Persistent Afterimages: The Living Structure of Bodies, Buildings and Archives

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This thesis represents partial submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy/ Master of Philosophy at the Royal College of Art. I confirm that the work presented here is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Ilona Sagar

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This body of work is the result of experimental collaboration including: The former residents of Park Hill Estate, The Pioneer Health Foundation, Department of Neurology, University of Cambridge, Human Computer Interaction Design, City University, Materials Science and Engineering, Sheffield University, and Space Syntax Laboratory, Bartlett, UCL, Wellcome Collection, Arup Archives, Sheffield City Archives and RIBA archives.

Abstract

Through moving-image, discursive events, text and publication, this research critically explores the spatial connections between ideology, bodies and buildings, exploring the powerful tensions at play within the architecture of health for social and civic improvement. Through practice-led enquiry and archival analysis, I reflect on the tenets of modernism inherent in public design and common assets, critically examining what is activated through my intervention within this discourse. A central question being: How do we 'observe' such radical social experiments in the production of health and wellbeing from the locus of the present?

At the core of this enquiry are two extensive case studies, The Peckham Pioneer Health Centre (1931-1950) and Park Hill Estate Sheffield (1961-2004). These contrasting schemes are the cornerstones of my practice-based research and thesis. Both buildings and their respective archives offer a snapshot in time, representative of two crucial moments in health and social reform in the interwar and post-war periods. The Pioneer Health Centre, built before the foundation of the Welfare State and 20 years prior to the formation of the NHS, and Park Hill Estate, active at the peak of the welfare state, coming into decline in the 1980s.

By utilising my practice-based methodologies, this research critically unpicks how bodies perform the architecture of power and consequently, in what way embodiment becomes the catalyst for a variety of forms of mapping, metaphor, analogy and blurring – both within the realisation of utopic architectural health proposals for social remodeling, and as a method of navigation, experimentation and provocation within my own practice. The survey, the body and its attendant technologies become key tools to test and provoke the boundaries active within the archive, between observed and observer, body and building, modernity and obsolescence. The gaps and omissions left open and slippery in both archives, materialise the question of observation: who is being watched and what is the apparatus of the observer? Who is invisible?

In examining the ideological implications of architecture as an embodied instrument, and data as a diagnostic tool driving a solutionist approach to complex social problems, images and their afterlife become central to every aspect of the research. Whether the trace left in an archive, the production of medical diagnostic images, or the realisation of an architectural plan, I am thinking through notions of afterimage. What is an image, how can it be used to navigate archival, present, and speculative societal space? Not only an optical phenomenon or purely a metaphorical tool, afterimage in this context describes both a method of technological surveillance and acts as a historical interface between the eye of the researcher and the material of their research.

What anchors this enquiry is an interest in both case studies as sites in flux – archives perpetually unsettled and unfixed. Whether through change of use or falling into dereliction, it is in their uncertain state between past vision and present reality that they speak to the ongoing issues they come to represent. Using methods of co-inquiry, I set out to find a shared language that sits in-between, connecting architectural materiality with embodied knowledges, archives, entangled and physically sited in on-going lived experience and encounter. In tracing the decay, maintenance is exposed both in its utility and as a discourse. What are we protecting? What are we being asked to remember? This practice-led research draws out architecture not only as governmental agent, but an actor in its own right, asking in what way the historical apparatus of publicly activated architecture as an instrument of health becomes a critical tool and witness.

Notes

Due to the format requirements for submission, there are some minor spacing gaps within the thesis arising from mismatch between systems.

Where script from my own work, Deep Structure (2019) and Correspondence O (2018) are quoted, I have not used author-date citation but referenced them in text.

I have a formal assessment for Dyslexia and Dyspraxia, which is known to the RCA and my supervisors.

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Introduction

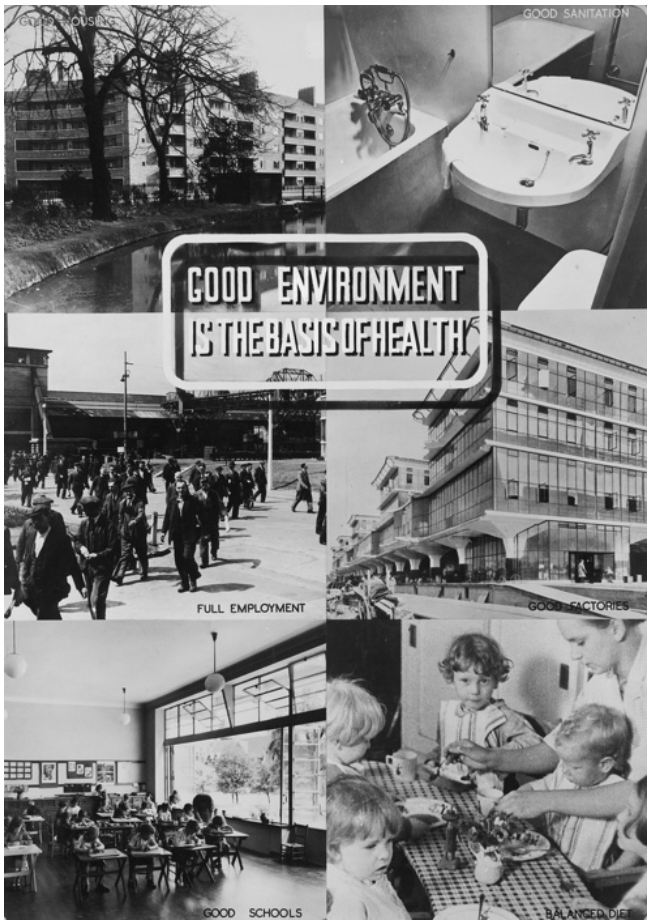

Figure 1 *Erno Goldfinger, 'Good Environment is the basis of health', poster for the Army Bureau of Current Affairs,* 1943, RIBA36152, RIBA Collections, London.

In a survey show that featured my film work *Correspondence O* (2018), *Living with Buildings* at the Wellcome Collection in 2018, there were two posters exhibited, designed by Erno Goldfinger in 1943 for an exhibition organised for the Army Bureau of Current Affairs. The first poster includes bad environments: slums, unemployment, bad schools, bad sanitation, bad factory buildings and under nourishment. The second, the opposite: good housing, full employment, good schools, good sanitation, good factories and balanced diet. What struck me was how these posters expressed the world on an axis between two states of modernism. The second poster features Owen William's Boots Factory, much admired by the MARS Group,[1] and Goldfinger's hopes for housing on the same poster exampling an

[1] The Modern Architectural Research Group (MARS) was a think tank of British architects keen to promote modernist, European strategy in Britain (Gold 2013).

early London County Council (LCC) housing scheme, all occupying the same public landscape. This was a utopia that seemed grounded in what it inherited from the Bauhaus, but also conscious of a need for a new image of the city, one planned and organised around the urban public commons as a vector of health.

In this research, I critically analyse the spatial connections between ideology, body and buildings, exposing the powerful tensions at play within the architecture of social and civic improvement. The archives and buildings central to this research act as means to explore the design and social determinants of health and welfare, both historically and within our current socio-political landscape: The Peckham Pioneer Health Centre, also known as the Peckham Experiment (1931-1950) and Park Hill Estate Sheffield (1961-2004). Both projects, and their respective archives, are representative of two crucial moments of public social reform in the interwar and post-war period; The Pioneer Health Centre built before the foundation of the Welfare State, 20 years prior to the formation of the NHS, at a time when many relied on healthcare from church and charity, and Park Hill Estate, active at the peak of the welfare state, coming into decline in the 1980s, at the beginnings of its slow dismantling. The two socially experimental schemes demonstrate an architecturally systemic understanding of health in the public domain coded by scientific reasoning, legacies of civic and industrial labour, paternalistic utopianism and claims to freedom. Although in many ways these are antithetical initiatives, the inspiring, yet not sustained, ideologies established by pioneering and ambitious schemes such as these are indicative of our expectations of social planning and public health.

Corbusier called the house a machine (Corbusier 1931, 29), Eileen Gray called the home a mouth (Gray [1929] 2000, 217, 309) later Frank Lloyd Wright would suggest 'To look at the plan of a great city is to look at something like the cross-section of a fibrous tumour (Wright 1945, 9; Wright 1932, 26).[2] Buildings, cities and bodies are forever entangled loci of power, enhancement and subjugation, machines for health, good or bad.[3] Bodies perform the

[2] 'To look at the cross section of any plan of a big city is to look at something like the section of a fibrous tumor. In the light of the space needs of the twentieth century we see there not only similar inflamed exaggerations of tissue but more and more painfully forced circulation; comparable to high blood pressure in the human system. Think of the big towns you know; then try to imagine what modern mobility and new space-annihilating facilities, even now, are doing to them! Consider the space requirement of modern mobilized man today as compared with twenty years ago' (Wright 1945, 9; Wright 1932, 26), Eileen Gray cited in Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: Architect/Designer*(2002), 'Entering a house should be like the sensation of entering a mouth which will close behind you' (Gray [1929] 2000, 217, 309).

[3] The metaphor of the city as a body is ingrained into the discourse surrounding urbanity, civic space, and design, evident in key works such as *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilisation* (1994) by sociologist Richard Sennett. He describes early modern European cities in the wake of William Harvey's discovery of the blood circulation system, and the

architecture of power and, consequently, embodiment becomes the description for a variety of forms of mapping, metaphor analogy and blurring. As both this thesis and the submitted film works show, the metaphor of the body becomes a political topography linking citizenship with particular physicalities and normative relationships. This research traces how architecture becomes an extension of the body, a mechanism to support its productivity, efficiency, and physical capabilities. The fundamental purpose of architecture in the examples explored is arguably to support a rationalised model of the body, its health and social fitness; to support our most essential human functions. Modernist architecture was envisioned not only as a style, but as a discourse, drawing on disciplines beyond its boundaries. In the wake of the First and Second World Wars, a moment of social rupture produced a hope for radical change and experimentation in urban planning, engineering and building. The disciplinary boundaries between artist, architect, planner and social scientist were yet to be siloed. Through practice-led enquiry and archival analysis, this research reveals radical, self-governed projects and in contrasting ways, public infrastructures as mechanisms of health, recovery and control.

Architecture has been deeply influenced by medical discourse in direct and indirect ways; from the quadratic, church-like design of early clinics to the light-filled early modernist constructions built to treat rickets and tuberculosis. Although published after the completion of *Correspondence O* (2017), Beatriz Colomina's *X-Ray Architecture* (2019) echoes many of the architectural and technological languages my research works through, and will be referenced at key stages throughout this thesis. I consider how architecture both informs and is informed by the medical body, pathologising and staging its management and treatment. I draw on Foucault's reading of the clinic (Foucault [1963] 2003), but also attempt to move beyond an analysis of health that is purely mediated by the clinic and the medical profession. Health, as a vector of individual or collective experience becomes a key force within this thesis, both in its visceral actuality and as a metaphor to understand how architectural projects become a powerful civic currency and operative component of bodily and societal change. Power is enacted through and on the body, it is both a social construction and individual experience. Through practical enquiry and written analysis, this research applies figurative, metaphoric language as a mode to critically examine aspects of our embodied, emotional, and civic interactions.[4]

parallel innovations in networking cities through pavements, sewers, and the improved circulation of fresh air (Sennett 1994).

[4] As Susan Sontag addresses in *Illness as a Metaphor* (1978), there are several ways in which the body is used as a metaphorical tool, as organs to describe complex geographies such as nations, cities, teams, and technical operations. In this

A technocratic ideology in many ways underlies both The Peckham Experiment and Park Hill Estate. This thesis expands on overlaps and differences between the two, considering the impact of labour, gender, and class on the founders' intentions. The subject of health can be understood as either personal, felt and realised in the body, or empirical, measurable, and systematised. Architectural and clinical surveying techniques are used throughout to unpick ways in which buildings and bodies are surveilled, both through legislative structures of the welfare state and socially formed, unofficial configurations. Such surveying emerges as a useful starting point to begin to antagonise a mass observational instrument like the Peckham Experiment or a later civic site such as Park Hill, where the objective focus was a population to be improved, managed and scrutinised. The 1930s had given rise to a climate of 'mass observation' with lasting impact on the intimate analysis of both physical and social health. Contemporaneous to the Peckham Experiment's attempt to observe the immeasurable parts of the 'living structure of society' (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 1), Mass Observation had similar desires to find an 'anthropology of ourselves', as Ben Highmore observes in 'Hopscotch Modernism: On Everyday Life and the Blurring of Art and Social Science' (2006). Although Mass Observation has an implied influence on both of my case studies, it is not the focus of this research, instead I examine the less well-known aspects of civic and social observation found in both the Pioneer Centre and Park Hill.

Surveying images and their afterlife have become central to every aspect of this research, whether it is the trace left in an archive, the production of medical diagnostic images, or the realisation of an architectural plan. I am thinking through the notion of afterimage: the trace that is left when a body is passed through an observational technology. Modernity itself has been driven by the evolution of surveying and diagnostic technologies, penetrating the body and its environment in ways not previously possible. The acts of scanning, quantifying, and mapping are not benign or subordinate – they have their own logic and volatilities, with real-life implications. The diagnostic act of medical, civic, and social surveying along with their technologies provides a crucial basis for this research. As the trace of an encounter between the body, ideologies of health and wellbeing and technologies of the archive, the survey reflects how health is authored and inscribed into the body and systems of governmentality. This is a question of observation: who is being watched and what is the apparatus of the observer?

usage, body parts are delineated domains to categorise, and order – extensions of both state, physical space, and civic identity.

Using my two key archival references as a starting point, I will consider their impact and generative potential within my work, with the central questions being: how do we 'observe' such radical social experiments in the social production of wellbeing from the locus of the present? My practice-based research and thesis asks us to consider; what do we do with the architectural legacies of modernism that linger in our cultural imaginary? What can artistic practice offer the space of archival resonance that moves us beyond the nostalgic or condemnatory?

The buildings and architectural schemes which are at the centre of this research are treated as fragments, in limbo, transmogrified from their intended function. Whether they are in a state of flux through a change of use or fallen into a state of dereliction – as both the Pioneer Health Centre and Park Hill Estate in differing ways demonstrate – I find that it is in their uncertain state between a past vision and a present reality that they most usefully speak to the ongoing issues they come to represent. What is being maintained and what is allowed to fall? What do these remnants and ideological sediments say about public life and the health of our social systems?

The Peckham Experiment (Pioneer Health Centre)

Established in 1926 'To understand the living structure of society' (Pearse and Williamson 1931), its founders, Innes Hope Pearse and George Scott Williamson considered the bond between environment and the body of the individual as fundamental to good health. Families living within 'pram walking distance' of the experiment were invited to join for a small weekly subscription. Members had to be a family unit and in full employment. This was not an inclusive or charitable scheme, as single people and the unemployed were excluded. The ideology of the Peckham Experiment, also known as 'The Pioneer Health Centre' was concerned with the holistic cultivation of health and not the treatment of sickness. The experiment began in a small terrace house and in 1935 moved to a purpose-built modernist building, designed by the utilitarian architect Owen Williams. Shelled within this purpose-designed living laboratory, surrounded by glass, light and uninterrupted openness, the Pioneer Health Centre was a strong rejection of the narrow and cellular stuffiness of conventional health facilities. It is in the amalgamation of design, ideology and experimentation that we find what makes the Peckham Experiment so enduring but so difficult to place. The building was designed to promote choice, a space that fostered free movement, interaction and communal learning, with a swimming pool, cafe, theatre, gym,

children's playroom and a farm offsite that was instrumental in the wholefood movement.[5] Members were not instructed on the use of these spaces, but encouraged to devise their own systems. There was no imposed order or rules; a radical movement socially and medically constituted. It is significant that the scientists of the centre were not doctors, but biologists setting out to study the function of the biological human, understood to be the family unit – a mother, father and child. They believed in agency and ownership over health, each member being responsible for their own care. At no point was the Peckham experiment a 'clinic'. The only direct form of medical intervention was a health 'overhaul' that each member family had to complete - their physical health, social habits and eating behaviors monitored. The scientists intended these observations to reveal a holistic strategy for good health, seeing it misguided to focus on disease solely and ignore 'the uncomplaining or so-called healthy population, understanding health as a social condition' (Pearse and Williamson 1931). The founders set out to study what was thought to be a healthy, average demographic found in Peckham. Ironically this was anything but the case. The findings were dramatic, demonstrating that of 2,766 people examined 90% presented some kind of disorder or illness, with only 254 receiving some form of medical attention. Most striking was the high number of participants, particularly women, with high levels of iron deficiency (Pearse and Crocker 1943, 96-98).

[5] I came across papers in the Wellcome Trust archives, that shows Dr Robert McCarrison, a physician stationed with the Indian Medical Service, had a relationship to the co-founders of the experiment George Scott William and Innes Hope Pearse. McCarrison was known for his nutritional research, with particular interest in the role of diet in metabolism and deficiency diseases. He met the Peckham Experiment co-founders through their early thyroid research. McCarrison gives an unsettling extended account of his observations of 'happy, well-fed rats living under the most perfect conditions of hygiene'. The Indian Medical Service that McCarrison was stationed within was a military service with some civilian functions. It played an important role in progressing our contemporary understanding of medical knowledge. The colonies developed as sites of medical innovation, imperial health practice re-enforced the powers of empire and subsumed other forms of medical knowledge. I feel compelled to further antagonise these associations to the Peckham Experiment, researching further if Britain used medicine as a way to legitimise and expand their colonial rule further, and whether this effects how we read the work of Dr Robert McCarrison. It was McCarrison's primary research into the impact of diet and endocrinology that most inspired the Pioneer Centre researchers. Revolutionary for the time, food was a key aspect of the centre, where all food was nutritionally planned and grown in a farm owned by the researchers in Kent. The Peckham Experiment moved away from the notion of health as an absence of individual disease but holistically linked to diet, social connection and health education as fundamental to wellbeing. The Indian Medical Service that McCarrison was stationed within was a military service with some civilian functions. It played an important role in progressing our contemporary understanding of medical knowledge. The colonies developed as sites of medical innovation, imperial health practice re-enforced the powers of empire and subsumed other forms of medical knowledge. I feel compelled to further antagonise these associations to the Peckham Experiment, researching further if Britain used medicine as a way to legitimise and expand their colonial rule further, and whether this effects how we read the work of Dr Robert McCarrison. It was McCarrison's primary research into the impact of diet and endocrinology that most inspired the Pioneer Centre researchers. Revolutionary for the time, food was a key aspect of the centre, where all food was nutritionally planned and grown in a farm owned by the researchers in Kent. The Peckham Experiment moved away from the notion of health as an absence of individual disease but holistically linked to diet, social connection and health education as fundamental to wellbeing.

Williamson's libertarian, anti-statist stance and bombastic writings mask the contradictions and inconsistences at play in the aims of the Peckham Experiment.[6] Subjects were portrayed as free agents, yet their involvement was framed by specific parameters and a top-down hierarchy of observation. Although opposed to the notion of a pathologising of health, in favour of holistic wellbeing of a social body, a medical gaze sits at the heart of the experiment. The disorderly records kept by Williamson and Pearse rendered them intelligible only to themselves, lending to the blur, the resistance to conform to an existing structure. They chose to remain within a convoluted hierarchy, looking ideologically forward rather than conforming to present obligations and societal norms, believing they were realising a future that was possible and progressive. Gaps and omissions from the archive make the Pioneer Health Centre more of a projection for some idealised future time. The commentary surrounding the Pioneer Centre comes mainly from architectural, sociological and medical historical perspective. Some commentators have viewed the observations of the Peckham Experiment as a possibly ethically compromised scientific experiment (Kuchenbuch 2018; Armstrong 1938), whereas other writers such as Colin Ward and Philip Conford view the experiment as a moment of learning and hope for radical change for contemporary health systems (Ward 1966; Goodway 2007; Conford 2016). *Correspondence O* (2018) and it's connected events, is one of the first public artistic responses to the Peckham Experiment, and is a substantial contribution to new knowledge surrounding the archive and building.

Park Hill Estate

In 1924 Patrick Abercrombie proposed a comprehensive redesign for Sheffield.[7] This initiative brought together socially minded civic design into the industrial heart of Sheffield city centre. The most radical of Abercrombie's proposals was to clear a large slum area in

[6] During the 1940's George Scott Williamson spoke at the London Anarchist Group on several occasions, yet publicly decried any alliance with the political movement stating "I am not an anarchist, nor do I believe in anarchy - not even the Kropotkin type" (Williamson, 1940). Williamson described his politics as a 'liberal socialism' (Williamson n.d.) that advocated people to be valued as '"individuals" not a "mass of individuals" […] whether the "mass" is a cartel, a trade union a town, state or nation' (Williamson n.d.). Caution is needed when approaching these ideas, their proposal for a radical and free system of living structure can seem simultaneously progressive and dictatorial.

[7] The scheme was a culmination of Abercrombie's organic and embodied approach to urban planning, suggesting a progressive analysis of the social and economic make-up of the city and its inhabitants that focused on the human use of the city and its industrial make-up. A social organism that flowed and could be surveyed, mapped and analysed through the techniques of civic surveying, was in many ways, pioneered by Abercrombie. These plans were not intended to provide quick solutions, but act as a strong recommendation to be further developed in consultation by the civic authorities through community observation.

Sheffield with extreme health inequalities, the Park District, which suffered poor water sources, bad sanitation, waste ground, and back-to-back terraces.[8]

In the optimistic moment of the post-war British social landscape, civic planning departments in cities such as Sheffield looked to the pioneering modernism of continental Europe to inspire a new wave of social design (Sheffield Housing Corporation 1955). Though the bold arrival of brutalism is synonymous with an international movement, the ethic behind the aesthetic was British. [9] Brutalism as a sister to the modernist movement, was never just an architectural style. It was a political aesthetic and attitude. Nowhere is this truer than with Park Hill Estate. Designed by Jack Lynn and Ivor Smith, completed in 1961, it is a testimony to an era that revolutionised social housing. The critic Reyner Banham, an advocate for Brutalism, unsurprisingly praised Park Hill writing that it was 'a building more concerned with life than architecture' (Banham 1961). The now infamous streets-in-the-sky approach came from the aspiration to maintain the sense of community street layouts of the slum clearance areas with the intention of preserving the close-knit working-class community it replaced. Avoiding a severe break with its surroundings, the immense scale of Park Hill grew out of the landscape both physically and socially.[10] The future for Sheffield Public Works lay in its past landscapes, a point celebrated by JL Womersley who noted, 'They had been trying to follow Capability Brown's advice of planting the hills and flooding the valleys; they had been planting the hills with pretty high buildings' (Womersley 1963, 281). Park Hill sits emphatic on the crest of the skyline, visible across most of Sheffield, planned to be seen proudly from most points of the city, well-connected by transport and a short walk to the centre.

Despite the dramatic difference that the scheme made to the community that lived there, over its 50 years, it spiralled into decline.[11] Critics such as Jane Jacobs, Oscar Newman and Alice Coleman placed the final nail in the ambitions of social mass housing, reinforcing the

[8] Previously, in the 1800s it had been the centre of one of the country's largest cholera outbreaks. The clearance of the area was further called for by the 1930 Housing Act, but it wasn't until after World War Two that the area was to be the first clearance scheme of an entire community in Britain.

[9] what Reyner Banham called an ethic rather than an aesthetic (R. Banham 1966, 10).

[10] The topography of the site is complexly varied, steep and sloping, these limitations came to inform some of the most notable aspects of Park Hills design. A consistent horizontal roof line is maintained across the contoured site, with blocks becoming progressively larger ranging in height from four storeys to thirteen. As the hight increases so does the space between the blocks, to ensure the maximum amount of light and air. The deck system 'being a unifying influence over the whole of the central area' (Womersley 1963). The idea being that the creation of a system of decks or 'streets in the sky' would allow residents to walk from one end of the estate to the other without touching the ground or the need for lifts, the estate actually having fewer lifts than similar developments (Appraisal of Park Hill Redevelopment, Sheffield 1963)

[11] In a contentious critique Lynsey Hanley, makes overt in her intermate yet damning indictment of what she sees as the designed paternalism of council estate modernism, 'this was in part caused by the catastrophic decline of the steel industry - 40,000 jobs were lost in Sheffield, a city of 200,000 people, in the decade between 1979 and 1989 - but was exacerbated by their design. Although the 1,000 flats at Park Hill were located less than a mile from Sheffield city centre, it was hard to leave and even harder to get to' (Hanley 2007, 117).

position that the design of the buildings was the direct causes of crime, claiming that the streets in the sky that were intended to connect communities were not the busy heart of these estates, but a network of threatening blind alleyways for mugging, escape routes for criminal gangs (Coleman 1985, Jacobs 1961, Newman 1972). It is tempting to read the decline of schemes such as Park Hill through a narrative of failure; that the structure of these buildings needed to be 'saved' from the tenants and spiralling decay. What this narrative ignores is that it wasn't so much unstoppable degeneration but the wilful destruction of the strong role a city such as Sheffield played in the national economy. The Right to Buy scheme of 1980 allowed council tenants the possibility of homeownership at a discounted rate of up to 50%.[12] Rather than this contributing to greater equality and homeownership, as a 2017 study found, 40% of homes sold under Right to Buy are now in the hands of private landlords (Kentish 2017).[13] I would contend that the narrative of failure doesn't arise from the building itself, but the erosion of the civic support structure that surrounded it, both locally and nationally. Park Hill was sold to Urban Splash for a nominal amount by Sheffield city council who could no longer afford to maintain the scheme due to decades of chronic underfunding by central government (Hatherley 2010**,** Elmer 2017)**.**

The archives of both the Peckham Experiment and Park Hill Estate have been instrumentalised in different ways for other agendas. The Peckham Experiment appears in a fragmented and chaotic way across several physical archives, community groups, charitable foundations and within the fabric of the building itself. It's been appropriated and identified with by different movements, seen as an anarchist ideal or a proxy for eugenics, as an example of the big society and neoliberal localism. It is argued by some that it should be brought back to save the NHS. It is libertarian left, centrist, conservative and far right. It is all of these things and none of them, which is what makes it such a rich archive to examine, but also what makes it so challenging.

In a contrasting way, Park Hill Estate is a very well documented and iconic piece of Post war architecture. Yet what is upheld about the building is not it's civic ambitions, but it's aesthetic value – the photographic documentation of the site, the powerful architectural competition drawings and site plans. Urban Splash, the redevelopers of Park Hill used archival images of cheerful housewives and children from the Park Hill archive that uncomfortably turn the

[12] Within fifteen years of its inception 1.6 million homes had been bought from the council (Hanley 2007).
[13] The disinvestment in social housing across the UK is a political choice. In 1990 there were 28,000 social homes built across the UK, in 2020, less than 7,000 social homes were built with a current deficit of around 1.5 million homes (Shelter 2020).

estate into a safely sanitised, romantic and palatable version of itself. This carefully crafted rebranding of Park Hill includes pop-up souvenir shops and the funding of musical theatre that smoothly enables a shift of emphasis towards form – Its function as crucial public infrastructure rendered a nostalgic ideal – what was and no longer is. It became necessary through the research to approach these archives differently.

Rather than citing the Peckham Experiment and Park Hill Estate schemes as failures, I ask, how we deal with the flux of sites of past experiment that are, in fact, central to the issues of the present? To return to the question posed at the beginning of this introduction: What can artistic practice offer the space of archival resonance that moves us beyond the nostalgic or condemnatory?

The way that I work is about positioning materials that allows them to remain material, a refusal to let them dissolve into a neat, tidied-up, official account, instead allowing them to remain restless and unresolved. This approach works with, rather than against the archival gap. Not attempting to smooth over dissonant materials and mend fragmentary icons, my approach to the archive allows troublesome histories to remain restless, leaving the debris subversive, unresolved, and alive. The work that occurs in archives and the production of art practices are often considered as distinct, yet there is the possibility for these modes of investigation to share common methodologies and tactics. As Hal Foster (2004), Stuart Hall (2001), Jacques Derrida (1995), Achille Mbemebe (2002) and Allen Sekkula (1986), remind us, the archive is not the place where history is established, but material to be shared and used to produce a common space of uncertain enquiry. The action of speaking to the archive, returning to the past's artefacts, is not for me about reconciling histories, but acknowledging the dualism present in archives, records, and historical accounts. A central aspect of my contribution to new knowledge is providing a wider understanding of how artistic practices can contribute to meaningful understanding of these overlapping histories and archives. The thesis is anchored by two practice outcomes, *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019).[14] Both films were exhibited publicly at the South London Gallery, Wellcome Collection, CCA Glasgow, S1 ArtSpace Sheffield and Publics Helsinki. These film projects and connected installations, discursive events and publications provide an overarching structure to this research.

[14] This includes solo exhibition and publication at South London Gallery, living with buildings at the Wellcome Collection (2018), Publication, and events at CCA Glasgow for Glasgow International 2018, and solo exhibition at S1 Artspace Sheffield (2019).

Correspondence O (2018) is a multi-faceted film installation work exploring the overlooked history of the Pioneer Health Centre in Peckham and its subsequent conversion into a gated community. The moving-image installation expresses the complex, changing landscape of public health and the social shift towards a more egocentric, user-focused and technology-infused understanding of wellness. The film follows a group of young boys and a female protagonist whose position fluctuates across the course of the film between one of authority and vulnerability. The relationship between the woman and boys is left unclear as fragmented, non-linear narrative collapses past into present, melding architectural and human physicality with historical and experimental medical research and archival material.

