

EXPLORING THE DIGITAL CITY
3 NOVEMBER 2006 SESSION FOUR - TAPE 2

GRAHAME: ... and let's see what's happening here. Soho Square, so this is in time sequence and eventually in the space, this is Nash, Regent Street, you cut through to go to Regents Park, so the city was like a drain that got clogged up by all these fragments that needs to go for *velapue* and then the Victorian engineers came and cut through it using stream beds, so this is the early modern technology with the drainage and subways and the streets and they built a network, New Oxford Street and this is Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road coming down to Trafalgar Square and then the bypass road of The Embankment and then finally the Aldwych Kingsway dropping in and tying it all together as a kind of cell system so you have these two overlaid systems, one a centring system and one a linear armature flow system, kind of counterbalancing each other in the Victorian city and coming through into today and now you would have over that the communications and media systems that we have and this is all part of a much wider networked city that includes most of the south-east and half the world I suppose.

Below here I have examples of heterotopia, shown simply. This is a nice drawing. This is what the students that I teach call the 'cha-cha-cha' drawing. Initially heterotopias are hidden inside, then they move out and so this system of relations is the system of shifting relationships between mobile actors now. This is my drawing of the Foucault and this is a bigger drawing of the impact on the city which is in my book. This is the mirror system with the coding that keeps shifting, first of all the enclave dominates with the actors, then the armature and the flow dominates and now we have armature and enclave balanced. You can live and work in the same place successfully and even take that with you as you travel so it a very complicated system but we all share multiple categories, a miniature model of how the whole system works and a mirror system that is watching how it all works together. That's done through the infrastructure. In each one, the heterotopia of crisis, Foucault's first one, this is a Dutch townhouse where there is a rich merchant who is a timber merchant and he is a Catholic in a Protestant town. He has his own private chapel where his friends come and a whole house for a priest in the back, this is like Anne Frank being hidden in the Second World War, so this is one way of doing a heterotopia inside.

This is the famous Bentham one with the [inaudible]. He wanted to isolate everybody in their cell and they only spoke by voice tube to the hidden jailer in the centre and even when you went to chapel, you sat in segregated cells and you wouldn't know the other criminals in that society. I am doing a heterotopia illusion, I don't have a museum here, I have the city inside the perspective machine [inaudible]. It is a beautiful section. And then the great department stores, a heterotopia illusion this is meant to be as well as Foucault and the way they are advertising their trades, jute and sacks from Dundee and all that. Then a heterotopia illusion in the 20th century might be a skyscraper, the New York athletic club with these strange simulacra on the side. And very quickly, according to my clock it is 7.07 so if I can do a little bit of Las Vegas and the movie, is that all right if I'm quick?

This is a student's presentation which I just enjoyed a lot. I will really go through it very quickly but it is looking at the heterotopic illusion as a casino. I borrowed this from a student and it is just fun, it is a casino, it's attractive. This is really the drawing that I wanted to show that he captured for me and it is the old Strip with the highway and the sign system linked to the television and branding, national branding and then they decorated a shed with a parking lot and this is the way, you know heterotopias reflect and mirror the city and the dominant system so when this was done in the 50s, this was random [inaudible] against, and the students pick this out very well, against the contextualist way of designing with the traditional streets and square, but – and this is from the new book, where they really are very upset at what has happened to the Strip, what has happened to the Strip is that it has been re-urbanised and there are all these simulacra cities that have been re-introduced as pedestrian environments where they can merchandise and market all the junk that people want to buy when they are on holiday and you can see they have got a Disney character on the top here and this is a smoking volcano and a pyramid, the Eiffel Tower, New York skyscrapers and a pedestrian Disney world in a very hot desert. It has gone from being exotic to being boring and it is synography, this isn't synography designed for the car, but the truth is, if this is the future, if Las Vegas, what happens to the strip in Las Vegas is going to happen to everywhere in America, which is actually the way things kind of work, I find this quite exciting. I know this is a simulacra but it is a rebirth of the pedestrian city with a strange symbolic intermediary, slightly surreal but obviously this will get modified as it hits mainstream and I am quite excited by that.

