# After the Strike? Part 1: The Transitional Space of the Picket Line

### Jane Rendell

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# ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE

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Keywords: strike, site, work, care, feminism, institutional critique, lifewriting, Parrhesia



Volume 0/Issue 0 pp 1–14 DOI:10.1080/20507828. 2021.1827481

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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# After the Strike? Part 1: The Transitional Space of the Picket Line Jane Rendell

ABSTRACT This essay explores the activities of strikers at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL over a 14 day-period in the early spring of 2018. These days were part of the 2018 University and College Union (UCU) Pension Strike, one of the largest strikes of university academics in recent times, which occurred over a 4-week period, with strike days increasing from two days in the first week, to five by the final week. This was a strike to protect the pensions of university workers as a defined benefit scheme rather than a defined contribution one. This essay is structured as a two-stranded diary, weaving together textual materials taken from the Strike chronicle and website produced at the time, with critical reflections written in the present, concerning the current state of the neo-liberal university, discussing issues relating to pensions – namely institutional critique, ethics and equity, labor and work, precarity and care.

For 14 days in the late winter/early spring of 2018, I spent many hours suspended in a transitional space between the inside and the outside of my place of work. These hours were part of the 2018 University and College Union (UCU) Pension Strike, one of the largest strikes of university academics in recent times, which occurred over a 4-week

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After the Strike? Part 1: The Transitional Space of the Picket Line Jane Rendell period, with strike days increasing up from two days in the first week, to five by the fourth and final week. We went on strike to protect the pensions of university workers as a defined benefit scheme rather than a defined contribution one.<sup>1</sup>

My designated place to strike was a strip and one meter wide, 5 meters long, and perhaps 4 m high, located in between the glass façade of newly refurbished Bartlett School of Architecture building and the edge where the pavement of the east side of the north end of Gordon Street began. This patch of concrete was located opposite the UCL student's union and sandwiched between the Economics Department to the north and the Chemistry Department to the south. As we were to discover, our particular picket stretch offered some shelter in bad weather, and at the start at least, a little bit of freedom, as it was located between the pavement owned by London Borough of Camden, and the Bartlett building whose façade and interior were owned by UCL.

In the days before the start of the strike, I was involved in a lengthy set of emails between the leadership of UCL's branch of UCU, the Dean of the Bartlett Faculty, the School of Architecture Building and Facilities Manager, and my striking colleagues to negotiate exactly where we would strike and how precisely our picket line would become manifest. Those of us who had been on strike before knew the potential tensions of the picket line, the duty of trying to persuade - through argument - those who wished to enter the building to think again and to instead join the strike, but how hard it was to face colleagues who you worked with every day and ask them not to enter the building, and how disappointing it was if they ignored you and walked in anyway. There was the question of whether it was possible to create a way of striking that could oppose and assert without being aggressive and confrontational, and whether the way we occupied the position of our picket could help us to achieve that. The importance of how to practice an act of refusal is vital and ties into debates that are taking place now around the post critical, and the search for a form of criticality which goes beyond either an affirmative or a negation.

In a recent interview, Rosi Braidotti has suggested "that political agency need not be critical in the negative sense of the oppositional and thus may not be aimed solely or primarily at the production of countersubjectivities. Subjectivity is rather," she argues, "a process ontology of auto-poiesis or self-styling, which involves complex and continuous negotiations with dominant norms and values and hence also multiple forms of accountability." She writes: "Contemporary nomadic practices of subjectivity – both in pedagogy and other areas of thought – work toward a more affirmative approach to critical theory." And in their work on a post-critical pedagogy, Naomi Hodgson et al, propose that this affirmation does not need to accept, but can take the form of caring and protecting what we love, and in so doing turn toward hope.

The post-critical is used here not to reject or negate criticality but to indicate that the critical has arrived, and that everything which occurs after this announcement is in its midst, and so relation to the critical. Feminist theorist Diane Elam reversed that Jacques Derrida's understanding of "undecideability" is not indeterminate but rather a "determinate oscillation between possibilities," and argues that such a position offers a political potential by refusing binary choices. And art critic Jan Verwoert, by recommending the refusal of options which allow either a no or a yes, opens up other possibilities: "Maybe the secret of autonomous agency and the good life lies precisely in opening up the space of those other options through a categorical refusal to accept the forceful imposition of any terms, leaving us no choice but to choose between either yes or no?"

