residence or to the territory of a nation, nor does it last an entire lifespan.

The Oslo Architecture Triennale 2016, *After Belonging*, dissects and designs the objects, spaces, and territories involved in a transforming condition of belonging. Pervasive commercial exchanges, systems of information transfer, and migratory movements have destabilized what we understand by residence, forcing us to question spatial permanence, property, and identity—a crisis of belonging. The processes of globalization have brought greater



Stills from M.I.A.'s music video "Double Bubble Trouble," 2013.

accessibility to ever-new goods, fueled alternative imaginaries, and provided access to further geographies and knowledges. And yet, not everybody circulates voluntarily, nor in the same way: circulation also promotes growing inequalities for large groups, kept in precarious states of transit.

After Belonging analyzes the ways in which architecture intervenes in the construction of attachments to places and collectivities—Where does one belong?—as well as in the changing relations to the objects that are produced, owned, shared, and exchanged—How are belongings managed?

Belonging is being contemporaneously transformed at different scales and in different contexts. For example, the daily life of the middle classes around the world is being reconfigured by the economic conditions and social relations enabled by home-sharing platforms, as well as by the production of aesthetic regimes mobilized in the postings on these platforms. And yet, the universal ambitions advertised through Airbnb's motto, "Belong Anywhere," is in stark contrast to the bureaucratic realities of how such belonging is, in fact, regulated by local laws which determine the movement of the users of these home-sharing platforms between countries.⁸ Moreover, flat-pack furniture companies often capitalize on the desire by users of these platforms to display a national signature in the spaces offered for rental—as is the case in Nordic countries like Denmark, where many offerings are dressed with Scandinavian design. Some commentators have recently argued that these same companies facilitate detachment from furnishing objects for transient populations,⁹ while new spaces like mini-storage facilities in cities like New York continue to make possible their accumulation.

⁶ United Nations World Tourism Organization, *UNWTO Annual Report 2015* (Madrid: United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2016), 2, http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/annual_report_2015_lr.pdf/.

⁷ International tourism, number of arrivals in Norway in 2014: 4,855,000. Total population in Norway in 2014 5,136,886. Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL?locations=NQ/>.

⁸ Brian Chesky, "Belong Anywhere," *Airbnb Blog*, July 16, 2014, <http://blog.airbnb.com/belong-anywhere/>.

⁹ Alison J. Clarke, professor of design history at the University of Applied Arts Vienna, cited by Sarah Amandolare in "The real reason you still shop at Ikea - and probably always will," *The Guardian*, June 26, 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2016/jun/26/why-shop-ikea-home-decor-convenience/>.

¹⁰ These fences challenge the free movement of individuals established by the Schengen Treaty. "The Schengen area and cooperation," *EUR-Lex*, last modified August 3, 2009, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URI:RSERV%3A13-3020>. Rana F. Sweis, "Jordan Closes Border to Syrian Refugees After Suicide Car Bomb Kills 6," *The New York Times*, June 21, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/22/world/middleeast/jordan-syria-attack.html?_r=0.

¹¹ Abhishek Bhalla, "Access denied! India's High Commissioner raises questions after Delhi rejects 50% of Pakistani visa applications," *Daily Mail*, June 16, 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/article-3645543/High-Commissioner-raises-questions-India-rejects-50-Pakistani-visa-applications.html/>.

¹² Anne Frugé, "The opposite of Brexit: African Union launches an all-Africa passport," *The Washington Post*, July 1, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/07/01/the-opposite-of-brex-it-african-union-launches-an-all-africa-passport/>.

¹³ "The legality of all emirates, groups, states, and organizations, becomes null by the expansion of the khilāfah's authority and arrival of its troops to their areas." Abu Muhammad al-'Adnani al-Shami, "This Is the Promise of Allah," video transcript released by Jihadology.net / Al-Hayat Media Center, June 19, 2014, accessed July 8th, 2016, https://ia902505.us.archive.org/28/items/poa_25984/EN.pdf/.

Despite the expansion of circulatory processes affecting domestic spaces like these, current international events—including the results of the United Kingdom's European Union membership referendum; the border fences erected by European countries and in countries like Jordan as a result of the so called refugee crisis;¹⁰ and the rejection by India of over 50% of visa applications from Pakistan since January 2016¹¹—suggest the reordering of borders, economic and political relationships, and power structures around the globe.

While these events seem to reinforce the concept of the nation-state as a geographically confined site of belonging, other phenomena support alternative arguments: progress on the development of the all-African passport will soon allow many to expand the territories they can call home;¹² and, on a darker note, the Islamic State has recently proclaimed itself to be a worldwide caliphate, with religious, political and military authority, presenting a religious inflection of the nation-state.¹³ Moreover, the dissemination of information and images increasingly shared in social media builds imaginaries and shapes aspirations that continue to fuel the movement of people: the number of teenage boys migrating from Egypt—a country that is not currently indexed as suffering a civil war—after receiving images and narratives of success from friends and family members via social media, has reached unprecedented levels, to the point that some parts of the territory are almost devoid of their youth.¹⁴

These shifting and apparently opposed conditions (of commercial dispersion, apparent territorial stabilization, and simultaneous geopolitical re-configurations) have architectural manifestations and effects in our modes and spaces of residence and their aesthetic, technical, legal, socio-economic, and political frameworks. Addressing the architectural entanglements that lie behind these different phenomena, *After Belonging* engages with pressing challenges that are relevant for the architecture field and beyond, including, for example, the response to the huge numbers of asylum seekers currently arriving in Europe.¹⁵ However, rather than focusing on this crisis as an isolated phenomena or responding to it without questioning its origins, this Triennale aims to locate the challenges that migration to Europe poses within a larger context from which it cannot be untangled. More broadly, *After Belonging* considers the precarious structural conditions of contemporary neoliberal regimes that have been aggravated by recent conflicts by examining how particular objects, spaces, and territories are designed and managed to produce re-articulations of belonging that are inherent in those regimes.

Belonging, as architecture, is simultaneously concerned with physical and social spaces. It addresses questions of affection, technological transformations, material transactions, and economic processes. And, at all of these levels, belonging is neither good or bad, yet it remains as a contentious concept. *After Belonging* addresses the ramifications of this concept and its relation to material manifestations at different scales, with the aim of proposing and advancing new ways of understanding architecture's transformed relation to enclosure and stability.

After Belonging argues that place-making and the construction of a sense of identity constitute only the most typical among other possible agendas for which architecture could be mobilized. Architecture has served over time for diverse, often opposed, ideological endeavors of belonging: it has been crucial in constructing and vindicating national identities as a symbol for liberation from colonial and imperialist forms of power, but has also supported essentialist projects. This project intends to critically inspect how architecture is articulated towards specific ends in the transformation of belonging, and aims to speculate on alternative trajectories for architectural production.

