

HETEROTOPIAS

UTOPIAS AND HETEROTOPIAS

Utopias are unreal spaces. They present society in a perfected form or perhaps turned upside down. An utopian ideal and a utopian critique are two sides of the same coin. Utopias present an ordered and meaning full space in which there is correspondence between the different members of the hierarchy.

Obviously, utopias do not exist in an ideal realm outside the actual world. They rather occupy a certain role, either as critical agents turned against the prevailing social organisation or as laboratories developing new diagrams for government. In any case they are developed in specific media, written and/or drawn.

Heterotopias are spaces of alternate ordering. They act as a kind of counter-site, They display the double nature of being both a real and an unreal space much like a mirror. The mirror is the archetypal heterotopia: The reflection of the mirror represent the utopian unreal element whereas the mirror surface is real and actually present. Heterotopias reflect all other spaces but they change the reflected order.

The double nature of real and unreal is disturbing. The fundament function of heterotopias is to destabilize existing orders. Heterotopias stutter. They attack the presumption that there might be a common ground upon which things can be distributed in a meaningful fashion.

In one respect all institutions are possible heterotopias because they represent and incorporate aspects of model societies. However, it is often turned predominantly into a technique of government and the heterotopian element of critique is reduced or even negated completely. The heterotopia requires a critical element turned at society. A society with no heterotopias is a totalitarian state.

The enlightenment both defined the liberties of man and invented the disciplinary society!

THREE KINDS OF DISPOSITIVIES

1. The dispositives of sovereignty

The governmental art of sovereignty capitalizes a territory. It is concerned with the question of the seat of government and operates through the visibility of the seat of power. The one that exercise power must be staged to exhibit brilliance. It seeks to centralize the flows to the nexus of government. The central question is how to capitalize the state, (the double meaning of capitalization - to benefit and centralize). It deals with the problem of centralizing and improving the commercial flows in one and the same operation.

2. The disciplinary dispositives.

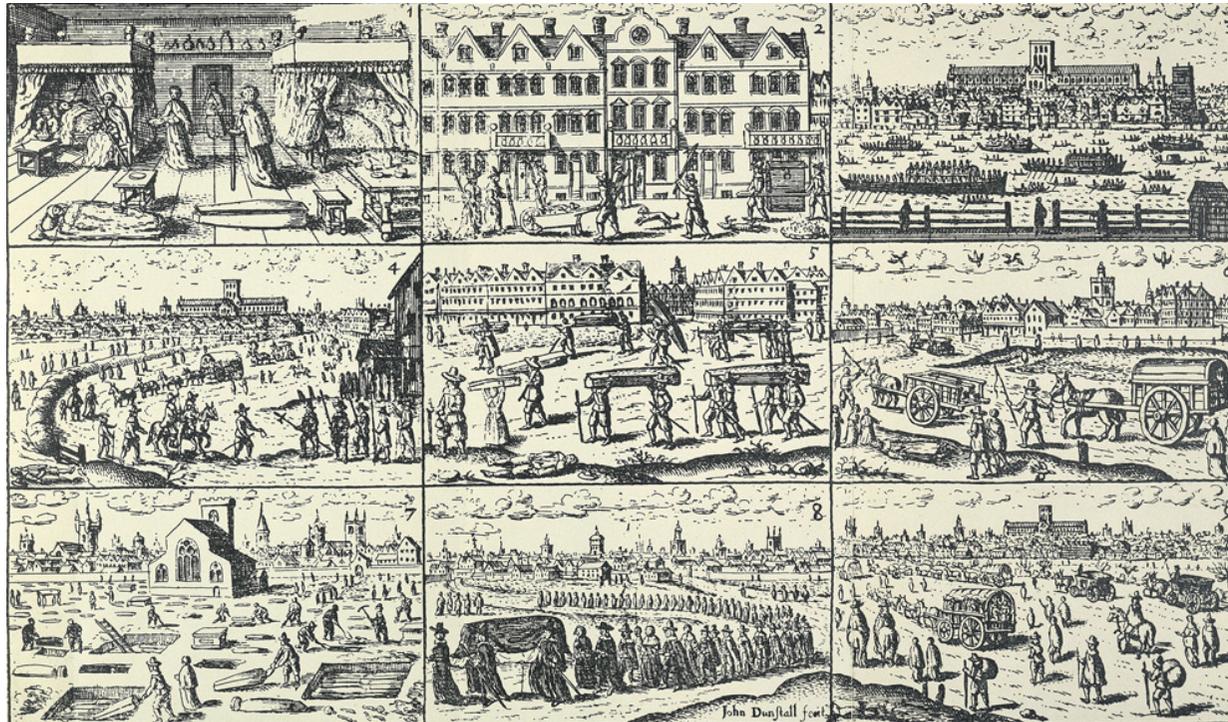
Discipline structures a space. It addresses the fundamental problem of a hierarchical distribution of elements. It operates with norms and is essentially finite in its character. It operates in an empty and closed space constructed from the ground. It creates an artificial multiplicity. It is concerned with the creation of desirable behaviours through the ordering of space.

3. The dispositives of security.

The dispositives furnish a territory. They try to plan a milieu that is in constant change. They operate with a temporal perspective and construct transformable frameworks.

All of them are folded into each other, it is not a question of a simple linear progression. New techniques use old techniques for other ends. The latter group is dominant today and emerges slowly through the modern era as an answer to the problem of the modern city. It is interwoven with disciplinary dispositives many of which still play a vital role.

THE STATE DREAMS OF THE PLAQUE!



The plague-ridden city is a perfectly ordered space. It is carefully segmented and all activities follow detailed descriptions of what can be done by whom at what time and place. The state dreams of the plague (an acute threat) because it allows the apparatus to set aside normal social and legal codes. The techniques of government and the judicial system are not the same. The plague-ridden city is a laboratory for the development of modern society. The negative side of this kind of government is that it creates a completely petrified space.

