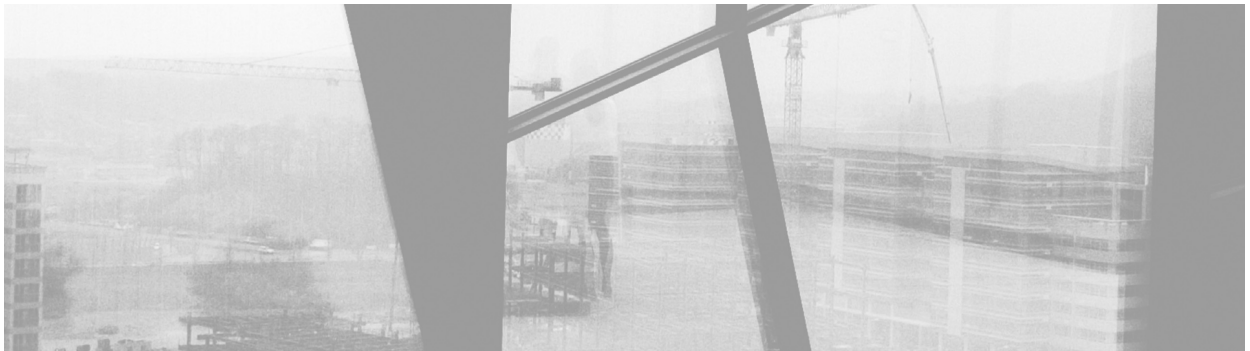


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Common Lines of Flight Towards the Open City

Deborah Natsios

An open city, by the law of land warfare, is a city that cannot be defended or attacked.

US Army Field Manual FM 3–06.11,
Combined Arms Operations In Urban Terrain

PROLOGUE

Evolving theories of defence and securitization have underwritten the territorializations and deterritorializations of the city, shaping transformations of metropolis, megalopolis and metacity explored in this section (see Chapter 36). In the post-9/11 era, the distributed architectures of the twenty-first century metacity are being mediated by new infrastructures that enable overt and covert systems of discipline, control, regulation and resistance. This essay tracks such networked assemblages as they intersect in the hybrid spaces of the commons, spectacle, camp, museum, checkpoint and watchtower – way stations of a pilgrimage which can never return to the idealizations of the imperial metropolis captured by the locution ‘White City’. Embodied in the monochrome

exceptionalism of Chicago’s World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893, the White City of the global North would be contested in the post-Cold War metacity, no less so than by the variegated urbanisms that infiltrated the complex topographies of Amman, Jordan, a self-named White City of the global South.

The urbanizing assemblages of the metacity invoke the conditions of a new *città aperta* – the Open City – a state of exception posited by the codes of land warfare during the twentieth century, in which military practices of defence and attack were provisionally suspended. A new era of catastrophic aerial bombardment had produced treaties which acknowledged the privileged status of cultural patrimony and sought to spare urban landmarks from destruction. Articulated within the scripts of conventional warfare, the proposed Open City addressed threats to the historiographic narrative, calling for urban preservation through a demilitarized interregnum to be declared in anticipation of imminent occupation of the city by the enemy (see also Chapter 18). At the same time, the



demilitarized hiatus opened up new terrains of resistance for insurgents who infiltrated urban space from which protocols of military attack and defense had been prohibited.

The twenty-first century's urban securitizations recall the *città aperta*'s ambiguities. Embedded among the metacity's legacy infrastructures, militarized new technologies and practices – both overt and covert – are being effectively demilitarized through a process of coercive normalization. Always anticipating imminent occupation by the enemy, the new Open City hovers in the lacunae between attack and defence, as insurgencies mobilize in the destabilized milieu to reclaim the prerogatives of civil society.

Bentham's prison had 'turned utopia inside out' (Ellin 1997, 16), improving modernity's individual deviant through confinement and a 'panoptic structuring of visibility' (Bogard 2006, 110). Haussman's metropolitan boulevards projected discipline beyond prison

walls into the city of emergent capital flows, enabling the surveillance and militarized control of the metropolis and its dangerous classes (Harvey 2006, 21). Civil defence tropes that warned of 'the enemy within' enlisted suburban compliance throughout the regional-scale diffusions and accelerating flows of the Cold War megalopolis (Farish 2007; Colomina 2007; May 1999). Following the attacks of 9/11, preemptive risk management deployed surveillant assemblages to produce data used to calculate actuarial statistics relating to risk (Lyon 2005, 34), effectively indicting suspect groups before crimes had been committed. In the post-disciplinary metacity, where global urban systems are bypassing the national (Sassen 2001 [1991]), venerable discourses on urban policing, criminology, penology and the architectures of defensible urban design – the disciplinary codes of the local – are being superseded by theories of transnational risk 'that operate

within a negative logic that focuses on fear and the social distribution of “bads” more than on progress and social distribution of “goods” (Ericson and Haggerty 1997, 6). The information age’s policemen and private security services are ‘knowledge workers’ who traffic in risk data. Database-policing is transacted not through visibility, but rather, an invisibility which covertly segments territory and pariah populations into ‘dystopias of exclusion’ (Young 1999, 19). Intertwined itineraries of risk and resistance flowing through global networks of production and consumption are being constituted in the dispersed assemblages of the commons, spectacle, camp, museum, checkpoint, watchtower and White City.

COMMONS

A newspaper story tracked an unemployed, 23-year-old programmer in Amman, Jordan as he left his family’s middle-class apartment for a nearby space where – notwithstanding his dream of someday achieving fame as a Microsoft programmer – he felt ‘most free to express his anti-American views’ (Davidson 2003). His destination was a small pizzeria where, instead of writing code for a software hegemon, he could articulate his desire to encode erasure through the discourse and practices of the *shaheed* – the martyred suicide bomber. A Jordanian sociologist quoted in the article traced the origins of such radical politicizations to the country’s refugee camps, settled after the mobilization of the Palestinian diaspora in 1948. Such political sentiments had since migrated from the camps to all of Jordanian society, infiltrating class and ethnic boundaries.

‘Bay Ridge is beautiful!’ the pizzeria owner assured his disaffected young patron. The restaurant’s iconic backdrop of red and white tiled walls was a checkerboard homage to its design prototype, a pizza parlour located some seven time zones to the west, in New York City’s immigrant neighbourhood

of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. Repatriated to his native streets after a diasporic interlude spent rolling dough in Bay Ridge, the pizza man touted his pies as the equal of any in New York. Firing up his oven, he professed his dream of committing jihad against America, citing the omniscience of Jordan’s ruthless secret police, the Mukhabarat, as one obstacle obstructing his jihadi path.