In a time defined by mobility and transit, the discussions triggered by this Triennale and contained in this volume destabilize the various definitions of the house characterized by the most canonical architectural expressions of residence and belonging, questioning the seamless construction of homeliness as a solid unity grounded in intimacy, privacy, and rootedness. Instead, these discussions consider the house as an unstable aggregate of objects, bodies, spaces, institutions, technologies, and imaginations. Contemporary architectures of housing are enmeshed in the logics of real estate speculation, many of them connected to territorial processes of massive urbanization and global migration, and increasingly transformed by technological mediations, while continuing to appeal to different traditions and ambitions of stability. In the midst of transcontinental migrations, newly-imagined landscapes, and

¹⁴ Declan Walsh, "Facebook Envy Lures Egyptian Teenagers to Europe and the Migrant Life," *The New York Times*, June 23, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/24/world/middleeast/facebook-envy-and-italian-law-lure-egyptian-teenagers-to-europe.html/>.

¹⁵ In the Fall of 2014—when the research for the Triennale was initiated—the realities of migration had not yet attained the wide media coverage they have acquired today. As media theorist and human rights scholar Thomas Keenan has argued, the media coverage of a social crisis is the final site where a public reaction towards the conflict is articulated, and where a possible outcome soothing "impulses for action"—either as a military intervention or as humanitarian assistance—are designed. Primarily



"Boomerang Kids," a series of portraits of young adults who have had to move back home with their parents after college for financial reasons, or who have never been able to leave home. High student loan payments, a competitive, educated job market and graduating into a recovering economy are a large reason why there is a trend to stay home longer. Photograph by Damon Casarez, 2014. Courtesy of the author.



Established as an extension of the Norwegian welfare network located outside the borders of Norway, the hotel Reuma-Sol in the city of Alfaz del Pi, Alicante (Spain), mostly hosts Norwegian pensioners for periods ranging from 6 to 12 weeks where they enjoy the benefits of the Mediterranean sun in the treatment of certain illnesses. Photograph by David Frutos, 2016. Courtesy of the author.

concerned with the role of television in the Sarajevo War, Keenan points to the main place where social conflict representations and its associated discourses are dealt with: the domestic environment. See Thomas Keenan, "Publicity and Indifference (Sarajevo on Television)." *PMLA* Vol. 117, No. 1, Special Topic: Mobile Citizens, Media States (Jan., 2002), pp. 104–116.

¹⁶ The expression "imaginary communities" was famously coined by Benedict Anderson in his work on modern nationalism. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

¹⁷ See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, "The Berber House or the World Reversed," in *Social Science Information* 9, no. 2 (1970) and the more general arguments by Amos Rapoport, "Socio-cultural factors and house form," in *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969).

financial speculation, traveling constituencies continue to make themselves at home in different conditions: for example, Norwegian retiree resorts along the Spanish Coast, in which architecture mediates the advantage of the chosen location with aesthetic and material links to the community of origin.

After Belonging additionally considers the different understandings of residence as they relate to the legal definition of citizenship and as a form of cultural binding to a territory and a nation. Moreover, this Triennale also speculates on architecture's articulation with different kinds of "imagined communities" that have become substitutes for the family and religion as the primary forms of social stabilization in technologically advanced, neoliberal, global contexts.¹⁶ And yet, the nation, family, and religion still continue to take new forms in these contexts, with architecture decidedly participating in their articulation. For example, the contested sovereignty of airport spaces like Oslo Gardermoen—and their complex role in the filtering of individuals and objects—is in some cases countered by a decided effort by nations to present themselves as cohesive units to communities in transit. New techno-spatial articulations are also operating in transnational congregations of religious communities such as those of Charismatic-Pentecostalism in sub-Saharan countries.

After Belonging's approach differs from the structuralist impulse to relate the architectural forms of the house with social practices in different global contexts.¹⁷ The discursive framework of the Triennale goes beyond this exploration of isolated architectural productions and their local contexts (which reinforce traditional forms of belonging), by orienting itself towards the understanding of the cultural, technological, and material links—whose effects have been variously described as "freak displacements," "disjunctures," and "frictions"—configuring the different spatial articulations of contemporary culture.¹⁸ The house, in these contexts, no longer relates to phenomenological ideas of place or community stability, but with "the estranging sense of the relocation of the home and the world in an unhallowed place" that many have explored through the condition of the "unheimlich" (unhomely) and through

postcolonial studies.¹⁹ The architectures built with remittance money arriving to different Latin American countries, for example, perfectly illustrate this condition. But this case manifests how the sense of home and the uncanny condition of contemporary forms of residence exceed the aesthetic problem of representation of both individuals and communities, aiming to make themselves at home in different architectures. Indeed, there are specific bodies at stake here, as well as specific resources and material transactions. And while money, in this case, seems to travel swiftly between the nations of emigration and immigration, technical knowledges are modified in their translation between the two for the construction of these characteristic architectures, and individuals are often trapped by borders, or have their defining forms of citizenship change while crossing the border.²⁰

The architectures associated with the aforementioned transactions and operations sometimes entail the definition of a homogenous landscape. On other occasions, the architectures respond to the construction of differentiated (or decidedly differentiating) representations of identity for diverse geographical contexts or "imaginative geographies" within this global landscape.²¹ In some cases they result in material boundlessness, while in others they are manifested in the definition of material boundaries.²² Considering these changing forms of identity construction, distributions of property, and constructions of enclosure, the explorations that this Triennale pursues are as far from the advocacy of nomadism, as they are from the celebration of a return to local traditions and rooted communities. Many critical projects exploring nomadism in the last decades have been grounded in the pursuit of a cosmopolitan, secular society, freed from local ties.²³ However, the same mobility that these projects celebrated has been coincidental with neoliberal

¹⁸ Homi Bhabha, "The World and the Home," *Social Text* 10, no. 2 (1992); Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference" in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Anna L. Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).

¹⁹ See Bhabha, "The World and the Home," 141–2: "The unhomely is the shock of recognition of the world-in-the-home, the home-in-the-world.... Although the 'unhomely' is a paradigmatic post-colonial experience, it has resonance that can be heard distantly, if erratically, in fictions that negotiate the powers of cultural difference in a range of historical conditions and social contradictions." The notion of the uncanny, originally a Freudian notion, has additionally been linked by Julia Kristeva to an analysis



House built with remittances in El Salvador. Photograph by Andrés Asturias, 2010. Courtesy of the author.

of otherness that includes both one's own other as well as an understanding of the stranger as part of one's own self. See Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 181–2: "One cannot hope to understand Freud's contribution, in the specific field of psychiatry, outside of its humanistic and Romantic filiation. With the Freudian notion of the unconscious the involution of the strange in the psyche loses its pathological aspect and integrates within the assumed unity of human beings the otherness that is both biological and symbolic and becomes integral part of the same. Henceforth the foreigner is neither a race nor a nation. The foreigner is neither glorified as a secret Volksgeist nor banished as disruptive of rationalist urbanite. Uncanny, foreignness is with us: we are our own foreigners, we are divided.... My discontent in living with the other—my strangeness, his strangeness—rests on the perturbed logic that governs this strange bundle of drive and language, of nature and symbol, constituted by the unconscious always already shaped by the other."