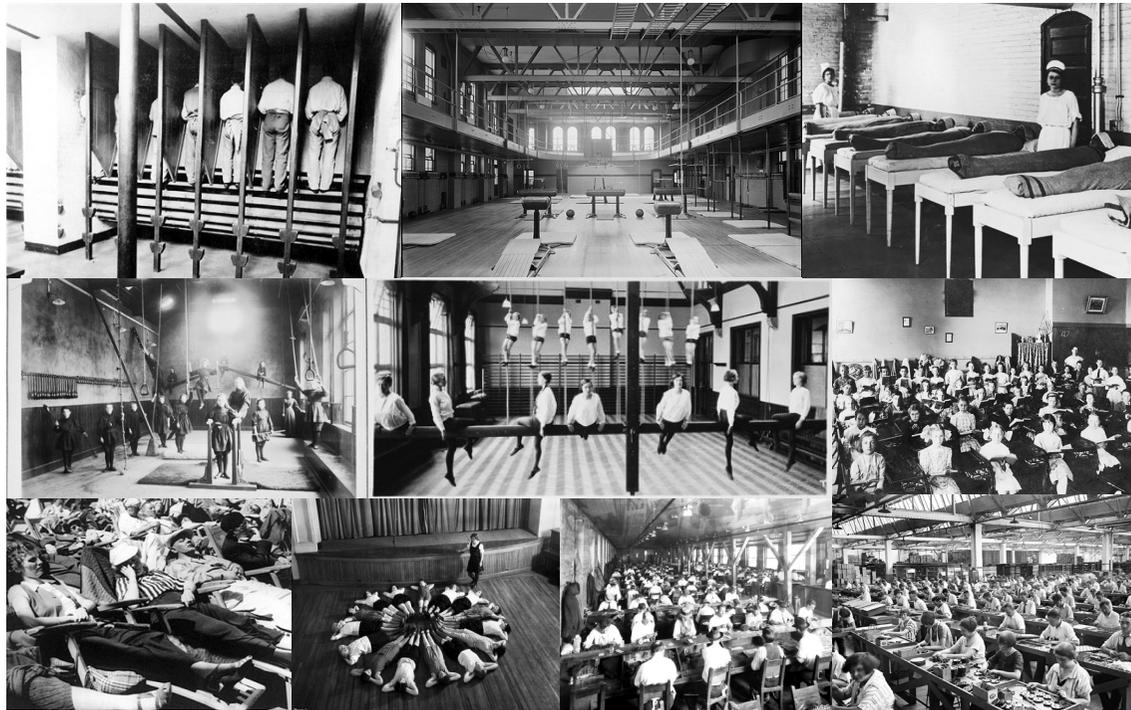


Villagers of Gheel, 19th century.



Gheel, The pilgrimage for the insane, 19th century photograph.

DOCILE BODIES AND THE MEANS OF CORRECT TRAINING



The images show examples of treadmills, gymnasiums, KDF - tourism, factories, schools and hospitals from the 19th and first part of the 20th century.

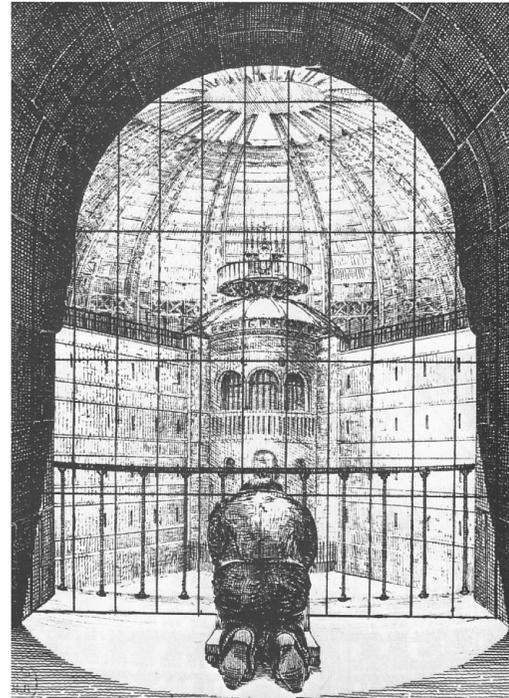
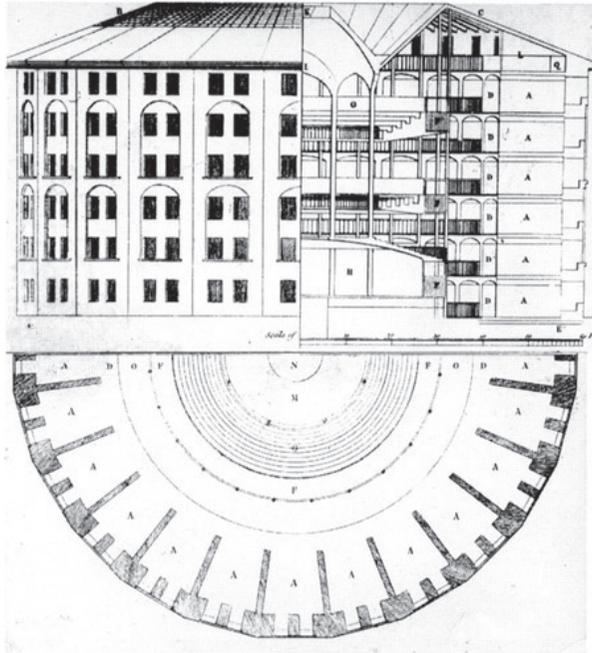
“Discipline may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a ‘physics’ or an ‘anatomy’ of power, a technology.”

Power cannot be separated from the relations of the particular distribution. For instance there are not modes of production and relations of power. They are completely integrated. The institutions are simultaneously laboratories and vessels developing and disseminating disciplines in the city.



Menagerie at Versailles, Le Vau, 1662. An array of exotic animals was displayed at the menagerie and observed from the central pavilion.

A DIAGRAM FOR MODERN SOCIETY



Proposal for a panopticon prison,
Jeremy Bentham, 1791

The central tower had blinds that prevented the prisoners from seeing the observer. The distribution worked no matter the intentions of the observer and even if the tower was empty. The function is to invert the gaze of the prisoner into an act of self-scrutiny.

The panopticon machine produces a suitable identity precisely through the act of self-scrutiny performed by the prisoner himself.