Through those 14 days I discovered that striking offered both a no and a yes, an act of negation, in this case the rejection of a revised pension offer that was unacceptable, but also an alternative, in the form of the "teach-out" as a model of education and research, that differs from those of the market, finance, and expansion valued by neo-liberal universities in the UK (and globally). Inherently spatial, I would describe this as a form of "critical spatial practice," a term I have previously used to define kinds of interdisciplinary practice that offer a critique of the sites into which they intervene, by problemmatising the existing situation, and by offering other possibilities. Along with all those other acts of "constructive institutional critique" of the university system, my own and those conducted by colleagues and students, this strike helped shift my articulation of spatial practice from a focus on the critical toward the ethical, where the attention is on the creation of more equitable relations and modes of inter-subjectivity.

In "Self-Writing" Michel Foucault explores how the involvement of writing practices in processes of self-formation gives them an "ethopoietic function." He examines in particular how individuals in Stoicism and Christianity monitored and transformed their relation to themselves and to external truths through written, bodily and meditative practices of self-training that were both ethical and poetic. Critical writing that draws to attention to the relation between the poetic and the ethical, has been described by poet Joan Retallack as "poethical," 10 and developed more recently by Denise Ferreira Da Silva through her "black feminist poethics." 11 So although submitted under my name, as this twopart essay is my own account and interpretation of the 2018 UCU strike, overall the writing is the result of UCU's collective actions, and especially those undertaken with my UCU UCL colleagues from the Bartlett School of Architecture, and those involved in organizing our strike - namely Thom Callum, Mollie Claypool, Miranda Critchley, James O'Leary, Barbara Penner, David Roberts and Thandi Loewenson. This essay could then be described as an act of what Donna Haraway calls, drawing on the work of Beth M. Dempster, sympoiesis, or making-with, a process which she

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After the Strike? Part 1: The Transitional Space of the Picket Line Jane Rendell writes is "always partnered all the way down" rather than the self-producing generative system associated with autopoiesis. <sup>12</sup> I have written the body text of this essay, while the texts in the images and the quotations, both referenced in the footnotes, are drawn from the Bartlett School of Architecture UCU newsletter, *Strike Chronicles*, edited by Penner, and the website, https://www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org/designed and constructed by Roberts.

Day 1: Thursday 22 February – Where and How to Strike, or, the Spatial Politics of the Picket Line<sup>13</sup>

# TEACHING IN AND OUT

JANE RENDELL

For a teacher, striking at a university is difficult because of the tension between commitments: to broader social issues and to particular students. I suggested a teach-in, following the US tradition, as place for political debate and transformational pedagogy, in the Bartlett lobby during the UCU strike. https://www.ucu.org.uk/pensions
But a colleague warned me that a teach-in might be perceived as a strike-break, because it involved crossing a picket line: https://www.ucu.org.uk/student-uss-information

Yet, I had thought of the teach-in, not as a way of continuing business as usual, but rather as a potential occupation. And certainly NUS and UCU are in support of sit-ins. http://anticuts.com/tag/uss/ UCU UCL suggested moving the picket line back to the card barriers, so we would be both inside the building and outside the picket line. But when I informed management of this plan, I was told that picket lines must be outside the employer's premises.

So back to binaries: inside or outside. On strike days we are going to work the picket line into a transitional space with potential for dialogue. Whichever side of the line you are on, we hope you will come and join us.

Figure 1

Excerpt from The Strike Chronicle, edited by Barbara Penner, and excerpted from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of Barbara Penner and David Roberts.