20 As Jacques Derrida has problematized, subjects do not carry rights and duties during their physical transit: these are continuously negotiated at each side of the border line. See Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000).

21 Edward W. Said, "Imaginative Geographies," in *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978).

regimes that have led to the precarization of labor, massive concentrations of wealth, and dispossessed populations kept in transit.

In order to pursue this goal, *After Belonging* develops different platforms with the aim of rehearsing research strategies, articulating diverse formats and modes for architectural practice, and testing work protocols, which in turn offer new forms of engagement for architects with our contemporary changing realities. The main platforms of the Triennale are articulated in two sections:

— A triennale *On Residence*, in which to collectively analyze the spatial conditions that shape our ways of staying in transit and the definition of our contemporary spaces of residence.

— A triennale *In Residence*, in which architects and professionals concerned with the built environment will engage in local collaborations in Oslo, the Nordic region, and around the globe, to intervene in the transformation of residence.

On Residence

On Residence analyzes the architectures involved in contemporary constructions of belonging, documenting the ways in which these architectures redefine the spaces of residence, and the spatial, aesthetic, technical, and sociopolitical implications of this redefinition. Architecture takes here different forms beyond the building, from arrangements of objects and their logistics, to territorial configurations and digital systems of organization; and both the discipline and the profession, and their effects, also assume changing and diverse forms. These architectures have the capacity to convey new articulations between individuals, societies, and institutions, which this section seeks to analyze.

On Residence manifests itself in two forms: an exhibition located at the Norwegian Centre for Design and Architecture, DOGA, and the texts by guest contributors in this volume that expand the conversation, employing different narratives, theoretical arguments, and historical case studies. *On Residence* understands both the space of the gallery and that of the book as parallel sites of architectural production and experimentation that inform each other, while exploiting the possibilities of their own media. Both are organized as an accumulation of evidences and speculations, collectively unveiling the multiple scales and media involved in these architectures, rehearsing research and design tools needed to approach them.

The contributions to *On Residence* gravitate around five areas: *Borders Elsewhere*, *Furnishing After Belonging*, *Sheltering Temporariness*, *Technologies for a Life in Transit*, and *Markets and Territories of the Global Home*. These contributions are both constellated around the five topics (inhabiting the buffer of uncertainty between them), as well as with the other pieces. Their accumulation attests to the coalescence of objects, spaces, and territories (as well as their relations with individuals, societies, and institutions) which constitute the architectures addressed by each of the projects presented. The exhibition refuses any bold categorization of the pieces, which would map an illusory coherence onto the extremely fragmentary and fluid

scenarios in which belonging is nowadays redefined. The aim of singling out only some of the layers of their defining parameters is to offer a point of access to analyze their architectural implications.

Borders Elsewhere — addresses the diverse material artifacts and technologies defining a liminal space that mediates between polities, social constituencies, legal and economic frames, and aesthetic regimes — reaching beyond the construction of walls alone. The effects of borders are also manifested elsewhere, bringing the frictions they enact to our spaces of residence, in which different forms of belonging are defined and contested. On the one hand, borders filter the transit of bodies, defining particular forms of citizenship and sovereignty, and functioning as “theatrical” backgrounds in the construction of identities.²⁴ On the other hand, borders regulate the circulation of the belongings of these bodies. In that sense, the border has become a privileged testing ground to interrogate the political implications of design, as well as the ways in which architecture contributes to enclose, or divide, populations.

Furnishing After Belonging — inspects the new status of objects (and their relations) in an ever-circulating (both physically and digitally) domestic landscape, assessing the transformation of their modes of production, their networks of commercialization, their scales of appreciation, and their triggering of affections. Furnishing is understood not only as the personalization, decoration, or equipment of architecture, but also as part and parcel of the articulation of spaces of expression, relation, and communication for individuals and communities, serving to untangle ideas of personal and national identity. Additionally, furnishing objects can be considered as a lens to understand how traditional systems of property, ownership, and legacy are being currently recodified by the proliferation of privatization, technologically mediated peer-to-peer exchanges, reuse strategies, and ever-more-efficient logistical networks of commerce.

Sheltering Temporariness — explores the different permanence spans affecting the regulation of the spaces of residence, as well as the forms of settlement built for individuals and communities in transience. Shelter is not considered merely as a refuge for a sole person or the group defined by family ties, but also as the architectures hosting collectivities with shared realities and aspirations, where other transactions, connections, and solidarities occur. A different articulation of the infrastructures and networks of resources and spaces supporting these forms of cooperation and cohabitation has the capacity to transform the attachments between individuals and architecture, as well as the relation between communities and the territory. Questioning the universal notions underlying the traditional understanding of shelter and inspecting its temporary condition brings into focus the specific and local regulations (both public and private), the individual and collective practices, and the agendas that shape its architectures.

Technologies for a Life in Transit — reflects upon the media and modes of organization shaping contemporary networked geographies and the social-bonding and mutualization systems they make possible. This section

22 Gilles Deleuze reported from the work of Felix Guattari how we might live in “a city where one would be able to leave one's own apartment, one's street, one's neighborhood, thanks to one's (dividual) electronic card that raises a given barrier; but the card could just as easily be rejected on a given day or between certain hours; what counts is not the barrier but the computer that tracks each person's position—licit or illicit—and effects a universal modulation.” Gilles Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control,” *October* 59 (Winter 1992): 7.

23 Edward W. Said, for example, understood the potentials of exile as a form of freedom from local ties and detachment from orthodoxy. “The exile knows that in a secular and contingent world, homes are always provisional. Borders and barriers, which enclose us within the safety of familiar territory, can also become prisons, and are often defended beyond reason or necessity. Exiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience.” Edward Said, “Reflections on exile,” [1984] in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 147.

24 See Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 82. The genealogies for the relationship between research and practice and a particular understanding of research and practice could be very diverse, but it would be worth mentioning the tradition started by the “Learning from...” studios developed by Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi at Yale in the late 1960s (most famously including



Temporary living premises for workers at Statoil Mongstad. Photograph by Helge Skodvin, 2016. Courtesy of the author.

the “Learning from Las Vegas” studio and the resulting publication), and the “Project on the City” studios developed by Rem Koolhaas at the Harvard GSD starting in the 1990s. Felicity D. Scott’s piece in this volume appeals to more contemporaneous projects related to this understanding.

²⁵ According to Keller Easterling, “it would seem appropriate for architecture”—often rendering itself as “innocent of the wide world and its operators”—to perform from “a position of corruption,” as the discipline “shares a political disposition with the most successful global development paradigms in the world today—paradigms that insist on the same

considers technologically-enabled forms of socialization, as well as changing relations between data on the one hand, and bodies, objects, and spaces on the other, which generate bounded spaces defining forms of inclusion and exclusion (and constructions of otherness). These forms of belonging result in changing understandings of sovereignty and alternative political constituencies. Additionally, architecture is here concerned with new understandings of territories (both physical and digital), as well as with our forms of navigation and positioning within them, resulting in mediated forms of affiliation to resources and communities, and their associated affections and validations.