Antiquity was a society of the spectacle. It sought to render visible the inspection of a small number of objects to a multitude of men. Modernity is posed with the opposite problem: How to produce for a small number, and even for a single individual, the instantaneous view of a multitude. It represents a reversal of the spectacle.

The modern society is not one of spectacle but of surveillance!



Presidio Modelo in Cuba. Built around 1955

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PANOPTICON

The panoptic machine is instrumental in the fabrication of individuals!

What seems the most private, our identity, is in fact produced by the panoptic machine. The panoptic machine fabricates the illusion that we have a specific identity and deceives us into partaking in its fabrication through self-scrutiny. The disciplinary society needs identities, it needs them in order to tune and optimise the system. It operates by investigating the bodies in depth and the circuits of communication (in the panopticon represented by the unhindered visibility of the subjects) are the supports of accumulation and centralization of knowledge. It produces an archive of information.

It is a laboratory experimenting on human behaviour!.

1. *The functional inversion of the disciplines.* The aim is not just to restrict but to produce. It introduces bodies into machinery and forces into economy. Its aim is still to ensure moral behaviour but first and foremost the aim is to optimise the flows and production of the system.
2. *The swarming of disciplinary mechanisms.* The disciplines become de-institutionalized. They leave the strict confines of the disciplinary institutions and probe the urban matrix. The schools are ways of monitoring the parents and hospitals probe the health and living conditions of society.
3. *The state-control of the mechanism of discipline.* The dissemination of the disciplines are simultaneously connected to apparatuses of state-control. The police is the most important one but other groups such as welfare organisation, religious groups and others perform the monitoring of society. The police must pay interest to the smallest of details and events in the social organism. It deals with and monitors everyday life.

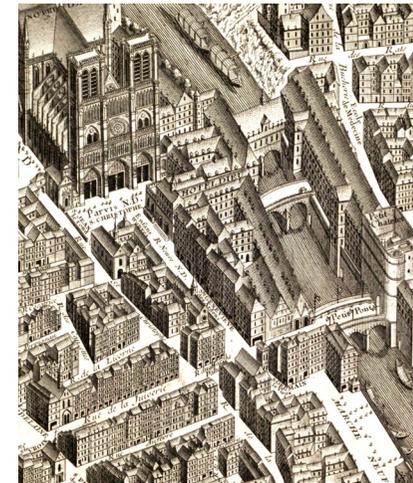
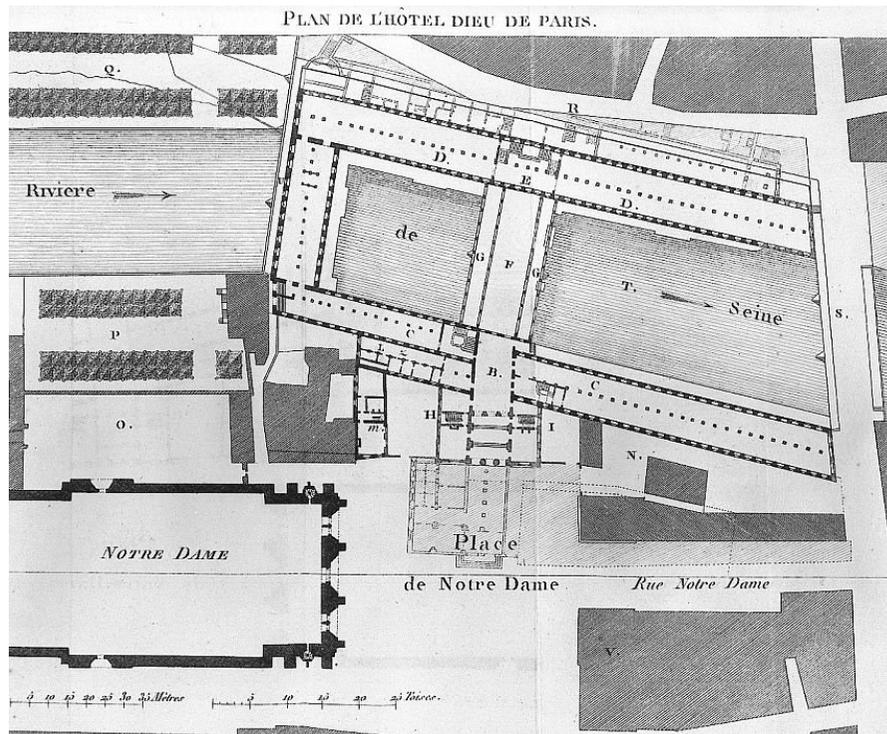
The overall aim of disciplinary society is to optimise output at a minimal expenditure!

“In a word, the disciplines are the ensemble of minute technical inventions that made it possible to increase the useful size of multiplicities by decreasing the inconveniences of the power which, in order to make them useful, must control them. A multiplicity, whether in a workshop or a nation, an army or a school, reaches the threshold of a discipline when the relation of the one to the other becomes favourable.”

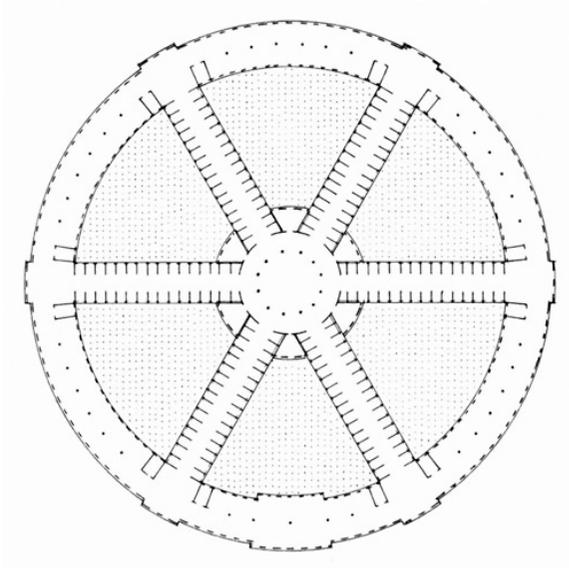
A NEW HOSPITAL FOR PARIS



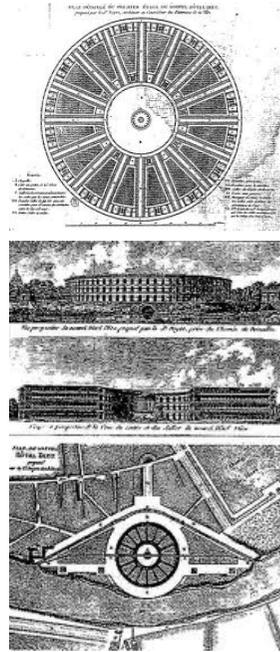
Ile de la Cité, c.1754



Hôtel-Dieu in Paris was originally constructed during the middle ages. Patients were given little and insufficient care and kept under appalling conditions with high mortality rates. There was a complete lack of separation of patients with infectious diseases from the rest, there were three patients in each bed etc.