This is the student rather cleverly using the web to contrast what was there with what is there five years later and that is very, very nice composition if you like. Then this is a contrast with the emptiness of the parking lots to these urban simulacra that now have filled the Strip. This used to be a pavilion system and now it is a new hybrid system that is partially context, partially object, partially pavilion – a strange mixture that is linked in to the global information system and marketed, 42 million people go there every year, as many people as go to New York and as many people go to Disneyworld. This is what the Strip looks like now with all these bits of Paris and Venice and so on along it. I don't know where he got these drawings but they are all pedestrian environments mapped on to where there had been parking lots and this is the implosion of buildings, thank you very much John, and then the skyline of the dream city and then this is actually inaccurate, he tried to imagine pedestrian walk through an entirely pedestrian environment and they have actually made a boulevard along here which is very, very pleasant and there are all these fountains and so on. What people don't understand is that you walk there at night as it's cool, you don't walk in the day time, it is a totally night time environment, it is really amazing, talk about reversing codes. You go there to throw your money away instead of make money and what you do there never comes back to you at home, that's their ad. This is the pedestrian environment, it is very, very strange, they have these air conditioned travelator street crossings to handle these pedestrian flows, these massive pedestrian flows, so what they are now doing is completely different to the old car driven city. This is what John Dearnly did to Downtown, where you can programme the sky to run Nike ads and what happens is that they turn off all the old lights along the old main street and turn on this billion watt sky and

everybody assembles there and these are loud speaker systems. And then this is a good student, you see 600 feet is the main pedestrian kind of basic thing from a mall and here he is checking that he has got to 700 feet, I think he is an A student. Then this is very sweet, this is the Ventura directional space with the evolution of the street in terms of informational systems and signage into what they call the vast space of the Strip and then Mike has a diagram with the equivalent [inaudible] of the city and then he is trying to tie in to the tables that I've made in the book, he is adapting them and changing them, he is definitely an A student. Then he came out with these, please don't put these as my formula, these are his formula, but he was trying to make a formula for what had happened and for the evolution and things like this and I find it really, when people feed back from your work it is just very, very, very interesting and then I am going to skip.

This is something that I thought would be interesting for the students to read, I'm going to skip that and go to my movie which has sound I hope. Sorry. This is the technology, he used to write for Mac World and he is called David Pope and ... let me see, I'm not a media specialist. Okay, and he used to write for Mac World and he is very amusing and he sometimes has his kit on, to test things, it is really very funny. Media development is a nightmare but anyway. This is, well it's self explanatory.

"The David Pope show will not be shown tonight so we bring you the following special presentation." [Film shown, sound not clear enough to transcribe]

What I like about that, well he's so saucy and he's so New York so it's local but it's global and he's using GPS, they don't stop to take the photos, they just cruise by and yet it's helping us use our cell phones to meet our friends in the city, whatever you define that as, so it is a social tool that is very powerful and I think I'm going to shut up with that.

[Applause]

JANE: Thank you very much. We've got forty minutes to discuss and if we need more time I guess we can take a little bit of time from lunch but can I open the floor to questions.

MAN: I have a question. This is a cultural map that we didn't have before. We have in Shanghai several slices in this niche ... [inaudible] ... Is it a positive direction or a negative one? I rather guess that you are implying that it is rather a positive direction.

GRAHAME: It is so complicated. I can't judge any more. In the old days you could say modernism is right, it should be and look like [inaudible] and they should have Rolls Royces or whatever the new car of choice.

MAN: According to Boudrian.