Embodying the original collaborative nature of the Experiment, I worked closely with present-day residents of the building on the production and development of the work. Chance encounters with a building surveyor and a personal trainer led to their appearance in the film and their professions becoming emblematic material components. A LiDAR scanner, an instrument of the building surveyor and an MRI scanner, an instrument of the medical researchers I worked with, became interchangeable tools for exploring the internal and external narrative of the body in relation to contemporary attitudes towards health and past ideas of public wellbeing. The work is informed by my extensive research within the archives of the Pioneer Health Centre held by the Wellcome Trust and Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), as well as contemporary medical research conducted by the Behavioral and Clinical Neuroscience Institute at the University of Cambridge.

The second practice-based component of this research is *Deep Structure* (2019), a two-channel film work with connected discursive events that explores the links between architecture, health and community wellbeing through the lens of Sheffield's Park Hill estate. Troubling the links between buildings, bodies and post-industrial landscapes, the film draws parallels between the unique sprawling structure of the building and the scientifically measured body. Designed in 1961, the estate is one of the UK's most radical and significant post-war housing projects and a testimony to an era that revolutionised social and residential housing. Filmed at Hope Cement Works in the Peak District, The Materials Science and Engineering Department at the University of Sheffield and the Park Hill Estate, *Deep Structure* (2019) focuses on material structures, considering the ways in which they are measured and analysed. Hope Cement Works, which opened in 1929 and is now the largest material factory in the UK, becomes a complex monolithic space within the film, representing something in-between industrialised networks and natural systems. Entangling these connections, *Deep Structure* (2019) thinks about the factory and the estate as living bodies –

machines for health, good and bad – considering the ways bodies and buildings are mapped, archived and translated into data.

Developed in collaboration with Human Computer Interaction Design at City University, London, The Space Syntax Laboratory at The Bartlett, and the Department of Materials Science and Engineering, University of Sheffield, *Deep Structure* (2019) uses scanning, spatial analysis techniques and archival data sets on Park Hill to unpick the ways in which buildings and bodies are surveilled, both through official-bureaucratic structures and shared social experiences. The application of algorithmic and data visualisation processes becomes a mode of navigation within the film, and reflects how scientific reasoning is authored and inscribed into both the body and civic systems. One of the most unusual aspects of Park Hill's design process was the emphasis placed on the residents themselves. The design encouraged social interaction, and uniquely involved tenants within a pioneering consultation process throughout its design and the building's initial use. Interrogating the contested civic ambitions of architecture, *Deep Structure* (2019) is a darkly speculative work that examines our uneasy and increasingly precarious relationship to public welfare, housing and wellbeing.

Incorporating aspects of autoethnography, the thesis is divided into three parts, each chapter considering a facet of both case studies. Representing a snapshot in time, these contrasting, socially motivated architectural schemes are pivotal to this practice-based research and thesis. An autoethnographic approach becomes an interface between my art practice and a personal encounter with the material of my research that embraces the subjectivity of memory and interpretation. Working with moving-image, discursive events, text and publication, this research explores the contemporary deadlock between individual and collective notions of wellbeing implicit within the spatio-social apparatus of health and the role that histories of experiments in social planning and health might play in understanding and rethinking these relationships. I examine how health is understood through the lens of different manifestations of power, state, and civil society, mapping existing knowledge and theoretical understandings of collective and individual notions of health within the public realm, examining how these factors shape and operate the space of public encounter. The research uses archives of the Wellcome Collection, Arup, Sheffield City, Pioneer Health Foundation[15] and RIBA, who hold medical and social archives central to my research. The

[15] The Pioneer Health Foundation is a multidisciplinary committee of trustees made up of leading academics and practitioners in the fields of medicine, science, architecture, and the humanities who have offered their advice, support, and knowledge throughout my doctorial research. Lisa Curtice, an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Health Policy, University of Strathclyde, Dr Jack Czauderna GP, Lesley Hall, Historian and archivist, Wellcome Library Research

archival sources become both a research resource and research topic. My practice allows for new readings of these archives and part of this doctoral project is to account for the alternative knowledge that such an approach to art making produces in navigating the historical and contemporary landscape of health and welfare embedded in our architectural and social landscape.

It was fundamental that my area of research is addressed at the intersection between disciplines and community knowledge. In order to think about how these conditions intersect, I consider nodes of knowledge and experience that are embedded in these archives, both traditional paper repositories and those of the buildings themselves. I worked closely with those with lived experience of the two sites, former and current residents, action groups, and the Pioneer Foundation Trust, alongside Prof. Paul Fletcher Behavioural and Clinical Neuroscience Institute at Cambridge University, Prof John Provis Materials Science and Engineering, Sheffield University, Prof. Laura Vaughan Space Syntax Laboratory, Bartlett, UCL and Dr Alex Taylor Human Computer Interaction Design, City University. Working with such an embodied sphere of knowledge as 'health' creates a platform which addresses the spectrum of contemporary attitudes and understandings of wellbeing, from a professional perspective, to the views of a wider public.

By involving participants, expert opinions and a variety of perspectives, a dialogue results that isn't only a method of accumulating research material, but a mode of producing a pluralistic position and narrative that uses the film work as a site of mediation, channelling different knowledges and situated relationships. To establish a context in which all partners can participate in the discursive process collaboratively, the gallery space and exhibition of the work takes on an active role. The films become part of an environment that invites the audience to extend and challenge ideas present within the exhibition. The moment of display becomes constituent to knowledge creation through its activation rather than a summative instant of presentation, as I discuss further in Chapter Three. *Self-Service* (2018), *For Some Future Time* (2018) and three interconnected events at S1Artspace in 2019, are practice elements I developed within this research project that will be drawn on as examples of this situated approach. This is not a curatorial process, but engrained into the formation of the work. This mode of working creates a space for me to experimentally mediate other professional perspectives, applying their techniques, technologies, and discourse as tools to

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navigate the subject of focus. How are these knowledges distinct, and what happens when these rationales are put into dialogue with each other? This confluence of expert gazes becomes even more complex when considering the archival echoes in the buildings themselves. Architecture is more than a material envelope. In seeking the spaces organised, both by regimes of health and radical social experimentation, I claim that architecture for social design is located as a tool of both scrutiny and resistance.

This thesis was written over the course of four years, between the results of a troubling political shift to the right, Covid19 pandemic and cost of living crisis, amidst a time of global uncertainty and social unrest that we still have not had the breathing space to truly reckon with. The affect of precarity is informed by the notion that a civil bond is forged or frayed, health somehow exposing this most acutely. The sick and marginalised are tethered to institutions but not always visible to them—circumnavigating daily life in an entanglement of glances, judgments, and acknowledgments. Whose life will be protected and maintained and whose will be collateral? I think these questions are painfully apparent in our present. In the moment we are living through, we are revealed as infrastructural, networked and socially seen bodies. Across our work, health, and social life, health, or its absence, challenges how we understand our interdependency. We are caught in a triangulation between the conditions of government, social health, and political life, at the heart of our contemporary human experience. The values – symbolic, social, and embodied – converge in the production of common and shared spaces, the catalyst for social causality, political being, health, and cultural form as the aggregator for asserting individual and collective identities. My research seeks to be a timely contribution to understanding the urgent nature of discourse surrounding health, technology, and their imbrication within our civic and social identity. By tracing our shared political and architectural inheritances, the purpose of my study is not simply to redeem or reanimate the archive, nor is it a testimonial. Instead, I am attempting to acknowledge its liveness and reopen the questions posed.

Methodology

The development and exhibition of both films, offers me a space to critically reflect on what analytic and creative tools I employ in research practice and how my position as an artist differs from other professional perspectives. What is the cultural and political currency of my position? What new knowledges are produced that differ from other academic and professional disciplines that have a stake in the subject? In tackling this enquiry, I set out to

define the strategies I employ within my practice, acknowledging the different registers of research that are embedded within the exhibition of both works and thesis. I have distinguished two strong avenues of practical enquiry that have informed the development of my methodologies: ‘practice outcomes’ and ‘practical or situated research'.

Situated research appears as live events, participatory forums and collaborative exhibitions that have been programmed in public venues, drawing on a variety of perspectives and knowledges. These moments manifest differently to other modes of practice and play a vital role in evolving my practice-based outcomes. The works that I create in film and installation are developed and presented more autonomously, but still reflect collaborative processes. A significant aspect of my practice is the broad cross-disciplinary dialogue generated through collaboration with a range of people with lived experience of a place or situation[16] architects, material scientists, neurologists and social workers. This mode of working creates a space for me to experimentally mediate multiple perspectives, applying their experience, techniques, technologies and discourse as tools to navigate the subject of focus. A core developmental method of practice and research involves workshops, discussions and live events with practitioners, researchers and community groups connected directly to the archives of my case studies. This method is conceived to acknowledge the physicality of a personal encounter with the core case studies of this project and their archives. My relationship with collaborators isn't about illustrating an idea or extracting from them, but producing a shared navigation of the sites. This is a process of collaborating that often happens off screen as much as it has the possibility to happen on screen. By bringing this material into a collaborative and live space I am exposed to a more uncontrollable and risky set of encounters that offer a material understanding of the archive, forming a strange hybrid of objective and emotional positions. Rather than reconciling these histories, I am allowing the archive to be opened-up to new readings and contexts. Not only are these situated ways of working a method within the research, but they are key to understanding the identities of these two interconnected case studies.

In working across disciplines in the co-production of new practice-based responses, it has been essential to reflect on the nomenclature and chosen methodology situated within my

[16] I define lived experience as being learnt or found through an encounter with a place, situation or event, for example, a resident of a housing estate, someone with a particular health condition, a witness to an event, a member of a social or political movement. Such knowledge is revealed through experience rather than the conventional authority of disciplinary expertise.

practice and research. I established three core terminologies to address the problems that I encounter in my case studies and their archives:

- Co-inquiry

- Afterimage

- Maintenance

Such terms constitute a core part of my thinking and approach to this research and are present throughout this project as a mode of practice and discourse. They become a method to critically challenge these sites differently.

Co-inquiry

Co-inquiry – a term borrowed from the social sciences, describes a form of action research that was first proposed by John Heron in 1971 and later expanded with Peter Reason (Heron 1971; Heron and Reason 1997). Co-inquiry, also known as collaborative or cooperative inquiry, is based on the idea of researching 'with' rather than 'on' people. This approach strongly relates to how I understand modes of participation and research. Within the context of my research, I conceive of methods of co-enquiry to uphold and bring together multiple forms of experience and expertise. Co-enquiry becomes an alternative way to approach cooperative modes of working together. The methods of co-inquiry I have conceived are not grounded in the optics of collaboration or a visual expectation of how these situated knowledges should be presented. They hold a spatial and material physicality. Through modes of co-inquiry, which bring together professional knowledges and lived experience, an approach has emerged through this research that seeks to question fixed narratives and the perceived authority of those positions of knowledge. Something that I came to realise in the research was that I am not interested in working with collaborators as subjects within the work, but the research attempts to understand positions of knowledge within a network of expertise. Drawing on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's concept of 'beside-ness' and what Haraway refers to as 'situated knowledge' (Sedgwick 2002; Haraway 1988), my working method doesn't seek to reproduce a known participatory power dynamic - one where the artist enforces a perspective on another, whether they are someone with lived experience connected to a site, or with a specific professional discipline. Instead, I set out to find a shared language that sits in between. As I discuss further in chapter three, allowing for the co-existence of knowledges and a suspension of certainty around knowing, is for me a

decision to stay with the complications which each case study exposes. In this way my understanding of working together is not about reinforcing shared concepts but finding meaningful ways to challenge, destabilise and form new knowledges at these points of intersection and encounter.

Afterimage

Not only an optical phenomenon or purely a metaphorical tool, I conceive of afterimage as both a method of technological surveillance and as a historical interface between the eye of the researcher and the material of their research. When we linger with material, analyse its directions and pull apart its structures, it is then when new figures appear. Within my practice I am interested in the schism, the sense of loss, those silent figures locked in table data and statistical charts, bodies hidden behind the data they generate. I suggest that these figures don't haunt us, they become visible in the burning glow of their afterimage.[17] An afterimage does not produce meaning in and of itself, but is always referring to an image from elsewhere, the retinal intensity that is seared into the eye by staring at images for far too long. Drawing on Harun Farocki and Jussi Parikka (Farocki 2004; Parikka 2022), I position afterimage as a phraseology, as a method of navigation through the archive, as a technique to unpick the logic of the data-generated body, to surveil its impact in architectural space, as a reading of the hierarchies of knowledge production, in the intersections between institutional archives, disciplinary reason, and objective truths. In both *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019) the notion of scanning appears as technology, as haptic and felt in the hands of the architect or social worker, or as an act of mediation. This research considers how we encounter different kinds of technical images as agents themselves. The survey, the body and its attendant technologies become key tools to test and provoke the boundaries active within the archive, between observed and observer, body and building, modernity and obsolescence. As I will expand upon later, writers such as Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, Donna Haraway and Karen Barad have argued that vision and objective notions of observational authority are historically grounded (Daston and Galison 2007; Haraway 1988; Barad 2014). I will be navigating these tools of environmental and bodily observation within their sociological and technological context as a way to reapproach the logic of the archive and its historical afterimages at the edges between vision and data. At the core of this thesis are two case studies that represent different conditions of

[17] Negative afterimages are caused when the eye's photoreceptors, primarily known as rods and cones, adapt to overstimulation.

vision, the first transpicuous, the second asserts a more obtuse, materially dense form of sight. Transparency becomes a principle which penetrates the relationship between architecture, bodies, and archives – leading to questions of observation, participation and looking. This spatialised understanding of archives allows for a navigation of my core case studies through a variety of filmic perspectives, technologies, and collaborative methods. The diagnostic act of surveying and its technologies will be introduced as a mode of navigation within this thesis, a three-way encounter between archive, body and technocratic structures of organisation.

Maintenance

We maintain our body in many ways similar to the maintenance of systems and infrastructure, 'The world constantly decays. Moisture gets in. Damp hangs around. Ice expands joints. Surfaces wear thin. Particles fall out of suspension. Materials rot. Insects breed. Animals chew. All kinds of wildlife war with all kinds of fabric. Humans make errors' (Graham and Thrift 2007, 5). In other words, when things break, become ill, inoperable, it is in that moment they are most visible, the background suddenly foregrounded. As this research will expand, maintenance is not only practical but ideological. I conceive of maintenance both practically and as a discourse within the project; from the body and its clinical treatment and care, to the intimacy of conservation and heritage, it is a terminology that makes these conditions and the archive come alive. From the moment they are erected buildings are in a constant state of decay, corrosion and collapse, requiring attendance, time, skills and handed down knowledges found in repair manuals, archives and through word-of-mouth. I position maintenance as processes that connect the historical document with the living building, situated in ongoing lived experience, expert knowledges and embodied skill that muddy the boundaries between experience and expertise – as a multiplicitous and collaborative act. Maintenance is the inverse of wilful neglect. It starkly highlights a choice to uphold something, whether that is a belief system or the physical structure of a building. Do we ideologically invest in something or not? In tracing the decay, maintenance is exposed in my research both in its utility and as a discourse. What are we protecting? What are we being asked to remember? In this breakdown between bodies and buildings, the act of feeling through the physical architectures becomes an active looking that renders these archives materially present, not static sites of ruination, laments to lost futures, but living and on-going, a method to avoid a nostalgic undoing , But rather, it serves as an invitation to engage with the evolving narratives and possibilities embedded within the very fabric of these structures, exploring what these schemes represent both systemically

and socially. What I do is a different kind of care and attendance to these complex physical and bodily histories, that does not seek to restore, but asks questions of what is allowed to be maintained, what survives and is valued.

Contextual review

The interdisciplinary nature of how the Pioneer Centre and Park Hill Estate came into being is central to my approach. The spatial politics of the architectural relic is undone through discursive exchanges with those whom I collectively navigate the spatial and material resonances of both buildings and archives. This type of collective interaction seeks to expose visible and invisible aspects of the sites central to the research. The link between these modes of working is that I consider research to be inhabited, rather than a purely contextual activity. I approach the questions of this research as a practitioner, as an artist and filmmaker. My moving-image and situated practice generates knowledge that allows more marginal, less linear readings to emerge that challenge the conventions of a chronological approach to histories found in more sanctioned forms of archiving and documentary. Rather than this thesis acting as a more general critical analysis of practices operating within a historiographic tendency, the central navigation of this enquiry is developed around my own practice as an instigator and catalyst for research. I am not establishing a polemical critique of practices that work with archiving and quote from the ruins of modernism, but I feel it is important here, to acknowledge that there is a context and discourse that I'm building on yet departing from. My research could be considered within a constellation of other approaches that are disparate to my own practice, but seem to provoke a similar set of questions: What do we do with the architectural legacies of modernism that linger in our cultural imaginary?

The passionate responses that modernism elicit highlight its continuing significance and complex cultural, political legacy. There are practitioners whose engagement with the monumental and obscure leftovers of history, turn a spotlight on the workings and transmissions of archival memory. Artists such as Daria Martin, Jane & Louise Wilson, Igor Grubić, Tacita Dean, [18] mine the ruins of modernism for the performative nature of their remnants, extracting suppressed or forgotten details of a Modernist legacy, leaving us with

[18] I am making reference to a body of work formed in the practices of the artists cited above, further works to the ones cited include: *Birds* (Martin 2001), *A Free and Anonymous Monument* (Wilson 2003), *Disappearance at Sea* (Dean 1996), *Fernsehturm* (Dean 2001).

compelling and seductive fragments. As seen in the work of Gerard and Kelly,[19] perhaps more interested in the quirky nostalgia of these legacies than a critical confrontation with what this residual material comes to mean in the present. A sentiment reverberating in artist Annika Eriksson's site-specific light installation *Maximum Happiness* (2008).[20] The title cites the architects of Park Hill who wrote that, although they did their best to fulfil the residents' wishes 'it is clearly impossible to secure the maximum happiness for everybody' (Park Hill Survey 1962). Such an approach acts as a mode of canonical quotation, often overlooking contemporary concerns in favour of focusing on mnemonic materials of past events. An approach demonstrated in the referencing of film noir and the Avant-Garde, seen in the work of Ellard & Johnstone (2007), Ian Breakwell (2002), Armando Andrade Tudela (2007) and Laura Gannon (2007)[21]— what Catherine Russell might refer to as 'Archiveology' the reuse, recycling, appropriation, and borrowing of archival material' (Russell 2018). Yet, there is a more transgressive way to reapproach these utopic schemes, that doesn't only render them into charismatic wreckages. Where artist such as Laâbissi & Lauro (2014) and Paulina Ołowska (2005/12), revel in re-enactment of these relics, Duncan Campbell (2013), Jasmina Cibic (2021) and Amie Siegel (2015)[22] question their archival intensities and bearing on the present, using film not only to call into question the fallibility of the documentary genre, but as means to challenge the authority of historical knowledge produced by sanctioned cultural records.

My practice is not a performative restaging of histories, an approach which has been successfully explored by Assemble and Simon Terrill in the touring work *Brutalist Playgrounds* (2015), or in filmic ways by artists such as Gerard Byrne.[23] I examine a more expanded sense of image-making practice, reflecting the complexity of the materials I reference. My aim is not to create a new imaginary space in film using architectural icons, like the Pioneer Centre and Park Hill as seductive scenery, rather it is to re-approach the tensions played out through such utopian schemes. I develop my arguments through close analysis of embodied power structures and ideologies present in both case studies, that are

[19] *Modern Living* is an ongoing series of performances and videos by Gerard & Kelly sited in iconic modernist homes around the world (Gerard and Kelly 2016) .
[20] For the installation of *Maximum Happiness* (Eriksson 2008) the façade of the Park Hill Estate was illuminated by floodlights for one night. In a visible state of decay.
[21] Further works to the ones cited include: *Glass House* (Gannon 2022), *Things to Come* (Johnstone and Ellard 2011), *Machine on Black Ground* (Johnstone and Ellard 2009), *Proposal, for an unmade film (set in the future)* (Johnstone and Ellard 2007).
[22] Further works to the ones cited include: *Nada: Act II* (Cibic 2017) *What's the Time in Vyborg?* (Roberts 2003–2004), *Berlin Remake* (Siegel 2005), *Provenance* (Siegel 2013), *Berlin Remake* (Siegel 2005), Provenance (Siegel 2013).
[23] Gerard Byrne thinks of his works as 'reconstructions' rather than 're-enactments,' claiming "the tone of the word re-enactment is much more about closure, whereas reconstruction somehow remains a little more open' (Byrne 2008)

more complex, recalcitrant, fragmentary modes of speaking to the present from the on-going position of the archive, than they are merely nostalgic veneers.

Perceiving the status of the building as an on-going archive, problematises the modernist paradigm of the procession of linear time, an observation that can be seen in *Their Constructive Materials/Layers* (2016) by Ruth Beale.[24] Beale's exploration of the successive layers of Birmingham's central library sees her bearing witness to overlapping archives, histories and accounts in a method of making sense of a politically charged and embodied present. Such sentiments are analogous to my own enquiry. The sharing of the public becomes that of the private, the interior narratives we hold close become ones that we perform. How do we understand architecture as the apparatus of neoliberal subjectivity and its claims to notions of public commons and social transformation? This sentiment is echoed in the moving-image work *Children's Games* (2002), in which Mark Lewis highlights the gap between utopian visions of the now demolished Heygate Estate and its lived-in realities.[25] A continuous cinematic shot plays on the time-base linearity of film and the functional qualities of the architects' intentions, a document before destruction that now has an archival function.

Buildings are living archives, they shift, adapt and change with use. We see them through our eyes in the present, placing our values and associations directly onto them through inhabitation, in a way that we can only speculate on when navigating other forms of archived history. Michel Foucault, in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), recognises the cyclical relationship between the document and the monument, 'history is that which transforms documents into monuments' (Foucault [1969] 1972, 7).[26] We are interdependent with these buildings, socially and politically entangled with them, not only in the intimacy of using them but in what they come to represent from afar.[27] As writers such as Emma Cheatle, Ken

[24] Ruth Beale is co-founder of *Performance as Publishing* with Nicole Bachmann, which was an active research project into text and writing for performance where *Their Constructive Materials/Layers* (Beale 2016) was first performanced-to-camera for *Take One / Take Two / Take Three* at Eastside Projects.
[25] The camera glides through the much-maligned element of the estate, its walkways, that Lewis has made the overt protagonist of the film, navigating the features of the soon-to-be-demolished Estate.
[26] 'Let us say that history, in its traditional form, under took to 'memorize' the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms documents into monuments (Foucault [1969] 1972, 7)
[27] By examining the relationship between the past and the present in *The Order of Things* (1966), *Birth of the Clinic* (1963) and the later publication of *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969), Foucault excavates these genealogies as a way to better understand the turns of history that structure our social compass. Yet, there is a tendency for his historical arguments to be locked in to particular episteme through his technical use of the archive as a phraseology to describe the limits of historical orders. Foucault's reference points then function within conventional definitions of history in relation to the principles and discourse of a particular period.

Warpole, and Owen Hatherley remind us, buildings are agents and witnesses, mediators of our politics and social life, the status of our health is the oil that lubricates each joint of this civil contract (Cheatle 2017; Warpole 2000; Hatherley 2010). Understanding the organisation of living space as a material form of observing, seeing, looking, and witnessing, is implicit within architecture and public design. In order to understand architecture as an expanded form of witnessing, I draw on the arguments of writers such as Susan Schuppli, Christopher Wilson, Douglas Murphy, who contend that transparency both allegorical and in its technological development is revealed as central to systems of social, political, and structural organisation (Schuppli 2020; Wilson 2005; Murphy 2016).

Chapter One: Beyond the Clinic

This chapter begins in the most obvious place to start when thinking about the ways in which social planning influences our health, the buildings themselves. Architecture has been significantly impacted by medical discourse, both directly and indirectly. From the symmetrical and church-like structures of early sanitoriums to the light-filled modernist constructions designed to treat rickets and tuberculosis. When we consider designing for health, an image that comes strongly to mind is that of the clinic. Foucault's much quoted articulation of the genealogy of the clinic as a mediator of power may now seem clichéd, yet represents a fundamental understanding of the intersections between space and power. *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963), is concerned with the development of an observational-clinical conception of the body, formulated at the end of the eighteenth-century, that concluded the body not as constituted by four humors,[1] but delineated by organs. The human body becomes a pliable object patched together, marking a new relationship between surface and depth, its dimensions no longer a singular surface, but assuming its own spatial, mappable, observable and transpicuous architecture. Through a Foucauldian notion of Panopticism,[2] power became synonymous with observation, surveillance and a transparency of all activity. Foucault's citing of Jeremy Bentham in such works as *Discipline and Punish* (1975) is often seen through a spatialised lens, the principles of power architecturally manifested.[3] Foucault implies that through the panoptic gaze 'it is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies' (Foucault [1975] 1995, 217). The body becomes a space and the instrument of overlapping forms of power and subjugation, both as a physical construction and ideological statement. Because of the principle of the panopticon's all pervasiveness, it can be seen as ambiguous, with vague boundaries that perhaps makes it too all-encompassing and overused. But I think it is most useful when we apply these architectural, systemic structures to Foucault's concerns with

[1] Greek physician Hippocrates (ca. 460 BCE–370 BCE) is often credited with developing the theory of the four humors—blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm—and their influence on the body and its emotions (Arikha 2007).
[2] Jeremy Bentham's designs for a circular prison manifested a 'all-seeing' visibility, which Bentham would term 'Panopticism'. His Panoptic principles are synonymous with a Foucauldian analysis of disciplinary power. The aim of these ideological architectures was to produce docile bodies. To make predictable and enforceable subjects for a mappable and plannable society. (Bentham [1787] 1995).
[3] Bentham believed that this 'simple idea in architecture' could be used to improve social, economic, and physical health 'Morals reformed – health preserved – industry invigorated – instruction diffused – public burthens lightened – Economy seated, as it were, upon a rock – the gordian knot of the Poor Laws are not cut, but untied – all by a simple idea in Architecture!' (Bentham [1787] 1995, 31).

the interrelationship of surveillance to conditions of society as a whole, not in the totalising institution of the prison, but in the realm of public health.

The hospital Foucault describes becomes a mediating factor between the body of the individual and institutional structures of medical expertise, a power dynamic dependant on the physical structure of the institution, its architectures and technologies. Architectonic notions of material ‘transparency’, 'clarity' and 'openness' are extended into the body itself, as this chapter reveals, through the acknowledgement of multiple gazes in an omnipotently architectonic manner that extend the penetrating sights of medical diagnostic and surveying technologies. The clinic is not only a sterile, practical building that houses treatment, but discursive framework connecting health with knowledge — a space of disease, contagion and control, where sicknesses are named, cured and managed. So, while interested in these topological ways of thinking about space, I am also intrigued by the social, political relations and forces that are modified or transformed by them continually. Foucault's emphasis on the analysis of architecture breaks down the boundaries between bricks and discourse, buildings and architectural theory.

It is impossible to talk about architecture without discussing its physicality, the material stuff of buildings and designed space. From the aerial fly-throughs of an architect’s plan to the predetermined vantage points embedded in the viewpoints and perspectives of rooms, windows and balconies, the position of a subject within architecture is somehow always dictated. As theorists such as Richard Sennett, Ross Exo Adams and Beatriz Colomina impress on us,[4] architecture is more than a material envelope, it is an embodied concern (Sennett 1994; Exo Adams 2018; Colomina 2019). The body as an idea in architecture grounds buildings not only as objects but statements of control. As this chapter will expand, there is a constellation of theory that has grounded architectonics in the politics of health, the body and its socio-political foundations, taking us beyond the fixed dynamics of power invested in Foucault’s clinic towards a more unruly set of concerns that foreground architecture as a protagonist in our collective understanding of health and its radical possibilities. In sickness or health, bodies are reliant on social systems of support that are complexly human and technical. We cannot speak about bodies without considering the environments, machines and infrastructure that surround them.

[4] Further reading on the subject can be found in the following: *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City* (Sennett 2018), *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (Sennett 1994), *Circulation and Urbanization* (Adams 2018), *X-Ray Architecture* (Colomina 2019), *Are We Human? Notes on an Archaeology of Design* (Colomina 2016), *Sexuality and Space* (Colomina 1992), “Housing biopolitics and care” (Rawes 2017).

This chapter seeks to draw out architecture not only as governmental agent, the result of top-down public policy, but an actor in its own right, asking how the historical apparatus of publicly activated architecture as an instrument of health could become a critical tool and witness? I approach these questions as a practitioner, artist and filmmaker. Using my case-studies as a starting point, I consider their impact and generative potential within my practice-based responses and what it means to observe such radical social experiments in public and civic health from the locus of the present.

I treat the buildings and architectural schemes at the centre of this research as fragments, in limbo, transmogrified from their intended function. Whether they are in a state of flux through change of use or have fallen into dereliction – as both the Pioneer Health Centre and Park Hill Estate in differing ways demonstrate – I find that it is in their uncertain state between past vision and present reality that they most usefully speak to the ongoing issues they come to represent. This diagnosis of the building reveals maintenance to be an act of inspection, attention, watching, and acknowledging, with no start or end but not timeless, a relentless flow, connecting architectural materiality with archives, entangled and physically sited in on-going lived experience and encounter. Such a conception of time in suspension is highlighted in *Enduring Time* (2017) by Lisa Baraitser as 'Modes of waiting, staying, delaying, enduring, persisting, repeating, maintaining, preserving and remaining – that produce felt experiences of time not passing' (Baraitser 2017, 2). In navigating the languages wrapped around this temporal flux, Baraitser asks us to consider this discourse as pivotal to how we understand the relationship between time and care, 'It is here we can glimpse the double action of maintenance as a material practice of sustaining people, things and connections, and the name for a paradoxical ongoing relation or attachment to the promise of time. Maintenance, then, is the temporal dimension of care' (Baraitser 2017, 53). What is being maintained and what is allowed to fall? What do these remnants and ideological sediments say about public life and the health of our social systems?