Markets and Territories of the Global Home — considers the multi-scalar cultural and material transactions articulating the sense of familiarity, as well as the possibility of housing for different constituencies around the world. A particular focus of this area is to consider the home as no longer defined at an architectural scale, but having territorial implications when positioned within global financial transactions, international legal frameworks, and commercial and touristic networks. Additionally, this area addresses the possibility of considering the territory as a home, that is, an environmental entity and a unit of resource management, as well as a system of social organization where conflicts are addressed and negotiated.

In Residence

In Residence focuses on a selection of sites—in Oslo, the Nordic region and around the globe—that encapsulate the contemporary transformation of belonging. This section constructs a speculative platform organized around a series of *reports* and *intervention strategies* for those sites. Sites include: the border spaces, technologies, and transit areas of the Oslo Airport in Gardermoen; the negotiation of resources in Kirkenes, on the Norwegian border with Russia; a transnational neighborhood that forms part of the Million Housing Programme on the outskirts of Stockholm; self-storage facilities in New York City; an asylum seekers’ reception center in Oslo; a patient room and the related urbanisms of the Dubai Health Care City; the technological spaces linking religious communities in Lagos; an apartment in Copenhagen rented through digital sharing platforms; the houses resulting from remittances sent to the coffee growing region of Colombia; and the Italian textile factories associated with one of the biggest Chinatowns in Europe. *In Residence* challenges ideas of “site” as a unit primarily concerned with geometric boundaries, legal limitations, and contextual references. Sites are instead considered as unstable nodes within wider networks, submitted to ongoing alterations and redefinitions.

In Residence will be exhibited at the National Museum—Architecture as a series of reports and intervention strategies which are included in this volume respectively as case studies and as an archive of works in progress. Reports about the ten sites have been commissioned from a group of international architects, artists, journalists, and other professionals. Intervention strategies have been selected for the Nordic sites through an international call in order to rehearse tactical, long-term forms of engagement with them. Through these two formats (reports and intervention strategies), *In Residence* aims to expand architectural forms of practice and seeks to regain relevance



Prefabricated metal homes at the Azraq camp for Syrian refugees in northern Jordan. Photograph by Khalil Mazraawi/AFP, January 30, 2016. © Getty images.

innocence, the same immunity or political quarantine.” Keller Easterling, “Believers and Cheaters,” *Log 5* (Spring/Summer 2005), 33–6.

²⁶ Ultimately, *In Residence* attempts to lay out alternatives to ideological patronage in architectural practice—that is, a paternalistic attitude by which the architect levels his or her own personal condition to that of the “client,” a phenomena which especially surfaces when dealing with post-colonial situations. This notion of ideological patronage, in which notions of architect-as-savior rely, was first expounded by Walter Benjamin in 1934, to be later unfolded by art historian Hal Foster to dissect the appropriation of ethnographic techniques by diverse 1980s artistic manifestations. In advocating for a direct intervention into the means of production of an artwork, Benjamin argues that the author should never position himself “next to the proletariat,” as this would suppose to end up acquiring the role “of a benefactor, that of an ideological patron—an impossible place.” Walter Benjamin, “The Author As Producer” in *Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 2007) and Hal Foster, “The Artist as Ethnographer” in *The Traffic in Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). The application of design operations onto situations of precariousness could result in the aesthetic and programmatic consolidation of the very forms of authority responsible for those conditions. Yet, the withdrawal to intervene due to the consideration of these situations as exceptional, accepts the complicity of design practices with the forms of power causing this very precariousness.

For example, philosopher Slavoj Žižek has urged to overcome the consideration of migration as an exceptional, transitory phenomena. Slavoj Žižek, "The Non-Existence of Norway," *London Review of Books: LRB Online*, September 9, 2015, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/2015/09/09/slavoj-zizek/the-non-existence-of-norway/>.

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for the analysis and transformation of the architectures at stake in this project. Rather than separating research and practice, the research on the selected sites plays a critical role in shedding light on new realities, opening up the possibility of alternative forms of knowledge and modes of practice. Even more, both reports and interventions build on a long standing disciplinary tradition of developing research not just to inform practice, but as a form of practice in itself, which probes not only the limits of the profession but its goals as well.²⁵

With the intervention strategies, architecture is conceived very broadly as a practice that includes the establishment of protocols negotiating the relations between objects, spaces, and territories as well as the different agents, institutions, and technologies through which they are managed. Intervention strategies map out attitudes and techniques which coalesce around practices of resistance, contestation, reformulation, infiltration, exposure, or exacerbation, amongst many others. The interventions include: the digital mediation of the property systems of objects, seeking to create everyday intimacies and negotiations throughout the city; the production of a city guide by and for asylum seekers that facilitates new forms of interaction, connection, and integration of the citizens within Oslo's public sphere; a series of cartographies and a public spatial archive aiming to create a forum for imagining a future transnational, eco-political Arctic governance; the exposition and subsequent alteration of the user-homogenizing experiences of airports through the design of new physical and digital apparatuses; and an online exchange platform that offers alternative ways of meeting asylum seekers' needs through new notions of adaptability and hospitality, and which ultimately aims at re-imagining housing policies in Norway. The teams selected include practicing architects, educators, and researchers as well as professionals from different disciplines including urban planners, graphic designers, and sociologists, expanding the networks within which architects operate.

In confronting these scenarios associated to current configurations of belonging with the set of agendas undergirding architectural practice, *In Residence* aims to test the capacity of architectural expertise to alter—whether by consolidating, ameliorating, exacerbating, or suppressing—the conditions of these sites.²⁶ Far from reclaiming architecture as a problem-solving discipline, *In Residence* aims to untangle the agency of spatial interventions as well as the capacity of the architect in transforming the definition of these spaces in relation to legal, political, and economic frameworks.²⁷

Together with the *On Residence* and *In Residence* sections, other platforms expand the discussion pursued by the Triennale: *The Embassy*, *the Academy*, and the *After Belonging Conference*. This publication collects all these platforms and contextualizes their speculations within wider disquisitions, while fostering conversations between them.

In closing, all the formats, media, and contributions contained in this volume aim to collectively address and imagine the architectures of new constructions of belonging, new ways of being together, new collectivities, and new forms of managing our belongings. And this pursuit is characteristically defined by a forward looking project. In fact, the "After" before "Belonging" cannot be reduced to mean "post." The topic of this Triennale does not arise from a nostalgia for a lost understanding of belonging, or from an interest in reviving it. This "After" in "After Belonging" refers to a search, a pursuit.