Mediated by global North reportage, this account of the global South pizzeria’s contradictions situates its architecture as a staging zone among way stations of resistance, intervening within global capitalism’s circuits of cultural, economic and political production and consumption. Flows of political speech percolating throughout Amman’s diffuse flash points are lines of flight which evade hegemony’s censors – collapsing the time,



distance and spectacles separating remote Bay Ridge and Amman.

Cross-boundary flows of capital, technologies, goods and diasporas have introduced unexpected political performances to the pizza parlour’s architecture. A single service counter and two round tables provide an ad hoc stage in support of a self-regulating urban commons (Hardt and Negri 2004, 204). These modest props enable monologues, dialogues, negotiations and feedbacks, which reproduce global effects, promoting the constitution and articulation of political identities and a new theory of the networked metacity linked by global communications.

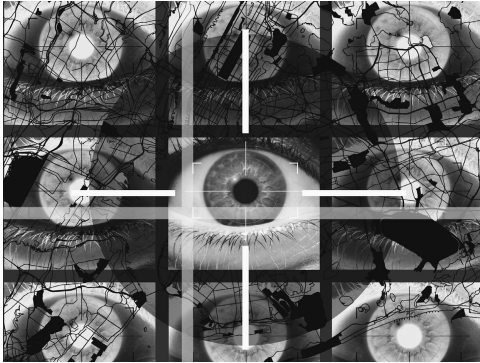
The Ammani pizza parlour's networked site of contestatory discourse and practice is inscribing the contours of the metacity's counter-geopolitical cartographies. The politicization of this unremarkable space conforms with Hardt and Negri's assertion that – as a consequence of the new form of sovereignty which characterizes emerging logics and structures of global rule – 'there is no more outside' (Hardt and Negri 2000, 186). Western liberal political theory had produced an outside which was 'the proper place of politics, where the action of the individual is exposed in the presence of others and there seeks recognition' (Hardt and Negri 2000, 195). New logics forging the passage from modern to postmodern have degraded distinctions between the two spheres: 'public space has been privatized to such an extent that it no longer makes sense to understand social organization in terms of a dialectic between private and public spaces, between inside and outside' (Hardt and Negri 2000, 188).

Neither inside nor outside, the networked pizzeria's politicized space is a displaced legatee of the enclosive architecture of prison, factory and school – which, Foucault argued, structured the production of modern subjectivity in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century disciplinary society (Foucault 1995). Both the restaurateur's fear of the Mukhabarat (Jordan's secret police), and his grudging compliance with state prohibitions, corroborated post-panoptical mechanics, posited by Foucault as the internalization of the authoritarian gaze of a state power which is visible but unverifiable (Foucault 1995, 201). Deleuze has theorized a postmodern transition from disciplinary society to the society of control (Deleuze 1992) in which: 'The society of control might thus be characterized by an intensification and generalization of the normalizing apparatuses of disciplinarity that internally animate our common and daily practices, but in contrast to discipline, this control extends well outside the structured sites of social institutions through flexible and fluctuating networks' (Hardt and Negri 2001, 23).

SPECTACLE

Globalization logics of continuous control and instant communications help constitute a new commons within networked pizzeria space – a commonality which binds the Ammani parlour to its Bay Ridge prototype, and links both to a radicalized pizzeria 70 km west of Amman, located on the busy corner of Jerusalem's Jaffa Road and King George Street. One of the American Sbarro chain of one thousand franchises distributed across forty countries, the Jerusalem pizzeria was legitimized by marketing science's simulated sovereignties, which – despite the corporation's globalized dispersions – promised to deliver 'authentic Italian dishes and flavors' (Sbarro 2007).

Just as the Ammani pizzeria had been modelled after a Bay Ridge prototype, its patron was reproducing the inverted architectural codes of a remote template, established by the son of a Palestinian restaurateur who targeted Jerusalem's Sbarro's in 2001 in a suicide bomb attack which destroyed the pizzeria, killing fifteen and wounding 130. The incident had provoked a multiplicity of scenographic reproductions. A month after the attack, a student art project recreated the bombing at a Palestinian university on the West Bank, a mock-up which celebrated the *shadeed* by displaying 'not only gnawed pizza crusts but bloody plastic body parts suspended from the ceiling as if they were blasting through the air' (Fisher 2001). The *détournement* – which co-opted consumer culture's penchant for the spectacular *mise-en-scènes* of the theme park – nonetheless disappointed a visiting architecture student, a young Palestinian woman who criticized the representation's victims as too few in number (Fisher 2001). The same spectacular images of human and architectural carnage were recycled in a video montage posted online on YouTube's media-saturated space on the sixth anniversary of the attack. The video memorialized the bombing victims and condemned *shaheedi* discourses and practices, with a title declaring



'six years ago, Jerusalem saw EVIL ...' (Jewee 2007).

The urban commons mapped between the politicized space of the Ammani pizzeria and the radical representations of Sbarro's dismantled architectonics support Debord's analysis of the spectacle as the *non-place* of politics: 'The spectacle is at once unified and diffuse in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish any inside from outside – the natural from the social, the private from the public' (Hardt and Negri 2001, 188; see also Chapter 14 of this book). Giorgio Agamben asks 'Confronted with phenomena such as the power of the society of the spectacle that is everywhere transforming the political realm today, is it legitimate or even possible to hold subjective technologies and political techniques apart?' (Agamben 1998, 6).

CAMP

Propelled by globalization's accelerating *momenta*, the punitive self-disciplines of the pizza man's quotidian locale may be recalibrated within transnational carceral formations which are reinforcing the architectures of cross-border security networks. Just as the Americana of a Bay Ridge pizzeria provided the archetype for its shifting Ammani reflection, so too, the US Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) geopolitical templates helped design its historical ally's secret police, Jordan's Mukhabarat, as an agent of the Cold War's bipolar worldmap (Kaplan and Ozernoy

2003) and regulator of the period's contentious decolonization processes.

Following coordinated attacks against the US on 9/11, the Mukhabarat, or General Intelligence Department (GID), reciprocated its American patron's largesse, providing services as proxy jailer for the CIA to support the George W. Bush administration's practice of 'extraordinary rendition'. A decentred policing technique foundational to control society, rendition consigned the detainee not to the juridical interiority of disciplinary society's sovereign prison, but to the so-called 'black site', an encrypted camp, wherein legal frameworks are suspended. Like the refugee camp, the black site is a spatial manifestation of the extrajudicial state of exception – in Agamben's words, a 'dislocating localization' or 'zone of indistinction between outside and inside' (Agamben 1998, 175, 170).