The archival on-going: unrelenting maintenance, unresolved impulses

Civic architectures and their radical alternatives have always been bound to ideological definitions of 'the public'. Łukasz Stanek, Owen Hatherley, Ken Warpole and Douglas Murphy[5] are among writers that have expressed the link between the growth of social

[5] Additionally to those texts listed above, further reading on the subject can be found in the following: *A Guide to the New Ruins of Great Britain* (Hatherley 2010)*, Red Metropolis: Socialism and the Government of London* (Hatherley 2020), *Landscapes of Communism: A History Through Buildings* (Hatherley 2015), *The Architecture of Failure* (Murphy 2012).

democracy in the twentieth century and the civic aesthetics arising from it (Stanek 2020; Hatherley 2009; Warpole 2000; Murphy 2016). A significant strand of modern design was focused on collective provision, advocating a belief in the right to clean water and the curative benefits of sunlight and fresh air. It was to become an aesthetic based principally on public health and reform of the overlooked and ailing bodies of the worker and his family (Worpole 2000). By the beginning of the twentieth century, architects were not only asked to aesthetically unfurl themselves over the urban landscape, but to create schemes that asserted therapeutic interventions onto the spaces of the city at a scale not previously asked of them, projecting a new image of the city designed and organised around the infrastructures of urban architectures as fundamental conditions for health. The building becomes more than an object, it becomes technique and language, consequently forming buildings and planned environments that become ideological statements. As this chapter will examine, beyond the clinic and the desire for Tuberculosis-dispelling, sun-filled architecture, glass and transparency for the modernists manifested a utopian spark: a physical statement of social and political possibilities. Buildings are more than mute utilities, but instrumental to what occurs within them and how. They shape us, we shape them. Viewing architectural projects as discursive protagonists allows them to be read as extensions to the technologies of the body that are built into all aspects of governable notions of health and civic collectivity.

The ambitious, socially radical design of early modernism, seen in the work of Bruno Taut, Adolf Loos, Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier became central characters within the political climate they were designing into, arguably influencing the later post-war state commissioning of socially progressive public assets. Health and housing were to be embedded within an all-encompassing collective common good, the rush of optimism that this period of urban and social reform sought to achieve, cracking under the strain of an increasingly free-market conservative political arena and individuated public sector. This notion of the failed modernist project and its melancholic ruination has figured in the work of an increasing number of contemporary artists such as Jane and Louise Wilson (1997), Graham Ellard & Stephen Johnstone (2007) and Gerard Byrne (2008).[6] The interest in the lost project of progressive modernism could be read as a lament to a future that did not come. Such work seems to recognise that the socially progressive ambitions of modernist architecture are less part of historic reality and more a fantasy constructed from the aesthetically seductive fragments left behind. This is a reading of practice that positions the

[6] I have cited specific works above, although it is a body of work I am making reference to, including such works as: *Imperial Measure 16 (Atomgrad, Ukraine)* (Wilson 2014), *The Toxic Camera* (Wilson 2012), *Casemate SK667* (Wilson 2006), *Stasi City* (Wilson 1997), *Things to Come* (Johnstone and Ellard 2011), *Machine on Black Ground* (Johnstone and Ellard 2009), *Proposal, for an unmade film (set in the future)* (Johnstone and Ellard 2007), *Subject* (Byrne 2008), *1984 and Beyond* (Byrne 2005-07).

artist as archivist, the central argument of Hal Foster's much cited 2004 article in *October* 'The Archival Impulse'. But, as I will later contend, in the fifteen years since Foster's article was written, the notion of the artist as archivist has moved away from the stylised longing for the ruins of modernism, into something concurrent and radically reflexive.

As structures break down, their repair and maintenance become more apparent. Across a number of overlapping disciplines including material science, architecture, political and social economics, maintenance has taken on its own theoretical rationale that blurs both academic study and practical innovation. As Shannon Mattern points out, 'to study maintenance is itself an act of maintenance. To fill in the gaps in this literature, to draw connections among different disciplines, is an act of repair or, simply, of taking care — connecting threads, mending holes, amplifying quiet voices' (Mattern 2018). To look back in order to understand the disorder of the present, becomes like a sewing needle, threading the stitches closer together, moving back and forth to progress along the seam. This isn't to suggest that the work that I do with these sites is in itself an act of repair, but instead, to view it as a method of reconfiguration, a disruption to norms of archiving and the sanctioning of the historic value of these architecturally embedded, social structures.

In his description of the utopian ambitions of the archive, Hal Foster recognised their generative potential to turn 'excavation sites' into 'construction sites' (Foster 2004, 8). Foster critically focuses on artists who mine histories, who blend archival fragments into fictional assemblies, concerned with the potential of new kinds of cultural memory, founded on accumulated traces, taking note of the unsettled and open-ended notion of archival art that contends with 'failed futuristic visions' of the archive (Foster 2004, 16). The archival impulse, he states, 'is as much preproduction as it is postproduction: concerned less with absolute origins than with obscure traces […] these artists are often drawn to unfulfilled beginnings or incomplete projects—in art and in history alike—that might offer points of departure again' (Foster 2004, 5). Although I agree with Foster's view that notions of archival construction take us away from a melancholic vision of history towards more artistic potentials, for me the concept of construction is different to that which Foster posits. It is less to do with acts of remixing or fictioning the archival encounter than underscoring present day and on-going knowledges, situated within the architectural physicality of those archives. This is a different encounter with the fragment than that which Foster finds in the work of artists such as Tacita Dean; 'These remnants are enigmatic, but they are enigmas without resolution, let alone redemption' (Foster 2004, 16). Dean's unredeemable remnants leave us with the unresolved and difficult question: Who are these counter-narratives intended for? Foster's archival artists demonstrate a problematic lack of responsibility to the material fragment. The loaded

currency of these historical signifiers become difficult when these works are confronted outside the safety of art institutions and galleries. As events surrounding Sam Durrant's *Scaffold* (2012-17) shows, this approach to the archive is easily undone.[7] Not all histories are mixable and up for grabs, they are dealt with in dialogue and collaboration outside the hermetic world of the artist. For political theorist and philosopher Achille Mbemebe, it is the debris that we need to account for rather than fictionalise in our collective memories, beyond 'the materiality of the archive more than its dimension as an instituting imaginary' (Mbembe 2002, 23). If anything, the desire to remix is not such a subversive, freeing act, but one that is echoed in the state-sanctioning of histories. It supports 'the long-held belief that the state rested on something other than on this desire to abolish the archive, to free itself of debris (Mbembe 2002, 26). Within my own practice I explore the idea that a fragmentary approach to archives might not be a process of fictioning, a romantic longing for what is lost, but rather a transgressive platforming of present-day knowledges, situated within the debris of those materials, addressing questions that these archives ask outside the institutional frames of the museum and civic collection that otherwise could not be asked of them. A question within this research then is what does it mean for me as an artist to be working archivally? How am I as a researcher and artist accountable or not, to the multiple readings and interpretations that are generated through my encounter with the archives that form a pivotal element of my enquiry?

This is an approach I hold in common with a number of artists who work with marginal histories and their physical, spatial manifestation, such as Jasmina Cibic, Amie Siegel and Liisa Roberts,[8] who demonstrate that in looping back and dredging events forward it is possible to expose invisible but vital systems of meaning that, far from being past, are a continuing part of material realities. Architectures as 'archival' fragments have to be treated with care, not just in terms of preservation, but in that they must always be put into dialogue in the present with the communities that they belong to, to avoid them becoming mere 'talismen' (Mbembe 2002, 22). We must be careful that by turns historiographic and nostalgic, problematic histories are not burned away, instead keeping the debris transgressive, unresolved and alive to avoid a kind of romanticised 'ruin lust'. I argue that it is in this state of flux, as materially presented and archival, that buildings stutter into focus,

[7] *Scaffold* (Durant 2012-17) was protested by Dakota activists and their supporters then dismantled at the Minneapolis Sculpture Garden of the Walker Art Center. *Scaffold* originated as a commission for 'Documenta 13' in Kassel, Germany, 2012. The installation included representations of five different gallows from some of the most significant executions in U.S. history, among them the largest mass execution in US history at Mankato, MN. The Mankato gallows was erected to execute 40 Dakota indigenous men and was the largest and most prominent of the structures. When *Scaffold* was installed in a Minneapolis Sculpture Garden in 2017, the Dakota community protested and, after discussions between all the interested parties, the work was taken down (Durant 2017).

[8] I am making reference to a body of work formed in the practices of the artists cited above, further works to the ones cited include: *The Gift* (Cibic 2021), *Nada: Act II* (Cibic 2017), *What's the Time in Vyborg?* (Roberts 2003–2004), *Berlin Remake* (Siegel 2005), *Provenance* (Siegel 2013), *Double Negative* (Siegel 2015).

demanding our attention. The literature surrounding ruins treats the currency of buildings symbolically, removing their usefulness and function, allowing them to be fragmented further, valued only in indexical or monumental terms. My approach to both the Pioneer Centre and Park Hill Estate problematises such a romantic reading of historical structures as nostalgic relics to unfinished futures, instead instrumentalising their architecture not as an encounter with a safely sealed past, but as something present and unstable that speaks urgently to our present condition. These are not melancholy static sites of ruination, but exist in the active process of breakdown and malfunction. Buildings almost from the moment they are erected are in a constant state of decay, corrosion and collapse, that requires attendance, time, skills and handed down knowledges found in repair manuals, archives and through word-of-mouth. As Graham & Thrift identify, the broken object isn't necessarily a failed concern, but is in itself an act of maintenance and learning (Graham and Thrift 2007, 5).

Maintenance as an act becomes a continuum of indexical, semiotic codes of attendance, not just derivative actions, but pivotal to seeing and understanding our world. A way to frame this supposition is to view it through Heidegger's influential account of the tool-use of a hammer, where the world can be broken into the 'ready-to-hand', the hammer ready to be put to work, or 'present-at-hand', when there is some sort of breakdown, and instead we start to focus on the tool itself (Heidegger [1962] 2001, 67-98). The dichotomy between these two states of being is not binary but interchangeable in the breaking down, collapse and resurrection of the object, between its physical use and the knowledges that reconstitute it. A neglected aspect of Heidegger's discourse is the temporal nature of being-in-the-world (*dasein*) as care (Heidegger [1962] 2001, 225). Objects don't exist in isolation, not as signifiers alone, but within a totality of relationships. Heidegger's hammer doesn't exist without its nails, a building doesn't exist without its people, we are co-dependent at an intimate and infrastructural scale. Being-there, refers to human experience, extending and affirming itself in relation to larger structural presents; the Being-with, then is the Being-in-the-world (Heidegger [1962] 2001, 149). In an Heideggerian sense the totality of being-there and being-with creates a structure of care founded on the presence and co-presence of the actors involved – through these complex interactions, care arises. Such interrelationships are key themes in feminist discourse surrounding care, as foregrounded by Maria Puig de la Bellacasa who claims that understanding care as a subject and practice is to also acknowledge our mutuality; 'interdependency is not a contract, is not a moral ideal, it's a condition' (Bellacasa 2017, 70). Bellacasa asks us to consider care a tool that can be used to navigate a huge range of subjects, politics, identities, histories, archives both human and nonhuman, care is relevant to everything. It is an ecosystem, an infrastructure. Our need for

it webs us together into networks, both social and personal care zoom in and out at different scales from one body, to communities, civic systems, infrastructural bodies and societies. Care is not purely a physical act, but one that is closely wedded to attention. In my mind maintenance is an extension of this, a close looking as much about recovery as about preservation. Here my practice sits in the difficult in-between. What I do is a different kind of care and attendance to these complex physical and bodily histories, not seeking to restore, but asking questions of what is allowed to be maintained, what survives and is valued. To quote from Catlin DeSailvey *On Curating* Decay (2017), this is about the 'gap—the tense place between abandonment and attention' (DeSilvey 2017, 21). As I contend, through official and unsanctioned archives, collaboration and interdisciplinary inquiry, maintenance becomes a method to avoid a nostalgic undoing, allowing such histories to remain critically alert. In so doing, I ask how artist moving image can become an extended perspective which expands the knowledge surrounding socio-spatial entanglements of the body and building as historical document. Buildings possess a kind of broken time, being public and physical witnesses, extensions of paper archives, fragmented eyes with sights locked on the past and present. As Douglas Murphy emphasises, architecture 'gives those who build a foothold in the future' (Murphy 2012, 1).

As I write this, my desk looking out over the Pioneer Centre, condensation sweats down the moss-coated crittall frames of my bedroom window. From this view I see the central building of the now converted health centre. A strangely seamless distortion of its original use, its features unceremoniously partly gutted in the mid 1990s and later in the early 2000s botched cheaply into residential apartments. I observe the building through a collection of imagined and misaligned overlaid cels, from the amateur archival black and white silent films by Dr Bolton to my scrawled shot list.[9] A paper scribble of where to lay the track and dolly, our timings in the margin planned carefully as to not overrun and disgruntle the residents. From the house I now live in, I can visualise each shot, each set up, like the tape marks set down on a stage. The child actor is positioned at the top of a glass staircase, so his face would be partially obscured by the prism of reflections from outside. The repetitious sway of the camera moving back and forth along the building, attuning the follow-focus, training the muscle memory of hand and eye to feign the weightlessness of a gliding, continuous shot, surveying the reflective glimmer of steel frames and glass. These memories are tangled with the flickers of amateur footage filmed by the founding biologists at the Centre. Lack of an experienced camera operator and the method used to transpose the material to archive

[9] Dr Bolton was an assistant to the founding biologists of the Peckham Experiment, and shot a large collection of amateur footage at the Centre. Lack of an experienced camera operator and the method used to transpose the material to archive, results in films which are non-sequential fragments (Bolton 1931-5).

resulted in films that are a disjointed mesh of body parts, glass, water, rope, architecture, small moments of interactions and activities.

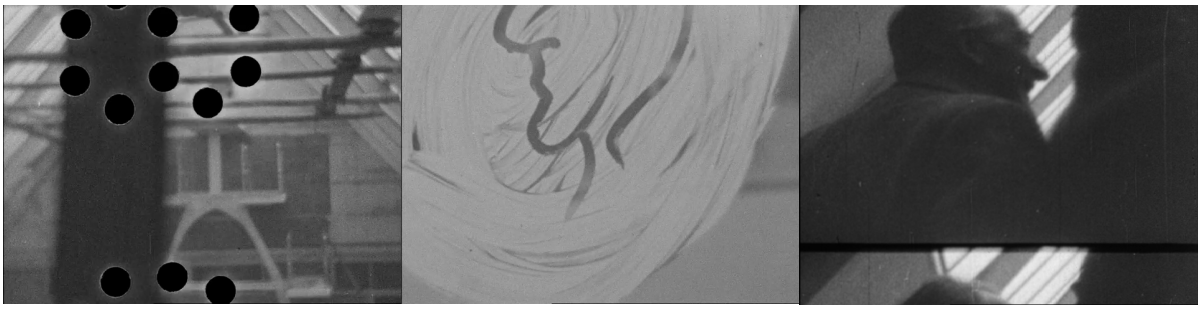

Figure 1 Dr Robert Bolton, *Peckham Pioneer Centre amateur footage,* 1931-5, silent, black and white film, 16 mm, 4774F, Wellcome Collection, London.

I was struck by how much these films resonate with my editing methods. Through accident they appear almost as a structuralist film rather than a medical document, the rhythmic fragmentation becoming an overarching structure for *Correspondence O* (2018). As Okwui Enwezor has highlighted 'the camera is literally an archiving machine, every photograph, every film is a priori an archival object' (Enwezor 2008, 12). The unintended playfulness of this archival moment problematises the evidential role of the filmic image, as they are in themselves 'fragmentary and incomplete utterances' (Sekula 2003, 445). This isn't to say that I treat these as untethered, found materials, but as recordings anchored in the building and archive. Like film, movement becomes an intrinsic element of the architecture, and I would argue the archive too. This critically places the historical account within a deconstructed spatial realm, reliant on the temporal qualities of memory and the tangibility of space, a mnemotechnics of the archive (Derrida 1995). Through this spatial entanglement of displaced actions and memories, the building becomes most visible and splutters alive.

I ended up here, at the Pioneer Centre, living in my research, mid-way through writing this thesis, not through a fan-girlish love of the Pioneer Centre, but through my own fertility and thyroid issues that resulted in the end of a relationship causing me to move. An aspect of my personal life that oddly parallels the original reproductive and thyroid research conducted at the Centre. A resident I met whilst filming *Correspondence O* (2018) emailed to let me know of a cheap, empty room going in the building, it seemed too serendipitous and surreal an opportunity to pass up. Experiencing my own body and relationship in breakdown made me encounter the archive of the building differently to the bounded distance of special collection rooms and the ordered conviviality of meetings with the residence committee. I now hold and maintain an altered space, aware of the strange, uninvited parallels my body now holds to the history of this building. My move here came with the realisation that I represent a body

that wouldn't have been welcomed into the original experiment: too single, too unhealthy and not part of the family nucleus the scientists would have desired. I am now sandwiched between states, between the archive and my continued intervention within it. My body, like the building itself, is penetrable, transparent and observable, all 'mesh screens and translucent walls'.[10]

My work here in the charged physicality of the building, isn't about reanimating the archive, nor is it a testimonial, an urge to physically resurrect the past, 'that' particular historical moment. Instead, I am attempting to acknowledge its liveness and to reopen the questions that it poses. This conception of the livingness of archives resonates closely with Stuart Hall, who considers the constituting of an archive away from the 'dead works' of museums, instead seeing them as 'on-going, never completed project[s]' (Hall 2001, 89). The spatial living arrangements of architecture become modes to test and provoke new narratives, explore new, less linear understandings of civic and cultural identities that would otherwise be overlooked. Therefore, architecture as witness becomes something more active than a spectre, not ghosts, nor simply vessels to be occupied with contemporary experience, they are something in-between. The etymology of architecture and archives stems from the same root, 'the Greek *arkheion:* initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons,* those who commanded' (Derrida 1995, 9). As Derrida posits, the link between memory and housing comes from the very public importance of the house of the magistrates.[11] It is not just that the architectural structure holds historical documents within it, but that they are themselves dynamic, activating historical criticality in and of themselves.

Theorists referenced in this chapter note the 'limits', 'impulses', 'fevers' that are 'constituting' the boundaries of the archive as distinct, but volatile – a form of transmission whose peripheries are vague and malleable (Mbembe 2002; Foster 2004; Derrida 1995, Enwezor 2008; Hall 2001). Archives are morphological, spaces at intersections perhaps, even 'the secretions of an organism' (Galbraith 1948, 3). The disorderliness of the Peckham Experiment records kept by founders George Scott Williamson and Innes Hope Pearse, rendered them intelligible only to themselves.[12] The gaps and omissions from the archive

[10] As quoted from the voice over to *Correspondence O* (2018).
[11] Historically, the officials of the Greek (polis) held documents at their residence, and these documents were the grounding of a public, official memory or history. The public recollection of the *polis* was therefore associated with a home, this was a space where memories were both sanctioned and solidified into the material history of the polis (Derrida 1995).
[12]Scientific observational language, particularly the passive recording of data, was a key technique of The Peckham Experiment, yet was used largely to appease potential funders. The medical statistician Sir Austin Bradford Hill visited the Centre and, in a letter to the secretary of the medical research council, Sir Edward Mellanby (1939), he said 'much of the family records has been merely scribbled down […] in such a way that nobody but the compilers could interpret the entries' (Hill 1939). He felt that data submitted to him showed 'no real system of periodic overhauls; for instance on a family that belonged for ten months, the wife was apparently examined twenty times, the husband once and the three daughters twice,

make the Pioneer Health Centre more of a projection, allowing the experiment to continue to be malleable for 'some future time', as Williamson noted of a removed toenail kept in an unlisted box now held at the Wellcome Collection, an unresolved grizzly provocation [Appendix C]. For these reasons, the Pioneer Health Centre has become an attractive speculative proposition. Over the years The Peckham Experiment has been appropriated by different movements. It has been seen as an anarchist ideal or a proxy for eugenics, as an example of the big society and neoliberal localism. Some have argued that we should bring it back to save the NHS.[13] It is libertarian left, centrist, conservative and far right. It is all of these things and none of them, which is what makes it such a rich archive to examine, but equally what makes it so troubling. Derrida asks us to 'restructure from head to bottom our inherited concept of the archive' (Derrida 1995, 44). Rather than returning to archives as visions of the past, it is the future that is at issue (Derrida 1995, 16). When archives rupture, like bodies or buildings breakdown, the systems that inform or support them become exposed, flayed at the surface. The fragmented parts of the Peckham Experiment archives remind us of the possible future social apparatus of health that was unrealised, lost. In the face of a public health system creaking under the increasing strain of governmental pressure, it is tempting to look back to find new answers, yet as later chapters reveal, this looking speaks more to our contemporary condition than to making sense of these dislocated archival parts. Williamson and Pearse chose to remain within a convoluted hierarchy, looking ideologically forward rather than conform to present obligations and societal indenture, believing they were populating a future that was possible and progressive. There is an overwhelming conglomeration of archival material surrounding the work of the Peckham Experiment, scattered between institutional order and uncategorised chaos, but living within it makes it all the more vividly intense. I have tried turning it over, handling it, reading through and scanning its fragmentations. Each avenue explored seems to open up more possibilities and deeply divergent politics. Every root returns to the building, what it witnessed, what was observed through it. The building acts as a surface, or at least an act of surfacing, bringing forward the social, bodily ideals imprinted onto it and projected through its material transparency.

each at varying intervals' (Hill 1939). Mellanby viewed the Pioneer Centre's non-conformity as being 'may be of such a nature that it can lead nowhere from a scientific point of view' (Mellanby 1939).

[13] Some commentators such as Colin Ward and Philip Conford view the experiment as a moment of learning and hope for radical change to contemporary health systems (Ward 1966; Goodway 2007; Conford 2016), whereas other writers have viewed the observations of the Peckham Experiment as a possibly ethically compromised scientific experiment (Kuchenbuch 2018; Armstrong 1938).

Instruments for healing: the glassy optimism of transparent bodies

The Peckham Experiment was always and still is entwined with the architecture of the body and its distillation in the muscular and writhing transparent composition of the building itself. Pearse and Williamson considered the bond between environment and the body of the individual as fundamental to good health, re-focusing wellbeing through an emotional, geographical lens, enabling a greater emphasis on the place and space in which health was improved, maintained and observed.

> Here then is a modern building designed as a laboratory for the study of human biology. The general visibility and continuity of flow throughout the building is a necessity for the scientist. In the biological laboratories of botany and zoology the microscope has been the main and requisite equipment. The human biologist also requires special 'sight' for his field of observation—the family. His new 'lens' is the transparency of all boundaries within his field of experiment. Sixteen steps down from the consulting room and he is engulfed in the action that is going forward, and which, by reason of the very design of the building, is visible and tangible to his observational faculties at all times (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 68)

As so starkly outlined by Pearse, the building was foremost a medical instrument, a lens through which subjects could be observed and observe each other, concepts I return to in Chapter Two. From the exacting design of the building to its social functions, every element of the Experiment attempted to make visible the social and human implication of health, every shift and improvement fed back through the transparent lens of the building. We could deduce from this that the Peckham Experiment was an exemplar of a Foucauldian governmentality, a Bentham-like panopticon of self-discipline. In many ways this is a valid interpretation of the scheme, but complicated by the scientific and political objectives underlying the experiment. Pearse and Williamson asked members to conceptually shift the way they understood their involvement in the experiment. Instead of seeing themselves as members of classes or hierarchies of power, overseen by state governance, they were encouraged to see themselves as part of an equal and autonomous system, inspired by ecological networks found in nature:

> Here is a mystery, something to be enquired into: the functional behaviour of the individual demonstrating uniqueness, the signature of which is so indelibly imprinted both upon his anatomy and upon his action-pattern. What then, we must ask, is the craft by which man fashions his individuality; what the method by which nature achieves this marvel of diversification in cosmos? Not by studying the machine and its mechanism—even man's own machine, his body—can the secrets of birth with its power to generate novelty be disclosed (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 27).

For the centre's scientists the body was a unit within a larger organismal map, a causal thinking that related the body and its health to a wider societal frame. It is in the amalgamation of design, ideology and experimentation that we find what makes the Peckham experiment so enduring yet so difficult to place. The building was designed to promote choice, fostering free movement, interaction and communal learning. There was a swimming pool, cafe, theatre, gym, children's playroom and a farm offsite, instrumental in the wholefood movement (Conford 2016). Members were not instructed on the use of these spaces, but encouraged to devise their own systems. Yet, we cannot forget that this was not a wholly selfless scheme, the building was designed with a specific function of biological study rather than medical aid, as has often been implied by writers such as anarchist commentator Colin Ward (Ward 1966).

It is important to state, at no point was the Peckham Experiment a 'clinic'. The only form of direct medical intervention being a health 'overhaul' that each member family had to complete. The ideology of the Peckham Experiment was concerned with the holistic cultivation of health, and not the treatment of sickness. Through the exacting design of the building and impassioned dogma of its founders, health was infused into daily action, rather than valuing good health as something done to you, a body being acted upon by clinical hands, the members were the primary conduit of their own wellbeing within a supportive networked community (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007).

A building specially designed for the study of human health

The youngest member of the family comes for his overhaul

HEALTH IS WHAT YOU MAKE IT

A back room dream in a London Suburb has become a great experiment

LINE upon line of soot-blackened buildings set among bomb-cleared spaces. Row upon row of big and little shops, cinemas, hoardings. A work-a-day, grey little suburb of South London. There is little outward evidence that this is the setting for the world's greatest experiment in human health. Yet, in a quiet street, only a few minutes' walk from the clattering trams of the main road, stands the huge glass and concrete Health Centre designed by DR. SCOTT

Members organise their own Tuppenny Hops in the big hall . . .

. . . while others play water-polo. Cafeteria acts as grandstand

Figure 2 *Leaflet for prospective members,* c.1940s, SA/PHC/B.5/23/9, Wellcome Collection, London.

The experiment began in 1926 in a terraced house, moving to a purpose-built modernist building, designed in 1935 by the utilitarian architect Owen Williams.[14] His rational, pragmatic approach to design reflected the scientific ideology of the experiment. As an engineer, Williams developed his own brand of design, not necessarily striving to become alluring adornment, but architecture intended 'to serve materials and things. Beauty will be the reward of perfect service, and not a path to it' (Williams 1927, 55). At night the building shone, lighting up the surrounding streets, a stage set when seen from outside, the silhouettes of raucous families inside. This, as the biologists asserted, aroused curiosity: 'dancing goes on there and moving figures can be seen on the floor of the main hall at night when the whole building is lit up attracting the attention of the passers-by—if they have not already been led to pause by the strains of the band or singing filtering through the night air' (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 71). This effect is reminiscent of Beatriz Colomina's comments on Adolf Loos domestic interiors as being 'a stage for the theatre of the family' (Colomina 1994, 252). The Pioneer Centre's innards radiated across its largely traditionalist

[14] Owen Williams was the architect of the Boots Factory in Nottingham, built in 1932, and the much-admired Daily Express Building, Fleet Street, also built in 1932.

surroundings. Its curving street facing facade a cinematic projection for the activities within promoting its radical and socially wayward aims.

Figure 3 Dell & Wainwright, *Pioneer Health Centre, St Mary's Road, Peckham, London, by night, Sir Owen Williams,* 1935, photograph, RIBA7315, RIBA Collections, London.

The collaboration between Williams and the founding biologists was not an entirely isolated experiment, bearing similarities to other unconventional schemes. Examples can be found in Paimio Sanatorium, designed by Alvar and Aino Aalto in 1929 or the un-British modernism of Lubetkin's 1938 Finsbury Park Health Centre. Health and wellness are infused in the intentions of modernism. This preoccupation with wellness led to swathes of white walls, hygienic curves and light-filled glass, permeating architectures beyond the clinic and into all aspects of culture. Here, architecture could be understood as a therapeutic tool. As Robert Musil sets out in his now much cited idiom, 'Modern man is born in hospital and dies in hospital – hence he should also live in a place like a hospital' (Musil 1965). An idea that seems to echo the views of earlier modernist figures such as Aalto, who specified 'The main purpose of the building is to function as a medical instrument'.[15] This realisation came not from the aspiration for a perfect human embodiment of design, but through Aalto's own sickness at the time of the competition for the Paimio Sanatorium. The Aalto's proposed an architecture designed not for the verticality of the healthy body but for the horizontal perspective of the sick.[16]

[15] The original quote is disputed, I have chosen to cite here the Aalto Foundation archives reference to the quote in *Alvar Aalto: A Life's Work: Architecture, Design and Art* (Schildt 1994, 68-69) and *X-Ray Architecture* (Colomina 2019, 55).
[16] Paimio Sanatorium, Finland, was built as a tuberculosis clinic. 'The colour of the ceiling is chosen for quietness, the light sources are outside of the patient's field of vision, the heating is oriented towards the patient's feet, and the water runs soundlessly from the taps to make sure that no patient disturbs his neighbours' (Aalto 1940, 16).