Taking Stock of Our Belongings

Preface to *After Belonging: A Triennale In Residence, On Residence and the Ways We Stay in Transit*

Felicity D. Scott

After Belonging: A Triennale In Residence, On Residence and the Ways We Stay in Transit engages with a pressing if complicated contemporary issue: how we might reconceive and reconfigure notions of belonging, or potentially move beyond such a concept today. Closely connected to traditional notions of selfhood, to questions of identity, and to structures of identification (social, cultural, sexual, religious, ethnic, racial, and political), as well as to forms of citizenship proper to the modern nation-state, belonging is a measure at once of inclusion and of exclusion. Notions of belonging have become, however, increasingly complex, if not simply rendered outdated, by the structural ambivalences now at play within conventional demarcations—inside/outside, citizen/foreigner, fixed/transitory, here/there, access/foreclosure, shelter/exposure, us/them—at work within contemporary political, informatic, and geopolitical landscapes. In place of such binaries, new topologies are increasingly visible and many observers speak, instead, of structures and processes of “differential inclusion,” “inclusive exclusion,” and “exclusive inclusion,” convolutions perhaps most evident in the status of migrant workers and refugee communities but also, as *After Belonging* insists, impacting forms of life across a much broader spectrum.¹

At a current moment characterized by extensive human unsettlement—sometimes voluntary, sometimes not—and by the seemingly ever-more-exacerbated if also increasingly monitored and regulated circulation not only of people but also of goods and information, the semantics and the politics of belonging thus appear today as a heterogeneous and radically unstable field. We might even read this field as a battleground upon which transforming infrastructures and epistemologies both of modernity and of capitalist processes of globalization are struggling to take command. Such fluidity, movement, and communication are often celebrated as markers of increased freedoms under liberalism—and for some this is certainly the case. Circulation within this global milieu is not, however, simply liberatory: the increasingly mobile bodies, signs, objects, aesthetics, and economic and political paradigms are quickly reterritorialized within new forms of stasis, new hierarchies, new institutional frameworks, and new economic, political, and geopolitical formations. The contemporary landscape remains evidently marked by incessant forms of violence, inequity, discrimination, exclusion, securitization, militarism, and exploitation characteristic of neoliberal capital as it touches down unevenly within national contexts and across the planet. These forces too are mobile.

Moreover, it is a world in which one’s differential ability to cross a border or access time-sensitive information is for some a nuisance or inconvenience, while for others a matter of life or death. The ambivalences and instabilities of this contemporary landscape thus come with attendant risks, requiring ongoing scrutiny to render them visible and hence open to critique. But such fluidity can also be read as a precondition for what Michel Foucault has theorized as the structural reversibility of power, and even as opening onto possibilities of politically progressive revalencing, refunctioning, and redirection, at least in the right hands.²

It is with this sort of ethos in mind, and cognizant of the distinct and at times incommensurate subject positions that appear within this battleground, that *After Belonging* turns to interrogate the semantic instabilities and the potentialities inherent to tropes of “belonging,” “belongings,” “residence,” “resident,” “residency,” and “shelter,” along with those immanent to contemporary modes of living “in transit.” The triennale does so not in order to celebrate the resilience of such terms or their capacity to harbor humanist values in the face of contemporary forms of uprooting, temporariness, and insecurity, let alone to “solve” such “problems” as such or to forge a nostalgic return to earlier, seemingly more stable or clear-cut definitions, valences, and options. Rather, eschewing the often-nationalist and identitarian logics inhering within traditional forms of belonging and residence, *After Belonging* asks, instead, how we might think them differently, recognizing the importance of speculating upon what else they might allow us to do. That is, while recognizing the complexity of the issues at stake, and the ethical minefields to which they give rise, this triennale continues to question how we might navigate within and operate upon this ambivalent terrain and its concomitantly unstable contexts *otherwise*.

After Belonging is not, however, just a triennale addressing tensions, aporias, and hierarchies born of capitalist globalization; it is an *architecture* triennale, an event seeking to address what architecture has to do with or say about such concerns, along with the social, subjective, economic, mediatic, and geopolitical regimes informing contemporary reconfigurations of belonging and residence and the artifacts that mediate those reconfigurations. The competition, exhibitions, residencies, objects, buildings, images, research, publications, encounters, exchanges, and events affiliated with the triennale thus come with disciplinary and professional stakes. Not in the normative sense: indeed, although the triennale’s foci of investigation often veer away from Architecture (with a capital A) and from strategies seeking an autonomous domain for the discipline, we are also a long way from attempts to normalize architecture’s relation to capitalist forces or commercial vernaculars familiar from the generation of *Learning From Las Vegas*.³ But buildings, spaces, objects, and images—including vernacular ones—remain central to this enterprise, as does the possibility that architects have a certain expertise in decoding and deploying them.

¹ On “inclusive exclusion” and its inverse, see Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); and Adi Ophir, Michal Givoni, and Sari Hanafi, eds., *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion: Anatomy of Israeli Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories* (New York: Zone Books, 2009). On “differential inclusion” see Etienne Balibar, “Strangers as Enemies: Walls All over the World, and How to Tear Them Down,” *Mondi Migranti*, no. 1 (January 2012): 7–25; and Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson, *Border as Method, or, the Multiplication of Labor* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

² On Michel Foucault’s figure of the reversibility of power, see Michel Foucault, “Le Discours ne doit pas être pris comme...” (1976), cited by Arnold I. Davidson, “Introduction” in Michel Foucault, *“Society Must Be Defended”: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975–76*, translated by David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003); Maurizio Lazzarato, “From Biopower to Biopolitics,” *Tailoring Biotechnologies* 2, no. 2 (Summer–Fall 2006): 17. See also Felicity D. Scott, “Taking Time,” in 2000+: *The Urgencies of Architectural Theory*, ed. James Graham (New York: Columbia GSAPP Books on Architecture): 86–197; and Felicity D. Scott, *Outlaw Territories: Environments of Insecurity, Architectures of Counterinsurgency* (New York: Zone Books, 2016).

³ Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972).

Architecture, we might recall, has long enjoyed a privileged relation to historical notions of belonging—establishing material, formal, and organizational protocols for, as well as visual and representational paradigms of, enclosure, protection, cultural identity, and place; it has long served to mediate between what is inside and what is outside. The residence and resident have also remained privileged figures of settlement and claims to belonging. While architecture remains important to mediating boundaries, identities, and desires, it is not just a technology to put people in their place or to cement the identity of places and populations. As I have argued in *Outlaw Territories: Environments of Insecurity/Architectures of Counterinsurgency*, architecture also serves as a less stable mechanism of governance and biopolitical regulation in modernity, as a vehicle of environmental and subjective conditioning, including through the circulation of bodies, information, and goods.

Such programmatic dimensions of architecture are also not necessarily fixed, but remain subject to strategic and tactical rethinking. Moreover, as I have underscored on many occasions, architecture triennales and biennales have often served as important institutional platforms for technological, aesthetic, and political experimentation, offering occasions or testing grounds for architecture to address gaps or limits within the field, in order to engage new questions in a manner not always so easily undertaken in the professional domain.⁴ At once slightly removed or suspended from the realpolitik of professional life, while remaining all too central to architecture's capacity to launch other possible futures or future imaginaries, triennales—like exhibitions more generally, along with magazines and research programs—thus provide occasions both to take stock and to invent. This one is no exception and the organizers have identified five key thematics to interrogate: Technologies for a Life in Transit, Borders Elsewhere, Furnishing After Belonging, Markets and Territories of the Global Home, and Sheltering Temporariness. What, the triennale asks through each of these lenses, have architecture and design had to say about the construction of more democratic forms of residence or belonging, *after belonging*, and what else might they have to offer? How might designers and writers be called upon to reinvent tools, concepts, processes, practices, and sites in order to participate in such an undertaking?