GRAHAME: Yes and he opened it up to collage city and in his last writings he actually wrote about Washington and how when he was in this mood he would like to live over here and when he was in that mood he would like, depending on exactly the kind of styling that you are talking about and so it is

a kind of museum city and the museum aspect as part of the styling is part of the marketing, it's part of the image making and it is part of the attraction which is also to Boudrian, part of it's death. But Boudrian was a really difficult guy because he loved the juxtaposition of all these images. He was like Colin, Colin loved the play of the images with each other, the sort of free play and the ability to have the choice and be able to move between them. The idea that you get stuck and frozen is the part that really ... to me I can't say, it's really difficult, I can't say that a Chinese person who wants to wear tweeds in 90% humidity is wrong, it's a reversal of code, it's a heterotopic situation, if they want to do that it's really totally up to them. It is no more different from people in New York who are so zen, they will only eat this rice, their houses are totally pure and they live in this other world. It is more authentic, to us it seems more authentic but it that code reversal thing that is just there now.

MAN: What I was really interested in was your take on the "cha-cha-cha" heterotopia to which this whole question of replication is actually ...

GRAHAME: This is what Colin got hit with, by people like Tony Fidler, was that he was producing a formula for a museum city that was done in styles and the styles were important but to me it wasn't the styles that were important, it was the variety and the hybridisation and the heterotopic elements that are important. The thing about Asia is that Asia is developing with a very different model. Like we had a sequential model, there was the archaic city, the feudal city, the modern city with machines and then the post modern city where we can live in the country but be connected to everywhere. Whereas they have got everything happening at once. They have still got Buddhists living in monasteries, they have got the Skytrain going overhead and then they have got malls that are three times the size of the biggest mall in America now and they are getting instructions to get the bus to the mall, they don't drive.

MAN: So to answer my question, it's positive?

GRAHAME: I don't know. To me personally to be frozen into that particular image is not my ideal but for them they are escaping from something else so it is, in a way.

MAN: Looking at Melbourne, that actually illustrates a kind of benign halfway house as they often contradict me whereas the city exemplifies kind of grand development over two decades but it is rarely going in the right direction.

GRAHAME: My reading of Melbourne is like yours, completely shaped by [inaudible] but my experience of it when I was there is that it was an amazing, there was a forum there where people could speak to each other that had been established amongst professionals of many disciplines and I was very, very impressed by that. In New York there isn't just one forum like that, it is much more splintered and there are many forums, some of them are rivals, some of them are friends and it is a complicated situation.

MAN: The thing that this exchange brings to my mind is something like where material production is being sourced and there is this extraordinary recycling

process that you are describing that is going on at the moment where something is picked up and largely jumbled up and it is always stuff that is received and adopted because of its status, its already existing status, and I'm wondering how much of what's going on is producing something which is newly minted, what is happening in people's lives, which is what I think is happening in Melbourne. This the business of trying to build a local architectural culture which actually works, has people's own experience of a place, but when you get, if you go to Kuala Lumpur you will see the Sphinx as the front end of a shopping mall and then of all the indignities, there is a monorail that runs across the boards, so a complete recycling there, a huge amount of stuff around there, this whole fantasy, importation from movies, which just seems to be very different. Do you think there is a difference in that kind of recycling and the rather slow and painful business of actually trying to build something new, a conceptual experience, or are you going to wake up one day and look at the Sphinx as we now look at that building over there and go, oh my goodness, what possessed us?

GRAHAME: I think people are going to wake up but they demolish them just as quickly as they build them.

MAN: What did Paolozzi say? Is the Sphinx made out of fibreglass? It probably is, that's the key really, immediate redundancy.