Antione Petit



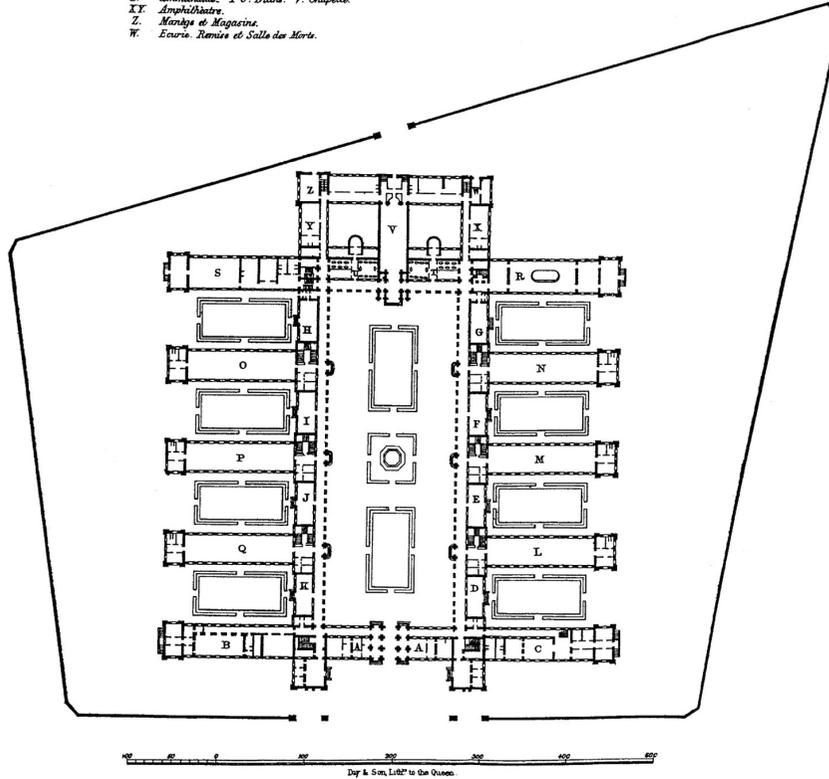
Poyet

Different proposals for a new Hôtel-Dieu developed at the end of the 18th century.

The enlightenment projects were often reliant upon certain geometries for instance the circle. The proposals of Petit and Poyet struggle with the insertion of a perfect geometry in the city. However, the panoptic mechanism is not a question of circular geometry. It operates through surveillance, segmentation and the definition of activities. The diagram of the panopticon is not a question of certain forms but of specific modes of distributing.

PARIS
Hopital de Lariboisière
 612 Liés.

- A. Bureau.
- B. à rue de chaussée Clévein. au 1^{er} Etage Logement d'employé; au 2nd Etage Dortoir des Garçons de Service.
- C. idem Pharmacie idem idem idem Chambre des Étèves internes.
- DEFGHIJK. Chauffage.
- L, M, N, O, P, Q. Bâtimens de Malades.
- R. à rue de chaussée Baudouin. au 1^{er} Etage Lingerie. au 2nd Etage Dortoir des filles de Service.
- S. Communauté. T, U. Bains. V. Chapelle.
- X, Y. Amphithéâtre.
- Z. Marche et Magasin.
- W. Cour. Remise et Salle des Morts.



The Laboirisière Hospital is the first in Paris to use principles developed in medicine. It is inspired by the English naval hospital and the way it separates patients from each other minimizing the risk of contagion. It is placed within the city. The patients are in a sense placed in a state of quarantine awaiting reentry into society.

The invention and refinement of the corridor takes place throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. It is an important micro technique of power allowing the separation of rooms from the network of circulation thus facilitating the definition of specific functions.

Hôtel de Laboirisière, Gauthier, 1839-54.



Hopital de Lariboisière, Paris

FROM EXCEPTIONAL DISCIPLINE TO GENERAL SURVEILLANCE

The overall development of the modern institution in the 19th century moves from exceptional discipline to general surveillance.

1. At one extreme the discipline-blockade: It is the enclosed institution poised on the edge of society enclosing the incurable, arresting evil or dealing with the aspects of the population that needs a specific and highly controllable environment: It is represented by asylums for the insane, prisons, the army and others. Because they constitute miniature societies they tend to display heterotopic features.

All heterotopias have an external border that creates a distance to society. They are somehow difficult to enter. To some extent certain cultural and educational institutions might fit into that definition as well, for instance the art academy up until recently. The boat or vessel is the archetypal heterotopia

2. At the other end the discipline-mechanism: It improves the exercise of power by making it lighter, more mobile. It propagates a subtle coercion.

In this form the modern institutions are carrying micro techniques that they insert into the urban fabric. Schools, hospitals, and other institutions constitute a network of panopticons spread over the city. The schools are not just working upon the pupils but partake in the surveillance of the parents. The hospitals monitor the habits and vices of the population and so on.

The techniques of government are disseminated into every fabric of human life. The surveillance is first and foremost directed towards everyday life. The strength of discipline is precisely that it is integrated - barely visible.