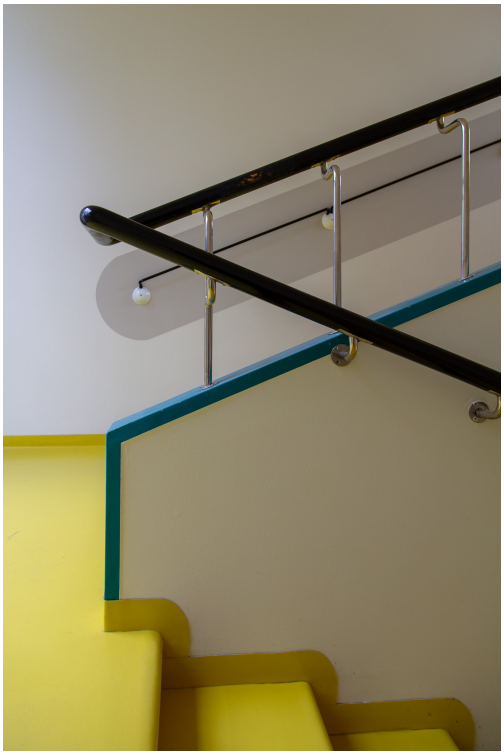

Figure 4 and Figure 5 *Paimio Sanitorium, Designed by Alvar and Aino Aalto in 1929,* 2022, Paimio, Southwest Finland, (photograph, courtesy of author, with permission of Aalto Foundation).

Figure 6 *Paimio Sanitorium medical archive housed in the building, c.1920,* 2022, Paimio, Southwest Finland, (photograph, courtesy of author, with permission of Aalto Foundation).

What separates the Pioneer Centre from these examples, is its fiery resistance to be subsumed by state-coordinated systems of health. The centre's experimental principles did not align with the new NHS curative approach, remaining outside the welfare state until its abrupt closure in 1950 (Conford 2016). In the way that Pearse and Williamson rejected state intervention, Owen Williams refused to be co-opted by the Modern Architectural Research Group (RIBA 1933),[17] being an engineer-architect on his own terms. Unlike his peers, he

[17] The Modern Architectural Research Group (MARS) was a think tank of British architects keen to promote modernist, European strategy in Britain (Gold 2013).

was not explicitly motivated by the social aims of modernism, but in William's user-focused architecture, we see the socially generative potential of his work. As an article comparing the Finsbury and Pioneer Centres at the time noted: 'Finsbury is not really a health centre in the same sense that Peckham is. It is a poly-clinic, organised for disease. Peckham is organised for health. Finsbury braces itself to fight disease […] but insofar as its main operations begin after disease has taken a hold, its whole existence is an acknowledgement of human failure to achieve or retain health' (Worpole 2000, 65).

A closer relative to the Pioneer Centre than some of the civic examples given is found in the Maison de Verre. The Parisian house of Dr. Jean Dalsace, a Communist gynaecologist, and his wife, Annie Bernheim, who commissioned Bernard Bijvoet and Pierre Chareau to build them a home with space for a gynaecology clinic woven into the building (Meyer 2016).

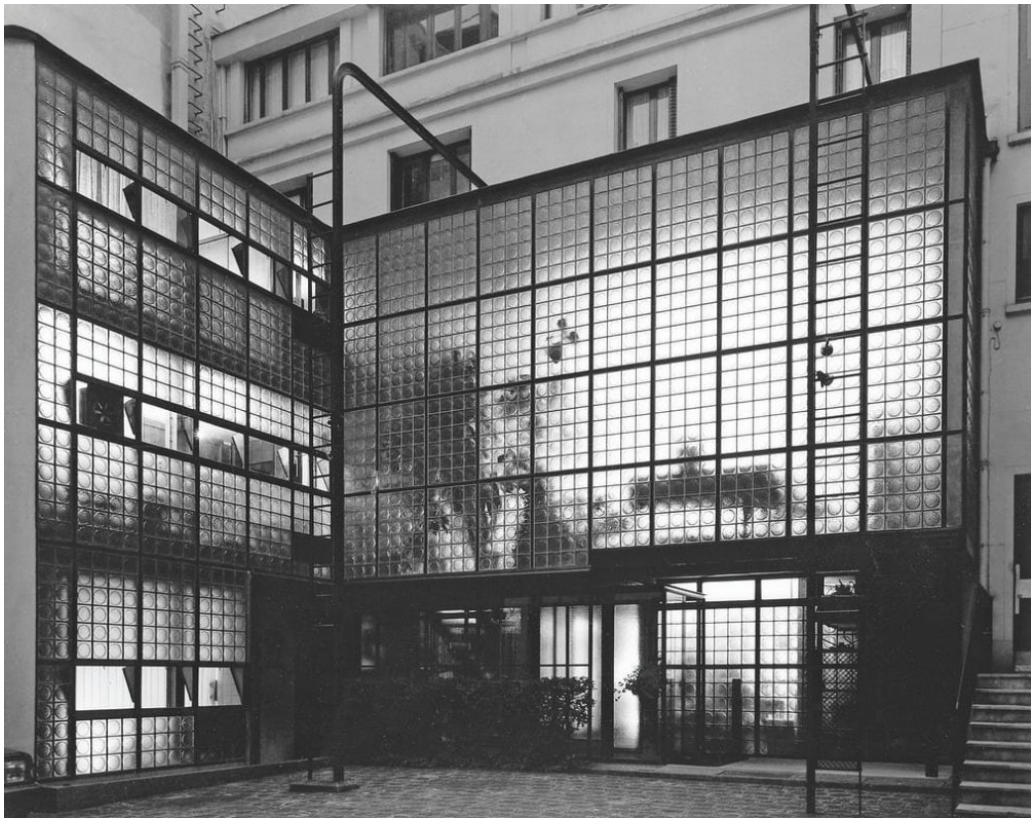

Figure 7 Architectural Press Archive, *Maison de Verre by Pierre Chareau & Bernard Bijvoet, built 1932, Paris, France,* 1991, photograph, RIBA23981, RIBA Collections, London.

This was a building centred on the embodied experience of the user, gliding between domestic, medical spatial experiences. In addition to the expansive use of glass, the building is notable for its thoughtful ergonomics. Not posturing signifiers of quality and craftsmanship but powerful statements of care, a space with an agenda, in which every table, window, staircase, and door handle held coded significance. A handle in the doctor's office slides in a downward arc, forcing Dalsace to bow and stand to the side as he opened it, allowing a

pregnant woman to pass through. The windows in the waiting area are high, letting light in, but arranged so that infertile women weren't forced to see the Dalsace' children playing outside (Delistraty 2017; Cheatle 2017).

The modernist optimism embodied in the architectural cues of the Pioneer Centre resemble in many ways the collaboration between architect, doctor, patient and house guest embedded in Maison de Verre. The Peckham Experiment, with similar political alliances, was hugely radical at the time – especially in regards to women's health, a focus of the biologists' research. They examined reproductive health, thyroid function and nutrition. At the core of The Peckham Experiment was the human unit: the family involving a mother, father and at least one child, the woman very much a fulcrum of this unit. It is important that we address the purpose of the experiment and its concentration on health and reproduction. Its aims were never philanthropic but functioned as a health and social experiment. The Pioneer Centre as a gendered observational instrument of health enacted the same potential as the Maison de Verre, yet women were strangely eclipsed from the building. Although the biologists' research centred on the study of women's reproductive health, women were conspicuously absent from its design considerations, foregrounding instead the family and the growth of the child. Curiously, the female body features in an analogous description of womb and tissue absorbed into the architecture of the living laboratory:

> As unhampered in the Centre as in their own houses, the members are free to improvise to suit all occasions as they arise. As the embryo newly lodged in the womb begins to build its cells into the substance of the uterine wall, so each new family emboldened to strike out for itself in this living social medium can add its own quota of 'organisation' to the Centre (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 75).

The focus on women's physical and mental wellbeing was not intended to provide better freedoms, working conditions or social power for women, but instead to create healthy families and children. The unintended consequences were that for the first-time, working-class women were receiving a kind of health care that had never previously been accessible to them. To understand just how radical the Peckham Experiment must have seemed, it is important to understand the wider social context in which it operated. It was founded at a time when many people on low to moderate incomes relied on church, charity and workers' friendly societies for their health care needs. There was no overarching system of state-sanctioned welfare.[18] Contemporaneous to Maison de Verre and the Pioneer Centre,

[18] Before the Welfare State, workers formed mutual insurance groups; 'friendly societies' paid for from earnings. Friendly societies offered financial help for sickness or injury, often the only means of support for working people. Philanthropists such as industrialists Joseph Rowntree and Edward Guinness sought to provide better living conditions for workers,

gynaecology was a conservative discipline, still bound to the functional maternity of the female body. Most women wouldn't have been able to afford the costly private care of the Maison de Verre. The health care many women received across Europe was non-professional, filling the gap left by unattainable and costly doctor interventions.[19] In the early twentieth century women's health was invisible, overlooked, and often life threatening. Against the frame of this history we must ask, how this heteronormative, predominantly monocultural recognition of the public role of the female body becomes a matrix of architectural glances and gazes embedded within these experimental structures. These were buildings that addressed the gendered scales of the body from its cellular reproductive health to its social substance, through the acknowledgement of multiple gazes in an omnipotently architectonic manner. The distinction between medical gaze and domestic glance are outlined by architectural historian Christopher Wilson:

> In contrast to a medical gaze, a domestic glance is not a process that necessarily involves two people. It is a "looking" done by one person […] Surveillance here refers both to "looking out" and also to "being looked at." A domestic glance is a cursory look whose surveillance is minimal – a look more concerned with being looked at, more concerned with maintaining privacy. It is mostly interested in screening and protecting others' looks from view (Wilson 2005, 239).

Amid the chaos of children playing, amateur dramatics and tennis clubs, the Pioneer Centre was an architectural and social instrument intended to muddy the boundaries between glances and gazes, between domestic and medical actions. These become spaces of constructed visibility, representing the theoretical and physical mechanism of panopticism. But what is it precisely that the Panopticon does? How does it inscribe and materialise these spatial, collective acts of witnessing, observing and collective bodily organisation? In sum, this now notorious disciplinary panoptic, architectural invention is not to watch the occupiers of the structure from its exterior, but to be absorbed and internalised, a continuous reminder for those it contains to watch themselves (Bentham [1787] 1995; Foucault 1975).[20] The glass building becomes a metaphor, linking transparency to openness, and a clear

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extending their charitable aims to those that would otherwise have no support such as children, the unemployed poor and long-term sick, but this was outside any governmental policy or social system of support (Cordery 2003; Spicker 2020)

[19] One of the few healthcare interactions a woman might have would be with a midwife, who were self-taught, part time and part of the local community, supplementing their income with work such as childcare and laundry. Midwifery became legally recognised in Britain in 1902 under the Midwives Act, significantly reducing infant and maternal mortality. This professionalised midwifes, as self-employed individuals with regulated training. More affluent women could afford the care of a doctor, which did not necessarily improve life expectancy. Unlike midwives, doctors supplemented their income by seeing multiple patients for short appointments in potentially contagious and degraded conditions, putting mothers and children at risk (Fox and Brazier 2020; Tyagi and Barwal 2020).

[20] 'Each will watch himself, each will keep in his mind a list of his own transgressions and calculate the gravity of the punishment that he will sooner or later have to suffer for them' (Božovič 1995, 17).

inescapable sight. The Panopticon therefore embraces both the domestic glance and the clinical gaze, to return to Wilson's distinction.

The spatial practices of flow, observation and self-service encouraged by both architect and scientist of the Peckham Experiment, were enforced through a directed gaze, all were seen and to be seen; 'the task we set the architect was to provide a building so planned that the sight of action would be the incentive to action' (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 126). Pearse implies that the looking that occurred in the centre had some equality to it, a democratic transparency. Doctors were not segregated from members but, as Pearse recounts, amongst them.

> How can such an unfamiliar and objective factor as a scientist and observer be introduced into any social milieu without instantly shattering its spontaneity? The answer seems to lie in the possibility that the scientist himself […] should become one of the accepted groups forming the cultural diversity in the environment (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 46).

Yet, this claim that all sights in the centre were equal is in itself spatially contradicted. The Centre scientist's notion of self-service was not to evoke 'free-will' but was the encouragement of the collective policing of behaviour, to learn from each other, to correct what was considered unhealthy, to internalise the observational eyes of the scientists.[21] The only private space being the medical overhaul rooms on the top-floor. Although the building was a transparent lens, looking was not equal, but opaque, professional observational eyes outweighing the returned looking of the participant, affirming that a clinical gaze was engrained into the experiment.

[21] 'For such a study there are certain pre-requisites:- 1.The 'unit' of living material for study must be 'the family' in its biological setting. 2. Dealing as we propose to do with volitional action, the experimental circumstances created must be such that the unit under observation is free to act voluntarily rather than in conformity with any pre-determined con-duct, in pursuit of any ideal or in response to any external discipline. 3. The environment must contain a maximum diversity, so that there may be adequate chances for the unit under observation to exercise its volition, and for its biological potentialities to become explicit in the ordinary circumstances of living. 4. There must be at least a minimum aggregate of units to provide the requisite social contacts permitting diversity of action by the family, as well as providing statistical data for the scientist. 5. The units must be in a position to assimilate, as part of their natural environment, the technical organisation of the scientists undertaking the observations'(Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 40).

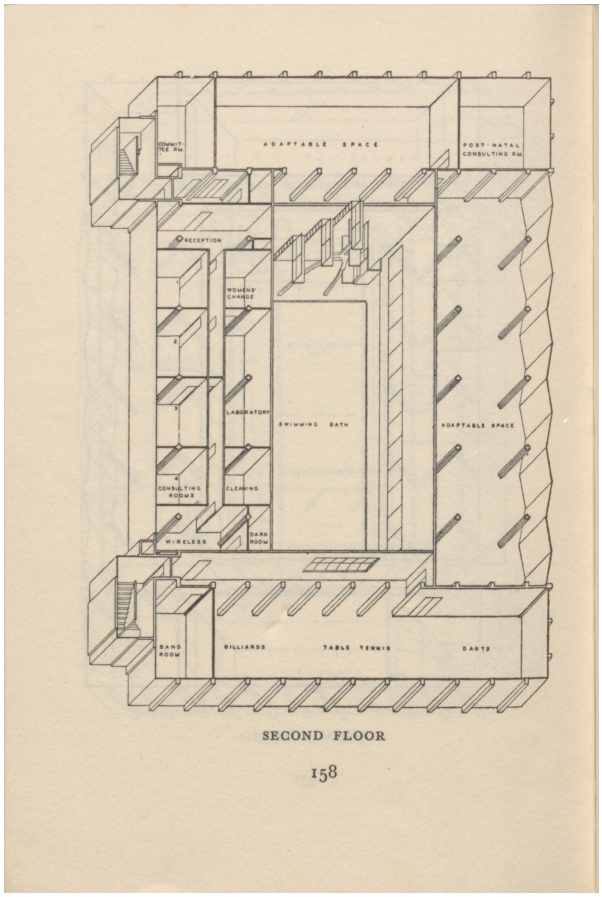


Figure 8 (Left) Innes H Pearse and George Scott Williamson, *The Case for Action* (London: Faber & Faber, 1931), 158.
Figure 9 (Right) *Children in Gym: Mother watches while she and her daughter have their tea*, c.1940s, photograph, SA/PHC/H, Wellcome Collection, London and Pioneer Health Foundation.

Through this prism of glances we could understand the Peckham Experiment as a clinic, a narrative resisted by its founders. This was architecture designed to build healthy bodies rather than their cure or treatment. There is a contradiction, these discrete laboratories and observation rooms followed a spatial language more indicative of the clinic. A space encased in sealed corners, endless white walls and softened by changeable paper curtained cubicles. The body is the locus in such a place, moving and passing through it – observed, pierced, pressed, scanned, guided and controlled by the professional sights of doctors. The doctor is the one whose sights penetrate the patient, in turn, the patient's gaze is of secondary importance in the observation room. As a patient, this is a state I have practised and learnt, my body leaning into and simultaneously misbehaving in this role. I sit in a waiting room, look at the clock to ensure I don't miss my appointment, my head bent to follow coloured lines on floors mapping departments, I look down corridors to where I have been instructed to go, returning the gaze of the doctor, looking at what they are doing as they scan my body with their fingers and implements, or I am compelled to look away, lying horizontal, my gaze fixed, counting the gaps between ceiling tiles to float my thoughts away from my body, but this way of seeing is not with any authority.

In examining the clinic as a site of biopolitical scrutiny, Foucault reminds us that in contemporary understandings of the human condition, our physical wellbeing and social mobility are deeply dependant on a web of interlocking, embodied, scientific and historical discourses. He begins *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963): 'This is a book about space, about language, and about death; it is about the art of seeing, the gaze' (Foucault [1963] 2003, 8). His position reveals a leaky space between clinic and the realm of the public, a permeability between architectures, cities and body that allows the eyes of the doctor to be directed outwards from the institutions of the hospital. The poet Anne Boyer in the second chapter of *The Undying* 'Birth of the Pavilion' (Boyer 2019), an intimate portrayal of the medical structures she finds herself in whilst undergoing breast cancer treatment, sees the contemporary American cancer pavilion as a disorientating gendered yet motherless space, which she perceives as inheriting a different lineage to that of Foucault's clinic. She writes,

> Foucault wrote a famous book about the spatial arrangement of illness called The Birth of the Clinic, but I can't find a book called The Birth of the Pavilion. It seems impossible that a cancer pavilion could have a mother. […] Activity inside the pavilion is transient, abstracted, impermanent, dislocated […] Foucault wrote, "The clinic should have had only one direction—from top to bottom, from constituted knowledge to ignorance." The pavilion, on the other hand, is a tangle of directions. Money and mystification, not knowledge or ignorance, are its cardinal points (Boyer 2019, 51-52).

Although I will not make comparisons with an American healthcare system here, Boyer makes clear that even submitting to diagnosis means being objectified and atomised, extracted from a personal and private experience of the body, turned instead into a collection of symptoms that are also spatial abstractions. Where Foucault's clinic is perceived by Boyer as being directional, authored by doctors, the contemporary therapeutic space has absorbed a scattered hierarchy that is extended beyond the hospital walls into the community streets and our domestic life that represents a biopolitcal condition I think Foucault would recognise. Through his diagnosis with AIDs, illness took on its own painful and difficult reality, his long-resisted notion of the medical gaze becoming an inhabited one,

> My blood unmasked, everywhere and forever […] Naked around the clock, when I'm walking in the street, taking public transportation, the constant target of an arrow aimed at me wherever I go. Does it show in my eyes? I don't worry so much anymore about keeping my gaze human as I do about acquiring one that is too human (Guibert 1991, 6).

The most intimate understanding of this is through the autofiction of the French writer Hervé Guibert, a close friend of Foucault, whose deeply personal account of AIDs, love and grief *To the Friend Who Did Not Save My Life* (1991) includes 'Muzil', a semi-fictionalised portrayal of Michel Foucault, depicting both writers daily battle with the virus:

> Muzil spent a morning in the hospital having tests done, and told me he'd forgotten how completely the body loses all identity once it's delivered into medical hands, becoming just a package of helpless flesh, trundled around here and there, hardly even a number on a slip of paper' (Guibert 1991, 23).

One wonders how *The Birth of the Clinic* would have been reapproached in the wake of Foucault's AIDs diagnosis. Foucault's death[22] came early in the AIDs crisis, it only being acknowledged as an epidemic three years previously.[23] The sick and marginalised still tethered to these institutions, but not always visible to them, instead circumnavigating the mundanity of daily life in an entanglement of glances, judgments and acknowledgments, required instead to seek out other structures of care and support. Boyer writes: 'No matter how sick they are, the sick who are treated at the cancer pavilion do not spend most of their time there: they are sick at work and sick at home or sick at school or sick in the grocery store or sick in the DMV or sick in their automobiles or on buses' (Boyer 2019, 51). The clinic then becomes an extension of how we see ourselves, beyond the walls of the hospital. This is not only redolent speculation, unfortunate imagined happenstance, but also marks an awareness that these archives are not only the recording of past events but events and discourse that we are navigating in the present and which I now find myself implicated within.

[22] After many months of alleged denial of his condition, on 2 June 1984, Foucault collapsed in the kitchen of his Paris apartment (Miller 1993).
[23] While researchers believe HIV had been present for years before the first case was brought to light, 1981 is widely regarded as the start of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Sharp and Hahn 2011).

Figure 10 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O,* 2018, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

As I sat in my studio editing *Correspondence O* (2018), scrubbing between the rapidly changing gestures of the female actor cast as its protagonist, I think about this. She inhabits many eyes, both observed and observer – docile and professional. This for me was not historical re-enactment, she was not one character but many, doctor, biologist, mother, patient. The relationship between her and the three child actors is left unclear as fragmented, non-linear narrative collapses past into present. She is the axis of these overlaid inferences, melding architectural and human physicality with historical and experimental medical research and archival material. There is a physical complexity and triangulation of sights engrained into the layers of action within *Correspondence O* (2018). The actor, Amy Newton, moved through the ambiguous roles and head spaces I asked her to traverse, inside a prism of refractive roles in a way she had never been asked to before. The moment this became most apparent for us both was when Amy was filmed for two hours in an MRI scanner, acting her role whilst simultaneously taking part in a real research trial,[24] the physical actuality of the insides of her anatomy becoming spatially fictionalised into the roles she played – not one person, one body but many. Not only a body, but also a building, as through the MRI scanner the architecture of her brain is extruded through the LiDAR scanner into the architecture of the building itself.[25] This mesh of relationships corresponds to the argument behind architectural historian Beatriz Colomina's *X-Ray*

[24] A cognitive neuroimaging study examining the brain responses to sugar and sweeteners. Principal Investigators: Dr K Diederen, Dr H. Ziauddeen, Prof Paul Fletcher, Cambridge University.

[25] LiDAR - Light Detection and Ranging –Lidar scanning is used for accurately documenting and representing buildings and interiors in detail. Both actor and building were scanned using an architectural LiDAR surveying scanner which I will return to in more detail in Chapter Two. The output of LiDAR can be used for everything from archaeology, cellular network planning, autonomous car navigation and atmospheric physics.

Architecture (2019), published after the completion of *Correspondence O* (2018), but echoing many of the architectural and technological languages the film worked through. Colomina considers how architecture both informs and is informed by the medical body, pathologizing and staging its management and treatment. She sets out an argument that the body described in architecture is not Vitruvian perfected man, but the medical body that evolves as the technologies of clinical practice develop. Her argument outlines an architecture that evolved out of a technological accelerated body entwined with its treatment and its machinic realisation in the built environment, asking us to reconsider the materiality of the architecture, its material testimony. The X-ray as a mode to navigate the architectural registers of the building and body offers many generative possibilities throughout the modernist account that Colomina unfurls. The early twentieth-century impact of medical technologies such as X-ray evolve in parallel to radical developments occurring simultaneously in design,

> Just as the X-ray exposes the inside of the body to the public eye, the modern building exposed its interior […] To look at an X-ray is to feel your eye penetrating the surface of the body. The very act of looking is exposed. You feel the eye moving through space. It is inevitably voyeuristic (Colomina 2019, 147-148)

In 2018 when I had to undergo an MRI scan, consultants fearing I possibly had a pituitary tumour, I recast myself as Amy. Looking up into the patient's mirror, I was able to see myself from the position of the radiologist knowing exactly how this view of my body would appear, remembered through the sights of a camera.

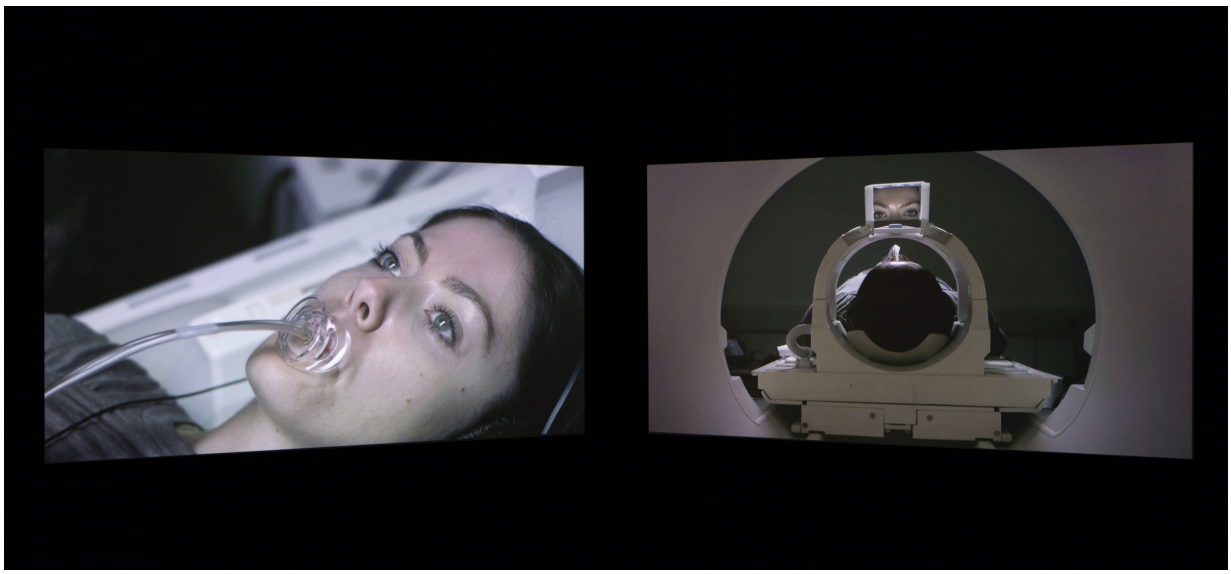


Figure 11 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O*, 2018, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, South London Gallery, London, (photograph, Freya Jewitt, 2018).

What this makes clear is the acutely architectural afterimage of the body as research – and in part answers what I refer to when talking about the body. The social and spatial conditions of the body are not positioned in my work as a categorical object, separate 'to' the historical subject of research. The distinctions and relation between personal experience strangely entwines with the archive and the historical subject, becoming enmeshed – exposing archives not only as hypothetical abstractions, locked in institutions, but something to be lived through, worked through the body, not just about bodies, but persons.

To cope with this cognitive dissonance, I undo myself into a site of material, breathing in and out the air stale with propylene glycol, defragmenting my archives, pulling them apart to find a new logic and produce new ways to think through my body as a repository. Archives are no longer a destination, they are a practice to maintain in themselves, with precarious distinctions between the institutional inside and outside. This, as Mbembe contends, is not to suggest the totalising powers of the institution are redundant, but that this is an act of displacement; 'the power of the archive for all that has not been abolished. On the contrary, it has, rather, been displaced. Material destruction has only succeeded in inscribing the memory of the archive and its contents in a double register' (Mbembe 2002, 23). As Jens Brockmeier has written, memory is no longer located in the conservative institutions of the archive but instead 'within a broader framework of social and cultural practices and artifacts, which are themselves subject to historical change' (Brockmeier 2010, 9). Archives are not fragile, but fluctuating spatial topographies fusing as well as complicating notions of our collective and individual identity. As a researcher I wasn't just entering the archive, it was a gaze I began to inhabit through my own body or vicariously through that of the actors. Later I asked for my MRI DiCon data and was refused, as patients are not allowed such data as the information is perceived as too detailed. I had no claim to images that don't belong to me, and yet do. Hyper-aware of the lack of agency my new convalescent role entailed, a distinction to being a filmmaker in the neurology laboratory of Prof Paul Fletcher, now my requests were no longer to be trusted.

> 'Eye that knows and decides," the "eye that governs" and the "eye" that dissects, "isolate[s]" and "classif[ies]", the patient becomes the passive and silent object of knowledge' (Foucault [1963] 2003, 108).

The actor and my own experiences represent an observational tension I will return to in Chapter Two. But here, what these personal and filmic anecdotes make clear is the slow looking I inhabit in the archive is spatially conditioned, reliant on my eye as a filmmaker, dependant on a web of physical and personal structures that take time, that I hold, and am held by. My health complicated throughout the writing of this research, in the mists of an

uncertain state, muddy in the global complexity of a pandemic, both my own personal health and the impacts of this mutating virus unknown. In this breakdown between bodies and buildings, the act of feeling through the physical architectures of these spaces becomes an active looking that renders these archives materially present. When things break, become ill, inoperable, it is in that moment they are most visible, the background suddenly foregrounded. To return to Heidegger, the transparency of the apparatus we use becomes suddenly, visibly apparent through their disorder.

We maintain our bodies in ways similar to maintaining systems and infrastructure; 'The world constantly decays. Moisture gets in. Damp hangs around. Ice expands joints. Surfaces wear thin. Particles fall out of suspension. Materials rot. Insects breed. Animals chew. All kinds of wildlife war with all kinds of fabric. Humans make errors' (Graham and Thrift 2007, 5). As discussed earlier, I am not interested so much in ruins, but objects in flux. The carcass of the Pioneer Centre is a rusting skeleton, in need of constant conservation. This 'medical instrument' as claimed by the founders, was never meant to be lived in even though itself, 'a living laboratory'. A hotchpotch of walls erected by developers in 2001 created apartments, enclosing once open spaces, exacerbating the condensation and rot brought on by the use of experimental reinforced concrete techniques by Owen Williams. When I filmed in the unheated pool, rust and lead paint flaked into the water, the walls stained with black mould and chlorine. An expensive effort for its repair cleaning away the corrosion and dirt, underwater lighting was installed and a tasteful new pool-liner, the visual cues now more about aspirational wealth than health.[26] Although the original theatre, gym and observational rooms have been removed, the detail gone, the building is still a witness, hanging onto its clinical eyes echoed in the fishbone-shaped observational windows looking down onto the swimming pool below.

[26] I was made aware of the maintenance work by residents in 2018 shortly after the completion of *Correspondence O* (2018). I was told the costs verbally and anonymously by a resident were between £9,000- £12,000 per property owner. The exact figure is unconfirmed.

Figure 12 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O,* 2018, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

Seen in this light, silent buildings become clamorous protagonists; 'the multifarious activities of repair and maintenance become not just secondary and derivative but pivotal. They become one of our chief means of seeing and understanding the world' (Graham and Thrift 2007, 5). This is an on-going sense of the material architectures of our world view that enfolds the past and its future into our present. As the Pioneer Centre entered a prolonged period of restoration, I am interested in its history but also its current status as a building in flux, its function and purpose changed, it's frame mouldering, its sense of time suspended.