Transfers of US detainees to foreign custody permitted harsher interrogations than would be allowed under US law or the UN Convention on Torture (Priest 2004; HRW 2008). Political, economic and military reach assure US dominance in extraterritoriality, culminating a century-long legal trend of loosening geographic restraints to assert domestic law beyond sovereign borders (Raustiala 2006, 219, 248).

Exposed by journalistic reportage, the Ammani pizza man and his disaffected patron risked being conscripted among ghost detainees who populate the networked pizzeria's spatial doppelgänger, Jordan's black site matrix. The black site network's custodial

practices are transforming existing carceral taxonomies. Handcuffs and leg-irons coerce the eighteenth century's disciplinary submissions; hoods censor the autobiographies and subjectivities of modernity's ghosts; anal plugs regulate the postmodern effluvia of quarantined bodies of denationalized Pakistanis, Georgians, Yemenis, Algerians, Saudis, Mauritians, Syrians, Tunisians, Chechens, Libyans, Iraqis, Kuwaitis, Egyptians and Emirati (HRW 2008).

Transiting through a decentred urban matrix of networked legal lacunae – the non-places of civilian airport, military airbase and private airstrip – the disappearing subject sheds traces of encoded geodemographics as she is conveyed by elite globalization's aircraft of choice, the Gulfstream turbojet coveted by CEOs and celebrities (Priest 2004). Cruising under power of Rolls-Royce engines, the craft's enciphered vapour trails contaminate the jet streams of cross-border airline routes. The ghost detainee, no longer immobilized by the disciplinary city, is coerced into a forced migration across clandestine archipelagoes of the US' penal diaspora, recapitulating the black stages of exile along the lower stratosphere of counter-terrorism's covert flyways. Agamben argues that extra-legal gulags and the states of exception they represent have become the twenty-first century's dominant political and spatial paradigm: 'The birth of the camp in our time appears as an event that decisively signals the political space of modernity itself' (Agamben 1998, 174).

The CIA and its proxy jailers collaborated in the production of black intelligence at one maximum-security enclave isolated in the barren landscapes of Jordan's remote, southern desert region: the GID's notorious Al Jafr Prison (Kaplan and Ozernoy 2003), built during the Cold War as a frequent destination of decolonization's dissidents. Satellite imagery reveals the site as an inscrutable glyph embedded in dun-coloured desert typography, mute colophon signalling a half-century's worth of untranscribable wails.

The Mukhabarat headquarters in Wadi Al-Sir conceals other urban metastases, grafted onto the periphery where the Western edge of Amman bleeds into dry riverbeds and a landscape of sanguine hills. The four-story detention centre's isolation cells sort ghost detainees by categorical branding, not due process of law (HRW 2008). These damaged goods are warehoused just blocks from the branded home decor stores and franchised food courts of fashionable Mecca Mall, where consumer desire is nourished by McDonald's, a Pizza Hut franchise, Starbucks and KFC (Al-Kurdi 2008). One mall tenant, the Body Shop, a worldwide chain of 2,200 toiletries stores, touts human and civil rights, and eschews animal testing during the distilling of its 'Milk Body Lotion' and 'Pink Grapefruit Body Butter' (Body Shop 2008). Minutes away from the fragrant emporium's lubricated patrons, biometrics which encode control society's docile body are being tested in an altogether dystopian body shop secreted in the GID detention centre's subterranean level. The Body Shop's signature 'Peppermint Cooling Foot Rescue Treatment' will provide no balm for victims of *falaqa* whippings, a form of torture targeting the soles of the feet while the immobilized subject is hung upside down in underground oubliettes, the forgotten spaces of inverted justice.

Like offsite plants that treat urban effluents, black sites provide a displaced infrastructure for regulation of the blackwater byproducts of urban securitization flows. Global cities investing in security architectures previously restricted to the inter-state scale are implicated in extrajudicial processing. Knowledge-based urban managers collude in the proxy interrogation of the ghost suspect, inflicting ordeals and pointed questions – when, where, how and by whom will the city be targeted? – whose distressed responses will be indicted by the discourses of urban database, geographic information systems (GIS) and watchlist.

Security discourses and practices constructed at the scale of national-state have

been re-scaled for local policing among micro-processes which Saskia Sassen notes have begun to 'denationalize what had been constructed as national' (Sassen 2006, 223). After the 9/11 attacks, David Cohen, a former senior official of the CIA who had overseen its worldwide operations, was appointed as the New York Police Department's first Deputy Commissioner for Intelligence, tasked with 'enabling the NYPD to conduct its increasingly global law enforcement operations more effectively' (NYC 2002). The NYPD Intelligence and Counter Terror Divisions recruited officers with 'military, intelligence and diplomatic background' (Finnegan 2005), a trend consistent with Hardt and Negri's assertion that in control society, 'war is reduced to the status of police action' (Hardt and Negri 2001).

The conventional limits of municipal jurisdiction have been exceeded by NYPD intelligence officers assigned to 'key international cities' – including Tel Aviv, London, Singapore, Santo Domingo, Toronto, Montreal, Paris, Lyons, Madrid, and Amman – for information-sharing and coordination of counter-terror activities with host countries' police and intelligence agencies (NYC 2008). Utterances produced by the Mukhabarat's ghost sites will be decrypted by the Arab-speaking NYPD sergeant assigned to Amman, and reconstituted in the NYPD Intelligence Division's maps of New York City neighbourhoods, which have redlined 'Significant Concentrations of Palestinians' – among other suspect enclaves (Finnegan 2005).

Linked through threatscape layers of geographic information systems, reconnaissance squads scope out the suspicious synchronicity of red and white tiles that link pizzerias in Bay Ridge and Amman. Captured in crosshairs of coordinated surveillance apparatuses, the pizza man dreaming of jihad and his *shaheedi* patron may soon be inducted into the watchlist – the database's discourse of 'pure writing' which, Mark Poster argues, 'reconfigures the constitution of the subject' (Poster 1996, 85).