Koepel Prison in Arnhem, 1880-86

THE DOUBLE ARTICULATION OF ARCHITECTURE

Non-discursive

Discursive

P.S.	S.S.
C/S: Inmates	C/S: Delinquency
E/F: Prison	E/F: Penal Code

P.S.: Pragmatic System
S.S.: Semiotic System
C/S: Content/Substance
E/F: Expression/Form

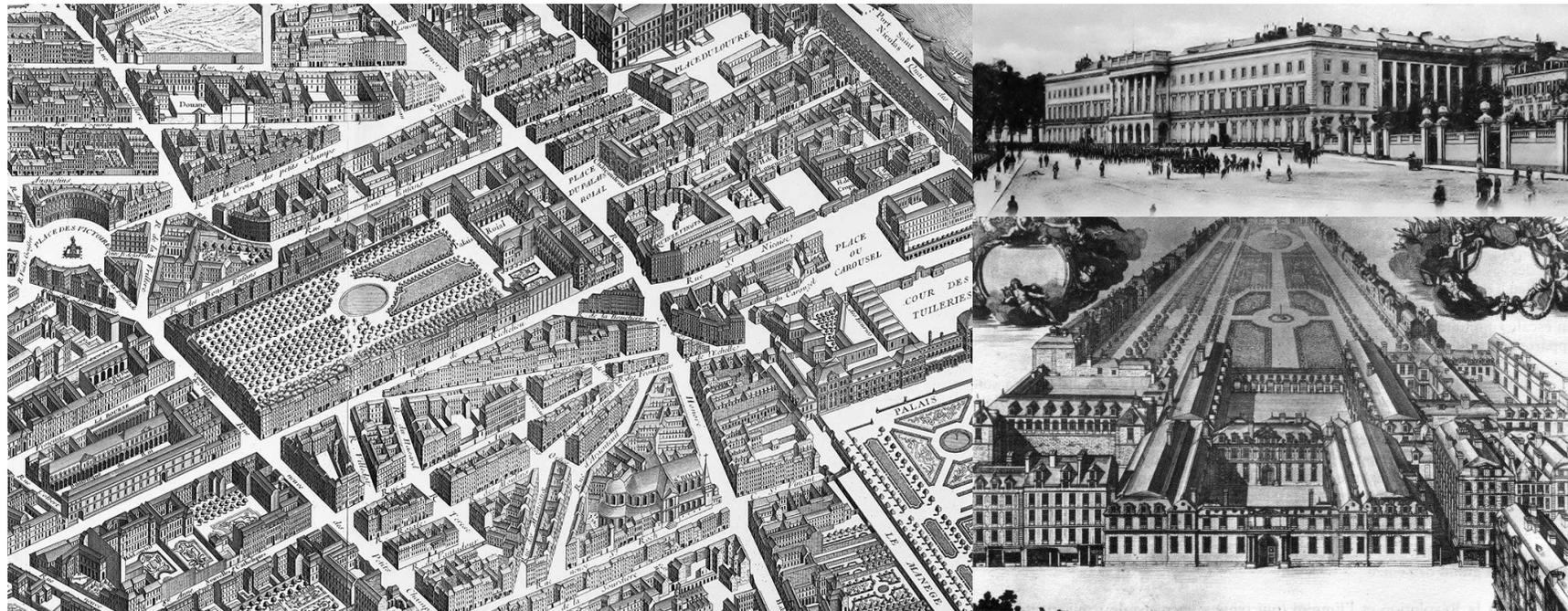
What phenomenon produces the heterotopic stuttering of architecture?

The aim of architecture and urbanism in a disciplinary society is to diminish the distance between spatial organisation and forms of life. It perceives the relation as one governed by determinism and behaviourism. On the other hand any institution must be seen as a complex system of both spatial organisation and discursive formations.

It could be argued that the understanding of the dynamics of the pragmatic system of architecture is often clouded by the fact that theory tends to comment on theory or favours the discussion of ideology and programme. Consequently, it is staying on the discursive side of the gap. However, the intricate relationship between spatial organisation (architectural space) and spatial practice is not determined by language and programme.

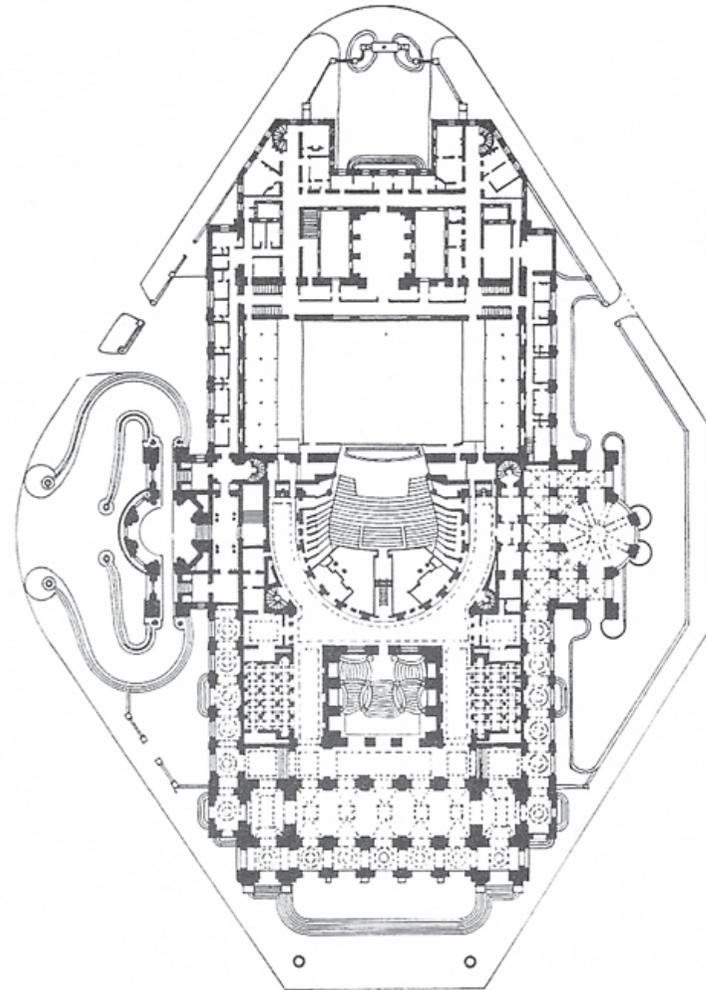
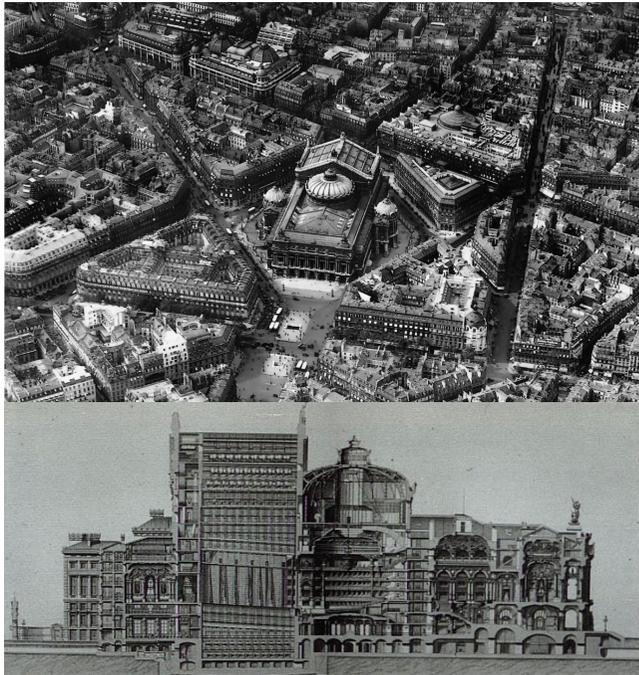
PALAIS ROYALE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERNITY - HETEROTOPIA AS PUBLIC SPACE