We could define maintenance in these terms as acts of care at every scale of maintenance work — from the body, its clinical treatment and self-care to public infrastructure and transportation, to homes and objects. What we choose to value and maintain mirrors in many ways the ideological social values we care to uphold. Joan Tronto[27] defines care as 'everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair 'our world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life sustaining web' (Mattern 2018). Maintenance, care and welfare are more than the limbs of a transactional infrastructure they are an embodied state with the potential to become transgressive actions.

Care is material, a constellation of physically designed and planned decisions. It sits between the soft effects of an infrastructure of emotional and moral relationships to an

[27] As cited and paraphrased by María Puig de la Bellacasa and Shannon Mattern (Mattern 2018; Bellacasa 2017).

economy of material and practical forces. As María Puig de la Bellacasa suggests 'Care [is a] concrete work of maintenance, with ethical and affective implications, and as a vital politics in interdependent worlds' (Bellacasa 2017, 5). Maintenance then is a type of vision that makes visible these notions of care, interlocked into our architectural landscapes; fixing, conserving, holding, attending to, a duty to, work, a provision, an asset, recovery, control, administration, time. Maintenance becomes an economy of attention, an act of learning or care that requires a gaze, a type of sight or an eye on the subject of recovery, a careful looking that is housed in the archive and the now, the present and its futures. A system of history concealed, as Boyer articulates, within the viscous layers of the body and its porous infrastructures; this system we mistake for everything resides in a system-containing object like a tumour inside a system-containing object like a cancer patient who is a system-containing object inside a clinic, all of it also containing these systems of history' (Boyer 2019, 56).

The unblinking eye: material optics of observational sights, porous pieces of time

Health, as a vector of individual or collective experience, beyond the discourse of the clinic, becomes a key force both in its visceral actuality and as a metaphor to understand how architecture becomes a powerful civic currency and component of bodily and societal change. Buildings then are the agents and witnesses, mediators of our politics and social life. The status of our health is the oil that lubricates each joint of this civil contract. As I have shown in this chapter, healthy bodies and buildings were integral to the ideology and intentions of the Peckham Experiment. Steel and glass curtain walls allowed the socio-spatial distinctions to blur. Inside and outside becoming fluid, allowing a pervasive gaze, the curative sun and air radiating inwards. Described by Walter Gropius as 'an oasis of green in a desert of brick' (Groupius [n.d] 1989, 24), it's easy to see why the Peckham Experiment appealed to the modernists of Europe [Appendix D].

Setting up my camera, I look up at the vast glass-and-iron apex of the Pioneer Centre roof, I think of Méliès and his early cameras that were hungry for light. Méliès' glass house used its combination of glass and hanging fabric to control desirable forms of natural light, expelling heat through open glass frames (Jacobson 2015). The glass house was an extension of the camera 'devolved only upon the eye looking into a lens' (Benjamin [1935] 1969, 2) – a breathing, immense, cinematic machine only made possible through the accelerated

innovations of the ferro-vitreous age,[28] making film and architecture emmeshed and inseparable technologies.

Figure 13 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O,* 2018, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

Bathed in light flooding down from the pool roof, there are no dark corners, just a clean, unwavering view of all activity. A refracted optic emerges as I plunge the camera beneath the surface. This pervasive transparency something that came to preoccupy me in my filming of the Centre, mediated through a series of recurring motifs related to transparency: the refracted surface of the pool water, the glass partitions and windows, and various digital imaging technologies collapsing the distinction between interior and exterior, the difference between observer and observed subject imploding in the uncertain materiality of body and physical architectures. The omnipotent light emanating through the glass scientific instrument of the building provided a luscious luminosity to the scenes I shot there, the same light that would have optimised Dr Bolton's observational camera. Bolton's camera was a tool to scientifically document observations, yet his amateur love of film bleeds into this medically analytical footage. Between the analysis of swimming strokes and the examination of limbs for rickets are amateur-dramatics, mischievous in-camera jump-cuts, and the slowing down and speeding up of footage, hinting towards the theatrical. Bolton's archival footage extends beyond conventions of medical observation, reminiscent of

[28] Although modernism is considered as an architectural movement of the twentieth century, the rapid development of glass and steel innovations in the architectural typographies of the early nineteenth century lay the foundation that forged transparency as the key principle of the modern movement (Murphy 2012).

Benjamin's fleshy account of the folding together of embodied meaning that occurs in film, revealing the unintended aesthetics of scientific image-making and by extension, its recordable, archival aftermath,

> It is difficult to say which is more fascinating, its artistic value or its value for science. To demonstrate the identity of the artistic and scientific uses of photography which heretofore usually were separated will be one of the revolutionary functions of the film (Benjamin [1935] 1969, 15).

Bolton's films remain fragmented, not asking to be put back together, comfortable in their fluidity, 'pieces of time to be assembled' (Mbembe 2002, 21). Mbembe is critical of this mode of viewing the archive, yet I contend that assembly does not always mean authoritative or falsified modes of restoration or repair, it creates an alternative illusion of continuity opening the material to its contemporary reflections and associations. The silent gestures and scenes I filmed at the centre were not direct re-enactments or an attempt to 'fix' Bolton's footage, instead I responded to their spatial inferences that allowed the archive to permeate and infiltrate the contemporary space, actively co-existing with the present-day material and spatial references. My filming and Bolton's become a singular trace, mediated by the transparency of the building, bringing its experimental nature forward.

Such transparency has always been symbolically loaded. For Le Corbusier 'the whole history of architecture revolves exclusively around the window' (Corbusier [1926] 1971, 100).[29] Glass was not only a practical material to allow observation, to let the rays of sun's 'healing' light in and to circulate the air, it is emblematic material of a new collective life. As Benjamin wrote in 1929, 'to live in a glass house is a revolutionary virtue par excellence. It is also an intoxication, a moral exhibitionism, that we badly need' (Benjamin [1929] 1978). To the modernists, glass became a politically charged material, a visual aesthetic for the social utopianism expressed by the movement. This was a sentiment extended by their clients, Williamson describing his politics as 'liberal socialism' (Williamson n.d.) the materiality of building a statement of his political ideology. Not unlike Maison de Verre, where Dalsace' hosted Marxist thinkers; Benjamin, Cocteau, Tanguy, Miró, and Picasso (Delistraty 2017; Cheatle 2017). In *Experience and Poverty* (1933), Benjamin reflects on Paul Scheerbart's speculative experimental vision for a glass architecture (Glasarchitektur) for the people, seeing the Maison de Verre as an exemplar and architectural analogy to Communism 'Objects made of glass have no "aura." Glass is, in general, the enemy of secrets. It is also the enemy of possession' (Benjamin [1933] 1999, 734). It makes me wonder what Benjamin

[29] As Ken Warpole notes this is dependent on how this phrase is translated, 'It was at this time that Le Corbusier said that 'the whole history of architecture revolves exclusively around the wall apertures', although this is usually translated as 'the whole history of architecture revolves exclusively around the window' (Worpole 2000, 62).

would have made of the Pioneer Centre. Is transparency always about a pure, truthful sight as Benjamin seemed to suggest? In Benjamin's later unfinished work *The Arcades Project* (1940), he discusses the nineteenth century architecture of the arcades as lenses through which to examine the birth of modern capitalism and city life. Glass became the mediator of spectacle and surveillance. The arcades represented a juncture between the space of the dwelling and that of the street, but at the same time porous, a blurring of inside and outside. To return to Beatriz Colomina's claim for X-ray architecture, 'Just as the X-ray exposes the inside of the body to the public eye, the glass house exposes its interior' (Colomina 2019, 142).

Nowadays the Pioneer Centre is not so much a libertarian instrument of health, but more domesticated, yet it continues to be a space splintered with glances. Its sightlines and walls of glass allowing a more domestic, yet still policeable line of sight. Transparency in the new community of owners and renters is now about demonstrating taste and the right sort of aspirational lifestyle that the current fad for mid-century aesthetics indicates. A post on the residents' Facebook group demonstrates the transferal of clinical observational eyes to that of the suburban curtain twitcher. A post from one resident, deemed the curtain of another flat owner not to be compliant with the aesthetic uniformity expected.

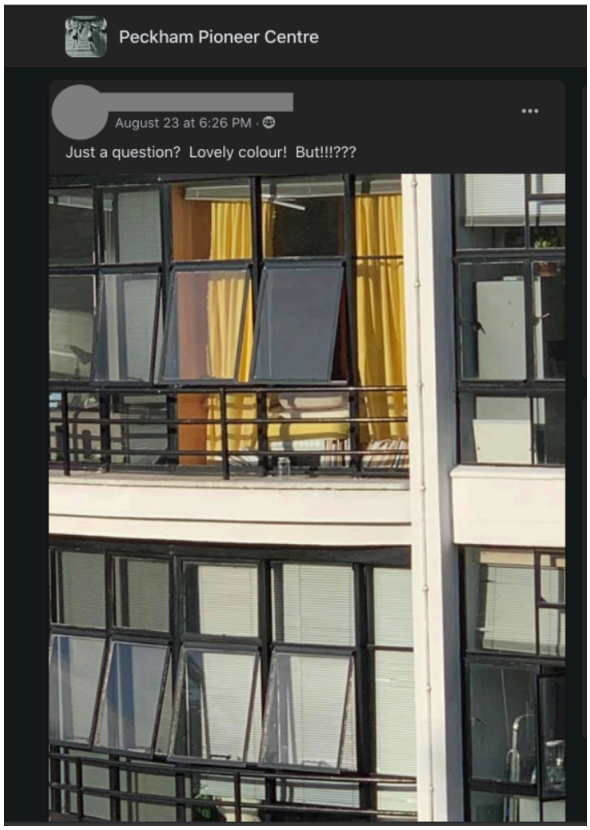


Figure 14 Pioneer Centre Resident's group, "Just a question? Lovely colour! But!!!???", Facebook, 23 August 2020, https://www.facebook.com/groups/243146911936 (accessed 24 August 2020).

Through the windows and balconies, the digital panopticon of Facebook groups and twitter feeds, the building then is a witness itself, encouraging a social scrutiny that we and our neighbours enact. As demonstrated in this chapter, Foucault's clinical modes of power leak beyond into a wider notion of panoptic space that blurs the distinctions between, doctor and patient, subject and object, body and building, inculcated into the glass envelope of the Pioneer Health Centre. We are always subject to eyes that are manifest in the architecture that guides the functions of our cities and collective states. In a sense then buildings are more than property, they become imprinted languages, enduring protagonists in the public-political powerplay that they witness and produce through the embodied intentions of panoptic space. The 'see-through' capabilities of glass provide structural conditions that reinforce the relationship between transparent architecture and observable social systems, embodying ideas of openness and equality as being located in spatial and material conditions. As this chapter reveals, the glass envelope of the Pioneer Centre sets flexible boundaries between architecture and bodies.

Figure 15 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O,* 2018, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

Glass then becomes a perfect symbol of transparency and modernity, yet, transparency is not what it seems. As encapsulated by Lefebvre;

> If it is true that (social) space is a (social) product, how is this fact concealed? The answer is: by a double illusion, each side of which refers back to the other, reinforces the other, and hides behind the other. These two aspects are the illusion of transparency on the one hand and the illusion of opacity, or 'realistic' illusion on the other (Lefebvre [1974] 1991, 27).

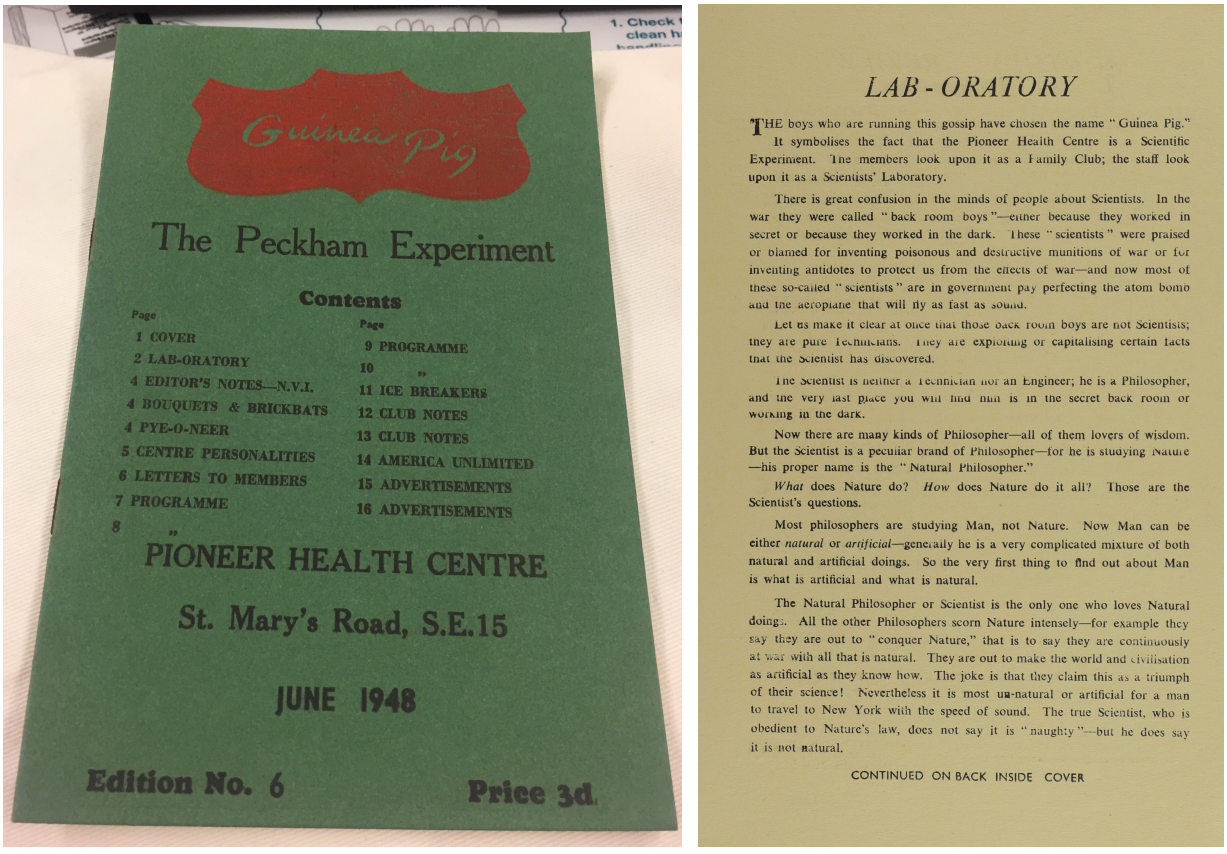
Bodies, buildings and archives can be made transparent. Not always in terms of democratic openness, to be transparent is also to be not quite there, seen through. Archival institutions, particularly those with a civic or nationalistic function, speak of legislative transparency with qualities that are defined physically with moral over-tones, to be evident, to hide nothing, but in so doing institute a layer of control over what is allowed to be seen. Although such forms of sight are relevant to the socio-spatial realm this chapter navigates, it is not these transparencies I speak of here, but a fleshier set of controls. To return to Derrida's troubled encounter with the dilemma of bricks and mortar archives, the nature of an archive is to be both magisterially transparent and authoritatively concealed.

> The arkhe appears in the nude, without archive. It presents itself and comments on itself by itself. "Stones talk!" […] The archaeologist has succeeded in making the archive no longer serve any function. It comes to efface itself, it becomes transparent or unessential so as to let the origin present itself in person. Live, without mediation and without delay' (Derrida 1995, 58).

The archive in its nakedness opens up the contradictory nature of the materiality of archives, how they are simultaneously public and private spaces, institutional and prosaic, traditional yet radical. In this first chapter I have moved beyond the architecture of the clinic into the murky transparency of the wider instrument and effects of the archive. The material construction and spatial choreography of glass, steel, door openings and window frames extend the historical account where the institutional cataloguing of files ends. Using transparency as an active architectural, scientific, social and cinematic device within my practice, this chapter has examined architecture as a protagonist and means to expose the politics present in its physical design and bodily geographies. Yet, what is still left to be answered is who is accounted for and who is absent from these moments of visibility? This subject will be expanded in the next chapter, but as this first chapter establishes, the question is one physically grounded in spatial decisions; what it means to 'appear' through design or observation, for the institutive mechanics of health and their fleshy intractableness to be 'revealed' in these inhabited spaces. As the next chapter will attempt to answer, what are the implications of the supremacy of sight as a mode of observation within these architectural projects? How does observation, scanning and processes of encoding bodies through observational data relate to the production of the subject at the centre of 'social' experimentation? And most crucially – what is it to 'observe' such experiments from the locus of the present?

Chapter Two: The Willing Guinea Pig

This chapter takes its title, in part from the self-organised magazine run by members of the Peckham Experiment, who claimed the self-aware name 'The Guinea Pig', for the monthly magazine written by them. They wrote as active orators and vocal collaborators, as exemplified by a column entitled 'Lab-Oratory', highlighting the communal blurring by members of hierarchies implicit in the experiment. The discovery of these magazines might be considered evidence that members of the experiment were seemingly complicit in their own observation, revealing the gaze of the researcher as not removed, cold and reductive, but central, reciprocal, and responsive. The magazine could be viewed as evidence of the affirmative, collaborative nature of the experiment and the conscious role members had within it. Pearse and Williamson asked for members to conceptually shift the way that they understood their involvement in the experiment. Even in the language of the magazine we see echoes of the founder's phraseology.



Guinea Pig

The Peckham Experiment

Contents

PIONEER HEALTH CENTRE

St. Mary's Road, S.E.15

JUNE 1948

Edition No. 6 Price 3d.

LAB - ORATORY

THE boys who are running this gossip have chosen the name "Guinea Pig." It symbolises the fact that the Pioneer Health Centre is a Scientific Experiment. The members look upon it as a Family Club; the staff look upon it as a Scientists' Laboratory.

There is great confusion in the minds of people about Scientists. In the war they were called "back room boys"—either because they worked in secret or because they worked in the dark. These "scientists" were praised or blamed for inventing poisonous and destructive munitions of war or for inventing antidotes to protect us from the effects of war—and now most of these so-called "scientists" are in government pay perfecting the atom bomb and the aeroplane that will fly as fast as sound.

Let us make it clear at once that those back room boys are not Scientists; they are pure Technicians. They are exploiting or capitalising certain facts that the Scientist has discovered.

The Scientist is neither a Technician nor an Engineer; he is a Philosopher, and the very last place you will find him is in the secret back room or working in the dark.

Now there are many kinds of Philosopher—all of them lovers of wisdom. But the Scientist is a peculiar brand of Philosopher—for he is studying Nature—his proper name is the "Natural Philosopher."

What does Nature do? *How* does Nature do it all? Those are the Scientist's questions.

Most philosophers are studying Man, not Nature. Now Man can be either *natural* or *artificial*—generally he is a very complicated mixture of both natural and artificial doings. So the very first thing to find out about Man is what is artificial and what is natural.

The Natural Philosopher or Scientist is the only one who loves Natural doings. All the other Philosophers scorn Nature intensely—for example they say they are out to "conquer Nature," that is to say they are continuously at war with all that is natural. They are out to make the world and civilisation as artificial as they know how. The joke is that they claim this as a triumph of their science! Nevertheless it is most un-natural or artificial for a man to travel to New York with the speed of sound. The true Scientist, who is obedient to Nature's law, does not say it is "naughty"—but he does say it is not natural.

CONTINUED ON BACK INSIDE COVER

Figure 1 *The Guinea Pig,* 1948, SA/PHC/B.5/12/1, Wellcome Collection, London.

The experiment was fiercely supported by its members, and the magazine, run by a committee of participants, was one of many ways members campaigned to promote the centre's benefits. The most striking and direct example of this is seen in letters of support written by members to halt the closure of the experiment in 1950. One member stated, 'I know the centre has given us an individuality we will never lose and which we will always cherish, but life without the centre seems a life without meaning or purpose, just a member Mrs J. Lack' (1950).[1] These impassioned letters clearly show the willingness of the participants to make a voluntary contribution to the scientific study, but were they 'just' members or part of an accepted core group of participants? An undated letter in the Wellcome Collection archives suggests a less harmonious picture of the experiment, stating the 'failure of the Peckham Health Centre' as 'nothing is organised at the centre, new members are left out in the cold unless they already know someone before joining' (Cuttings books 1938–1941). This unattributed letter found in a miscellaneous cuttings book, sparks doubt as to the willing complicity of the subjects of the experiment. Who counts and is accounted for in the retelling of this history? I am left to wonder whose voices are missing from these examples of knowing complicity. Was this jotted letter an outlier, written by a negative loner who had not fitted in, or were their spikey views representative of a silent group of participants, not visible in the cheery images of group activities and magazine clubs? I look down the list of addresses and names in the membership subscription book, each tabularised name on the gridded data sheet an afterimage of an observed participant. These members were units, further atomised into the statistical data extracted in accordance with observational directives.[2] The participants are manifest in a tabularised form of statistical recording, disrupted outlines of their existence, raising the question; can this form of social counting and qualitative data be a meaningful form of representation?

[1] Another anonymous member's opinions were transcribed to record, 'To think that the Drs. have given their lives to research and [the] establishment of the Centre as a LIVING laboratory, and now they have to take this blow, surely we can make an appeal to stop this happening?' (Anonymous 1950).

[2] 'There must be at least a minimum aggregate of units to provide the requisite social contacts permitting diversity of action by the family, as well as providing statistical data for the scientist. The units must be in a position to assimilate, as part of their natural environment, the technical organisation of the scientists undertaking the observations' (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 41).

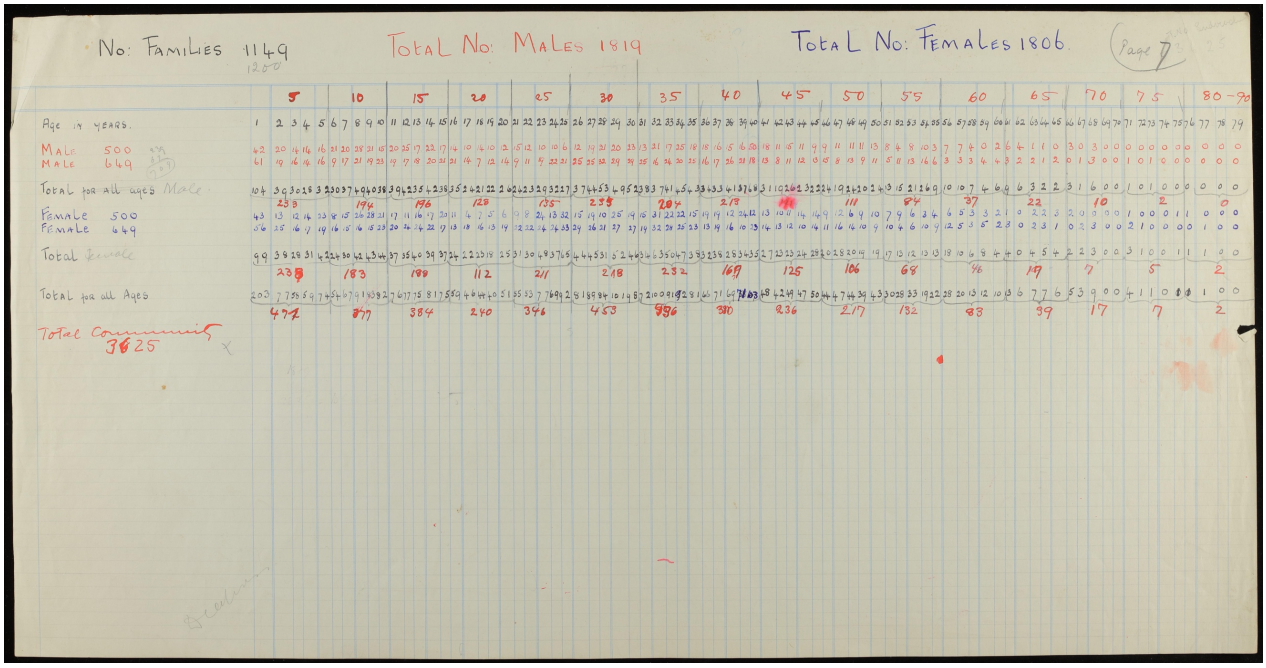
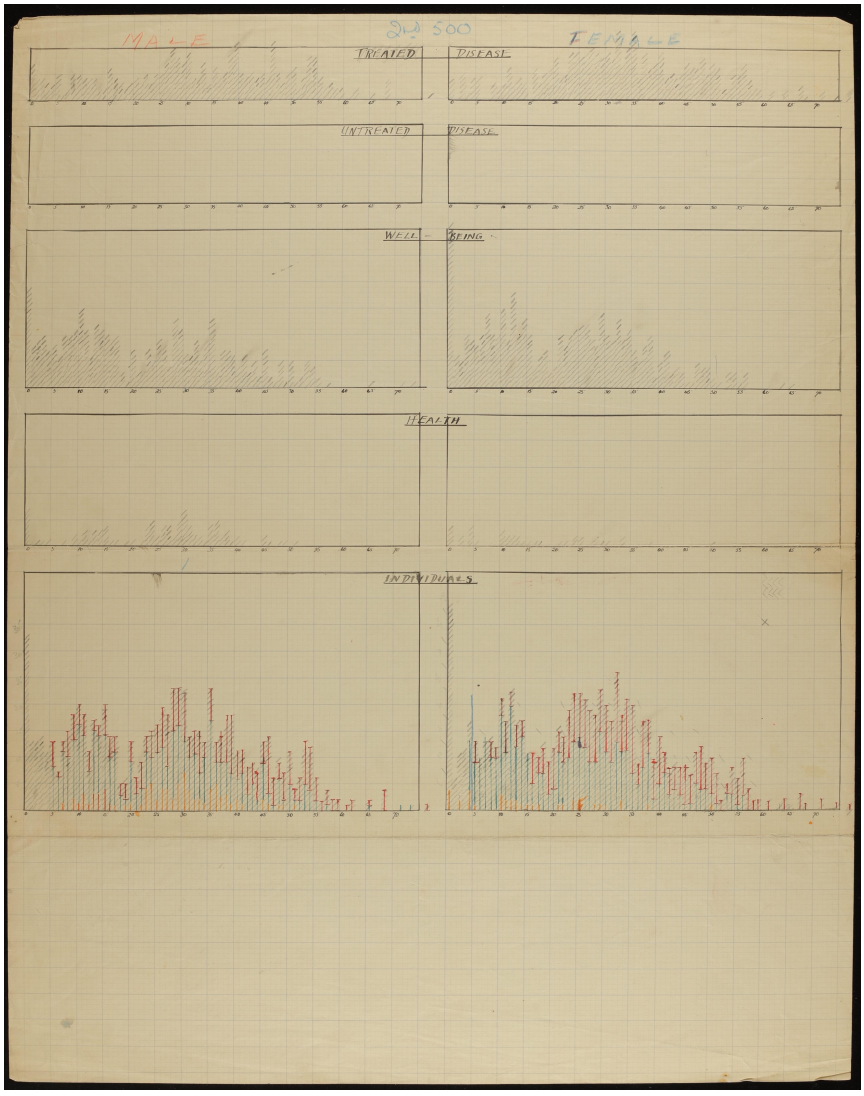


Figure 2 and Figure 3 *Notes on progress of The Peckham Experiment,* 1925-1934, SA/PHC/B.2/10/5, Wellcome Collection, London.



The gaps and omissions left open and slippery in the archives materialise the question of observation. Who is being watched and what is the apparatus of the observer? Scientific vision and data aesthetics are not a finality but a reflective admixture that implodes the dichotomy between private and public space. That is to say, the actions of being counted and accounted for articulate a regime of publicness defined and re-defined by our systemic visibility within social and scientific observational structures.

'What is it to count and to be counted?' – a provocation Prof. Alex Taylor made to me during one of three open panel discussions I brought together around the exhibition of *Deep Structure* (2019)[Appendix B], a question that riffs on feminist geographer Joni Seager 'What gets counted counts' (Seager 2016). Modes of collecting and counting are rendered into visual languages, charts, tables, maps, forms of representation that catalogue and order through technical means. Data, both digital and analogue has a tangible weight, it can be continuously generated, classified and archived, but always refers to something outside of itself, something elsewhere; publics, places, events, figures silhouetted behind their statistical quantification. Data images become instruments, interfaces, a porous skin between the subject of monitored regulation and their quantifiable visualisation, allowing the boundaries between image, representation and archive to blur. These are kinds of surveying images that Harun Farocki terms 'operative images' that 'do not represent an object, but rather are part of an operation' (Farocki 2004, 17). The utility of images is a concept that is by no means exclusive to Farocki – what philosopher Vilém Flusser refers to as 'technical images' painting (Flusser [1985] 2011).[3] According to Flusser technical images, as opposed to traditional images,[4] are 'not surfaces but mosaics assembled from particles' that 'owe their existence to technical apparatuses' (Flusser 2011, 7). Images in Farocki's context produce material more about its functional operation than its value as visual information, allowing machines to speak to other machines. Yet these scientific, visual regimes can be valued not only as objectively non-human, but holding a very human function, as the archives central to this research remind us. Are there other ways to comprehend the value of non-human ways of seeing that antagonise their social, historic and embodied application? Jussi Parikka extends the notion of the operative image suggesting it 'ties to infrastructures, logistics, and all manner of actions that function to sustain, mobilize, analyze, and synthesize the thing we have grown to call "images"' (Parikka 2022). This demarcates a triangulated bond that is articulated between an

[3] In a filmed discussion that took place between Flusser and Harun Farocki in 1986 titled 'Catch Phrases – Catch Images. A Conversation with Vilém Flusser' they discussed the supremacy of images and of their active working function but also demonstrated their contrasting positions on the subject (Flusser and Farocki 1986).
[4] Flusser views traditional images as a two-dimensional pictorial mediation-drawing on examples such as cave painting (Flusser [1985] 2011).

observer, a subject and the technologies or techniques that are employed to observe the object of study. Such surveying emerges as a useful starting point to begin to antagonise a mass observation instrument like the Peckham Experiment or a later civic site like Park Hill, where the objective was the population to be improved, managed, and scrutinised. Surveying images and their afterlife become central to every aspect of this research, whether it is the trace left in an archive, the production of medical diagnostic images, or the protean realisation of an architectural plan. I am thinking through the notion of afterimage: the trace that is left when a body is passed through an observational technology.