MUSEUM

Only after displaying valid ID – being duly authenticated and purged of the threatening anonymity of modernity's observing subject – will a visitor be guided towards the barrel-vaulted galleries of New York City's Harbor Defense Museum. Sequestered in a nineteenth-century fortress beneath the massive concrete anchorage of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge, the small museum articulates its theories of state power at the southern margins of a paradigmatic urban sign of undisciplined mobility – Brooklyn's immigrant neighborhood of Bay Ridge.



Buffeted by salt sprays that gust off Lower New York Bay, the museum visitor thus legitimated is escorted to her destination by military police outfitted in the US Army Combat Uniform, whose digitized camouflage palette references next-generation warfare's operational environments: the green of woodlands, the grey of urban milieux and the desert's sand brown. Military police are deployed as gatekeepers of the Harbor Defense Museum's institutional sponsor, Fort Hamilton, which, as encoded uniforms, checkpointing procedures and onsite memorializations of state-sponsored violence suggest, is an active army base – the only such enclave remaining in metropolitan New York City.

The museum's information warfare of Hobbesian scripts, cartographies and militia are housed in Fort Hamilton's granite

caponier, a rare American example of a defensive structure, which spanned the historic fort's dry moat, linking the idealized geometries of its inner and outer works. Completed in 1831, the caponier was designed under supervision of a French military engineer trained in the tradition of Vauban, France's seventeenth-century theorist of fortifications. A specialist in the strategic hardening of cities and frontiers, Vauban engineered defences for the emerging system of sovereign national-states. A popular dictum held that a city fortified by Vauban was an impregnable city (Bornecque 1984, 13).

Fort Hamilton had prosecuted Vaubanian territoriality through strongpoint dominance during the nineteenth century, exploiting geographic control of the emblematic straits known as the Narrows, the strategic gateway to New York City's harbor. A mile-wide chokepoint at Fort Hamilton's edge, the Narrows delimited the complex tides and currents of Upper New York Bay's inner harbour from the Lower Bay, the outer harbour which flowed into the Atlantic shipping channels of the New York Bight and into the portolan charts of world trade beyond.

Maritime hues of azure and ultramarine are notably absent from the visual codes of Fort Hamilton's military police uniform, signalling the obsolescence of coastal forms of warfare commemorated in Harbor Defense Museum securitization discourses, which describe a port city at once threatened and enabled by the violence of premodern naval power. The defence of the Narrows had once privileged the site as a militarized gateway within the entrenched system of disciplinary enclosures that circumscribed urbanism's historic conception of the ordered city, a schema originating in the act of inclusion and exclusion which, Diken and Laustsen note (2002), distinguished the city's inside and sovereign subjects from its outside. Disciplinary enclosure was the 'sovereign act' which delimited urban order from exurban chaos and the domain of the outlaw beyond.

But, while Fort Hamilton's hardened chokepoint enforced sovereignty – nomadic fleets and the port city's maritime mobilities contested disciplinary enclosures and the rational authority of any urban masterplan. Overlaid feedback systems of ebbs, flows and infiltrations penetrated the coast's amphibious national frontier, an aqueous border ecology within which the city had evolved as a frontier town bridging imperial trade's aquatic and terrestrial networks. Fluid cosmopolitanisms percolated through the harbour city's fissured disciplinary walls, shaping Bay Ridge's working-class enclaves of one- and two-family rowhouses. In the twenty-first century, supply chain security and immigration controls are among interdictory regulators of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey's jurisdictional zone of over 720 piers, three airports and the nation's most active bus terminal. The scope of the Port Authority's control over the special trade zone and intermodal nexus is circumscribed by the geometry of a 25-mile radius centered on the Upper Harbor's illuminated icon of the benevolent national-state, that presumptive enabler of global labor flows, the copper-sheathed beacon of the Statue of Liberty.

The nineteenth-century granite fort which houses Fort Hamilton's Harbor Defense Museum has been preserved as an historical artifact within the twentieth-century fort's suburbanized field of emerald lawns, whose low-rise structures service the garrison's programmatic needs of housing, administration, and recruitment, as well as its support of expeditionary operations. The suburbanized fort's inverted figure-ground diagram reversed the taboos of military history's impenetrable city walls, which as David Grahame Shane has pointed out, delimited urbanism's classic distinction between city and country (Shane 2005, 19).

Fort Hamilton's suburban inversions reflect the evolution of defense paradigms which abandoned naval technologies for World War II's anti-aircraft batteries and the Cold War's Nike missile emplacements. The twenty-first-century inversions of the fort's

generic camp typology extend to its light-weight, industrial perimeter of translucent chain link fencing, whose ostensible transparency is effectively denied by overhead crenellations of looping razor wire, which invoke the primitive ordeals of flailed flesh and the modern concentration camp's conditions of bare life.

ID verification protocols negotiated by Fort Hamilton's military police at the monumental base of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge help regulate flows within the modern fort's diagram of suburban diffusion, interdictions linked to the more extreme spatial displacements of its expeditionary operations on foreign soil, which include processing troops deploying to Iraq. Sanctioned by state-centric security discourses which sacralize the politics of 'national ethnos' (Appadurai 2006, 8), renewed tests of citizenship confirm the identification of citizenship with residence in territorial space as the national-state's central fact of political identity (Agnew and Corbridge 1995, 85).

CHECKPOINT

Checkpointing technologies challenge the cosmopolitan city's irrational nomads, whose mobilities destabilize the national-state's sovereign correlation between state borders, national boundaries and citizen loyalties (Schultz 2003; Nakashima 2008). New statistical tools and informational processes are 'anti-nomadic techniques' (Foucault 1995, 218) which supersede the percussive apparatus of disciplinary baton and riot shield – mobilizing the watchlist as new warden of the wall-less detention centre. Authenticated by password, algorithm and biometric detail – statistical instruments and information infrastructures reinforce the checkpoint's confrontational strategies, rendering the inspected body increasingly docile (Deleuze 1992; Lyon 2005, 52).

ID verifications are among flow-regulating technologies wired within the US military's

interoperable architecture for command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities (C4ISR) (US DoD 1998). The consolidation of multiple systems into an interoperable whole produces the 'surveillant assemblage' (Haggerty and Ericson 2000), a visualizing device which will provide full-spectrum dominance of globalization's dispersed post-modern battlespace. Stephen Graham has noted that such militarized technologies and practices have infiltrated civil policing: 'As part of the growth of neoliberal policy, many states have been militarizing their systems of criminal justice, law enforcement, and public space regulation, bringing the weapons, doctrines, and technologies of war to the streets of cities and the borders of nations' (Graham 2007, 17). These transfers conform with Hardt and Negri's assertion that: 'In addition to being a political power against all external political powers, a state against all other states, sovereignty is also a police power' (Hardt and Negri 2001, 87). Facilitated by new technologies and practices refined in the militarized context of expeditionary operations, the NYPD's 68th Precinct in Bay Ridge asserts its global awareness, obliquely announcing on its public website that 'over recent years there has been a significant influx of people of Middle-Eastern and Asian descent into the area' (NYC 2009).