GRAHAME: It is interesting because in the British tradition of the picturesque there was always the oriental pavilion, the teak pagoda, even in the 1760s, the 1780s, they were in the gardens already. Chamberlain had been to China and could replicate them so this exchange has been going on for centuries and I've really got into how before European hegemony and the Renaissance, that there was, Europe was on the periphery and there was an exchange between China and India that was going on for centuries before that with Arabia as a kind of spin off of the silk route to Europe, so this kind of system of exchanges is ancient really. It's just that we seemed to have reached an incredible new scale of operation and probably it is the massive growth in world population due to health and welfare changes and that brings with it enormous economic changes and then this huge shift to urban populations in the last 15 years which is really staggering and the next 15 years in China and India is going to be even more staggering. Then you start to think well when, what is going to happen? It is actually very, very interesting.

WOMAN: I spent a lot of time in Japan [inaudible] where things were very important and we quickly adapted to the way of seeing space, symmetrical and non-symmetrical values, and anything that changed the character of the space. Do you think that what people do is have an authentic experience in a cultural background and then [inaudible] in the way that they see and embody those things that do, but what you get is somebody quoting [inaudible] about Iceland and the way that the Icelandic people work. So I think it's both, it's not one or the other.

GRAHAME: No, I agree completely. These things, what I am really interested in is the idea of collective dreams that seem to take possession of us through the media and so on and then they do get adapted and transformed by local

cultures where they arrive. It depends on which urban actors import them, what their agenda is and it is a very complicated ... the heterotopia, the idea of the heterotopia is a very, very complicated thing because it can adapt to different cultures, it can adapt to different times, it can adapt to different actors and it is still a place of change that is sort of on a leading edge if you like. Modernity is not the same everywhere and just like Michael was talking about these Chinese gentlemen in their tweeds and their Land Rovers, that is an image of modernity to them which to us is slightly ridiculous but in the 19th century it might have appealed to us to have a Station Wagon and a shotgun and the dogs.

LORENS: I would like to return to the idea of heterotopia because the intelligibility of your thesis and all that we are talking about now actually depends upon it and I had an insight about heterotopia which I perhaps won't fully articulate, it is a sort of late breaking news in a way and I'm not quite sure how it's spun out but I'd like to just try it out. You refer to Foucault's article on heterotopias which discuss different examples of the museums, prisons etc, the kind of institutions that I guess most of the [inaudible] with the enlightenment. There is something very problematic about that paper as I remember it because it never quite squared with Foucault's, with what I understand to be Foucault's initial statements about heterotopia, which is in the preface to the book *The Order of Things*, where he doesn't talk about architectural institutions, he has two figures. He has the figure of the Chinese dictionary which he says makes him laugh and that laughter is the beginning of the crumbling of his secure world and what's important about that dictionary is the way it categorises things, the categories overlap in ways that completely undercut their ability to form categories so things like buffaloes which from the distance look like flies, cats which have spilt milk, you know, things like that. In other words, the boundaries of these categories fail to tessellate in ways that map out a coherent route.

The next figure he has is of a still life. He says, imagine it, if we move from the Chinese dictionary to something at least kind of physical. Imagine a still life and imagine what would happen if you yanked the table out and the objects somehow still remained in a configuration but they shared no common ground, no co-ordinate system as it were, in which to locate the various plates and bottles, etc, the still life, the table disappears. It made me think and I never quite figured out how that worked with the institution and I think it's the following way. I don't think the institutions are heterotopias, I think they are symptoms of heterotopia. In other words, if you have a situation, what Foucault called a heterotopia which I'll just crudely just categorise based on the Chinese dictionary and the still life, as a world where there are no stable frames of reference. How do you make order? How do you, without a frame of reference, a stable frame of reference, without a frame of reference that you share and I share and all that, so that we can uniquely determine the positions and relationships of things, literally position objects on a still life table but relationships generally? How do you do that? The figure that you used of the bin, the institution as the bin figure on the desktop, I think begins to get at that. You make order by binning things, you make order by excluding the things which seem to perpetuate the instability. We all know that you could throw things out together and never arrive at stability but it doesn't mean you can't keep trying so the world is unstable, what do you do