After Belonging is not just any architecture triennale but the *Oslo Architecture Triennale*; it is hosted in a European city that, like many others today, is experiencing the ongoing effects of capitalist globalization, amongst which is an increased influx of migrants and refugees and with it, unfortunately, a backlash of rising nationalism and xenophobia often taking the form of anti-Islamic sentiment. This situation is certainly not unique to Norway, nor does it define Oslo; but in the face of such pressures, *After Belonging* recognizes that to ask questions from within and about Europe today, it is important to try to think from the dual perspective of local and global arenas, paying attention to distinctions and to interconnections between scales and locales. Hence, the associated residencies are located not only in Oslo and other border spaces and transnational neighborhoods in Norway, but also in equally complex

sites in North America, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and southern Europe—participants likewise deriving from multiple contexts and straddling multiple borders—all while seeking to understanding how global formations of power and governance touch down in very specific ways.

At a historical moment characterized (once again) by seemingly ever-increasing deracination, on the one hand, and by the anachronistic return of nationalisms, on the other, and with architecture ever-more integrated into the machinations of global capital driving this chiasmatic condition, it seems a particularly important time to revisit the concept of “belonging.” Architecture might even contribute to another pressing question, one posed by Judith Butler in a conversation with Gayatri Spivak and one that has haunted my own work: “Are there modes of belonging that can be rigorously non-nationalist?”⁵ In addition to having a privileged relation to historical notions of belonging, as suggested above, architecture has often served as a tool of nationalism, helping to cement claims to belonging, whether acting as a means of claiming an authentic relation (or rights) to a place, or as a means of conferring a particular identity. The conception of an architecture proper to a particular place or people—wherein consistency and identity arise from climatic conditions, local materials, cultural patterns, or even racial or ethnic origins—is precisely what, within traditional accounts of the field, facilitated one's ability to identify “German architecture,” “French architecture,” “Italian architecture,” or “Norwegian architecture,” along with “American architecture,” “Japanese architecture,” or the architecture of the Dogon, etc.⁶ But in a world so thoroughly reorganized by transit and communication, such claims on behalf of specific populations are not always necessarily so desirable, even potentially acting as a form of exclusion. “[T]he great ‘accomplishment,’ we might say, of nationalism as a distinctly modern form of political and cultural identity,” Aamir Mufti reminds us, “is not that it is a great settling of peoples—‘this place for this people.’ Rather its distinguishing mark historically has been precisely that it makes large numbers of people eminently unsettled.”⁷ Like Butler, Mufti is recalling the legacy of the brutal dispossessions of the twentieth century. Indeed, both are avowedly indebted to Hannah Arendt's seminal philosophical reading of the collapse of the “old trinity of state-people-territory, which still formed the basis of European organization and political civilization,” as evident in the aftermath of the breakup of Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire after World War I but even more violently so by the denationalization and mass displacement and murder of minority populations under Nazi rule in wartime Europe.⁸ Whether we think of interwar, wartime, or postwar Europe, or “state-people-territory,” continues to haunt any conception of belonging and of nationalism in the present, including the unsettling that is the subject of *After Belonging*.

Architecture has, of course, questioned this nexus and its unsettling of people and boundaries on earlier occasions, not only due to war but also in relation to technological and other geopolitical transformations. For instance, in 1926, Hannes Meyer claimed mobility to be central to the “New World.” “Ford and Rolls-Royce burst the confines of the city center, nullify distance, and efface the boundaries between city and countryside,” he announced. “Airplanes glide through the air: ‘Fokker’ and ‘Farman’ increase our mobility

⁴ This is an important claim at the heart of the program in *Critical, Curatorial, and Conceptual Practices in Architecture* (CCCCP), that I founded within Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation in 2008 and now co-direct with Mark Wasiuta. See Felicity D. Scott, “Operating Platforms,” *Log 20* (October 2010): 65–69.

⁵ This is the question Judith Butler distills from Arendt's important work on totalitarianism. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Judith Butler, *Who Sings the Nation-State?: Language, Politics, Belonging* (London: Seagull Books, 2007), 49. Central here is also the work of Etienne Balibar on questions of territory and citizenship. See, for instance, Balibar, *We, The People of Europe?: Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*, trans. James Swenson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); and Balibar, “Europe as Borderland,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27 (2009): 190–215.

⁶ On such nationalist claims see Meyer Schapiro, “Race, Nationality and Art,” *Art Front* (March 2, 1936): 10–12. See also Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso, 2007).

⁷ Aamir Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 13.

⁸ Hannah Arendt, “The Decline of the Nation State and the End of the Rights of Man,” in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2004), 376.

⁹ Hannes Meyer, “The New World,” (1926) trans. Don Reneau, in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, ed. Anton Kaes, et al., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 446. On Meyer’s internationalism see Peter Galison, “Aufbau/Bauhaus: Logical Positivism and Architectural Modernism,” *Critical Inquiry* 16 (1990): 709–752.

¹⁰ Walter Gropius, “Scope of Total Architecture,” in *Scope of Total Architecture: A New Way of Life, World Perspectives* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), 169.

¹¹ Ibid., 172.

¹² Ibid., 181.

¹³ Reprinted from *Upper-case*, in Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Primer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), 51. The entire section of the *Team 10 Primer* dedicated to “Urban infra-structure” addressed this increase in mobility and its implications for contemporary architecture.

¹⁴ See Kenneth Frampton, “Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points Towards an Architecture of Resistance,” in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend: Bay Press, 1983), 16–30; and the essay from which Frampton derived the term, cited in the former as Alex Tzonis and Liliane [sic] Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway: An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis,” *Architecture in Greece* 15 (1981): 178. See also Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, “Critical Regionalism,” in *The Critical Landscape*, ed. Michael Speaks (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1996), 126–147. For a critique of this notion see Alan Colquhoun, “The Concept of Regionalism,” in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, ed. Gülsüm Badyar Nalbantoglu and Wong Chong Thai (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 13–24.

and distance us from earth.” Beyond automobiles and warplanes, dwellings too, Meyer noted enthusiastically, exhibited liberating possibilities via a mobility that was “disrespectful of national borders.” “Our dwellings,” he explained, “become more mobile than ever: mass apartment blocks, sleeping cars, residential yachts, and the Transatlantique undermine the local concept of the homeland. The fatherland fades away. We learn Esperanto. *We become citizens of the world.*”⁹ In 1955, Walter Gropius, too, acknowledged the “sweeping transformation of human life” brought about by advancements in communication—automobiles, planes, radio, film, gramophones, x-ray technology, and telephones—a transformation of the world, in his assessment, from static, “seemingly unshakable” conceptions to those of “incessant transmutation.”¹⁰ To him, however, this condition led to a “perilous atomizing effect on the social coherence of the community,” nowhere more apparent than in the US with the “baffling spectacle of a nation whose citizens are, voluntarily or involuntarily, so much on the move.”¹¹ Designers, it seemed to Gropius, were thus faced with the task of re-integrating that atomized world into an organic whole or “true synthesis” he deemed “total architecture.”¹² Members of a postwar generation, Alison and Peter Smithson responded instead by embracing that atomization. “Mobility has become the characteristic of *our* period,” they announced. “Social and physical mobility, the feeling of a certain sort of freedom, is one of the things that keeps our society together. ...Mobility is the key both socially and organizationally to town planning, for mobility is not only concerned with roads, but with the whole concept of a mobile, fragmented community.”¹³ We could go on....