The surveillant assemblage of command and control architectures provides a militarized prototype for urban policing in the era of global flow, interrogating citizenship to

assess deviance along harbour-front streets of one of the networked city's key diasporic enclaves – Bay Ridge's long-established Arab neighbourhoods. Middle Eastern bakeries, halal butchers, Egyptian restaurants, storefront mosques, Islamic bookstores and sheesha cafés furnished with gold hookahs and red plush-velvet divans have been inserted into existing structures of Brooklyn's low-rise street armature, articulating hybrid patches of immigrant desire within a post-colonial assemblage of Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian, Egyptian and Yemeni immigrants and asylum seekers. Street walls compress new data into archeological strata that document pre-existing ethnicity – including the façades of Gino's, Nino's, Rocco's and Vesuvio – pizzerias whose memorial signage recalls earlier generations of immigrant inflow and artisanal recipes, long-since legitimized through naturalization and franchising.

Numbered streets and avenues capture the neighbourhood's subordination to the grid. Instead of the densely verticalized development of the Manhattan's iconic skyscrapers, the Verrazano-Narrows Suspension Bridge, the nation's longest, provides a monumental sign of horizontal mobility, a corridor which promises expansive opportunities linking the working and middle class neighbourhood of two- and three-story wood-frame and masonry units with the diffused suburban landscapes of Staten Island and the northeastern megalopolis which lies beyond.

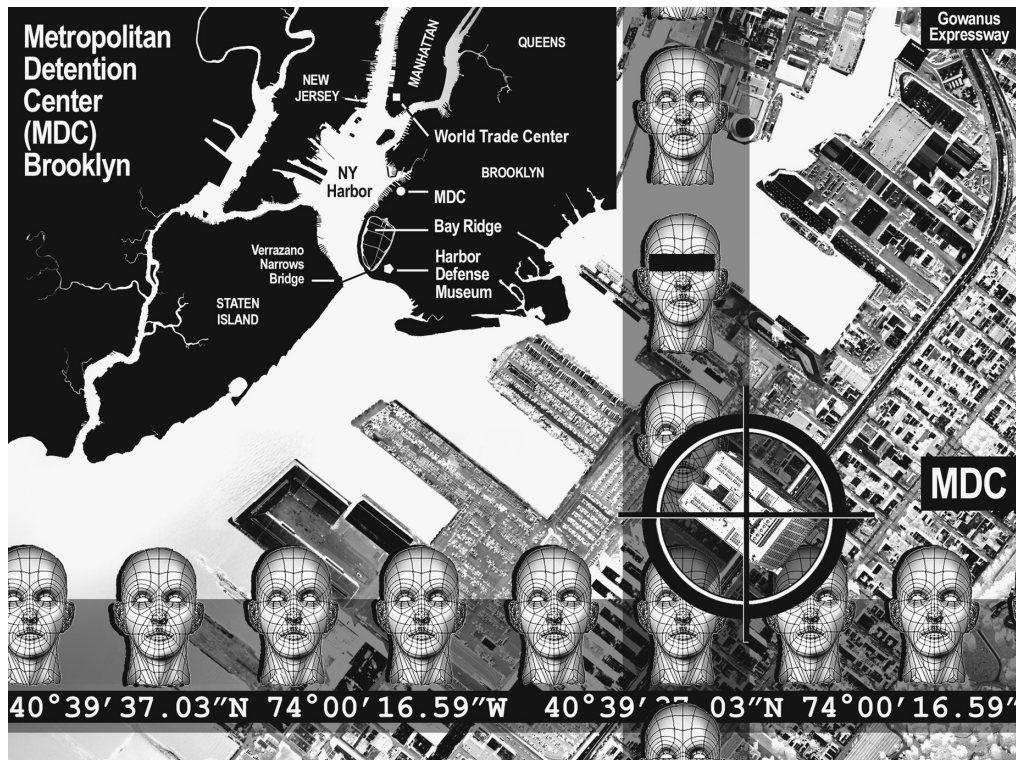
Militarized policing refines boundary maintenance processes (Barth 1969, 38) which target immigrants who continue to settle in Bay Ridge just beyond Fort Hamilton's hardened perimeter. Bounded to its west by the harbour's vagaries of world trade, Bay Ridge is sheared off from the rest of Brooklyn to the east by the thrumming concrete ribbons of Robert Moses' masterplanned Gowanus Expressway, incorporated into the Interstate highway system as I-278. Bay Ridge has been carved by successive waves of urbanization into an arrowhead-shaped fragment whose fine-grained, local insularity is pierced

by immigrant journeys. Home first to Scandinavian sailors, then successions of immigrant Irish, Italian, Greek, Russian and Chinese, its population includes New York City's largest Arab community, both Muslim and Christian, one of the oldest in the US (Bayoumi 2008, 8), helping make Brooklyn the country's largest Muslim enclave (Sheikh 2004; Al-Oraibi 2005).

Deterritorialized attachments to estranged homelands cycle through checkpoints, borders, jurisdictions and horizons that separate Bay Ridge's pizzerias from those of faraway Amman, Sanaa and Ramallah – global connectivities sustained by communications technologies, new media and low-cost international phone-cards, which promote reconciliation with the rapidly urbanizing global periphery. Nearby international airports promise two-way travel flows. They reverse the one-way directionality of earlier immigrant trajectories, which decanted from the tenements of New York's centric metropolis into the suburbs of the American dream, exfiltrating through the heroic portals of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge into the dispersed postwar urbanized continuum that unfolds between Boston and Washington, DC.

Validated by Harbor Defense Museum narratives, ID checkpoints attempt to denaturalize the persistent ancestral voices of Gaza, Damascus, Cairo and Amman, which, having bypassed the coercions of mandate, protectorate, national border and city wall, have infiltrated translocal processes and identities, inscribing new homeland geographies within fractured postcolonial imaginaries. Pizzeria culture evades hegemony's foot soldiers, who enforce interdictory architectures of checkpoint and watchlist, suppressing the fluid cartographies of refugee camp, diaspora and jihad – the dispersals denoted by *al-shatat*, the absent homeland invoked by *al-ghurba*, the metaphysics of return and *al-awda*, the spaces of peace and war delimited by *dar el Salam* and *dar el Harb* (Schultz 2003, 20).