with that? You start repressing things, you start repressing the things that intrude upon the imaginary stability, the imaginary coherence that we need in order to function in the world and that's the function of all of these institutions. Effectively they are all kinds of, they are arcons(?), we arcon prisoners in prisons, we arcon artwork in museums and the interesting thing about that is, it wouldn't be artwork if it wasn't arconned in a museum. I mean we are actually creating artwork by putting a ring fence around it, by putting it in the bin, by chucking it out so we can live our lives in peace, we actually create, that is part of the mechanism by which we start to construct by what we mean by art. So it's not like there ever was a stable role, it's not like there used to be a table and now suddenly someone has come in and left it for us, or there used to be a real dictionary and some Chinese guys really screwed it up for us. It's like we're always in that position of trying to go towards stability, we are always living in a Chinese dictionary, trying to find ways of climbing out of it and doing that by binning the buffaloes that look like flies from a distance.

GRAHAME: I think that's a really wonderful analysis and I think he was pointing out the bins to show what the dominant order, the attempted order, were and who the actors were and who set up these hierarchies of order and none of them, and he is a Professor of Systems and the function of systems was to make order, to construct all this. I think what he was interested in, the things like prisons and institutions, whether they are the mechanism to impose the order and to shift from one order to another, that's what I think is so beautiful about the prisons, the hospitals. Under the French crown, if you were related to the King and went in one ward it didn't matter what you had, it could have been smallpox, you went into the Royal ward and so on down, in ascending order. So it could turn out that all the aristocrats got smallpox from this method but it had nothing to do with your medical symptoms whatsoever and the Chinese thing, what I thought was interesting about that was that he thought that there might be an order that we don't know that the Chinese had that was so beyond our knowledge that we shouldn't dismiss it but that they had their own ordering system. I sort of jumped off from that into these [inaudible] systems and mini systems, but it is absolutely true what you say about making these [inaudible] in that way. I would be really interested to hear what you think of this. There is an art-museum-philosophy specialist here and I'd be interested in some feedback.

WOMAN: I thought it was really interesting that you hadn't thought about it this way. When you look at the [inaudible] there are three different types of heterotopia, that is the crisis we were talking about, the heterotopic deviants and the heterotopian illusion and how you both historicise it and align it with certain points in the development of the city because it hadn't, I suppose it hadn't occurred to me when reading Foucault's material about the heterotopia that they were historically sequential in that way. I suppose because, I don't know, heterotopias of crisis and deviance still exist, are still with us.

GRAHAM: Yes, absolutely.

WOMAN: And are incorporated within heterotopic illusions and that sort of thing but I thought it was a very interesting way of thinking about it in terms of the city and it is relevant.

GRAHAME: What did you think about Beaubourg and Bilbao?

WOMAN: Unfortunately I haven't been to either of these places so there's no a lot I can say about it but, except to say that I thought it was interesting that Baudrian had conceptualised this sort of Bilbao effect [inaudible] with Beaubourg so I'm sure there would be a lot of interesting mileage in that. I suppose I could ask your thoughts on the heterotopic illusion and its application to the city as a whole, if that's the way you're thinking of it and then what happens to that? I guess Foucault categorises the heterotopia as an other space, a space of difference, and it has to be contrasted with system. It can't be the case that heterotopia takes over every space, every way of thinking or perhaps it can but you have cities like Las Vegas which is clearly created to be a heterotopia which people use as a heterotopia, they use it for these kind of crisis and deviance experiences that they want to have, they go there for that reason but other cities it seems can't be characterised as heterotopic in that way, so I suppose I am wondering if you see cities as a whole moving towards being heterotopias in totality or whether it is still spaces within cities that are meant to have that function.