Palais Royale was a forerunner for the Parisian arcade and the modern warehouse. Philippe D'Orleans constructed arcades along the sides containing shops, cafes, rooms for rent as well as pavilions for festivals and theatres on the ground. The garden was open to the public. Palais Royale was a heterotopian model society reshuffling classes. It was a stage for the emerging bourgeoisie, for discussions on modern liberties and enlightenment ideals. It was even the place where the first revolution reportedly was triggered. The further development of the urban typologies suggested by Palais Royale exemplifies the feedback mechanism of dispositives, i.e. the appropriation of the arcades initially created on the edge of the state into warehouses consolidating consumer society.

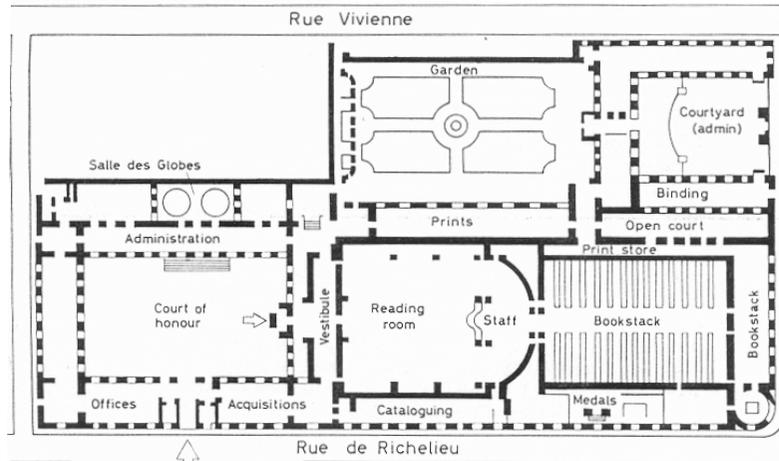


The Opera de Paris was constructed during the Hausmannian restructuring of Paris.

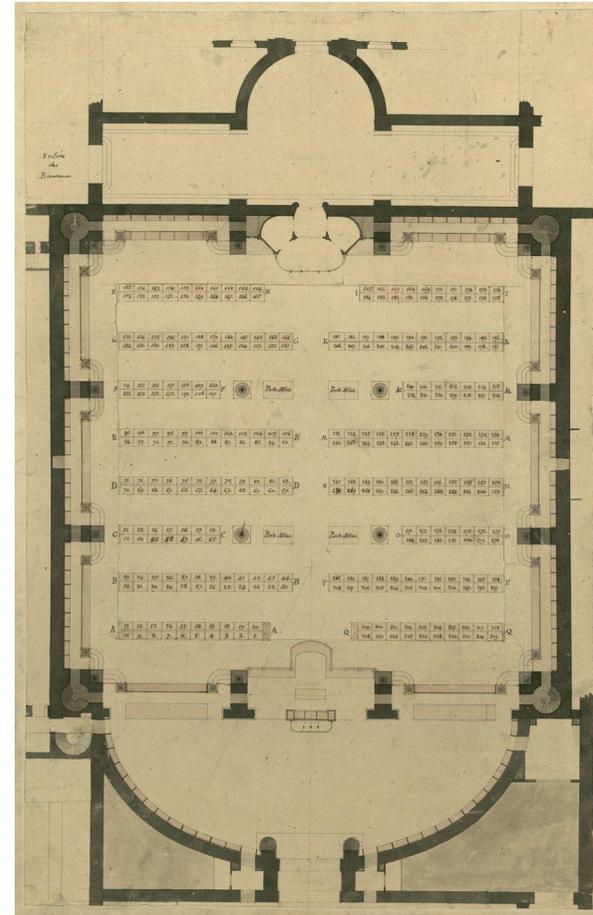
The theatre is an archetypal heterotopia because the theatrical space potentially reflects and rearrange the hierarchy of the order of society. In the case of the Opera de Paris the spaces and galleries surrounding the core grow in size and importance. The theatre is not simply a stage for the theatre play but rather a stage for the bourgeoisie.



HETEROTOPIA AND THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE



The museum and the library are archetypal institutions of the 19th century. They respond to the dramatic increase of historical artefacts and books. They both partake in the accumulation and structuring of history and, as public institutions, aim at the general education of the public. They incorporate domains of knowledge in the way their spatial organisations are arranged. They incarnate the ambiguous relationship between the accumulation of history and the linear progress of the modern society.