That the disciplines of New York City's Vaubanized defences had been superseded by the efficiencies of globalization's inexorable



mobilities was confirmed the morning of September 11, 2001, when air traffic controllers at nearby Newark Airport reported an aircraft had breached the Narrows – overflying the straits and the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge to penetrate vulnerable airspace of the Upper Bay (Brokaw 2006).

The nineteenth century's iron ship-barrier chains would not have restrained these cross-boundary raiders. Propelled with a ballistic momentum of 545 miles per hour, the commandeered craft would be crashed into the eightieth floor of the South Tower of the Port Authority's flagship property, Manhattan's World Trade Center, triggering the explosive incineration of 10,000 gallons of jet fuel, a massive fireball which helped precipitate the collapse of the harbour's emblematic colossus, followed by that of its doomed twin. The concussive events, communicated to a global audience in mediated televisual real-time and celebrated by cross-border insurgent chatter, were witnessed in stunned, polyglot silence by Bay Ridge's

recreational fishermen – South Asians, Russians, Latinos and Orthodox Jews angling for snapper, fluke, porgies and bluefish from the end of the pier which projects 69th Street out into the harbour from the northern margins of the neighbourhood's shore-front esplanade.

Inside the Harbour Defense Museum galleries, a single color photograph documents the day – immobilizing a brief nanosecond within the slow-motion calculus of the de-architectonic process. The glossy photo provides a vanishing backdrop for gritty testimony retrieved from the attack site: the display case's votive relic – a cannonball-sized, cementitious mass of crushed grey debris, whose unidentifiable aggregates are shaped something like shards of shattered human bone.

WATCHTOWER

The breaching of the port city's disciplinary defences, registered in the destruction of the

Port Authority's monumental obelisks, had targeted their hieroglyphic discourses and practices of neo-liberal trade. Following the insurgent sabotage, state power, invested in the flowing goods and bads of the neo-liberal system, mobilized control society's interdictory architectures. One such interdiction machine, Brooklyn's Metropolitan Detention Center (MDC), was activated in the ageing industrial waterfront just beyond Bay Ridge's northern margin. A vaguely corporate, thirteen-storey fortress of grey cast-in-place concrete built in 1996, the structure housed a 1,000-bed facility of the US Department of Justice's Federal Bureau of Prisons. Squeezed between the pier system to its west, and the arterial flows of Interstate-278's Gowanus Expressway to its east, the MDC overlooked lanes of southbound traffic that were minutes from surging across the double decks of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge into regional-scale transportation networks.

Paralleling New York Harbor's Gowanus Bay and the navigable forty-foot depth of its Bay Ridge Channel, the intermodal coastal zone of loft buildings, storage warehouses, rotting piers and railway tracks had almost been abandoned along with waterfront jobs lost in the 1960s and 1970s (Chait 2007, 32). But Bay Ridge's northern neighbour had persevered as an immigrant gateway with roots in the maritime working class of stevedore, longshoreman and stowaway, whose processing of cargo linked it to the dispersed geography of global trade's world labour markets.

A façade of vertical slit windows confirmed the carceral role of the Metropolitan Detention Center's harbour-front fortress on 29th Street, promoting a coerced visibility which recalled the panopticism of the vestigial waterfront's manufactory floors. The MDC was a waterfront warehouse displaced from the heroic civic architecture of downtown Brooklyn's courthouse complex. In the months following 9/11, the MDC would exceed the carceral functions established by the traditions of penal law, which had produced both Brooklyn's courthouse enclave and modernity's disciplinary city.

In coordination with securitization infrastructures which enabled the neo-liberal restructuring of its failing waterfront, the post-9/11 MDC would be transformed from warehouse into a machine for extra-judicial sorting. Authorized by control society's exceptional regulatory practices, the Brooklyn MDC trafficked in the human byproducts of neo-liberalism's harbour-front processes. The detention centre negotiated human cargo flows, demanding custody of the mobile alien whose cross-border breaches were being reclassified as a risk to sovereignty's enclosures. Underwritten by the juridical exceptions of the George W. Bush administration's declaration of a post-9/11 state of emergency, the sorting of ghost nomads consigned to the waterfront detention centre transformed its disciplinary architecture into a provisional black site and urban analogue of the refugee internment camp.

Such securitizations were intended to mitigate urban vulnerabilities which, Timothy Luke points out, are integral to liberal capitalist democracies, economies and societies, where a 'culture of *liberal amicability* underpins codices of governmentality, and their structuring of population, territoriality, and sovereignty' (Luke 2007, 124). Interdictions and internments interrupt the inimical exploitation of an amicability built into spatial practices that mobilize material for economic production, as interdictory machines interrupt the bodies, machines and goods that flow through the ensembles of big systems and urban technostructures.

Building upon Cold War-era discourses profiling the decolonizing Third World as an inimical region of political instability, the MDC's interdictory processes were supported by tropes that would condemn neighbouring Bay Ridge's hybrid urbanism as a malign example of 'the South within the North', echoing the indictment of the global South expressed through the rhetoric of the clash of civilizations (Taylor and Jaspardo 2004, 220). The global South was 'disconnected' (Barnett 2004, 8), 'a worldwide zone of revolution' (Hobsbawm 1996, 434), a zone

of feral, failed cities (Davis 2007 [2006], 205). Stephen Graham has reported that the US Army's new 'Revolution in Military Affairs' (RMA), in particular, has problematized global South urbanization (Graham 2006, 247). This problematization confirms the North–South rift anticipated by the maps of neighbouring Bay Ridge's Harbor Defense Museum, which tracked a premodern world system that privileged European empire and metropolis – within whose bounded cores could be discerned spectral reflections of the invisible cities of the punished colonial margin.

Like Jordan's extraterritorial black sites at Al Jafr and Wadi Al-Sir – the Brooklyn MDC produced extrajudicial space to validate state power's declaration of emergency. A Bay Ridge family of Syrian descent was roused during the night in February 2002 by a squad of fifteen armed law-enforcement officers, detained in the MDC for months, but never charged (Bayoumi 2008, 21). The family was among MDC detainees culled from over 1,200 South Asian and Arab individuals arrested in mass sweeps throughout the US in the months following 9/11, some turned in by neighbours. Of 762 non-citizens retained on the custody list, sixty percent were from the New York City area (US DoJ 2003). Almost all would be expelled to their home countries (Sachs 2002). Some 82,000 Arab and Muslim men obligingly came forward in 2003 to register at the urging of immigration authorities. More than 13,000 went on to face deportation (Swams 2003).