In addressing technological infrastructures and geographical displacements, *After Belonging* seeks no such universalism, integration, or celebration of mobility as such, even if it hopes to transform architecture’s relation to conditions of deracination. The new modes of belonging and residence this triennale interrogates also remain distinct from later twentieth century attempts to restore to architecture the markings of a “particular place” or to idealize “locally inflected culture” in the face of a universalized paradigm of civilization: attempts such as critical regionalism.¹⁴ *After Belonging* does not—it seems to me—seek return to a more authentic or static way of living or of belonging to the land (let alone to a region or nation), but continues to ask how architecture and design objects and images might serve as technologies to dwell while adrift within a condition of territorial insecurity.¹⁵ Here we might recall Bruce Robbins formulation from *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, his suggestion that forms of belonging that emerge in the wake of geographical displacements are complex and multiple. Such cosmopolitanism, however, is no longer “understood as a fundamental devotion to the interests of humanity as a whole,” as transcending difference or enmity.¹⁶ “To embrace this [complex and multiple] style of residence on earth,” he argues moreover, offering us an important lesson, “means repudiating the romantic localism of a certain portion of the left, which feels it must counter capitalist globalization with a strongly rooted and exclusive sort of belonging.”¹⁷ Turning to readings of cosmopolitanism as particular rather than universal, and as located (albeit not in a simple sense) and embodied, even at times paradoxically “vernacular,” Robbins writes, “instead of an ideal of

detachment, actually existing cosmopolitanism is a reality of (re) attachment, multiple attachment, or attachment at a distance.”¹⁸ Faced with a “life in transit,” a life in which one would never return home, strictly speaking, a life in which architecture and design become the occasion for “sheltering temporariness” and accumulating, at least temporarily, mediating devices for new forms of life, the triennale suggests that architects might participate in forging what I call new cartographies of dwelling, even new cartographies of drift for the twentieth century.¹⁹

Finally, *After Belonging* is not just the Oslo Architecture Triennale: it is the 2016 Oslo Architecture Triennale, and its reception is necessarily marked by this moment. The theme was conceived prior to the moment when Western media turned their attention to the wave of refugees from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and many countries in Africa, along with other places torn apart by war, conflict, and occupation, as well as by economic and environmental catastrophes, to name only part of a litany of disaster. With the refugee crisis no longer able to be regarded as a Third World “problem,” but more evidently a European one, such questions are currently at the forefront of popular and architectural discussions in the West. To be clear, such precarity and the conditions driving this mass migration are hardly new, as has been all too evident to those in other parts of the world; and, as noted above, Europe itself was the site of massive human displacement caused by the two World Wars and, in turn, by the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. But this recent increase in visibility has cast a new spotlight on a long-standing discussion, an important visibility but not necessarily one always accompanied by subjecting architecture’s involvement to adequate scrutiny. One is tempted, in this regard, to read *After Belonging* as an implicit critique of the rising professional status and attention paid to designers of “emergency architecture,” a response to humanitarian emergencies that is typically assumed to be architecture’s most appropriate role. The Pritzker prize committee has effectively institutionalized “the architecture of emergency” as a new norm, granting consecutive prizes to Shigeru Ban and Alejandro Aravena; *Foreign Policy* magazine even anointing Ban as “architecture’s first responder.” Such a response, however, raises the question of just how the discipline might relate to emergencies born, at least in part, of the military, territorial, and environmental consequences of the expansionist logics of capitalism.

Emergency shelters are often conceived as “solutions” to a design problem, that of providing low-cost, easily-transportable, rapidly-deployable, supposedly-temporary housing for those displaced or rendered homeless due to states of emergency. But such technologies to “shelter temporariness”—to offer shelter without residence—can be read, in turn, as imbricated within a set of economic, political, geopolitical, and policy decisions that are often understudied. Something as apparently simple as a shelter enters into the scene of humanitarian aid in a complex way, whether knowingly or not. Without adequate understanding of the political factors at play, or even sometimes assuming that such factors remain outside the purview of a specific

¹⁵ I am drawing here from my work on émigré architect Bernard Rudofsky. See Felicity D Scott, “Not at Home,” in *Émigré Design Cultures*, ed. Elana Shapira (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017). In press.

¹⁶ Bruce Robbins, “Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism,” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. Bruce Robbins and Pheng Cheah (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 1.

¹⁷ Ibid., 3. As Robbins insisted, “The devastation covered over by complacent talk of globalization is of course very real. But precisely because it is real, we cannot be content to set against it only the childish reassurance of belonging to “a” place. The indefinite article is insufficient. Yes, we are connected to the earth—but not to “a” place on it, simple and self-evident as the surroundings we see when we open our eyes. We are connected to all sorts of places.”

¹⁸ Ibid. 3.

¹⁹ I am thinking here of my unpublished work on Bernard Rudofsky. See also Felicity D. Scott, *Disorientation: Bernard Rudofsky in the Empire of Signs* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, Critical Spatial Practice series, 2016).

²⁰ For important scholarship on the politics of humanitarian aid in architecture, see Manuel Herz, ed. *From Camp to City: The Refugee Camps of the Western Sahara* (Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2012); and Eyal Weizman, *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza* (London and New York: Verso, 2011).

²¹ In addition to Herz and Weizman noted above, see, for instance: David Rieff, *A Bed for the Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002); Rony Brauman, "Learning from Dilemmas (Interview with Rony Brauman)," in Michel Feher, ed. *Non-governmental Politics* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 131–147; and Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi, eds., *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

²² See, for instance, the work of Eyal Weizman, Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petit, Laura Kurgan, and Keller Easterling.

field of expertise (such as architecture), such technocratic approaches remain blind to and can even obfuscate the political dimensions of a crisis.²⁰ Moreover, beyond remaining blind while all too proximate to extant techniques of power, in the worst cases these approaches might even perpetuate violence. I am thinking here of the important scholarship on the "humanitarian paradox," wherein forms of aid potentially serve (whether inadvertently or cynically) to exacerbate, perpetuate, or even institutionalize and normalize process of dispossession. In other words, shelter, too, can have counterproductive effects.²¹ This is not to say that those rendered homeless should not be afforded shelter from the elements and a place to reside, nor that improving such technologies cannot at times be beneficial. Rather, the intention is to underscore the importance of paying attention to the larger apparatus within which such shelter operates, and also to interrogate other ways such a shelter might function, for better or worse. Some emergency shelters resonate less as successful design solutions to a crisis than as symptomatic and visible markers of misery and insecurity that, wittingly or unwittingly, inscribe the inhabitants not as citizens or individuals but as a misfortunate lot, a population reduced to being in need of humanitarian aid, mere elements of a humanitarian catastrophe. In other words, the structures can speak also of exposure to a radical insecurity and the ways in which subjects circulate differentially within a larger apparatus of power.