In the build-up to the strike it became clear that active strikers were a minority of the overall staff body, and that even though the majority of staff at the Bartlett School of Architecture, for example, hold fractional

(and so precarious) teaching-fellow posts (adjuncts in US terms), many felt too vulnerable to join the union and to expose themselves as critics of university management, while others, as working design practitioners. held their loyalty to students above issues seen to be relevant only to university academics (Figure 1). It felt important, therefore, from the outset, to create a space where it was possible for those who had chosen to strike to open up conversations with those who were not on strike. Indeed, the question of how strikers could engage with non-strikers preoccupied those of us striking for the full 4 weeks. I thought that placing ourselves inside the building would offer the opportunity to interrupt work as usual, not only by refusing to work as usual, but by setting up alternative pedagogical platforms that might draw others in. Yet, as I explored the possibility of holding our strike inside the Bartlett building, and occupying the place between the glass facade which divides the building from the street and the electronic card barrier several meters in, I was drawn deeper into the spatial politics of the ground floor architecture itself ... which was why I wrote the short paragraph which appeared in the first issue of the Strike Chronicles and is reproduced above.

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To enter the Bartlett School of Architecture, does not at first involve passing through a physically-vetted barrier, not does it require swiping a card, but it does involve pressing a button, and because the front door is a fire escape, which opens not inwards, but outwards toward you, your path forward is impeded, initiating over time, what becomes a ritual of self-examination. If you do allow yourself to work against the movement of the door and to enter, you find yourself in a lobby, a zone of exhibitions and their launches, coffee breaks, quick lunches, and now via the newly inserted door from the Chemistry auditorium, pre and post evening lecture drinks. But you cannot access the toilets or any of the teaching spaces, workshops, student studios or staff offices from here. To do this, you have to pass your UCL staff or student card across the electronic card barrier, or if you have no card, to present yourself formally to the security guards. So this second boundary comprises both a physical block and a social encounter, that you have no choice but to enter, in which you are asked (and then told) if you do or do not have the right to enter the institution of the Bartlett School of Architecture. And it is the transitional status of this lobby space located between these two boundaries - the fire-door and the electronic card barrier - as a site of questioning generated from without and within, that I was debating via email the night before the strike began. 14

Initially I had been keen that we teach-in, <sup>15</sup> right in, beyond the electronic card barrier, in the style of an occupation of the Bartlett, <sup>16</sup> that would mix up those on, and those not-on, strike, and which would also fit with the French style of striking, where rather than withdraw your labor, you continue to do your job, but for free. We would be on strike, this would be recorded, and so we would receive no pay, but we would

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continue to teach, vet do so differently. However, when I proposed this to the UCU UCL leadership, they thought an occupation of the interior of the building might pose problems and suggested that we stay in the lobby between the front door and the electronic card barrier. 17 However, the Dean, having looked into my request that we position ourselves in this lobby area, said "It turns out that picket lines have to be outside the employers" premises, so I am afraid it's a matter of wrapping up warm. At the same time, colleagues of mine in the UCU, had noted that for a striker, rather than a student, to strike inside the building would not be seen as an occupation but as strike-breaking. So we had no option but to stand outside the building, creating a fairly conventional picket line, and taking up the practice of "teaching-out" rather than "teaching-in."

On first day of the strike we gathered a large crowd, everyone was in a high mood, with positive media attention, and strong student support. The UCU UCL lunch-time meeting was held in Club 52, a nearby private sports club (more on locations later) and was packed. And for the first afternoon teach-out. Sean Wallis, the UCU UCL Vice-President, outlined the reasons for, and context of, the strike, with a chance for international students to find out more about the history of UK strikes and the role of the picket. Afterwards, we held an organizing meeting, and my colleague Barbara Penner proposed setting up the Strike Chronicles, which acted a daily bulletin in paper format to be handed out from the picket line, with specific sections - dispatches, solidarity corner, a short article on a theme of the day, and "join us" section with a listing of current activities - and which she compiled and edited throughout the strike. Colleagues Thom Callum. Miranda Critchley, Thandi Loewenson, and James O'Leary, dealt with social media, gave talks and organized activities. My own role was to come up with a programme of activities for each day of the strike, and to link them into UCU's agenda, and the events across UCL. David Roberts designed and set up a S-T-R-I-K-E website, which forms a great archive of those 14 days, and a snap-shot of a particular moment in the history of political activism in defence of public education, at UK universities in general, and at the Bartlett School of Architecture in particular. 18