Sweeps, detentions, deportations and renditions are seminal practices of political displacement within the extraterritorial geographies inscribed in both Brooklyn and Amman – emerging logistics of control society's transnational carceral apparatus. Like ghost detainees of Jordan's black sites, the identities of so-called 'September 11 Detainees' – non-citizens deemed 'persons of high interest' held without charges at Brooklyn's MDC – were kept secret, citing the state of emergency's 'special factors' (Bernstein 2006). An Egyptian detainee

testified: 'Worse than physical or verbal abuse was the feeling that we are being hidden from the outside world, and nobody knows in the outside world that we are arrested and in this place' (Bernstein 2006).

With basic rights suspended, detainees were confined to maximum security isolation cells twenty-three hours a day in a special unit with 'the highest level of restrictive detention' (Goodman 2005). Handcuffs and leg-irons linked by a restrictively short length of heavy Martin chain restrained individuals during interviews conducted within an interior architecture of reinforced iron grillwork, chainlink fencing and clear partitions (US DoJ 2003). Regulations exceeded the merely disciplinary, as surveillant apparatuses optimized statistical tools to produce docile bodies. Stationary security cameras recorded detainees within cells, while hand-held video cameras documented their movement without, when they were escorted through the premises in the grip of the required 'four-man hold restraint'.

One so-named 'multipurpose room' illuminated by standard fluorescent ceiling fixtures and furnished with a reclining medical exam chair sheathed in disposable sanitary paper, was used for 'medical examinations, strip searches, recreation, and individual meetings' (US DoJ 2003). Leisure society's recreational gambits provided an unlikely programmatic addendum to routine strip searches and invasive body cavity inspections, which stripped the value of the MDC's abandoned subjects, reducing them to the exclusions Agamben has referred to as 'bare life' – the condition symptomatic of the modern camp (Agamben 1998, 7).

Responding to detainee lawsuits subsequently filed by civil liberties activists, a US Justice Department investigation found in 2003 'systemic problems with immigrant detentions and widespread abuse' at the MDC. Acknowledging the constitutional contradictions inherent in the state of exception, the Justice Department's Inspector General issued recommendations to prevent 'unnecessary detentions and abuses of

noncitizens in the event of a new national emergency' (US DoJ 2003; Bernstein 2006).

The MDC offers a compressed example of regulatory architectures whose logics of exception are being diffused throughout the fabric of the unbounded city through the deployment of deterritorialized assemblages. David Lyon asserts that the city's dense web of information networks – including those generated by city planning, marketing or community policing – makes it a crucial surveillance site (Lyon 2005, 49). Surveillance systems shape risk society's actuarial justice, intervening against norms for social and spatial justice, reproducing the space of the camp within the postmodern city. William Bogard notes that 'post-panoptic surveillance assemblages have evolved deterritorialized controls that radically subvert the movement to free societies' (Bogard 2006, 101).

The boundaries of the camp city will be inscribed through databasing algorithms which structure defensive urbanism throughout the de-bounded risks of 'world risk society' (Beck 2002, 39) – superseding architectural designs for the twentieth century's city of defensible space (Newman 1972). The camp city's census will be annotated through codes and passwords of databases which comingle categories of local, national and transnational – producing a new typology of state-managed, differentiated urban population which will be targeted for intervention through the watchlist. Docile bodies which populate the watchlist will be abstracted from the territorial setting of command cities and their peripheries into 'data-double' flows which fragment personal histories into disembodied biometric identifiers (Bigo 2006; Bogard 2006; Lyon 2006; Haggerty and Ericson 2000). Fingerprints, palm prints, iris prints and voice prints map a disjunctive choreography of bodily absence and loss. Reconstituted through the forensic interventions of passport, visa, ID card and residence permit, fractured identities emerge as new urban fictions.

Such post-panoptic effects are internalized through the immanence of the undercover

informant, control society's deterritorialized enforcer, who inspires the 'familiar fear' that links Bay Ridge's residents to the totalitarianism of their countries of origin 'where informers for the security services were common and political freedoms curtailed' (Elliott 2006). A police informant of Egyptian descent frequented the Islamic Bookstore of Bay Ridge over a six-month period in 2004, inducing the young bookstore clerk, an illegal immigrant from Pakistan, into acts of political speech and planning that resulted in his arrest on terrorism charges and a thirty-year prison sentence (US DoJ 2007). Control society's paradigmatic self-regulation is in effect. A restaurateur reports 'After September 11, everyone stopped talking' (Rappleye 2008). The local Arab-American newspaper documents an 'endemic mistrust of the police and fears of reprisals' (Millard and Faisal 2008). The internalization of the sovereign gaze produces urban effects, transforming the public sphere, collapsing inside and outside: 'Some people stopped attending the neighborhood's two major mosques, preferring to pray at home. Others no longer idle on the street after work' (Elliott 2006).

Watchlisting the diaspora generates a regulatory architecture for the urban camp, inscribing the first narrative of the new extraterritorial, whose extrajudicial algorithms refine thresholds between inside and outside, between norm and exception, marking boundaries between normal and abnormal populations. Neo-liberal reductions and privatization of public space and the public sphere have found their ultimate antipodal state in the security city's camp, where the agora is being sucked into the black hole of its own negation – an inverted, extrajudicial black site of data-doubles and inaccessible public space modelled and encrypted by the state.

WHITE CITY

Incandescent white limestone clads Amman's architectural façades, linking Jordan's capital



city to a regional geology whose tectonics, at the boundary of migrating African and Arabian plates, have also produced the Dead Sea rift. Detritus of long-evaporated seas, white sedimentary stone is embedded with shells of once-mobile marine life, calcified amidst disseminations of flint, silt and desert sand. Great blocks are quarried in seismic zones of Ma'an, 'Ajlun, Irbid and al-Azraq – only to be further split, sawed, chiseled, hammered, sand-blasted, flamed or polished to reveal their pelagic legacy – yielding textures and patterns which will be integrated into the capital city's masonry austerity' (Shaer 2000). White veneers mask turbulent geologic origins just as they camouflage the political fault lines which have splintered Amman's urbanization since its emergence in 1920 as capital of Transjordan.