GRAHAME: I think what I see happening, and this is just intuitively, is that because, well I try to make a distinction between our privileged bubbles where we live and where most people live, first of all, and within each privileged bubble I see a network city which actually via various machines enables us to live a very heterotopic existence where a house can be a gym, a cinema, a workplace, whatever and at the same time a car can almost do that, the vehicle can do it but at the same time there are these giant tractors and loads, like Las Vegas, like London or, I don't know, Blackpool or something, that still function at another scale in the hierarchy of cities and somehow the actors in there engineer a sense of attractiveness through media and so on that comes to us in multiple ways and we notice how we love to come to places. Yesterday was really interesting, we went to Zahar Hadid and she is opening up a new Maggie Centre and it was the press opening the day before the real opening and so there is the BBC and cameras, there's the Guardian, all these reporters and you suddenly realise, and she has in her office one person who just handles PR and she has a consultant who is this very high level PR person who is global and is as famous as her, handling this thing and she is very relaxed but you suddenly realise that this is an amazing operation with people running around and there is this whole media side of this small, beautiful little space to help people and it is fund raising, money raising, but it is also putting Kilkerpuddy or wherever it is ...

WOMAN: Kircaldy. [Laughter]

GRAHAME: On the map, you know, for whatever reason, it is a hot spot.

WOMAN: So it is almost like a heterotopia becomes at once the sort of, I don't know, the representation of the original I guess and it is a cloud that is moving above and around it.

GRAHAME: Yes, it is constantly being manipulated and massaged.

WOMAN: Just on that representation point, it might be worth pointing out that in Foucault's preface, the Chinese dictionary is not a real dictionary, with the boar heads, it is a fictionalisation so already it is a representation, and it is important that it is but the values are still representations of this idea of a heterotopia, so the link between heterotopia and representation is quite important.

GRAHAME: Actually that is really good because the boar heads thing is the structuralist thing and the floating signifier and there are so many, I've been having a very hard time with these papers.

MAN: I suppose in a way this is a religion point, but just to ask you to say a bit more about the sort of politics of heterotopic spaces and what the implications are for sort of demographic space within the city because I suppose one of the kind of themes that comes through any discussion of Las Vegas or Disneyland and so on, these are cities that are comfortable for the consumer citizen who have got the money but they are very hostile spaces to people that aren't consumer citizens, they are highly regulated.

GRAHAME: They can be seen as surveillance, we have had a session on that, and you can go back to the panopticon model. I have a whole thing in the book and it is very important to Foucault too, where there is this balance between discipline which is the prison and the really strict rules, and illusion which is this very fast changing code system, fashion and advertising. Then in the heterotopia of crisis, the original one, they are sort of balanced, it is an integrated system in a way. Then in the prison, the discipline becomes absolutely dominant and oppressive and in the illusion we have the illusion of freedom and the hidden fist is right there. You try and rip off a casino, you will know within 20 seconds that you can't do that and the other thing about it is every time you use your credit card, within 30 seconds they know what you've done, they being the credit card company and in my case that would be the US government as well. So it is as if they can even track, they have this total wasted intelligence, it is not intelligence. So there is always this balance between the illusion of freedom and the code that's underneath it. Could you repeat that, I'm sorry?

MAN: This is quite interesting, just to digress slightly, I had gone into this with [inaudible] in Canada, there is this very interesting story about queuing up to go in to Disneyland and he was standing in the queue with his daughter, it was a very hot day and his daughter took her shoes off and apparently from nowhere this guy appears who is not in a uniform or anything and he says, put your shoes back on, this is Disneyland. So there is this illusion it is a very playful space and so on but it is highly regulated but it's invisible until you cross the line.

GRAHAME: When I was a hippie in the 60s I went to Disneyland because that was a great treat, I had big hair, a big beard, dressed all in black and I parked and immediately this helicopter appeared and then a policeman on three wheels, that I didn't know about, followed me in. But they let me in.