## Day 2: Friday 23 February - We Care: We Strike 19

I am striking because I feel I have a responsibility to this institution. In the long run, in the run of years, it will be in this institution's best interest to get the best pension scheme possible for its employees. The pension debate is about how you care for people and how you care for the future, by sharing risk. It is about how we are bound in real ways to form societies. (Dr Lorens Holm, UCU, University of Dundee, 21 February 2018)<sup>20</sup>

The night before the strike began, some UCU members at the Bartlett School of Architecture received a wonderful email of solidarity from our colleague Lorens Holm at the University of Dundee, in which the word

"care" appeared, a term that had already made its appearance in many blogs and featured in our own banner for the day: "We care: We strike." Strongly informed by feminist work on the politics and practices of care, many of us wanted this strike to be different, not to simply stand in refusal outside the workplace discouraging others to enter, but to offer some kind of alternative. This did not only stem from a wish to draw attention to the often-masculine stance of the strike and the picket line, but also to address the tensions that many academics feel when striking, that those who get hit hardest are the students, rather than the managers, and that this was heightened in an era of rising student fees and debt.

Of my own students, some withdrew, after that first day, from active engagement in the strike. As part of UCL's expansion east, many were located in studio spaces at Here East, an outpost at which the picket line was only sometimes present. Others decided to get involved, to bake biscuits, dance in the cold, and write letters to the Provost financial compensation for lost teaching time. We devoted time in the one formal seminar that was not canceled to discuss the differing views and positions on strike action. I argued that the pedagogical experience of the strike could be as valuable a learning experience as sitting in the classroom, especially since their MA was focused on situated practice. But although some agreed, others were angry, and there were tears and disappointments expressed about how it felt to be torn between a desire to support striking staff and share our critique of the neoliberal university, but to miss key seminars and learning experiences they had been looking forward to (and paid a lot of money for).

So with our first strike slogan, "We Care: We Strike," we wanted to highlight how those on strike were not teachers who did not care about their students, but teacher-strikers who in defending the defined benefit (DB) pension scheme, over the defined contribution (DC) scheme. We were striking precisely because we cared about our students and their futures, and were defending the pact of solidarity between the generations that the DB scheme offered. Megan Poovey writes:

The employers propose an end to the DB pension scheme and its replacement with a Defined Contribution (DC) scheme. Under DC, you know what you pay, you just don't know what you will get — all the risk is transferred to individuals — the members of the pension scheme. In DB, you know what you will get and what you will pay — risk is shared between scheme members. [...] Moving everyone to DC will destroy the link between past and future staff, break the important link that ensures the scheme continues to grow with positive cash flows, risks destroying future pensions and undermines past pension accrual by creating the very deficit they seek to avoid.<sup>22</sup>

Highlighting the politics of care and collective bonds was perhaps a reflection of the strong feminist tone of this strike, <sup>23</sup> as Sarah Burton and Vikki Turbine write in their strike diaries:

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As feminism teaches us, care work is so often not valued, yet it is central to this project of resistance. To move into any sort of hopeful future the misrecognition of the work of care and ethic of kindness must change. Ultimately, what we seek is a reharnessing of care – removed from neoliberal notions of 'selfcare' and individual responsibility or censure, and refocused on cooperation and mutual recognition.<sup>24</sup>

This feminist perspective on the strike ties into important work being done by academics in architecture, for example Claudia Dutson, Catharina Gabrielsson, and Igea Troiani, who are examining specific kinds of labor inside and outside the university -24/7 work, housework, and entrepreneurialism.  $^{25}$ 

Day 3: Mon 26 February - Site-Writing/Strike-Writing<sup>26</sup>

# Monday 26 February

# Strike-Writing & Sign-Making Teach-Out

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

Join us to write and read words from strikes and picket lines past, present and future. Bring your favorite quotes and poems and songs to read aloud, and writing implements to pen and tweet your own strike-writing. This will run in parallel with a sign-making session.

## **UCL UCU Demonstration**

12:30pm: Tavistock Square

# Paul Mason & Catherine Hall Teach-Out

2pm: The Building Centre, Store Street

Organised by UCL History.

Figure 2

Fixeerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced he permission of David Roberts.