The afterimage becomes revealed as a phraseology within this research, a method of navigation through the archive, as a technique to unpick the logic of the data generated body, to surveil its impact in architectural space, as a reading of the hierarchies of knowledge production in the intersections between disciplinary reason and objective truths. The reading of archive methodologies through the lens of the afterimage can be viewed as a confrontation with the document that brings forth new knowledge, whilst recognising the bodily physicality of the distorted eye of the practitioner. The afterimage becomes a way to think about the subjectivity found in our encounter with these research materials, a way to value them outside of their objective and operational function.

An afterimage does not produce meaning in and of itself, always refering to an image from elsewhere, the retinal intensity that is seared into the eye by staring at images for far too long. When we linger with material, analyse its directions and pull apart its structures, it is then when new figures appear where its surface is disputed, accepted or rejected as fact, decoded, or analysed. This plotting of histories through images, texts and signs is described by Benjamin as the flash of knowledge and the temporality of images, framing the archive not as something solidified but as burnt into the present moment, cited in a spatial encounter (Benjamin [1940] 2002, 473). The computative potential of such technical images not only extends the eye but become spatial testimonies. What is the potential of such images, and how can they be used to navigate archival, present, and speculative societal space? In the previous chapter, I began to examine the ideological implications of spatial conditions as an observational instrument. Here, this understanding of observable bodies and archives is extended through the techniques of the survey as a diagnostic tool that drives a solutionist approach to complex social problems, considering the cumulative effect such methods of surveying have on the bodies they organise.

Municipal sights: counting and accounted for

This chapter unfolds a parallel between the experiences of the tenants of Park Hill Estate and the members of the Peckham Experiment, both groups highlighting that modes of surveillance are key in the production of the notion of a civic 'healthy' subject. The visibility of such surveying techniques demonstrates the way in which the act of observation and the resulting production of data and quantification of human experience curates our social reality. The 1930s had given rise to a climate of 'mass observation' with lasting impact on the intimate analysis of both physical and social health.[5] Social modernism was to be grounded in the reading and analysis of such scientific recording methods, later to be formalised within mass civic post-war planning decisions. Into this context of civic design, aspiring to universal standards of health forged through the close observation of the populace, we can place Park Hill Estate. Sheffield City planning department reported their tours of Europe, importing these ideals, and even quoting Corbusier's now hackneyed phrase 'machines for living in' on the front page of the report (Park Hill Survey 1962). Its appeal to the planning department is clear, a quantifiable way to grow efficient, managed communities. Corbusier was an exponent of Taylorism, advocating for it as a strategy in several of his books from *Après le Cubisme* (1918) to *La Ville Radieuse* (1935). This industrialised, technocratic ideology in many ways underlies the design intentions of Park Hill Estate. An unusual aspect of Park Hill's design process was the emphasis placed on the residents themselves. Not only was Park Hill an embodiment of the values of twentieth century social modernism, the plan encouraged social interaction, involving tenants in a radical consultation throughout the design process and initial years of use.

Through the construction of social surveys, an official distance formed in the categorising of the participants, not purely through their gender, but their gendered role. Rather than 'men' and 'women' the surveys focused on the 'Housewives' and 'Husbands' or 'Housewives without children', with distinct expectations of the types of work they would perform. This attentiveness, as Sheffield's City Architect J. L. Womersley noted, 'must make life easier for the housewife' (Womersley 1958). Women's role in the home and the community was an assumed component to manage and to form a well-designed structure for living. By placing a focus on gender, these forms of social observation emphasised women (housewives) as

[5] Contemporaneous to the Peckham Experiment's attempt to observe the immeasurable parts of the 'living structure of society' (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 1), Mass Observation had similar desires to find an 'anthropology of ourselves'. As Ben Highmore observes in *Hop-Scotch Modernism* (Highmore 2006), who I will return to later in this thesis, the two projects although politically divergent, exampled a growing interest in the attempt to observe the totality of life. The parallels between the two experiments becomes overt in the exhibition of amateur works. that was organised by Julian Trevelyan and Tom Harrisson (both of Mass-Observation) in 1938 held at the Peckham Health Centre (Highmore 2006).

dependants and men (husbands) as an abstracted absence. In differing but comparable ways to the Peckham Experiment, this method of observation and social experimentation positions the reproductive and domestic labour of women as necessary civic components based on the family unit. The surveys functioned as a method to confirm or refute the success of the design decisions made by the planning committee. The predetermined rigidity of these survey questions reinforced the view of the working class as passive, malleable and their moral and physical betterment a necessary part of a civic infrastructure.[6]

Pivotal to my reading of the civic and observational components of Park Hill Estate is its first occupier, sociologist Joan Demers, who helped residents adapt to this new way of life (Park Hill Brochure 1961). Officially given the title of 'Estate Manager,' her role was created by Sheffield Planning Committee to provide a link between the council and tenants.[7] She was tasked to manage and monitor the health and improvement of life on Park Hill, setting out expectations of the type of community it should aspire to be. As historian Matthew Hollow notes, 'It becomes possible therefore to think of Park Hill as an estate created for a subject yet to be realised' (Hollow 2010, 129). Although Demers' work was considered pivotal to developing the success of the scheme, there is little to be found on who Joan Demers was. Where she appears her words are mostly retold by another, spoken on her behalf in meeting transcripts, nearly all her personal records destroyed or lost. I searched for her in local records and spoke to the original tenants that may have known her. All I found was a press photograph taken from afar, sent to me by Mathew Hollow who also found her nearly untraceable. In the image she stands to the side, a sliver of her face visible, obscured between two men, Mr Inam Aziz, editor of a Karachi newspaper, and housing officer Mr Codd, Demers job title entirely absent from the Sheffield Picture archive notes.

[6] Although tenants were involved directly in a period of consultation, what is distinctly absent in the archive and these surveys, is a direct voice, a sense that these reports allowed tenants to shape the estate to suit their lifestyles and patterns of work, giving the impression that the design was intended to provide an aspirational sense of social improvement set within a specific moral notion of class and gender expectations.

[7] The aim of this civic master plan, as Demers understood it, was to produce a 'thoroughly thought-out approach to human needs, integrating both high quality housing and social amenities, as well as the possibility of developing human relationships within this new grouping' (Park Hill Survey 1962).

Figure 4 Central Office of Information (HMSO), *Visit of Mr Inam Aziz, editor of the Jang newspaper in Karachi, Pakistan (right) with Mr F. Codd (left), deputy housing officer and Mrs J F Demers (centre) viewing Park Hill Flats*, 1965/7, photograph, s40284, Sheffield Picture Archives.

I realised in attempting to trace her, it was not who she was that was significant, but her erasure, her strangely outlined silence as a civic avatar and municipal observational conciliator. There is an awkwardness in what Demers represents as a civic character, but also the notion that it was possible to observe and manage the working class into a way of life that was morally predetermined. Where Joan Demers exists in the archive is hidden behind the data and surveys she generated. There is reciprocity between the muted lack of agency in the tenants as observed subjects and Demers as an observational apparatus. Was my interest in Demers an attempt to re-occupy her sight as an uncertain and undecidable presence in the archive? In a bid to understand the afterimage of those accounted for in Demers' columned data sheets, I searched for a fresh vantage point, less rational, a position acknowledging the hidden messiness of these social formations. As the disembodied narrator whose voice belongs ambiguously to the building and to multiple characters within *Deep Structure* (2019) attests,

'How we can scan, collect or corrupt what I emit?'

Observation is to watch something or someone attentively and in attending to them we hold our subject closer. Here is where I find the boundaries of the archive between Demers, as an embodiment of observation, and the building itself as a witness and object of scrutiny. In

naming, cataloguing and visualising, these methods of accounting become the mode that renders the civil subject intelligible, producing an effectual body-double, visualised through the data it produces – what Foucault describes as the hall of mirrors between 'man and his doubles' (Foucault [1966] 2005, 330). As understood by Wolfgang Ernst, the archive is not purely a physical manifestation of memory, but a technical practice of inscribing data. Any process of storytelling exists outside its frame. An exponent of media archaeology, Ernst suggests that in digital culture the archive is transmuted from an architectural space to digital time, as the condition that determines the transmission of data (Ernst 2013). Media archaeologists, such as Ernst have shown archives of data and social infrastructures are often intertwined, and even more so in their maintenance and conservation. This is most apparent when looking at the logic of the sociological and scientific, empirical data, central to both the Pioneer Centre and Park Hill, both of which, as this chapter reveals in differing ways, clearly demonstrate how data informs and frames the body.

The histories of civic development[8] and health planning are tightly bound with instruments of observation and the moral overtones associated with measures of disorder. This is clearly articulated in The Pioneer Health Centre's poster, with the slogan 'C3 or A1?', referring to the military categories of fitness. 'C3': 'only suitable for sedentary work', 'A1': being full fitness.[9] It became a common phrase to understand good or poor health.[10] 'These hasty labels then limit the expectations for groups of the population, using such categories as a means to mask the complex realties of how 'good' or 'ill' health might be comprised, bodies that were neither sick nor healthy, hovering between states. The trajectory of this militaristic categorisation filtered through European social scientific research and eventually Taylorism[11] as the measurement and management of bodily productivity, becoming the standardised method of industrialised

[8] In the early part of the twentieth century experiments with new ways of social organisation and the notion of a common, collective good had begun to be mobilised largely through private philanthropy and localised organisation rather than national policy (Cordery 2003).

[9] 'In 1916 a system of lettering and numbering was devised to enable a man's abilities to be quickly noted. Assessments were made by medical officers as to the suitability of men to perform military duties' (Nield 1918).

[10] From 1500 to its amendment in 1834 (Archbold 1842), the poor law had been one of few governmental policy-based interventions and support for those in poverty, solidifying the societal message that the poor were morally and practically responsible for their own wellbeing, welfare and plight (Spicker 2020). Growing destitution in urban areas outstripped the support given locally under the poor law, forcing reform. Concern for the poor health quality of recruits during the Boer war led to public outcry. In response, an Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration was established to report on the health of the population, focusing on the high level of child mortality and malnutrition. As a result, medical inspections of children, Free School meals for the very poor and training for new mothers were established (Archbold 1842). The move to improve general health was far from altruistic, it was to strengthen the quality of the British work and war force. National efficiency in health and education grew as means to improve economic powers and showcase a productive Empire, rather than civic mobility or equality.

[11] Scientific management is a theory of management that analyses and synthesizes workflows. Its main objective is improving economic efficiency, especially labour productivity. It was one of the earliest attempts to apply science to the engineering of processes to management. Scientific management is sometimes known as Taylorism after its pioneer, Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1915). The behavioural economics of Taylorism broke down work into measurable parts to be rationalised (Davies 2015).

management. This abstraction of bodies into simple categories of data, captures the individual as a measurable, computable currency, not necessarily enabling a deeper understanding of our world, resulting in greater freedoms. Rather, it has the potential to become the apparatus of a different means of power. A form of embodied citizenship which makes the body an object of political and economic control.

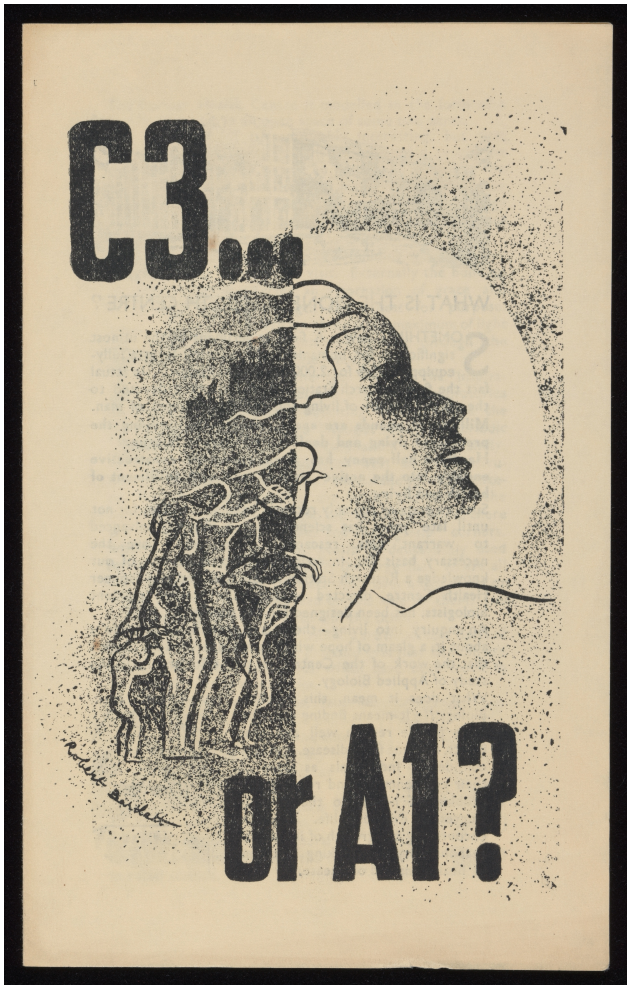


Figure 5 *Leaflet entitled: 'C3...or A1?',* 1930, SA/PHC/B.3/22/3, Wellcome Collection, London.

Data bodies, social bodies and individual bodies are deeply entwined and interdependent, as this chapter claims, not merely as a result of a post-digital era, but through a long history of civil analysis and attempts at quantification with both progressive and repressive potential.
I am interested in this schism, the sense of loss, that such methods of quantification produce. Looking through these statistical archives, each reference conceals a name, a person. They become figures locked in tabularised data and statistical charts, bodies hidden behind the data they generate. Set on the foundations of these interconnected yet disparate numeric archives, these historical encounters don't haunt us, rather they become visible in the burning glow of their afterimage. In the case of the data images navigated here, I read them as doubles or

twins not a ghostly spectre copied from the real, but an image which is more affectual. Understanding these archives as afterimages, allows them to be constantly responsive live records that are in a dialogic and cyclical relationship with the architectures they frame and penetrate.

Machinic eyes: seeing in soundless echoes

It is in the axis between the regimes of memory and computational recording that I first encountered the Peckham Experiment. Standing between the LiDAR and swimming pool, surrounded by the seeming omniscient transparency of the Pioneer Centre, I opened myself out to its intended observational function, still retained in the physical structures of vantage-points and unbroken sightlines. This physical presence of the building is folded into its embodied records. The medical data, correspondences and texts that catalogue its histories allow the Pioneer Centre to occupy different sights, becoming different eyes, filters and bodily lenses. During a site visit to the Pioneer Health Centre, by chance I met Tom Bell, an architectural surveyor and resident living in the now converted building. Walking through the centre, we noted its multiple site plans layered over each other. Together we tried to locate the now disjointed parts – where the café, examination rooms, dancehall, theatre, gymnasium, and medical research offices might have been. Now interrupted by plasterboard partition walls, colonising its once openness with a new, more private kind of community, the only element left relatively intact is the swimming pool, flooded with light. Covered by an uninterrupted, glazed roof, with wishbone-like diving boards, its bespoke, glare-resistant observational window watching from above, still the nucleus of the building. We stood on its edge as the smooth lines of the LiDAR[12] gradually revolved to inspect the area. Its sluggishness producing an instantaneous, digital representation of the building.

[12] Light Imaging, Detection and Ranging, Device

Figure 6 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O,* 2018, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, South London Gallery, London, (photograph, Freya Jewitt, 2018).

LiDAR is an instrument of Tom Bell's work, a surveying tool measuring distance to an object by illuminating the target with rapid pulses of laser light, at 150,000 pulses per second, calculating reflected echoes with a sensor. We talked of a desire to preserve the Pioneer Centre, in a meticulous digital cartography of the building as an active archive. The instruments of surveillance that we applied to the architecture, digitally forming its new archives, are not rarefied but ubiquitous tools. The output of this 3D scanning process is used widely in archaeology, cellular network planning, autonomous car navigation and atmospheric physics. Watching at a distance, the tripedal body of the LiDAR invisibly bounces ultraviolet rays back and forth relentlessly across every surface. It seems to reanimate the Renaissance belief (Ficino 1482) that the human eye emits rays of imperceptible light, that on hitting surrounding objects, conjures the world visible to the beholder.[13] The ocular spirits flowing through the individual, 'infecting' the subject's body with blood-born passions that became diluted into light expelled from the eyes. We have now come to understand that beams of light

[13] 'The spirits corne from the blood, and the spirits are like the blood that produced them [...]These spirits produce certain rays, and the rays resemble the spirits that produced them. They spring from the eyes as if from two glass windows, because these shining sparks, being light, flow from the lower members to the highest parts of the body. On reaching the eyes, which are transparent and pure, they have a free and easy exit. Those animals whose eyes shine at night and the circles one sees on rubbing the comer of an eye with a finger give evidence of these rays, as does the example of Tiberius, who, when he got up at night, was able to see for some time with no light other than that of his eyes' (Ficino, 1482; Shannon Hendrix & Carman, 2016, 150).

do not move from eye to object, but from object to eye. Though out of favour with modern reasoning, we are still not quite able to shake the augmented eyes of Cartesian vision. Our eyes are extraordinarily intricate but fundamentally limited. We cannot see quantum particles, radio-waves, bacteria, Infrared and ultraviolet light. Everything has a threshold. As a filmmaker I am always in alliance with a mechanical or machinic eye – sights I inhabit but exist outside of me. Moving image is an embodied and collaborative encounter, as Horae Avram notes, the notion of 'image and body before anything else is the etymology: "image" means, among other things, "idea", which comes from the Greek *idein* "to see" both in the sense of bodily perception and that of acknowledging. After all, images do not exist outside the body: they are light focused onto the retina' (Avram 2018, 1). These visualising acts exist without us and indiscriminately archive everything within the range of their vision, spatial data, rather than photographic image. In the machinic eye, light focuses on the anatomy of glass lenses not organic ones. The two machinic eyes of the LiDAR and digital camera sit together partially submersed in the Pioneer pool waters. They survey each other and the space around them, algorithmic eyes creating representations of space, mapping the surfaces of architectural environments as a torch would, not penetrating the skins of the building but caressing surfaces, casting digital shadows where these non-human optics cannot see. Although there is a human physicality to the movement of these surveying eyes, other technologies of urban observation are more humanoid.

Mimicking human sight, but not inhabiting it, Space Syntax maps a human navigation of a building or landscape in order to observe the complexity of co-habitation with our spatial environments, both human and technological. 'You haven't understood. The building isn't the machine. Space is the machine' (Hillier 1996 , 1), as goes the comment by computer programmer Nick Dalton that Bill Hillier,[14] inventor of Space Syntax, evoked in the title of his seminal text. This became acutely apparent when Laura Vaughan, current director of the Space Syntax Laboratory [15] and I navigated Park Hill Estate. Instead of mapping the surfaces of architectural space as the LiDAR does, Space Syntax, as noted by Bill Hillier, describes 'The Space between buildings' (Hillier 1993); its subject is the slippery and human use of our shared, built, and designed environment. Although separated remotely in darkened computer labs, Space Syntax seems closer to the organic possibilities of living space, a computational way of navigating and observing architectonic tensions that somehow feel all-too-human yet

[14] The term Space Syntax encompasses a range of theoretical, computational, mathematical algorithmic techniques for the analysis of spatial configurations. It was conceived by Bill Hillier, Julienne Hanson, and colleagues at The Bartlett, University College London in the late 1970s to early 1980s (Hillier 1996).
[15] Professor Laura Vaughan of Urban Form and Society and Director of the Space Syntax Laboratory at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL.

able to encompass limitless possible lines of sight in a way the human eye could not. Space Syntax utilises the geometric limits of the human cone of vision, a technique of observation that blurs where human and computational vision begins and ends. The vector lines, syntax axial and Isovist maps situate the human observer in a web of algorithmic potentials, representations of visual relations, and as limitless drawings of things that were invisible to the naked eye. These non-human processes of perception are temporarily fixed into the language of images, although this is not the only function of these instruments of surveying. They map and generate data in order to speak to other machines. However, the images they produce have become a useful and seductive by-product – a provocation that reverberates in the voice-over of *Deep Structure* (2019), 'Does data speak or is it seen? Eye or a mouth?' So, when these visualising acts become extensions of our human sight, what dialogues are we producing with these technological impulses?

Figure 7 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, S1 Artspace, Sheffield, (photograph, Ruben Brown, 2019).

I claim that in finding the edges and limits of both eye and technology, new, transgressive, machinic possibilities emerge outside their intended function, inverting our very experience of space both historical and actual. In the opening statement for *Material Witness: Media, Forensics, Evidence* (2020), Susann Schuppli describes the Screen Burn[16] of a prison surveillance monitor in Northern Ireland's notorious Long Kesh (Maze Prison), a site deeply

[16] Screen Burn is a phenomenon where the prolonged imaging of static visuals can create a permanent shadow image on a screen.

symbolic of sectarian violence ‘the slow burn of the prison’s architectural features into the crystalline structure of the screen reveals a carceral space that no longer exists’ (Schuppli 2020, 2). The monitor then sits between two spatiotemporal conditions ‘the screen burn is both a material trace of and a material witness to the history of political violence’ (Schuppli 2020, 3). Schuppli’s conception of the material witness is not an abstraction, but seeks to open up different orders of knowledge, ‘soliciting questions about what can be known in relationship to that which is seen or sensed’ (Schuppli 2020, 4). Objects are particularly receptive to registering external events, their surface left with traces, marks that evidence an encounter and its aftermath. Walter Benjamin’s discussion of the auratic capture – made possible by the lengthy exposure times demanded by emergent photographic practices, could be seen as a precursor to what Schuppli terms the material witness (Schuppli 2020). For Benjamin this was not only a debate about authenticity but an acknowledgement of the powerful, spatial resonance of media. ‘The temporal darkness out of which an image struggled to assert its presence meant that the surface of the photographic plate was saturated with the aggregate history of the subject’s environment – thus establishing its aura’ (Benjamin 1972; Schuppli 2020, 71).

These conceptions of image identified by Benjamin and Schuppli underline the relationship I expand between the camera eye and the embodied space of film, defined by the persistent afterimage that exists within buildings, archives and lived experience. Such an approach draws together encounters between visuality and corporeality, between time and tense, the felt and representational. Our biological eyes have long been analogised with the sights of the camera, both devices being capable of framing and capturing objects at variable distances. This form of vision research began in the seventeenth century with Johannes Kepler's understanding of the optics of the camera obscura and its relationship to the eye (Wade 2001). The substance of these loaded terms and encounters is extended, problematised and aggregated by the viewer. Gilles Delueze conceives the body of the spectator as implicated in ways that moves beyond a passive oculacentism, instead the viewer participating, their body implicated in the rhythms of the screen (Deleuze 1985). The viewer’s gaze is not fixed or static then, but ‘it is a labile, plastic sort of look, more inclined to move than to focus’ (Marks 1998, 338). This notion of movement is central to the form of both *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019). The binocular view of the split screen engages the viewer physically, juxtaposing a plethora of viewpoints across multiple screens.

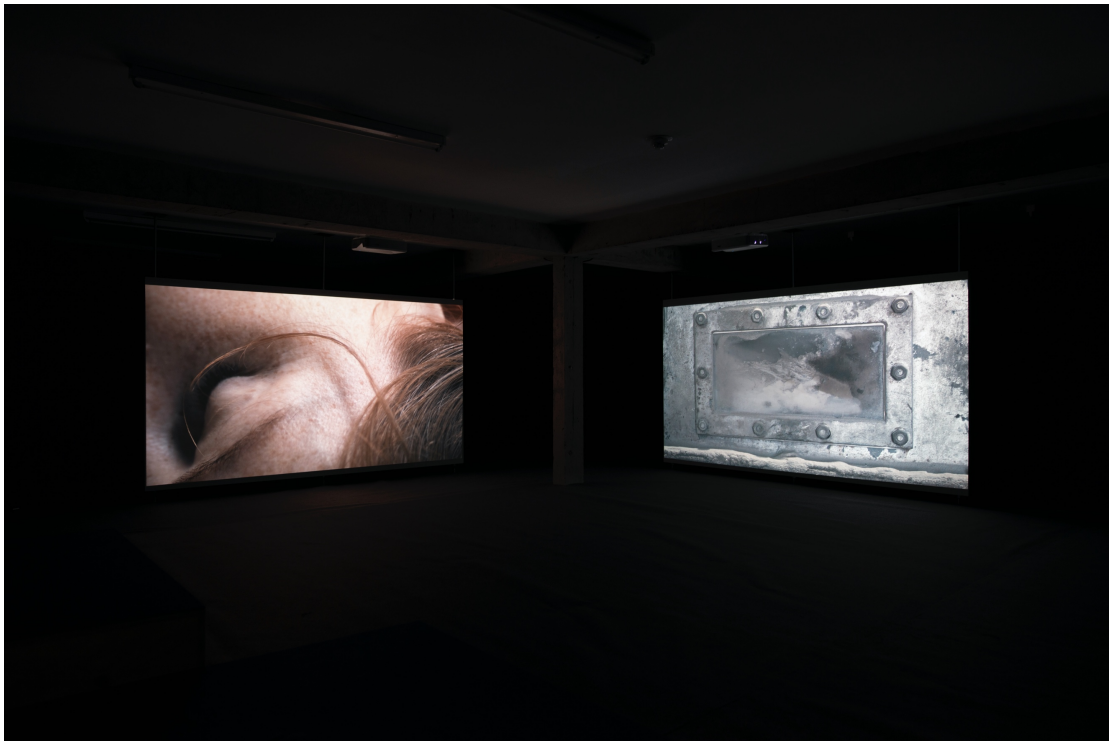


Figure 8 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, S1 Artspace, Sheffield, (photograph, Ruben Brown, 2019).

This splitting of the subject relies on viewer participation to make meaning from the assemblage, the viewer spatially engaged in the film. This is an invitation for eyes to search out, enabling an idiosyncratic looking that seeks to destabilise an encounter with the historical subject central to this research through the fragmenting imagery. Embodied spectatorship has been explored in various contexts, spatially and technologically (Sobchack 1991), the haptic skins of intercultural memory (Marks 2000) and its phenomenological tactility (Barker 2009). Jennifer M. Barker approaches film in a way she describes as a tactile knowing, making clear the visceral connection between films and their viewers:

> A film is not merely a record and product of what the filmmaker saw at a given moment in a given space: that would be a photograph. Nor is it identical to the human filmmaker's own bodily forms of vision because a filmmaker doesn't see the world in close-up in quite the same way that the film does […] What we do see is *the film seeing* (Barker 2009, 9).

In describing moving-image as being centred within the materiality of haptic spectatorship, Barker asks us to acknowledge such notions of image as resistant to being reduced to a didactic tool, a refusal to be relegated to the document or illustration. But what Barker is also

directing us to consider is the agency of the camera eye itself. This tactile knowing provokes questions of the complicity of such a perspective. What position do we see from? What factors restrict our vision? Camera eyes are not mere passive tools for consuming visual stimuli, but rather they play an active role in organising and cataloguing the world.[17] Who do we share our perspective with and who has the privilege of multiple sights? This is an embodied, collaborative relationship acknowledged by Donna Haraway in *Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective* (1988),

> The visualizing technologies are without apparent limit. The eye of any ordinary primate like us can be endlessly enhanced [...] technological unregulated gluttony; all seems not just mythically about the god trick of seeing everything from nowhere, but to have put the myth in to ordinary practice. And like the god trick, this eye fucks the world to make techno-monsters (Haraway 1988, 581).

Haraway reminds us machines see. Machinic eyes penetrate the world and see better than us and without us. Vision, for Haraway, is always mediated, always framed and understood through its apparatus. This is not only a question of optic penetration, but social materiality, and agency, Haraway's technological monsters are an attempt to map out what is natural and what is not, demonstrating their entanglement and co-dependency. This relationship between seeing, visibility and knowing is what Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison refer to as 'Blind Sight', in their text *Objectivity* (2007), where they make explicit the correlations between image-making, mapping and the history of scientific notions of objectivity. Daston & Galison writes, 'objectivity has not always defined science. Nor is objectivity the same as truth or certainty, and it is younger than both […] Objectivity is blind sight, seeing without inference, interpretation, or intelligence' (Daston and Galison 2007, 17). Such a view of objectivity is inextricably bound up with its subjective equivalent, as they go on to say; 'objectivity is the suppression of some aspect of the self the countering of subjectivity. Objectivity and subjectivity define each other' (Daston and Galison 2007, 36). To some, objectivity is seen as the hallmark of truth yet, on an epistemological level, the notion of situated knowledges is an attempt to disassemble this position. Haraway posits that objectivity was compromised as only apparently neutral, overwhelmed by the power relations that govern it; 'the view from a body, always a complex, contradictory, structuring and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere'

[17] Stan Brakhage offers a poetic use of the 'camera eye' in *Metaphors on Vision* (1963) 'And there (right there) we have the camera eye (the limitation the original liar); yet lyre sings to the mind so immediately (the exalted selectivity one wants to forget that its strings can so easily make puppetry of human motivation' (Brakhage 1963, 30).