Then I went in this store to buy a Disney mouse and I realised that this guy was following me all around the store, it was ridiculous and I just looked bad, I wasn't really a bad person! I don't know, it's so hard, the image and the merchandising and the promotion is so ingrained and deep now and as a geographer you must have to deal with that. We in urban terms have an interest in this but what that now means, the term 'image of the city' which is different to what he thought it was ... I don't, it's really, really complicated. I don't believe the technology is implicitly anti [inaudible], it depends on the urban access. I have friends, ex-students, in Barcelona and they are organising anti gentrification campaigns. They put up posters and spray things on walls and the police come looking for them and then they disappear and it is all done via [inaudible due to background noise] and they use the subway and so they have had a very successful campaign to alert people to who is doing what in their neighbourhood. I think it's sad that they have to, in their own city, rush in and rush out before they are arrested basically but they are actually using guerrilla tactics that have been working in New York. There is this amazing group [inaudible due to background noise] ... and have been very, very active. They try to catch them with fishing nets as they ride down the street and legally they can't have more than [inaudible] in one place at one time but they have so many of them that the police can't get them so they put nets across the street to try and catch them in side streets, it's completely nuts but there is this nobility about them. The other thing is before Bush was elected – I am really against him but I went to the [inaudible] march which was the biggest public demonstration on the malls at [inaudible], a million people showed up, it was the biggest demonstration since the Vietnam War and they had it so organised. I was way down the mall but they had at intervals these huge mobile screens and huge speaker systems and they had tents with bathrooms and food and playgrounds, it was marvellous. It was a totally peaceful demonstration, enormous, and it was all done by internet, absolutely no other way ... [inaudible] ... but the only hope that they had was this very grassroots organisation ... And that was hugely successful, it raised money ... [inaudible] ... and Bush is, well don't get me started but this is the one that did it.

MAN: The whole way that this snaps against the Urban Cities chapter, you talk to academics, talking about information cities, but the problem sometimes with that, when you are talking about the politics of these places, is that you actually get cities that attempt to use this stuff to destroy it. It used to be that modernism delivered a shiny future, what is held up as just over the horizon now is various spectacles that will come now. You will have a casino in your town, I mean in Glasgow particularly there has been a lot of stuff, shut up about the hideous waterfront, shut up about the ultra violence and we'll get the Olympic Games, you know. That is incredibly utilitarian instrumental in trying to shape that discourse in that way which I find a bit worrying.

GRAHAME: Well the Olympic Games are a classic thing. It is so complicated. I may be totally out of it and living in New York I sometimes feel like I am and I was very glad when New York didn't get the Olympic Games, I thought the London one was with the Lea Valley which is somewhere that we worked when we were young, to use that and try and develop the East End and tie to the Gateway, whatever you think about the Gateway, I thought was

a much more intelligent and decent piece of planning in the end and I think London deserved it. And there were some fun things in it, like using Horse Guard's Parade for beach volleyball, there was a sense of humour and wit that I really enjoy and actually the slides I was showing about London developing in fragments like that and then recasting it with different connections I think is happening still today with the Millennium Mile for instance and the whole South Bank development. I mean they have been trying to do it since the War, since '45 and finally in 2001 there were fires all along it and it just catches and goes, it's crazy. Again it's a spectacle but it is also a switch to pleasure and leisure and when I was a kid they always taught, I was in high school and there were two things that I remember, one that they said that there was going to be a leisure society and we didn't know what it was but it was going to be a leisure society. Two, we were going to be de-colonialised and when I grew up everything was red, all around the world, so we were going to be de-colonialised and three, there was going to be technological transfer, which meant Brazil was going to have steel mills and we weren't but we didn't realise at the time that the whole north of England would change. But that was the kind of thing that as a kid in high school was being told, this is what the future is. And the way it actually unfolds in urban terms and so on is completely unexpected, even if you know, or think you know, what the trend may be. The actual actors who put it in place, who would have thought that Mrs Thatcher would be the one to do the East End? You would have said that the Labour Party being in power would have done the East End but they could never get the capital and so there is this very complicated shifting scenario, who's in charge, who can get to actually activate the city. I was also, when we were young they were fighting for Covent Garden, to save it, but we had no idea it was going to turn into a mall. So everything is kind of unexpected, you can't know how it is going to pan out. The old days of being able to predict things, it is only probable now, that's the real problem and that's why, I don't know, I still support the idea of fragmentary but the things are done with a total master plan because we have more flexibility, it's more heterotopic, it allows for more angles to speak and while it fragments the city there are other means of reintegrating the city through media and media structures.