The third day of the strike was the coldest yet, "The Beast from the East," as the tabloids had named the arctic air mass that was heading to the UK, had turned London's streets into ice rinks (Figure 2). But the freezing conditions offered a challenge and made us all the more

determined to "teach-out." We turned the methodology from my site-writing seminars and workshops inside out.<sup>27</sup> With a few committed ex-MA students (Joanne Preston, Rachel Siobhan Tyler, Leyla Williams and Lili Zarzycki) who arrived super-early – before work in some cases – to set up, we converted the tables we had used for previous exhibitions of their site-writings into an external working space and produced banners and texts for the windows of the Bartlett, while inside other MA (Rafael Guendelman Hales) and PhD (Judit Ferencz and Sevcan Ercan) students made placards for the demonstration that would take place later that week.

I have argued that site-writing is a form of situated criticism, which aims to spatially relate one's critical attitude to one's lived experience; it draws on the history of feminism, and in particular on the slogan of second wave feminism – "the personal is political." Books like Sara Ahmed's Living a Feminist Life, and Rebecca Solnit's Men Explain Things to Me, were brought to the table, and we talked about how working in the university was more than just a job, that it was a way of life, and the role that writing played in that life. We discussed what work the students had gone onto after their MA, and who was thinking of returning to do a PhD. And all along I was wondering that if the university was willing to cancel our pensions, then should I really be recommending it as a place for a future career, and if not, then what exactly was I doing here?

Day 4: Tuesday 27 February – "Academia is for Life Not for Business on the Window" 30

# **Tuesday 27 February**

# Hedge Schools and other forms of transformative pedagogy

9-12pm: 22 Gordon Street

Join us to talk radical pedagogy, civic education and teaching to transgress!

## **David Graeber Teach-Out**

1-3pm: UCL UCU, 52 Gower Street

David is author of Debt: The First 5000 Years (2011); The Democracy Project

(2013); The Utopia of Rules (2015); and the eagerly awaited: Bullshit Jobs, A

Theory.

Figure 3

Excerpt from www.s-t-r-i-k-e.org, designed and produced by David Roberts. Image reproduced with the permission of David Roberts.

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The previous day I had placed the words - "Academia is for life not for business" - across the glass (Figure 3). To make a meeting point between those striking on the outside of the building, and those working on the inside, some of the letters faced inwards and others outwards. I knew from conversations that many colleagues wanted to strike but felt they could not for various reasons. Some were compelled to continue to teach, partly from a sense of lovalty, but also because of the competitive studio culture of the design units; others were worried about their visa status; some were raising young families and could not afford to lose even a day's pay; and a more marginal view, was that the union was itself a place of privilege, that not everyone could afford to join. These other perspectives encouraged me, like many others, to dedicate myself to the strike. As a tenured professor, with no children to support, I had a responsibility to care for those on fractional and temporary contracts, who wanted to strike but could not, and to make the strike as visible as possible.

Inside in the lobby at this time was the annual exhibition of PhD work. Two of my PhD students, studying histories and practices of transformative pedagogies, talked about their work from the street. Pointing to her display behind the glass, Sol Perez Martinez, an architect from Chile, discussed how the coup had halted the work of the radical pedagog Paulo Friere, and how she had come to the UK to follow up on how his practice had been taken up by civic activists, and especially environment studies centers in the 1970s, which connected grass roots activism to urban design and planning. Tom Keeley spoke about the importance of hedge schools for Irish Catholics for whom education was illegal. And as snowflakes began to fall, we drew into a tight circle for warmth, and talked about our experiences of pedagogy and politics. With so few new full-time posts in our discipline and a scarcity of post-doc positions. I started to consider what would come next for our PhD students, and what a waste it was when PhD research funded by the UK government could not be published, because the researchers who have conducted that work, have so many paid part-time teaching posts, that they have no time to write.