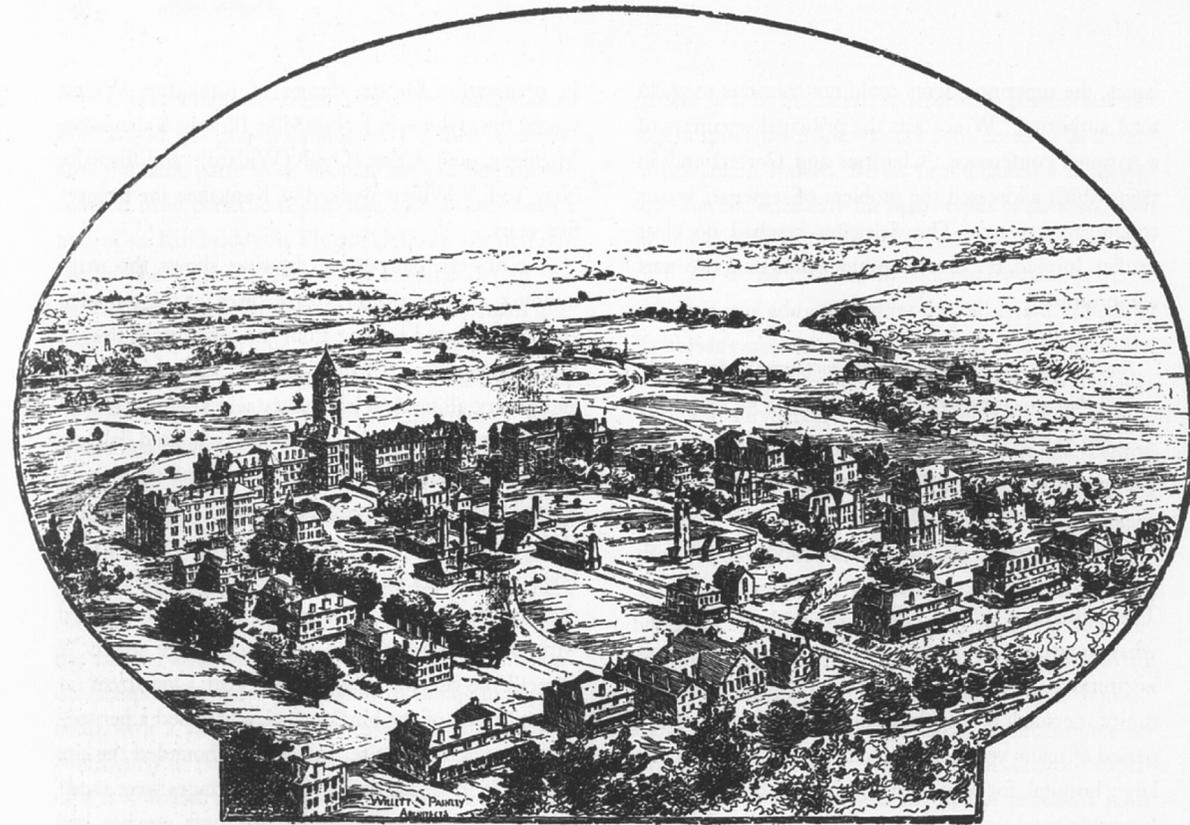


Salle de Labrouste, 1868, Henri Labrouste.



The library is instrumental in the general education of the public but it simultaneously suggest alternate orders through the reading of the books. The books are ordered upon shelves, sections and archives in accordance to specific domains of knowledge but in the process of reading and studying the order is potentially rear-ranged.

THE VILLAGE FOR THE INSANE - HETEROTOPIA AS DEVIATION



Eastern State Hospital for the Insane, Kankakee, Illinois. J.R. Willett, 1886.



Eastern State Hospital for the Insane, Kankakee, Illinois. J.R. Willett, 1886. Elderly mental patient placed in the setting of a normal 19th century home.

THE TECHNOPOLE OF AKADEMGORODOK (ACADEMIC VILLAGE)



Akademgorodok was constructed on pristine ground in the late fifties in Novosibirsk. It was designed with the American campus as a model. It was intended to combine the production of knowledge with the development of industry in the region.



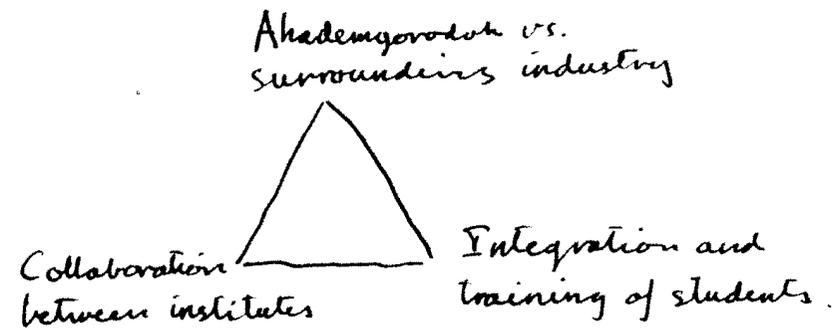
The construction of the new city suffered all kinds of set-backs due to its remote location and the hostility from the local administration in Novosibirsk. It never the less constituted a haven for groups of Moscow scientist suffering under the rigidity of ideological control in the capital. In early years they managed to create a culture of unprecedented freedom - in many ways an exemplary academy.