JANE: Can I pick up those last two points and put them together? You were saying about the vision of the future, is it not a very exclusive vision? That seems to be the message coming across, those that don't have power in our society are not able to ...

GRAHAME: No, it is definitely a two tier system. My dream personally is that everybody would be empowered but then I kind of look at China and India and my mind boggles, how are you going to do that with billions of people? China has this experience of a top down model, India seems to be more democratic from the bottom up. If you look at England, I mean they are not expecting that much growth in England and so compared to somewhere like China which will double and stuff like this, in terms of urban growth, it is a very different proposition and maybe in Europe, I'm not totally hopeful for America, but in Europe you could actually practice a social democratic balance again to reintegrate society. I'm a dreamer, you know.

JANE: I was going to say, that's a very optimistic viewpoint.

GRAHAM: I go to Denmark a lot and it is inspirational but it is very bizarre. They are all complaining about the right wing government there which means they have reduced their donation to the United Nations by 0.001%, right, and they gave it to paternity leave to fathers in Denmark. Now can you imagine George Bush, that's a right wing agenda, it's like they are really from another planet, I love it, I need it!

WOMAN: But they are one of the most restrictive countries for immigration.

GRAHAME: I know, they are 98% Danes.

WOMAN: There are some very odd things going on there with the border with Sweden, couples who actually work in one place and live in another because they cannot live in the same country, they cannot live in Denmark. It really is a very odd situation which really calls for a policy when it comes to immigration and mobility throughout Europe which is something we all work towards in a communal effort and that proves the point that Denmark is not working along these lines at all. But hey ...

GRAHAME: It is a very homogeneous society and within it, if you fall down five ambulances immediately appear from nowhere. They come to New York for danger, they get terribly excited that they can fall down without an ambulance appearing.

JANE: Did you have something else to say?

LORENS: Yes, we've moved on a little bit from it. I mean it was an interjection into the exchange with Beth and Grahame but yes, I will say it but maybe I'm just demonstrating that I have a one track mind, a dinosaur or something. It was about what I said, I said the institution was not in itself heterotopian but the symptom of heterotopia and I think that's an important point because that means, I mean a symptom is the effect of analysing a situation so depending on how you analyse a situation anything can be a symptoms, we are all exhibiting symptomatic behaviour now and that's ... I mean sometimes you can almost have a nervous breakdown standing on the subway and even now just standing here exhibiting symptomatic behaviour, I thought that only happened where [inaudible] or something. But the point is, there has never been a time when the condition of heterotopia didn't attain, there has never been a time when the city has ...

GRAHAME: Whenever there is order, any order at all, you are going to have heterotopia.

LORENS: The way I am seeing heterotopia as the bin that you have to use to create order, it means that you can find it anywhere. I mean we could actually find it in this room now simply because we have a chair who is telling people when they can speak and it is a way of in effect binning those who at least momentarily can't. That's a lame example but just to say that it's everywhere. But in addition to that just being a theoretical point and it doesn't

really say a hell of a lot more about Las Vegas and all the other things we've been talking about, there is something that is instrumental and that is when it comes to the question of infrastructure because if you want to say that the primary way that societies as heterotopias are organised, they are organised by binning stuff, then the infrastructure is the root, the underlying infrastructure would be the root by which something by which a file over there gets clicked on and dragged and dropped into the bin, okay. So in other words....

END OF SESSION 4 TAPE 2