On that day, the UCL students went into occupation outside the Provosts price, 31 continuing a tradition of the occupations of 2010, at the time of the introduction of student fees. 32 Many of the younger academics on this strike had been students in 2010, and were now on precarious part-time non-fixed contracts. In her paper on "the increasing experience of precariousness among academics" Rosalind Gill discusses the "systematic casualization" of the academic workforce in the past twenty years, writing that "data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (2012) reveals that one third of academic staff in universities is employed on short-term, temporary contracts." She notes that only the hospitality industry has a greater proportion of temporary workers and "casuals." And Josh Bowsher describes how the strike "drew renewed"

attention to the casualization of workers in the university," $^{35}$  with the percentage of those employed on "atypical" contracts at around 70 in Russell Group of universities, such as UCL. $^{36}$ 

With the temperature dipping zero, we moved on to a nearby gym UCU UCL had hired, for an indoor teach-out with David Graeber on bullshit jobs.<sup>37</sup>

Jane Rendell (BSc, DipArch, MSc, PhD) is Professor of Critical Spatial Practice at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, where she coinitiated the MA Situated Practice and supervises MA and PhD projects. Jane has introduced concepts of "critical spatial practice" and "sitewriting" through her authored books: The Architecture of Psychoanalysis (2017), Silver (2016), Site-Writing (2010), Art and Architecture (2006), and The Pursuit of Pleasure (2002). Her co-edited collections include Reactivating the Social Condenser (2017), Critical Architecture (2007), Spatial Imagination (2005), The Unknown City (2001), Intersections (2000), Gender, Space, Architecture (1999) and Strangely Familiar (1995). Working with Dr David Roberts, Bartlett Ethics Fellow, she leads the Bartlett's Ethics Commission; and, with Research Associate, Dr Yael Padan, she leads work on "The Ethics of Research Practice" for KNOW (The ESRC funded project, Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality: PI Prof Caren Levy). In 2018, she received the RIBA Research Award for History and Theory, for May Mo(u)rn, - her research on housing and psychoanalysis, and a UCL Provost's Education Award for her work on ethics.

#### Notes

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- 1. The University and College Union (UCU) is a trade union representing 110,000 staff at UK universities. The pensions strike which took place at 64 universities across the UK. and involved 42,000 staff, commenced on 22 February 2018, and at 14 days is the longest-ever strike in UK higher-education history. (USS). It was part of an industrial action against 64 universities, represented by Universities UK (UUK), concerning proposed changes to the Universities Superannuation Scheme (USS). See for example https://www.ucu.org.uk/ strikesandpensions and https://en. wikipedia.org/wiki/2018\_UK\_higher\_ education strike#cite note-:12-5 for a start. For more detail see the work in particular of Felicity Callard, Sam Dolan, Jo Grady, Sam Marsh, Mike Otsuka at https://
- Interview with Rosi Braidotti, Rick Dolphijn and Iris van der Tuin, eds., New

ussbriefs.com/briefs/

- Materialism: Interviews & Cartographies (Ann Arbor: Open Humanities Press, 2012). 19–37. 37.
- Naomi Hodgson, Joris Vlieghe, and Piotr Zamojski (eds), Manifesto for a Post-Critical Pedagogy (Punctum Books, 2017).
- Diane Elam, Feminism and Deconstruction: Ms. En Abyme (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Jan Verwoert, "Exhaustion and Exuberance: Ways to Defy the Pressure to Perform," What's Love (or Care, Intimacy, Warmth, Affection) Got to Do with It? ((e-flux, Inc., Sternberg Press, 2017), 205–246, 208.
- See Jane Rendell, Art and Architecture: A Place Between (London: IB Tauris, 2000) and Jane Rendell, "Critical Spatial Practice as Parrhesia," special issue of MaHKUscript, Journal of Fine Art Research (2016).
- Artist/architect Apolonija Šušteršic has suggested that institutional critique

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- "doesn't produce any constructive resolution, when it doesn't effect changes in our political and cultural structures." See Apolonija Šušteršic, *Moderna Museet Projekt*, 4.2–14.3.1999. (Stockholm: Moderna Museet Projekt, 1999). 56.
- See for example, Jane Rendell, "Giving An Account Of Oneself, Architecturally," Special Issue of the *Journal of Visual Culture* (2016).
- 9. See Michel Foucault, "Self Writing," translated from *Corps écrit* no. 5 (February 1983): 3–23. See https://foucault.info/documents/foucault.hypomnemata.en/
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- 14. For a study of transitional spaces in architecture and psychoanalysis see Jane Rendell, *The Architecture of Psychoanalysis: Transitional Space* (London: IB Tauris 2017).
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