After Belonging actively invokes the language of crisis, precarity, intervention, and asylum, and, in so doing, recognizes the sense of urgency or even the emergencies at hand to which architects should respond, and to which architecture might indeed have something important to contribute. Yet this triennale enters into such a playing field not with a ready prescription for design of shelters but—following in the footsteps of other architectural activists, researchers, and scholars—with a productive uncertainty and a critical mode of questioning just how, when, where, or through what tools and expertise architecture should act.²² Architecture, that is, can offer something beyond more or better "first responders" and designs for emergency shelters, especially when functional directives are expanded to unsettle political, semiotic, and regulatory domains. Architecture's priorities might even include the construction of platforms through which to think less reactively and more critically or extensively about this nexus of architecture and emergency. The answer, to reiterate, may not always lie in more affordable, efficient, or even pleasing or "humane" forms of minimal shelter. In some situations, the most miserable looking camp is the least permanent one, while in others a more desirable environment is precisely what is needed to bring political questions to the foreground. So we are not offered a simple utopianism, nor a classical reformist attitude or claims to radicalism. Rather, the ambition is to advance a strategic hope, suggesting that architecture might intervene not *only* by offering design "solutions"—although it might, of course, continue to do that, the question being who decides and what effects such decisions might have—but through forging new concepts, tools, and practices for rendering the contours of emergent techniques of power visible and contestable.

Having suggested that conventional notions of belonging might be obsolescent, *After Belonging* does not attend only to those individuals and populations most evidently cast as not-belonging or other—such as migrants and refugees. Rather, it reads these quintessential figures of displacement as contemporaneous with, if distinct from, other mobile or precarious subjects—tourists, transient workers, students, strangers, foreigners, even citizens. More specifically, *After Belonging* takes the knowing risk of asking if and how we might think about these populations together, as all subjected to an interconnected global phenomenon, albeit in different ways. This is not to overlook historical and political specificities or the differential abilities of migrants and refugees to cross borders or find a place to reside and to work. (Residence and labor often go hand in hand).²³ At stake is recognizing how and when particularities and identifications surface to make political claims or how they are created to otherwise interrupt capitalist abstractions or render its machinations visible. The wager, that is, is that the more evidently violent forms of dispossession might be productively thought about alongside other types of insecurity impacting contemporary forms of residence "in transit."

An important objective, then, is to be able to recognize forces informing the new subjectivities emerging, as Paolo Virno suggests, within a condition of "belonging to unstable contexts."²⁴ In "The Ambivalence of Disenchantment" Virno offers us one of the most forceful readings of the persistence of divergent senses of belonging within a contemporary post-Fordist condition dominated by information technologies and the forms of life it attempts to sponsor. He recognizes a tactical shift at play in the desire for "belonging as such," even in a paradoxical condition of "belonging to uprooting."

What kind of belonging could I mean, after having unrelentingly insisted upon the unexpected absence of particular and credible "roots"? True, one no longer "belongs" to a particular role, tradition, or political party. Calls for "participation" and for a "project" have faded. And yet alienation, far from eliminating the feeling of belonging, empowers it. The impossibility of securing ourselves within any durable context disproportionately increases our adherence to the most fragile instances of the "here and now." What is dazzlingly clear is finally *belonging as such*, no longer qualified by a determinate belonging "to something." Rather, the feeling of belonging has become directly proportional to the lack of a privileged and protective "to which" to belong.²⁵

Virno is not simply lamenting this turn but recognizes in its degree zero, or refusal of nostalgia for a "rooted" identity, a type of dissident potential that insists on forging forms of life *after belonging*.

After Belonging asks, from a different perspective, what forms our belongings now take in the social, material, and geopolitical sense, inviting architects and designers to think differently about belonging and belongings while insisting that architectural expertise can be productively brought to bear on examining and designing objects, places, images, trajectories, processes, and protocols, as well as in understanding subjective and territorial formations that pertain to them. To this end, the exhibition and this publication offer an important catalog or contemporary archive of the ways artifacts and environments "shelter" or

²³ With this type of mobility we find ourselves at questions of the distribution of labor and shifting geographies and modalities of work, reminding us, as Etienne Balibar and Sandro Mezzadra have argued, that borders are rarely simply open or closed but operate as mechanisms of regulation and of differential distribution. See Balibar, "Strangers as Enemies," 20.

²⁴ Paolo Virno, "The Ambivalence of Disenchantment," in *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, ed. Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 21.

²⁵ Ibid. 32.

otherwise mediate conditions of mobility and new forms of belonging “after belonging” within a contemporary “regime of circulation,” whether for worse or, potentially, for better.

When *After Belonging* interrogates how architecture might respond to a historical condition *after belonging* (in the conventional sense, for belongings evidently persist), a condition in which we are increasingly called upon, as the curators put it, to “manage our belongings” in the social, material, technical, legal, proprietary, economic, and psychological domains, they point to an important fact. Architecture—as a discourse, a discipline, and a profession—is already and always imbricated within the multifaceted apparatus of capital driving the new patterns of migration, travel, and stasis with which I began. Beyond conceiving of architecture as the provision of buildings, spaces, or shelter as such, that is, the discipline has been and remains proximate to, and at times informs, technologies, markets, laws, policies, information, goods, media, and other forms of regulation and governance. It is from such an expanded conception of the discipline, one that I share, that *After Belonging* Agency invited participants to collaborate on this project of thinking belonging otherwise, manifesting the desire for identifying and forging practices that remain tactically out of sync with the violence born of neoliberal capital. Inviting collaborators to participate in this venture, *After Belonging* understands that such dissidence is not always spontaneous but has to be continuously sponsored, even at times actively constructed, both in relation to architecture as a discipline and in relation to the world. This catalog, like the exhibition and events it accompanies and the research it documents, is testament to the importance of *After Belonging*'s critical and curatorial project in this regard, providing evidence of the many insights and openings that such invitations and provocations can elicit.

Börders Elşewhere Texts

After Belonging: The Objects, Spaces, and Territories of the Ways We Stay in Transit.

This book is the result of a two-year long research carried out by Lluís Alexandre Casanovas Blanco, Ignacio G. Galán, Carlos Mínguez Carrasco, Alejandra Navarrete Llopis, Marina Otero Verzier, Chief Curators of the Oslo Architecture Triennale 2016.

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