(Haraway 1988, 683). How we understand sight in the context of observation, objectivity and analysis highlights ‘the complexity and complicity of vision, the differences for example, between looking, glancing, seeing and staring, and about the social and historical nature of sight’ (Cosgrove 2008, 5). The commentary surrounding the fallibility of the photographic image is well-established, but what happens when we attempt to read the rhetoric of scanning technologies through the discourse surrounding image-making? Susan Sontag argues that ‘images are indeed able to usurp reality because first of all a photograph is not only an image (as a painting is an image), an interpretation of the real; it is also a trace, something directly stencilled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask’ (Sontag [1977] 2005, 120).

As I compare the result of the Pioneer Centre LiDAR scan and Park Hill syntactical maps, a skin of these buildings is peeled away. The LiDAR produces an imprint of the architectural physicality of the Pioneer Centre, the isovist syntax map tracing the snaking space between the jagged curves of Park Hill, rendering both visible in the negative digital space. Images seen through these non-human collaborators gives presence. They re-presence something that becomes apparent in its absence, becoming archives in live negotiation, not footprints, death masks or static ruins. Unlike Sontag’s interest in the photograph, I don’t value the scan as a frozen deadening of time and space, but the trace of the image performs a physicality that renders it mutably present.

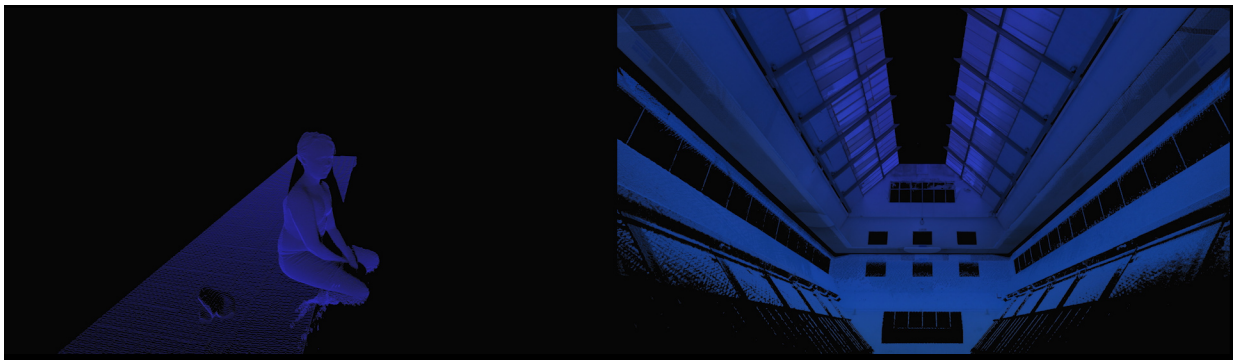


Figure 9 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O,* 2018, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

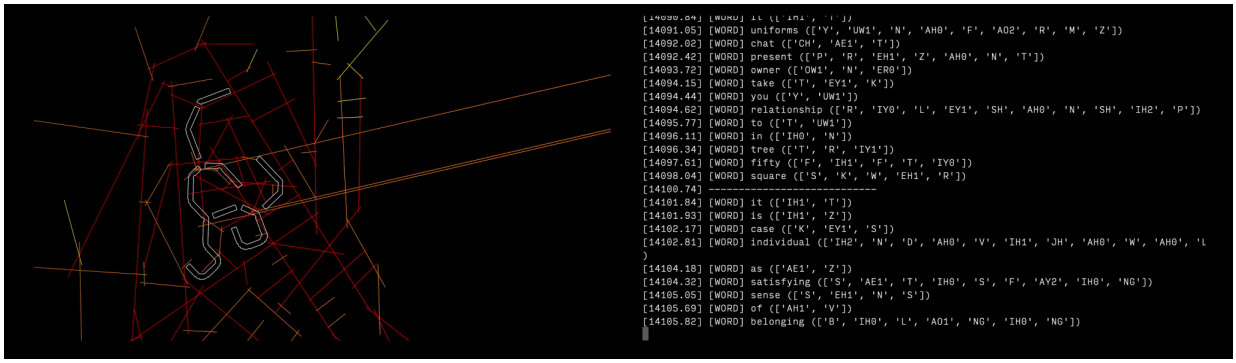


Figure 10 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

By employing the vision technologies enfolded into my practice — technologies such as LiDAR, MRI, microimaging, and Space Syntax — beyond their intended application, I make them intelligible in novel ways; I open up different encounters with these methods of surveying or analysing societal, bodily space that doesn't render my use of data aesthetics as merely poetic. I keep them critically alive in what Karen Barad might understand as a material-discursive practice that 'enact[s] what matters and what is excluded from mattering' (Barad 2007, 148). Barad views this in socio-material terms, defined as the intersection between technologies, work and organisation, undoing the notion that social elements are positioned as distinct from material and technological elements.[18] She focuses instead on the connections between them. By acknowledging the entanglement between social and material concerns, this kind of techno-scientific outlook is not asking us to separate out these conditions, but understand their relationality and multiplicity. This situated method of practice is defined by Barad as diffraction,

> Diffraction owes as much to a thick legacy of feminist theorizing about difference as it does to physics. As such, I want to begin by re-turning – not by returning as in reflecting on or going back to a past that was, but re-turning as in turning it over and over again – iteratively intra-acting, re-diffracting, diffracting anew […] We might imagine re-turning as a multiplicity of processes, such as the kinds earthworms revel in while helping to make compost or otherwise being busy at work and at play: turning the soil over and over – ingesting and excreting it, tunnelling through it, burrowing, all means of aerating the soil, allowing oxygen in (Barad 2014, 168).

The matter of research matters to Barad and this is echoed in my approach to the archivial core to this research. The archive is not purely a physical manifestation of memory or only a technical practice of inscribing data. Modes of counting, seeing, and appearing in the digital and inked lines of data are to me, like searching fingers, or Barad's tunnelling earthworms, more human, organic, and fallible than an unshakable truth. The scan offers not only a meticulous digital cartography of buildings I navigate, but a different way to speak to the archive, acknowledging its volatility, sitting in its own reverberant, diffractive space.

As the LiDAR maps out the Pioneer Centre, we are forced to move beyond the limits of the human eye, seeing the LiDAR's soundless echoes, each cell amassing a cloud of surface data,

[18] This is a practice built on a materialised understanding of knowledge that is constantly being structured and restructured by the technological apparatus that mobilises our current condition, a notion of seeing and knowing akin to Haraway's understanding of 'situated knowledges'. For Haraway, knowledges are embodied within the located subject through their geographic and historically specific perspective and positionality (Haraway 1988).

cataloguing the building, folding it into a machinic library rather than human archive. Looking around, everything seems so self-evident, so emphatically there: the white walls, corroding metal window frames, linoleum flooring, warped structural forms. Light and circulations of staling air, now all seem in doubt, delusive and unstable. Rather than considering the object of research in isolation, a new constellation of data points becomes a diffractive analysis, muddling the line between researcher and researched, archive and active space, body, and building.

Aerial thinking: restless networks, infrastructural bodies

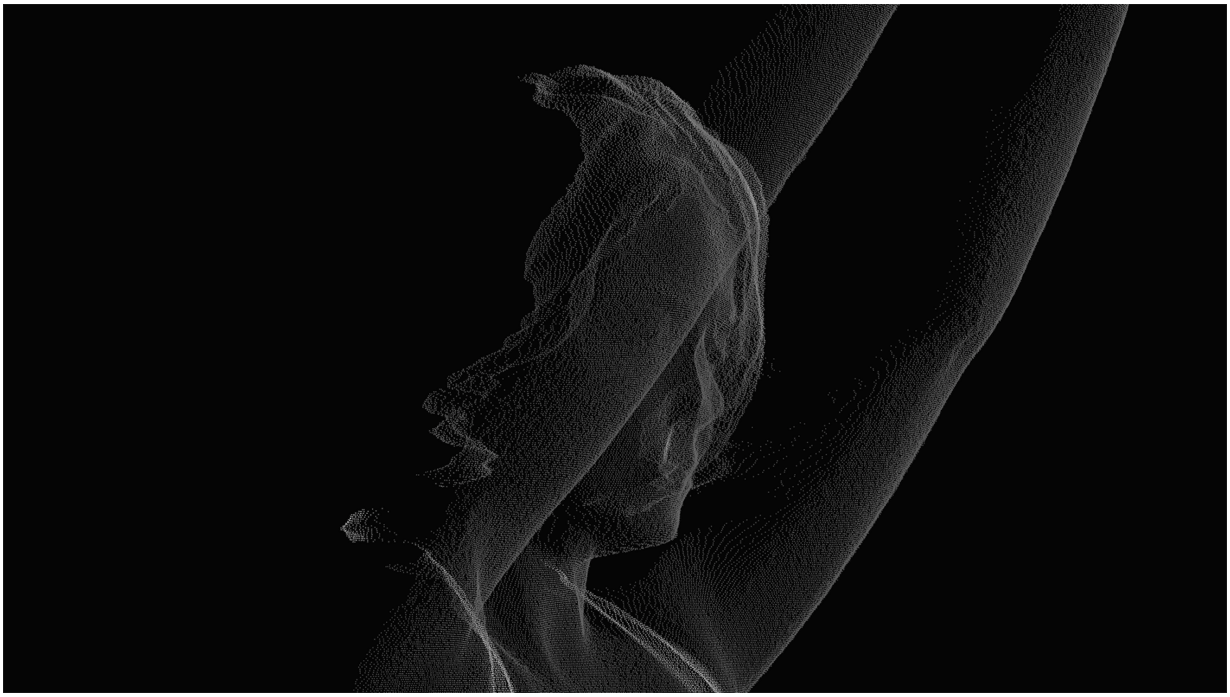


Figure 11 Ilona Sagar, *Correspondence O,* 2018, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

These non-human machinic visions are a material encounter with the archive that encapsulate a range of scales of sight from the micro to the macro; from cellular organisations of the body to a zoomed-out surveillance and the view from above. This entanglement of scientific and technological penetrating sights was a method of material and social topography, a celebrated component of the modernist movement. As touched on in the previous chapter the invention of the X-ray and innovations in glass architecture evolved in parallel, coming to symbolise radical and futuristic notions of progress and social reinvention. With this in mind, it is unsurprising that later in the century, members of the Independent Group would choose the image of an X-rayed, spectacled figure for the cover-image of the exhibition catalogue, *Parallel of Life and Art* (1953).

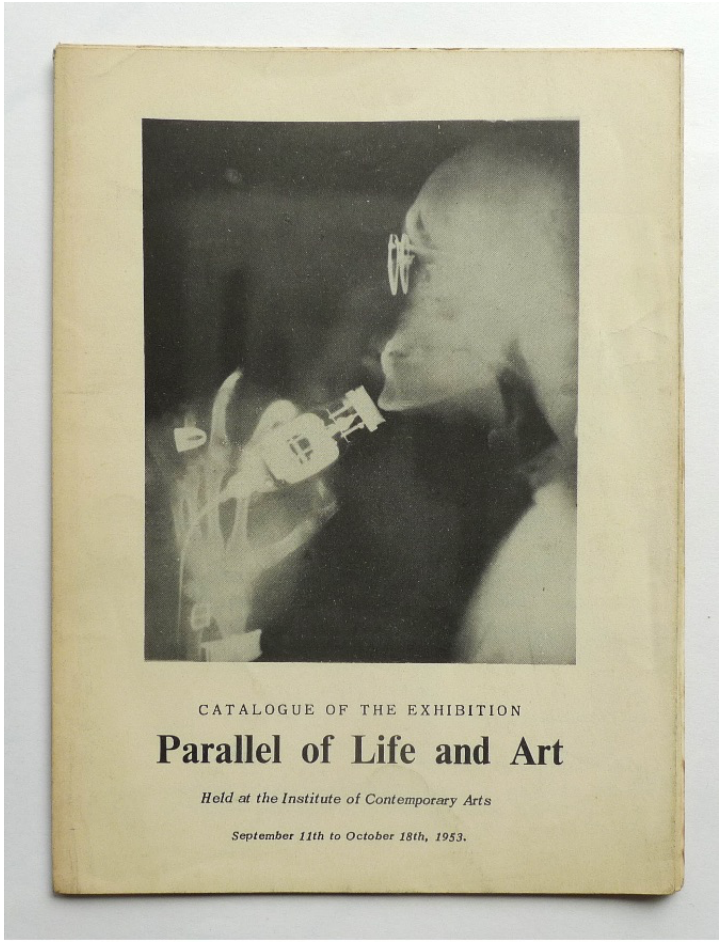


Figure 12 Independent Group, *Parallel of Life and Art,* The Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1953, exhibition catalog, Abebooks, https://www.abebooks.co.uk/first-edition/Parallel-Life-Art-Catalogue-exhibition-held/31199990286/bd (accessed February 7, 2022).

In 1953 participants in the influential Independent Group including Alison & Peter Smithson and Nigel Henderson opened *Parallel of Life and Art* at the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA). The exhibition included a plethora of cultural and social imagery, archaeological studies, microscopy, X-ray and aerial photography. The installation, a room within a room, the audience invited to consider a technically mediated vision of the future, witnessed by the eyes of a camera.[19] Aerial and microscopic views were a recurrent theme in Henderson's work, as touched on by Ben Highmore in 'Hopscotch Modernism' (2006), in his account of Henderson's contributions to the Smithson's Urban Re-identification Grille.[20] Henderson's observational photographs of children playing in East London draw everyday scenes into an abstracted, mappable landscape, '[the] features are less distinct: the improvised choreography of street

[19] 'In this exhibition an encyclopaedic range of material from past and present is brought together through the medium of the camera which is used as recorder, reporter, and scientific investigator. As recorder of nature objects, works of art, architecture and technics; as reporter of human events the images of which sometimes come to have a power of expression and plastic organisation analogous to the symbol in art; and as scientific investigator extending the visual scale and range, by use of enlargements, X rays, wide angle lens, high speed aerial photography […] There is no single simple aim in this procedure. No watertight scientific or philosophical system is demonstrated. In short it forms a poetic-lyrical order where images create a series of cross-relationships' (Independent Group 1953).

[20] Complied for the ninth congress of CIAM at Aix-en-Provence in the same year as their ICA exhibition (Steiner 2011).

games speckles the flatness of the street. Spontaneity and play mark this mystic urban writing pad' (Highmore 2006, 70). For the Smithson's, these observational surveys were a provocation, a way to inject the living realities and unruliness of urbanity that in their view was overlooked in CIAM's functionalism.

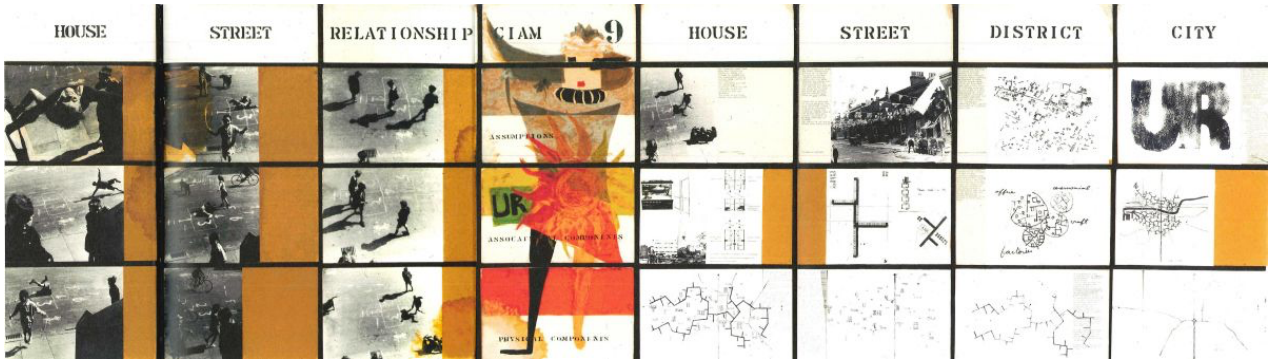


Figure 13 Alison and Peter Smithson, *Grille pour le CIAM d'Aix-en-Provence,* 1952-1953, photo and paper collage, ink, 83.5 x 27.5 cm, Pompidou Centre, Paris, https://www.centrepompidou.fr/en/ressources/oeuvre/cMebqLz (accessed 21 April 2023).

Grids, maps, plans of buildings and surveys act as abstractions, extruding lived-in realities into an orderly otherness. What is contained in the word and action of the term survey is both a detailed and generalised view, a type of looking that contains both a general glance and observational scrutiny, sights that are simultaneously microscopic and macroscopic. This temporal and spatial collapse between image, artefact, document, and urban space implicit in the view from above, has both destructive (military) and regenerative (urbanism) potential, Le Corbusier articulates the promise of this new point of view, the body expanding into its new sensibilities,

> The eye now sees in substance what the mind formerly could only subjectively conceive. It is a new function added to our senses. It is a new standard of measurement. It is a new basis of sensation. Man will make use of it to conceive new aims. Cities will arise out of their ashes (Corbusier 1935, 96).

A parallel history can be traced through the development of urban design or 'comprehensive planning'. Patrick Abercrombie came to prominence in the 1920s and was pivotal in shaping regional planning of ambitious new schemes for cities such as Sheffield (Abercrombie 1924). His radical redesigns proposed new ways to think about the interconnections between architecture, industry, landscape, and the body. His influence can be seen in the later design of Park Hill and J. L. Womersley's egalitarian approach to city planning (Womersley 1963; Womersley 1965). From above, Park Hill appears almost a cellular map, both animal-like and machinic. A sprawling, singular structure, an immense and radically progressive piece of post-

war social housing. Its form expresses its function and evokes the impact which systems thinking and social scientific surveying then had on urban design. The work I made here takes its starting point from the shape of the building itself, drawing parallels between aerial views of its unique structure, and the systemic movements of the scientifically measured body, an agitating echo of Abercrombie's aerial thinking.[21]

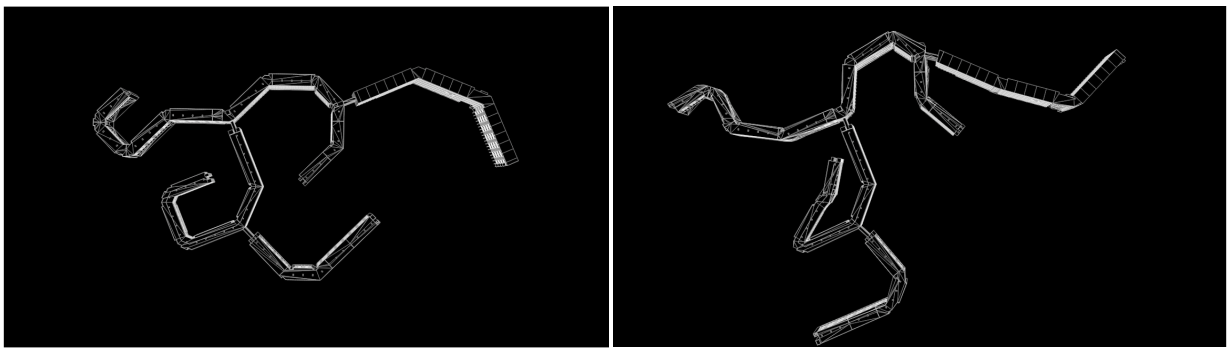


Figure 14 and Figure 15 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

The increased use of aerial views and observation of urban complexity were popularised in cultural imagination by aerial photography, dioramas, and scenic city mapping. As urban historian Lucy Hewitt notes, 'These ways of seeing were in important respects a continuation of earlier preoccupations with expanding the field of vision' (Hewitt 2012, 593). Urban planners such as Abercrombie attempted to both visualise and conceptualise shifts in urban space through drafting maps, surveying, with both social and geographic data to navigate the multifarious terrains of cities as well as the emergence of the suburban. Abercrombie upheld a perspective that social problems might be solved by engineering the built environment through the implementation of analysis laid out in the colourful, hand-drawn geographic data of his maps. The oblique verticality of this viewpoint turns people, buildings, and landscapes into assessable masses. From the birds-eye view of renaissance architect Étienne Dupérac to the zooming surveillance and seeming infinity of today's Google maps, the aerial view is forever associated with an omnipotent, all-seeing and all-knowing vision – an extended scale of

[21] The scheme was a culmination of Abercrombie's organic and embodied approach to urban planning. He considered the city as an organic, metabolic structure of living, implementing a progressive analysis of the social and economic order of the city and its inhabitants that focused on its human use and industrial make-up. Such a flowing social organism could be surveyed, mapped, and analysed through the techniques of civic surveying. He was heavily influenced by earlier work of Patrick Geddes, who pioneered comprehensive planning based on Darwin's theories of natural selection, which centred on evolution, or a 'top-down' organic rationalisation of the city. This scientific approach to systemic social complexity at a geographical scale, nevertheless focused on the body and its organs as a technique to observe, explain and design around. 'No scheme for the planning of any area in or about a town should be undertaken without a survey of the whole town. It is no use trying to put a piece of sticking plaster over a sore place which may be the result of a general blood poisoning and so attempt to prevent a similar outbreak elsewhere. We need to understand the interrelations between the different parts or organs of the body [...] similarly it must be clearly borne in mind that every aspect of town life is closely related to the other, and often the most unexpected and surprising results follow from a little amateur doctoring of obscure corners of the town's anatomy' (Abercrombie 1916, 177).

objective distance, echoing Haraway's 'god trick'. The map embodies a fixed and totalising perspective that is other from us, non-human and difficult, if not impossible to inhabit. This 'seeing from above' according to Macarthur suggests,

> That the individual's lived experience of places and the planner's oversight of the whole socio-economic system that a city is, are points within a rotation from vertical to horizontal. The oblique aerial photograph then is a mid-range position that demonstrates this rotation and that makes spatial qualities especially evident (Macarthur 2013, 191).

Figure 16 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, S1 Artspace, Sheffield, (photograph, Ruben Brown, 2019).

The technologisation of this view has been accelerated in modernity, through computational modelling and satellite imaging. The pervasiveness of these methods of observation becoming machinic regimes that displaced the organic eye of the researcher. The mechanical, perceived objectivity of the photographic document came to supersede the artistic hands of 'the atlas maker' (Daston and Galison 2007, 19). When we apply this argument to the contemporary algorithmic logic of Space Syntax, do we value these techniques as holding a similar 'mechanical objectivity', opposed to the earlier bodily, organic, metaphoric languages of Geddes and Abercrombie and their desire to objectively study the human use of our urban

landscape? As Prof. Laura Vaughan expands in *Mapping Society The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography* (2018), mapping isn't simply about the end product, the thing that is made, but it is the process, the impetus behind the intention of what is asked of the map, the communities involved, what is enquired into and unearthed. This rich understanding of mapping and its potential is implied by Gordon Pask, a leading figure of the cybernetics movement, who in 1969 published 'The Architectural Relevance of Cybernetics' (Pask 1969). He made a case for what he coined 'Mutualism',[22] an approach filtered through transdisciplinary collaboration, feedback loops and exchange. This made for a symbiotic architecture in which the built environment not only becomes entirely quantifiable, but could be envisaged as a living system, based on regulation and control. Contemporaneous to Pask, cyberneticians such as Buckminster Fuller, advocated a world understood as an information system, driven by machinery, management, and design. Decades earlier, cybernetic thinking echoes throughout the tenets of the Peckham Experiment, and the evocation of a system based on the perceived order of nature.

> Man is the tool-using animal, and this, we are told, is the machine or mechanistic age. We are all expected to know all about machines […] But, in fact, how much do we know? […] Artificial machines are planned and made. Natural machines are born and grown (Williamson 1935).

Pearse and Williamson's ideology seems prophetic of later systems theory found in the cybernetic thinking of Norbert Wiener, Fuller or Pask (Wiener 1961; Fuller 1969; Pask 1969). The 'comprehensive designer' would engineer new technologies in dialogue with systems found in nature and industrial resources (Fuller 1969, 229 -241).[23] These were arguments in some way foreseen by George Scott Williamson, In order to maintain what Williamson viewed as a dispassionate, universal, observational eye, he invented a 'Key'[24] allowing the scientists to observe through a bodily, responsive mode of data collection based on consumption, not unlike contemporary eHealth monitoring or Bentham's felicific calculus.[25]

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[22] 'It follows that a building cannot be viewed simply in isolation […]the architect is primarily concerned with these larger systems […] I shall dub this notion architectural 'mutualism' meaning mutualism between structures and men or societies' (Pask [1969] 2011, 70).

[23] The computer, for Fuller, became a way to predict the world and in turn became a model for human beings and their behaviour (Fuller 1969, 229 -241).

[24] 'The key' was designed by George Scott Williamson and constructed under his direction. It was paid for out of a bequest for research from Sir Henry Van den Bergh and was about to be installed when war broke out (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 77). 'by means of subsidiary recording machines, it affords entrance to any special activities on payment of the required sum, again giving a record of entrance and time for statistical purposes. Suppose the scientists should wish to know what individuals are using the swimming bath or consuming milk, the records made by the use of the key give him this information' (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 76).

[25] Bentham's 'felicific calculus' relied on the use of surveillance to internalise the desired behaviour of individuals and publics to produce an obedient and, in Bentham's view as a result of this calculation, a productive social body. This equation was encapsulated by the phrase 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number' (Bentham 1823, 6). The architectural conditions of the panopticon have been touched on in Chapter One through a Foucauldian lens in the analysis of the Pioneer Centre, but here I am drawing specifically on the empirical surveillance that underline Bentham's panoptic space.

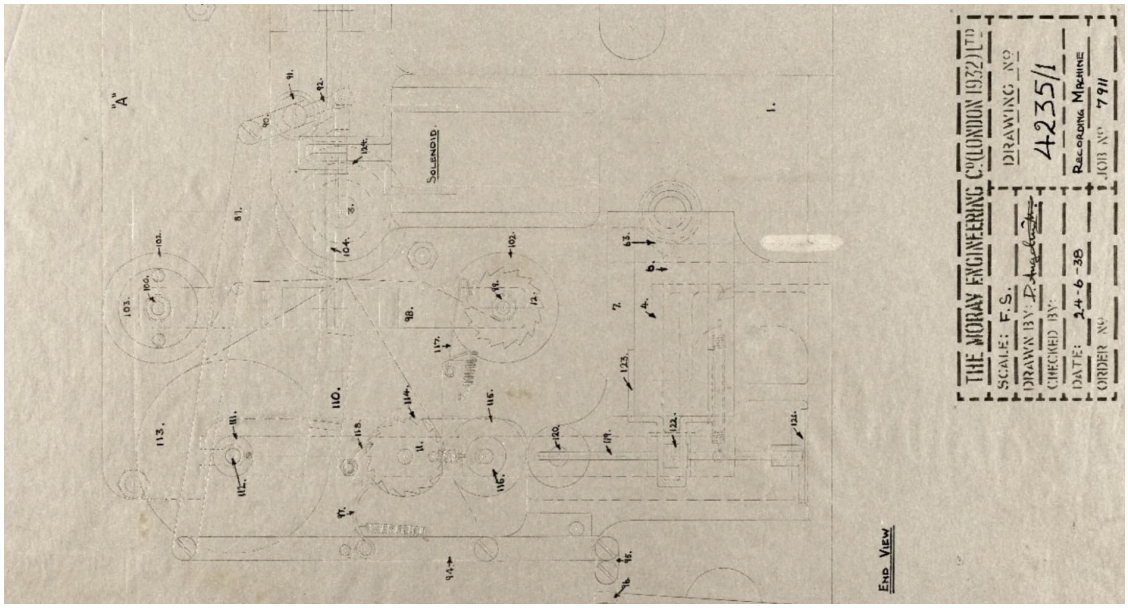


Figure 17 Moray Engineering Co, *The Centre `Key', engineering drawings for `Recording Machine',* 1938, SA/PHC/B.3/6, Wellcome Collection, London.

Whether the key worked is unknown, as it was unfinished before the outbreak of the second world war, but a glimmer of its possibilities can be seen in Pearse & Crocker's *The Peckham Experiment* (1943) which details an activity record for an eleven-year-old boy, illustrating the sort of data that such a mechanism might have captured. Here instead, collected manually, the last empty column eerily foretold of the social and national rupture that was to come.

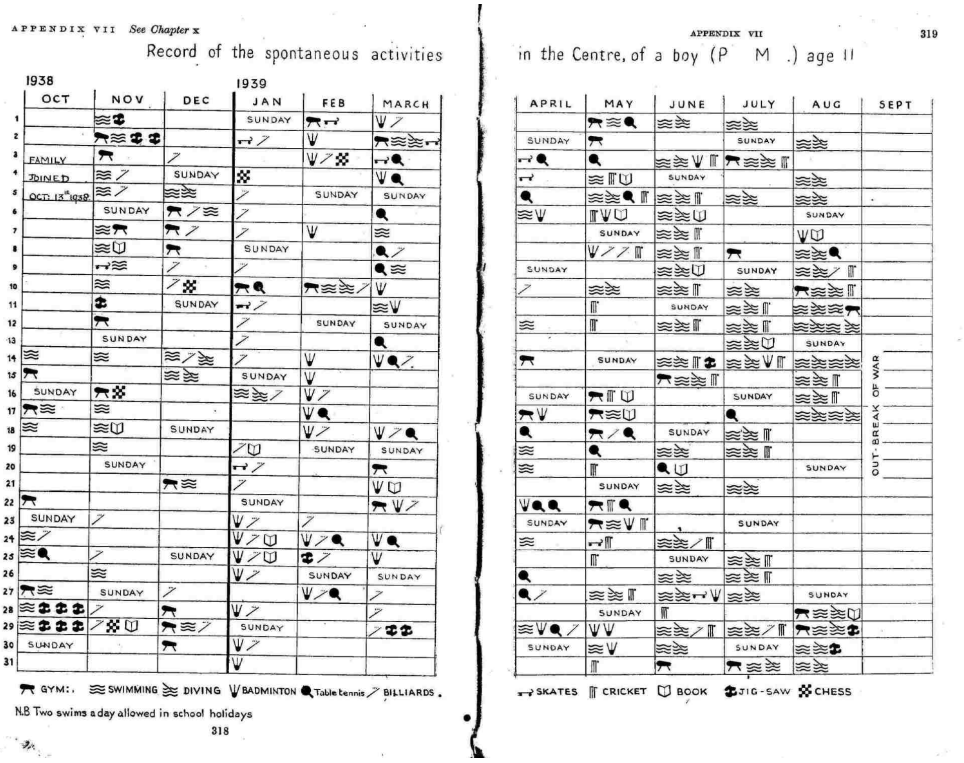


Figure 18 Innes Pearse and Lucy H Crocker, *The Peckham Experiment: a study of the living structure of society*, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1943, reprint Routledge, 2007) appendix VII, 319.