THE INADVERTENT CREATION OF A GLASNOST MODEL

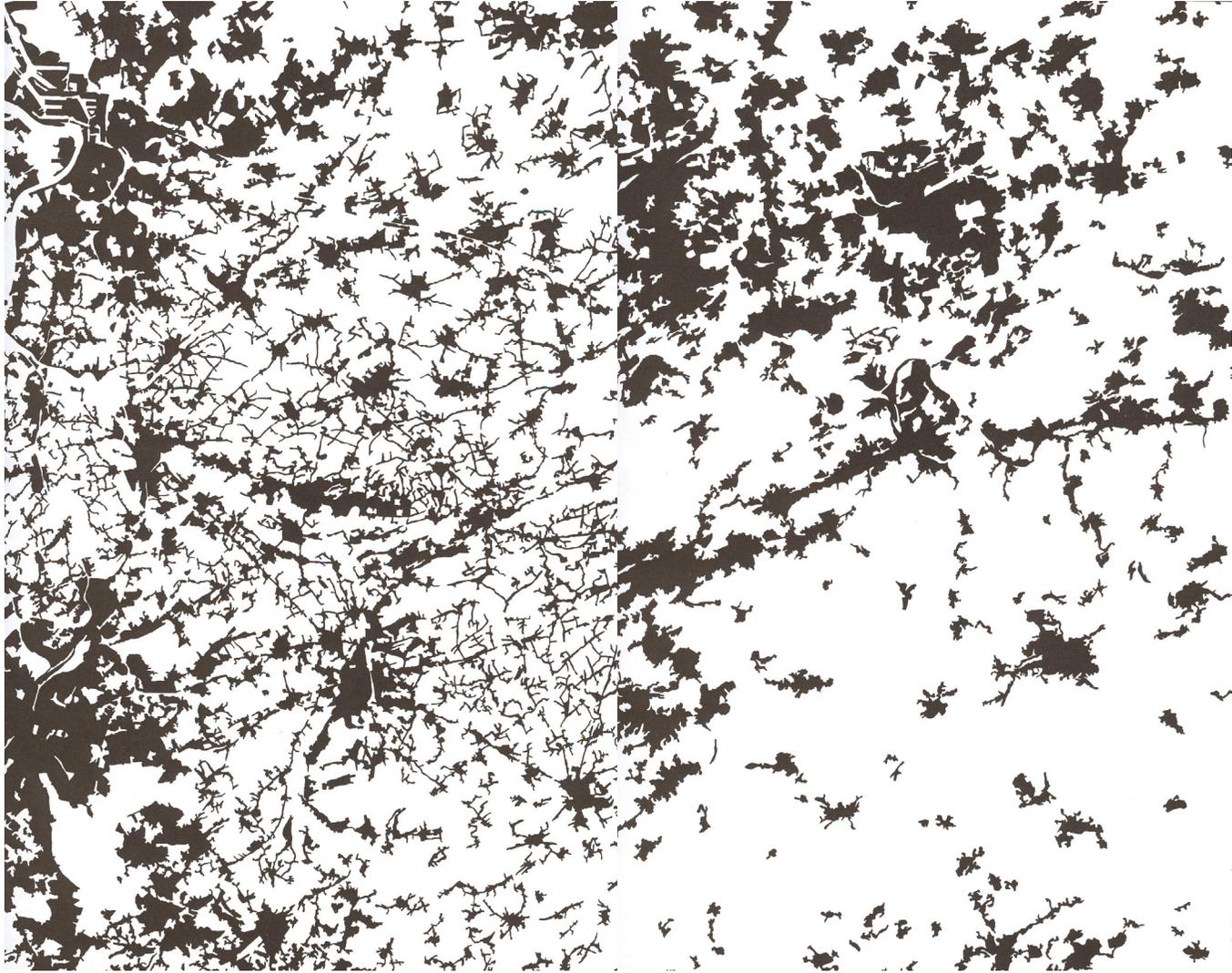
The concrete city is an assemblage of urban fabric and people. It is productive in itself in ways not dependent on the ideological intentions.

Levrentievs diagram

P.S	S.S
Scientist	Communist
Academic	Subject
Village	Ideology



“If things continue this way, there will be not much use for technology in Russia, but people will always need sausages. And if the situation gets even worse, we can always use out boat to escape...”



DISPOSITIVES OF SECURITY

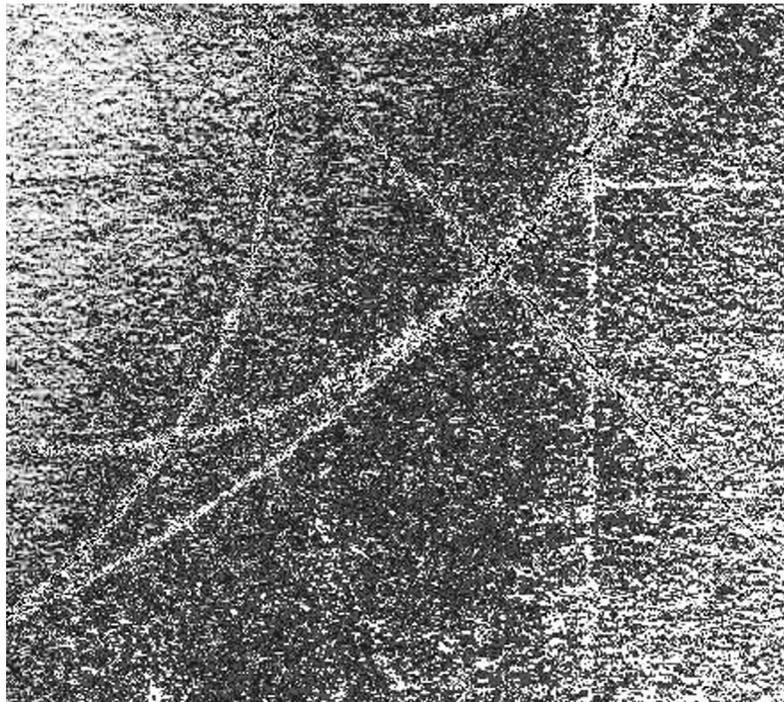
The contemporary city has destroyed the notion of city as architecture. The spatial organisation of architecture is not an important medium anymore compared to newer more mobile techniques better capable of distributing the flows of the network. The diminished importance of architecture as spatial organisation is mirrored by a tremendous proliferation of dispositives much better capable of dealing with the complexity of the contemporary urban matrix.

The current art of government thrives on a permanent state of crisis. It has abandoned the rigid demand for a tight correspondence between the norms of the disciplinary society and the life forms. Consequently it does rely on spatial organisation taking place in an empty space. It is rather like the furnishing of a dynamic territory.

It operates on the crowd through statistical analysis and evaluate behaviours according to normality (a statistical concept) rather than fixed norms.

The subtle coercion of the dispositives of security lies in the fact that government has developed into self-government. Each individual has taken on the responsibility for governing him- or herself believing it is a matter of free choice. The rigidity of identity suitable for a more stable society is substituted for the flexibility of self-administered competence.

Is heterotopia still a possibility?



STATE OF EXCEPTION