Built upon a distinctive topography of hills – *jabals* – and the deeply incised *wadis* of interstitial dry riverbeds, Amman's limestone-clad equanimity earned it the sobriquet 'The White City'. The idealization provided continuity and a city theory to the layered archeology of Roman, Byzantine, Islamic and Ottoman masonry fragments until 1948, when the historic city of dressed stone was suddenly infiltrated by modernist settlements of wind-swept, utilitarian fabric. These were not the ecologically integrated tents of black goat-hair crafted by the region's mobile, desert-dwelling Bedu. Rather, the prefabricated structures of industrial canvas had been stitched together to shelter involuntary nomads of a postcolonial migration – the *al-Nakba*, or 'catastrophe', of 1948, when an

estimated 100,000 Palestinians flowed into Jordan after being displaced from ancestral lands, followed by an additional 380,000 after the 1967 War (UNRWA 2008).

As the conflict-generated diaspora became seemingly irreversible, the transitional canvas shelters of tent cities were supplanted by the refugee camp's ad hoc urbanism of galvanized steel, aluminium, asbestos and cement – all linked by a pilgrim's peripatetic syntax of interconnected staircases built into steep hillsides, recalling Zygmunt Bauman's acknowledgement that the stateless refugee's journey is never completed (2007, 32).

The twenty-first century's urban camps are almost indistinguishable from low-income quarters of the city (McDonough 2003). But although Amman's urbanization has been driven by processes of refugee influx and resettlement (Gilen et al. 1994), camps have not become fully integrated into the White City of iconic stone. No explicit walls demarcate the city from Jabal al-Hussein camp, which crowns one of Amman's three original hills. But its exclusion from the architectural lingua franca of white limestone reflects the political ambiguities of placeless diaspora and the 'included exclusions' Agamben cites as immanent to modernity (Agamben 1998, 7).

Jordan granted Palestinian refugees citizenship in the 1950s – the only Arab country to do so. Many have left the camps and been assimilated into Jordanian society. But nominal citizenship has not insured loyalty to the state or rescinded refugee status (Al Abed 2004). Neighbourhoods grouped according to the inhabitants' Palestinian village of origin continue to provide a mnemonic armature for the internal organization of camps (Bokae'e 2003, 7). While this segregation for a time prevented political action under a unified identity (Talhami 2003), the fragmented urban geography served to construct a compensatory cartography of ancestral homeland, the names of whose abandoned villages had long since been erased from modern maps (Newman 2006, 20).

Failure to settle the Palestine question after 1967 had radicalized the camps as strongholds of stateless insurgency. By 1970, a guerrilla urbanism of proprietary visa controls, customs checks and checkpoints was installed, as the archipelago of politicized camps challenged what was perceived as a repressive territorial state. Guerrillas would be expelled from the kingdom by early 1971, but not before the violence of Black September 1970, which left thousands dead in Amman and its urban camps (Raab 2007, 168).

Unresolved urban pathologies and chronic unemployment would drive many of Jordan's Palestinians into the new economic diasporas of global labour flows, as they relocated from refugee camps to foreign worker enclaves in the Gulf States, Europe and the US (BADIL 2008) – including diasporic neighbourhoods like Bay Ridge, Brooklyn – from where earnings could be remitted to families left behind. Frequently assessed as a security risk, Palestinians have been rejected in favour of more compliant foreign workers (McDonough 2003; Feiler 1994; ArabicNews 2005). Terrence Lyons has noted that 'diaspora remittances are key resources to a conflict and often sustain parties engaged in civil war' (Lyons 2006, 111). Some 200,000 Jordanians and 150,000 Palestinians were expelled from states of the Gulf Cooperation Council during the second Gulf War (ArabicNews 2005). In New York City, the NYPD Intelligence Division has red-lined the Palestinian presence on its neighbourhood maps.

CITTÀ APERTA

The pizza man had left Amman for Bay Ridge only to return years later bearing the culinary and architectural codes of the pizza-making commons. It is not clear whether his return from Brooklyn had been voluntary. Had he been detained at the Metropolitan Detention Center after 9/11 among other Bay Ridge residents, and deported in a forced

migration from Brooklyn's black site to the White City's exclusions? The would-be jihadi risked being displaced once again, propelled into the clandestine flows of Jordan's own extraterritorial gulags, recapitulating his itinerary through the architecture of the commons, spectacle, camp, museum, checkpoint, watchtower and White City.

The Mukhabarat's surveillant assemblages had been mobilized in November 2005 after three of Amman's luxury hotels were targeted by deadly suicide bombings – attacks perpetrated by Iraqis linked to Al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia who had infiltrated Jordan using counterfeit passports. The attacks were symptoms of profound urban impacts experienced throughout the White City after up to a million displaced Iraqis flowed into Jordan, escaping violent consequences of the US invasion of 2003 (Shahbazi 2007; AI 2008; Beehner 2007). The settlement patterns of Iraqi exiles diverged from those that followed population displacements in 1948 and 1967, when refugee camps were established to absorb Palestinians who became Jordan's majority population. Iraqis infiltrated existing fabric throughout the stratified city, producing a more diffuse enclaving of vaguely defined exilic boundaries and socio-economic mixings, a debounding of risk which provoked control society's regulatory infrastructures, reproducing the conditions of the refugee camp within the city of incandescent stone.

Sequestered in the networked pizzeria which is neither inside nor outside, the diasporic restaurateur and his disaffected patron are negotiating new political performances. Their audiences will participate from myriad sites of the dispersed global commons. Apprentice pizza men include Chinese Muslims from the Uighur ethnic minority released from the US black site at Guantanamo, Cuba, after four and a half years of unwarranted internment. Granted political asylum by Albania, the Uighurs are receiving government-sponsored vocational training as pizza-makers. Television news has shown the released detainees behind the

counter of a halal takeout shop in Tirana, kneading dough and baking pizza (*European Journal* 2009).

Meanwhile, clandestine informants continue to infiltrate the networked spaces of the global commons, preparing classified reviews of political performances. They order pizza as they annotate their watchlists, encrypting the passenger manifests which will be tracking one-way transit from diaspora to black site. Escaping the detritus of imperial metropolis and Cold War megalopolis, the nomadic architect responds, plotting common lines of flight past spectacle, camp, museum, checkpoint and watchtower. Navigating the *città aperta*'s provisional interregnum, the architect charts a new geography of the open city.