But what does it mean to mechanically observe the body? What corporeal quantification did Williamson seek to enact?

> To see how a machine works you take it to pieces; but to see how a living entity functions it must be seen in its organismal unity and in its living environment. “We cannot possibly examine separately the parts involved in life as we examine separately the parts of a machine. In particular we cannot separate the influence of the environment since environment belongs to the unity which we perceive as life” (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 27,28).

The technologisation of the body as a vehicle to improve and grow social networks, not only aligns with a utilitarian spatialisation of the panopticon that I address in Chapter One, but conjures the notion of a universal ecosystem. Like the Peckham Experiment, cybernetics evoked the idea of a system based on the causal links found within organic and computable feedback loops, social systems, and therapeutic analysis. This quantification or ordering of the body in terms of its material usefulness is translatable to the city as a whole.

Yet, more data does not necessarily mean a deeper understanding of our world, resulting in greater freedoms, it becomes the apparatus of different means of power. The consequences of a technocratic approach to the design and value placed on common and shared assets have not only produced a better living standard but have opened up the possibility for a rationalisation of need based on numerical quantification. Critics such as Reyner Banham, attempted to codify the then-emerging machinic architectural movement. It was in his later writings, such as *Megastructures: urban futures of the recent past* (Banham 1976) and *Non-Plan: An Experiment in Freedom* (Banham, Price, et al. 1969), in which he raised doubts over such technocratic approaches. The perceived rigidity of comprehensive design was used as a point of transgression by artist Stephen Willats, whose use of systems thinking was not intended to uphold the methodologies of the movement in design, but as a way to form counter-knowledges and approaches involving communities that lived in inner-city social housing schemes. In collaboration with estate residents, Willats developed models of nodal maps, nested systems in an adaptive, iterative cycle that sought to recognise that artists operate within cultural, social, and politicised environments that both affects them and is affected by them (Williats 2010; Willats 1996). I would speculate that the aesthetics of his mapping systems intentionally echoed the statistical observational plans created by local authorities and governmental bodies that oversaw the master planning of the estates in which Willats collaborators were residents. Similarities can be found in the highly influential DEFRA report ‘Estate Outside the Dwelling’ (1972) that surveyed residents of council housing

schemes,[26] across Yorkshire and London, and was used as a template for later housing schemes. Park Hill Estate was a significant part of the study.

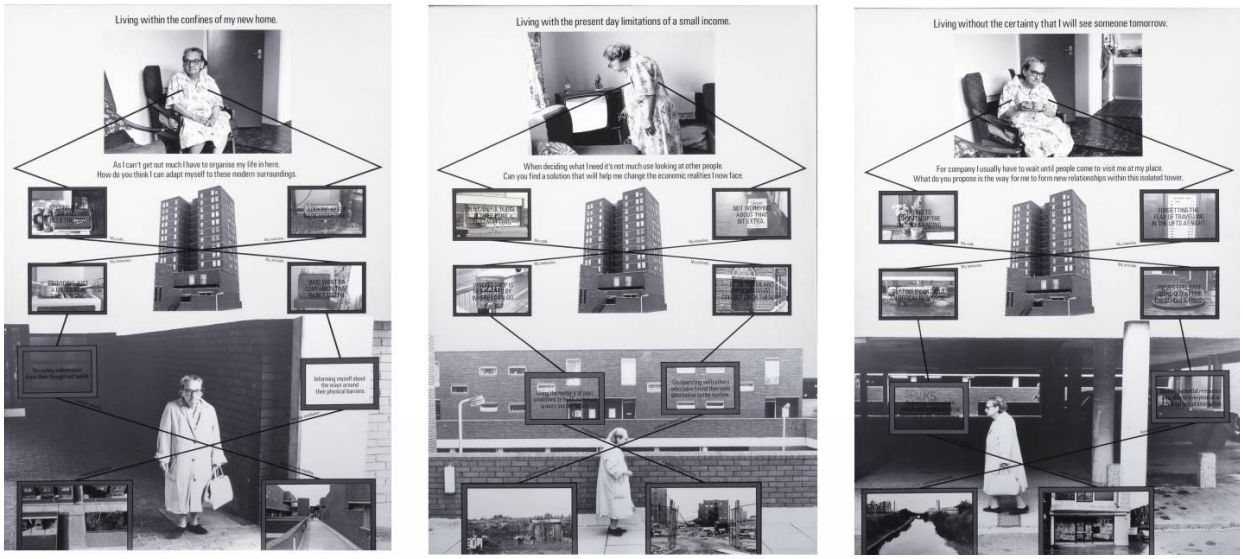


Figure 19 Stephen Willats, *Living with Practical Realities,*1978, photograph, silver gelatine prints on paper, gouache and transfer lettering on board, each frame, 1112 × 772 × 35 mm, Tate, London, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/willats-living-with-practical-realities-t03296 (accessed December 4, 2021).

Figure 20 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, featuring statistical visualisations from 'Estate Outside the Dwelling', 1972, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

These surveys were not only focused on the spatial practicalities of daily domestic life, but the mental state of residents, with particular emphasis on the categorisation of the emotional problems of the housewife. The aim was to improve the wellbeing of residents as a social unit, by linking their private mental distress with their social role and status in society, redefining

[26] A study was conducted in 1967 to determine how different types of households reacted to different housing layouts. A sample of 1,317 housewives and 369 of their husbands living on six low to high density estates in London and Sheffield were interviewed. The study was designed to find out how residents felt about different building forms and other aspects of housing layout (DEFRA 1972).

private mental stability as a public concern. The move towards the measurement of structures of living that the Sheffield public works committee celebrated, were not isolated or original, but the result of a larger movement in Britain, guided by class and enforced by divisions of civic space and labour.

Figure 21 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, S1 Artspace, Sheffield, (photograph, Ruben Brown, 2019).

According to political philosopher Hannah Arendt, scientific, managerial practices in modernity sought to define notions of the public sphere: 'the decisive division between the public and private realms, between the sphere of the *polis* and the sphere of household and family, and, finally, between activities related to a common world and those related to the maintenance of life' (Arendt [1958] 1998, 28). By defining the private household as 'the social', and the public realm(polis) as 'the political', Arendt's notion of statistical administration separates out political action as distinct from administration which she views as the ministering of universal bodily needs. Given the form Arendt chooses in the imaging and naming of these categories, 'family', 'household', nationalism and political forum, Arendt's statements about 'collective housekeeping' and the 'rise of the social' can be taken apart in differing ways (Arendt [1958] 1998, 28). [27] They allow for a connection between public scales of human organisation and the

[27] 'In our understanding, the dividing line is entirely blurred, because we see the body of peoples and political communities in the image of a family whose everyday affairs have to be taken care of by a gigantic, nation-wide administration of

micro-politics of the private, gendered, domestic space. Yet, as Arendt also acknowledges, care, welfare and maintenance are more than the limbs of a transactional infrastructure. They are belief systems, resulting in agreed civic responsibility and actions, inevitably requiring data and administration. Ideologies and the environments they produce need continual maintenance in order to be upheld.

Arendt complicates the idea that data is a form of representation, troubling the boundaries between observer and subject, between statistical data and space. To return to the question posed earlier in this chapter, does data speak or is it seen and who is counted and accounted for through these techniques of observation? In other words, do the qualitative surveying techniques, such as those found in the archives central to my research, make the social, as a composition of individuals, appear?

Guiding the camera through Park Hill Estate, I attempted to understand how the physicality of the space and these actions and conditions intersect: physical environmental structure, soft and hard architectures, relationships and apparatus of social control and community growth. Here, space becomes monumentally warped and encompasses the human, the estate demarcating a territory where observation, surveillance and technologies of public appearance come together to produce the subject as a political and social being. Whilst in the previous chapter I addressed the spatial mechanisms of surveillance of the Peckham Experiment, here I am concerned with how such socially motivated architectural experiments become political protagonists beyond their value as historical witnesses. To return to Joan Demers, her municipal eye engrained into the estate, her presence reminds us, what gets counted and who counts matters. The public works committee believed in the connections between the 'Environmental and Sociological – the inter-relationship of physical layout and community sense' (1963, 282). Demers was placed to speak to tenants on behalf of the council and civic authorities, holding weekly meetings with tenants as she felt 'There is much which can be done yet to help these people "help themselves"' (Demers 1958, 4). She embodies a paternalistic, civic gaze, fluctuating between an empirical observer and affective mediator; 'They arrive anxious and bewildered and seemingly slow to grasp essentials, to be greeted by an atmosphere of near confusion. This is hardly conducive to producing a calm, collected individual, who from the start is eager to please' (Demers 1958, 4). As Demers comments indicate, the design was intended not only to improve the health and living conditions of its occupiers, but to operate as a corrective model to 'produce' a certain type of civic participant.

housekeeping. The scientific thought that corresponds to this development is no longer political science but "national economy" or "social economy" or Volkswirtschaft, all of which indicate a kind of "collective housekeeping' (Arendt [1958] 1998, 28).

Although this wasn't a transparent prism of light and circulation, as the observational instrument of the Pioneer Centre, the estate encouraged a spectrum of self-surveying gazes. Everywhere in some way you could be visible on the estate, seen by observers such as Demers and the planning committee or by each other. *Looking* across to your neighbour, in the walkways, the washrooms, balconies, *looking* down into children's play areas, *looking* out on sitting room windows towards Pond Forge and the thud of steel works beyond. These eyes from above are engrained into the estate, paradoxically echoing modernism's critic Jane Jacobs' call for more eyes on the street (Jacobs [1961] 1993, 45).[28] Are the eyes that are on the street also the voices speaking on their behalf? The active and physical conditions of sight enacted in the design of Park Hill is reminiscent of the differences Christopher Wilson extracts between looking, seeing, glancing and the gaze, as cited in Chapter One. But what we see in Park Hill is the melding of domestic and technocratic observational sights, mobilising the casual glances of the resident, as much as the surveying gaze of a governmental observer;

> Whereas a gaze attempts to go beyond surface appearances, a glance is more superficial, not fully engaged with its subject, and almost even secretive. And, whereas a gaze is active and penetrating, a glance is passive and can easily be pushed in other directions. Lastly, while a gaze attempts to freeze time, a glance is unconcerned with time – that is, there is no difference between glancing at different times and no attempt to capture time before it passes (Wilson 2005, 235).

By contrast, the omni-present visibility enacted through this concrete serpent-made-transparent can be viewed differently. The vast heights placed its occupants out of sight and out of reach, blind alleys made others invisible, even when they were close by. Where the Pioneer Centre is see-through, offering a permeable flow of glassy eyes, complicated observational sights, Park Hill also has embodied eyesight that compels a directed viewpoint. Yet here it is more impervious, opaque, and materially dense. A tactile physicality inscribed into its expansive sprawl. The immense scale of Park Hill is not though, as inhuman as its appearance seems. It is through its use we see a design scheme that is wrapped around the human qualities of daily use and domesticity. Standing in the middle of Park Hill on a second-floor balcony, I looked out from a doorway towards the horizon, nothing but the estate returned my sight. I was totally embraced by the edifice of the building, arms wrapped around me in every direction, seeing nothing beyond, no city, no valleys. I could understand how this could

[28] Although Jacob's work is contested, she persists as a deeply influential figure and fundamental reading in sociology and urban planning studies with text such as *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Jacobs advocated for the designed neighbourhood surveillance found in the traditions of the old New York, as an intricate public order of use, movement and community to maintain public order and wellbeing through a 'constant succession of eyes' (Jacobs [1961] 1993, 65)

be at once comforting and suffocating. The concept of visibility should not be understood purely as an act of observation, but, as suggested in Chapter One, it has a spatial relationship to the conditions of our social relationships. Becoming visible plays a pertinent role in the formation of an identity. That is to say, who we are depends on where we are and how we are seen, the ground between appearance and surveillance. As Arendt [29] reminds us, the implicit or explicit question, 'who are you?', asked by an individual, an institution or collective structure, establishes a 'space of appearance' to occur (Arendt, The Human Condition [1958] 1998, 10,178).[30] Arendt isn't necessarily talking only about the physicality of public forums; she defines a space of appearance that occurs within a social infrastructure. The infrastructures she outlines, articulate a civic notion of the body through the calculable, mathematical techniques and technologies used to survey them.[31] The resulting complexity compels us to become infrastructural, and socially seen bodies.

As I moved through the overbearing, skeletal, encroaching curves of Park Hill I thought about this, the camera mounted across scaffold between two balconies, the tripod physically strapped to the building, allowing the camera to float along the rails, morphing into its environment. Through the monitor, the estate appears sinuous and machinic. In no way could Park Hill Estate be described as passive in the events it has witnessed. It feels immense, beyond human-scale and simultaneously microscopic. The idea of architecture as a witness or protagonist takes it away from the kind of metaphorical language of spectres into a more actively operative language. As I address in Chapter One, there is a way to understand this encounter beyond the romancing of ruins. Embodied in this definition of the action and role of the witness is both the notion of the 'event' or 'encounter' and its aftermath. Returning to Schuppli, who redefined the term 'material witness' outside of its technical, legal definition[32] to refer to those materials that perform as witnesses, they; 'are nonhuman entities and machinic ecologies that archive their complex interactions with the world […] double agents: harbouring

[29] Her view of the world as a space and public stage led her to reflect on collective and governmental notions of appearance in *The Human Condition* (1958).

[30] 'The space of appearance comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action, and therefore predates and precedes all formal constitution of the public realm and the various forms of government […] it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be. Wherever you go, you will be a polis' (Arendt, The Human Condition [1958] 1998, 199).

[31] Mathematics, for Arendt, forms the symbolic basis of science, but should not be understood as factums of truth. In her view, truth speaks to the realm of cognition and logic. Contrarily, mathematics, and the sciences, carried an element of coercion. Arendt situates mathematics as a mechanism that mobilises the authority of science as the measure of human 'know-how' (Arendt [1958] 1998, 3). 'To adjust our cultural attitudes to the present status of scientific achievement, we would in all earnest adopt a way of life in which speech is no longer meaningful. For the sciences today have been forced to adopt a "language" of mathematical symbols which, though it was originally meant only as an abbreviation for spoken statements, now contains statements that in no way can be translated back into speech' (Arendt [1958] 1998, 4).

[32] In American criminal law, a material witness is someone who possesses information that is deemed crucial to a criminal case. The power to hold material witnesses can be traced back to the First Judiciary Act of 1789, but it was further established and defined by the Bail Reform Act of 1984 (Studnicki and Apol 2002).

direct evidence of events as well as providing circumstantial evidence of the interlocutory methods and epistemic frameworks whereby such matter comes to be consequential' (Schuppli 2020, 3).

In common with artists such as Schuppli, I attempt to readdress the position of artifacts, rubble and remains, both analogue and digital as critically active, tactile witnesses to history. However, my work with Park Hill Estate and the Pioneer Health Centre offers a very particular understanding of this kind of decoding. Both constructions are buildings in flux, untethered from their original purpose, active between states, unsettled, not redundant debris but an active potential in a state of becoming. When archives rupture, as when bodies or buildings breakdown, the systems that inform or support them become exposed, flayed at the surface. In traversing these sites and their observational infrastructures, this chapter has posited another route through a technocratic sense of civic embodiment, revealed in the moments where, body, archive and building meet. The technological encounter within my practice is about aeration, it's about aggregating other dialogues with these historical sites and the contemporary politics that erupt out of their physicality. Data becomes a narrative and aesthetic component within my work across both archives. It is a granular logic, testing physical and virtual surfaces, folding in the slippery overlaps between the matter of archives, memories and physical spaces. This strange archaeology seeks out interdisciplinary ways of navigation, a blurring between disciplines, situated in ongoing lived experience, expert knowledges and embodied skill.

The next chapter will look at the potential impact of my practice-based research, as a point of mediation to provoke new approaches to archival and collaborative methodology, considering the specific terms to which I understand such networked ways of working. Recognising the interrelationship between social and material concerns, this form of techno-scientific viewpoint does not require these conditions to be separated out, but rather to grasp their interdependence and complexity. As echoed in Shannon Mattern's invitation for us to take literally, what if the media archaeologists' excavation of the archive, 'borrowed a few tricks from archaeologists of the stones-and-bones variety. What if we picked up their trowels and surveying tools?' (Mattern 2017, xxi) The way that I work is about positioning materials that allows them to remain material, a refusal to let them dissolve into a neat, tidied-up, official accounts, instead allowing them to remain restless and unresolved.

Chapter Three: A cloud of bad breath

‘The city was in decline, and decline was in the air – a councillor would claim the flats were ‘a cloud of bad breath hanging over Sheffield’ (1986).

Where the previous chapters were concerned with aerial perspectives, surveying eyes, transparency, glass and seeing-through, this chapter encapsulates a granular, more opaque way of looking at the currency of buildings as bodily archives. Where the embodied transparency of the Pioneer Centre and its airy lightness became the lens of community sights and scientific observation, here I will focus on a more obtuse line of sight. Not seeing-through nor the zoomed-out omnipotence of a surveying gaze, but instead blind corners, alleyways, archive images dashing away out of sight; what was once reachable is now pressed instead into opaque, rough corridors of cement and doorways sealed with steel security mesh. Positioning an actor between the rough monumental curves of Park Hill Estate bearing down, a hand wrapped around the broken edge of a balcony, the careful echo of past gestures become fragments of touch, tasks and glances pressed into service here in the directed actions to camera that somehow brush the building with the eye of its lens. It seems to be a literal and metaphoric tapping out of the building, to see what might resonate back. Such moments of relationality and reciprocity are innately grounded in the spatial conditions of my practice, informed by an encounter with the living structure of a site in flux. This denotes a type of research practice that threads between the conventions of creative investigations that occur in studios, galleries, and in other places where artists are expected to work and the more fractious spaces of demolition sites, laboratories, places of work I have been invited into, not usually associated with creative forms of knowing. What follows in this chapter is an argument for an alternative way of conceptualising and imagining the chances and challenges of working with different forms of expertise. This can be found in both *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019) in my approach to collaboration with experts, publics and materials to trouble the stability of the knowledge produced between archives, sites and their social implications. I have worked closely with residents, architects, neurologists, sociologists, Space Syntax and material scientists, attempting to find a bridge between disciplines and experience, a shared, troubled space to encounter the complexities of the sites.

In previous chapters I have described an approach to cross-disciplinary modes of working that involves a range of professional knowledges and expertise. In this chapter I will expand on these types of collaboration and include the role that lived experience plays within my approach to the two sites: The Pioneer Centre and Park Hill Estate. I define lived experience as being learnt or found through an encounter with a place, situation or event, for example, a resident of a housing estate, someone with a particular health condition, a witness to an event, a member of a social or political movement. Such knowledge is revealed through experience rather than the conventional authority of disciplinary expertise. Through modes of co-inquiry,[1] which bring together professional knowledges and lived experience, an approach has emerged through this research that seeks to question fixed narratives and the perceived authority of those positions of knowledge. Rather than distinguishing these prescriptively, I am interested in understanding the processes spatially, a situated distinction that Jane Rendall highlights in *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism* (Rendell 2010). A generative taxonomy has emerged which concedes to multiple facets of knowing, 'with words such as "mapping", "locating", "situating", "positioning" and "boundaries" appearing frequently, the language of these texts is highly spatialized' (Rendell 2010, 2). These spatial modes of navigation and collective knowledge have been grounded in such paradigms as 'situated knowledge' and 'standpoint theory' (Haraway 1988; Barad 2014; Harding 1986). As this chapter will go on to expand, such a spatial attention to matter, materiality, processes of materialisation become a radical rethinking of the notion of expertise, knowledges and practices of working together. Through an understanding of the nature of such knowledges, expertise and memories, how can the embodied memory of materiality be used to platform lived and situated knowledges? How do the tangible dynamics of place, site and situation mediate a lived encounter with the material of an archive?

In this move from sight to site, it is the architectonics of the building that become anatomised, drawn into a bodily language of space, touch and memory – a process that is at once archaeological excavation and archival digging. In a fragment of Benjamin's writing: *Excavation and Memory*, he suggests that memory might itself be a medium: 'It is the medium of that which is experienced, just as the earth is the medium in which ancient cities lie buried. He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging. Above all, he must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter; to scatter it as one scatters earth, to turn it over as one turns over soil' (Benjamin [1931] 2005,

[1] Co-inquiry – a term borrowed from the social sciences, describes a form of action research that was first proposed by John Heron in 1971 and later expanded with Peter Reason (Heron 1971; Heron and Reason 1997). Cooperative inquiry, also known as collaborative inquiry, is based on the idea of researching 'with' rather than 'on' people, this is an approach that strongly relates to how I understand modes of participation and research.

576). Memory, for Benjamin, is valued both as the medium of experience yet also the medium through which we experience, and it is precisely this sensory moment of awareness that the moving image evokes, as Roland Barthes feels through, 'Language is a skin: I rub my language against the other. It is as if I had words instead of fingers, or fingers at the tip of my word' (Barthes 1977, 73). Such conceptions of the material site of knowledge ask us to encounter the body as something outside and enmeshed with language, a blurring of spatial semiotics and dialectic modes of embodied knowledge, where meaning is found, where knowledge is produced. My practice is about not knowing, resting in the unease of dissonant connections, lingering in-between past and present, healthy and disordered figures amassed, transparent and obscured observations, skins within skins within skins – and so this text is a skin, an extension of the filmic space my practice, and the buildings at the heart of this work occupy.

From sight to site

Sitting with a group of former residents of Park Hill Estate[2] in our first meeting together, we sift through overlapping photographs, site plans, and social data laid out in layers on the table. I had asked everyone to bring something that reminded them of living on the estate, most brought photos, some shared their own historical research, books, archival photocopies collected to make sense of a concertina of memories deeply rooted in an experience of living there. Hands thumb through the scattered material, a finger holds a page marked for later, hands and arms sketch out the layout of rows, levels and doorways, webs of relationships start to be mapped out, names connect with faces. We engage with the material through our physical and social positions; we push ourselves up to it and frame ourselves against it, in resistance to it, and in alliance with it. Amongst this flutter of recollections, one former resident, Howard, starts to read from the social data collected on residents on the estate in 1964:

> It is sometimes argued that physical design influences people's social and emotional life. In the present survey an attempt was made to assess some of the housewives' social and emotional problems and to see whether they were related to the physical design and provision of the estate. Since none of these problems was dealt with in depth and complete reliance was placed upon the housewives' own assessment of them and what they thought could be done to overcome them, the findings must be interpreted cautiously (DEFRA 1972, 22).

[2] During the development and production of *Deep Structure* (2019) I made contact with 15 of the original tenants of Park Hill Estate who lived there at different points of its lifespan as social housing between 1961 and 2005.

What resulted was a charged discussion around the relationship between sight, voice, and point of view – the moral and emotional dimensions of whose opinions are to be trusted, who speaks, whose voices are heard and how. During this meeting It was decided that it would be crucial to create an encounter with the archive that was mediated through the voices of the former residents, critically re-centring the logic of Park Hill's archival social data on the people themselves, rather than the empirical paternalism of what the civic researchers set out to prove. This is a conception of affect and memory as a medium that resists reproducing entrenched hierarchies. It instead attempts to open up a space of exchange – speaking, sensing, mattering. The encounter made me consider the complex materiality and interaction between sense and experience, affect and memory. Susan Stewart (2020), Achille Mbembe (2002), Okwui Enwezor (2008) established the power objects have to spark resonances from elsewhere, understanding affect beyond a passive language of nostalgia, lament and loss, instead, opening up their transgressive potentials.

Figure 1 and Figure 2 Former residents of Park Hill Estate, in workshop with author, April 18, 2019, S1 Artspace, Sheffield, (photograph, courtesy of author).

In establishing memory as a medium through this ontology of body and touch, I was interested in what new forms and intensities of betweenness are brought into being, in these restlessly liminal spaces. My purpose of working through the archival material with residents was not to reach a consensus as to what the legacy of Park Hill should be, but, rather, a way of introducing a polyvocality into the material digging-over of the archive. In this way my understanding of working together is not about reinforcing shared concepts but finding meaningful ways to challenge, destabilise and form new knowledges at these points of intersection and encounter. There is a perception that 'expert' and 'lived' experience should be categorised differently, that there is a hierarchy in how these knowledges should be held.

It is important to address that I don't categorise these types of co-inquiry and exchange as holding separate values within the work, but that they are given equal weight. What emerges is a research project that represents a shift in discursive notions of co-enquiry that is formed on the foundations of prior critical dialogue surrounding participatory methodologies. To dodge the expected, extractive optics of collaboration, co-inquiry feels a more fitting way to describe the types of exchanges central to my methodology and practice. The participatory methods I have developed are not grounded in the optics of collaboration or a visual expectation of how these situated knowledges should be presented, they hold a spatial and material physicality. This is a sometimes an unseen process, that does not mean the contributor is the material of the artist and the artist is not an observer of the contributor. As an artist, I am not placed to illustrate the work of the participant and the participant is not placed to serve my concepts. This practice of co-inquiry enables me to skew the hierarchical importance of my eye as an artist, forming relationships that allow for other means of thinking and becoming together. This mode of work is a slow process of finding the slippery languages and common desires in the space between disciplines and lived experience.

I create my own taxonomy through these residual undercurrents, beyond a revisionist or nostalgic account of history, instead pairing archival actions with contemporary knowledges and communities that are framed, voiced, held by these buildings in flux. A former resident of Park Hill Estate who I worked with suggested 'that this way of working isn't documentary, it's about a collective gut reaction, it's a feeling of a place it's the stuff you can't say that's felt rather than spoken about'.[3] What they describe, was a process, less about an emphatic certainty, than a shared navigation of a subject that was physically felt, an act of tapping on things and seeing what bounces back. This is a sentiment that has resonated powerfully with me as it perfectly describes how I approach these sites, their significance, their wholeness and complexity, negotiated in an embodied way, a felt way, an unfixed and unsettled experience of a place. This emotional process could be interpreted as a poetic intervention, although stylistically this can too easily carry negative connotations. It has the potential to be a powerful disrupter. 'Moods and feelings are social' as Ben Highmore contends, feelings are the political and cultural foundations that mediate our encounters in the world (Highmore 2017, 14). Not only can these emotional states be understood as the material underpinning for a collective social structure, these gut feelings are capitalised on both for political and commercial gain. Emotions can be called on to incite a reaction, to strategically manipulate, reinforce and solidify a sense that there is a correct way of interpreting events, grounding

[3] Kate Crapper-Reardon, former resident of Park Hill Estate, informal discussion with the author at S1 Artspace after an event, October 2019.

histories within an imposed sense of shared emotional dogma – ‘To recast a well-worn sentence, we could say that people make their own moods, but they don’t make them just as they please; they do not make them under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past’ (Highmore 2017, 13).

Mood, as a cultural and political currency, has been employed to troubling and absurd affect in the redevelopment of Park Hill Estate. In order to counteract the controversies surrounding the redevelopment of the site, the loss of social housing, the gentrification and social cleansing of working class areas of Sheffield and the negative image of the site as a sprawling ‘sink estate’ over run with crime and poverty, Urban Splash, the new developers of Park Hill, used archival images of cheerful housewives and children from the Park Hill archive that uncomfortably turn the estate into a safely sanitised, romantic and palatable version of itself. This carefully crafted rebranding of Park Hill includes pop-up souvenir shops, the funding of musical theatre and graffiti artists that smoothly enable a shift of emphasis towards form – turning the estate into a striking collection of shapes, an easily digestible series of kitsch imaginings.[4] The developers refer to the building as ‘abandoned’, warmly inferring they are rekindling its original social intentions.[5] Yet, Park Hill wasn’t abandoned, but decanted, the tenants removed and relocated.

Figure 3 *Standing at the Sky's Edge,* 2019, first showcased at Sheffield Crucible*,* advertisement, Sheffield Theatres, https://www.sheffieldtheatres.co.uk/events/standing-at-the-skys-edge-2 (accessed November 27, 2022).

[4] Standing at the Sky’s Edge, Crucible, Sheffield 2019 – by Richard Willis Hawley singer-songwriter, who was briefly in Sheffield band Pulp. The production was funded by Urban Splash and Arts Council England (Urban Splash 2019). Kid Acne, 2009 Graffiti commission across park hill estate funded and commissioned by Urban Splash, which included slogans such as ‘unemployed god’, 'this seems legit’ and ‘I’ve seen worse’ (Kid Acne 2019). The ‘Park Hill Shop opened in 2019 a project by Alumno Group a design and developer of commercial students accommodation, phase four of Park Hills construction is overseen by Alumno. The shop was part showroom, gallery and souvenir shop (Urban Splash 2019).
[5] The project will rekindle the original social intentions of Park Hill, provide a new lease of life to an abandoned part of the original building and reinvigorate the student-housing sector for the 21st century’ (Alumno 2020).

Of the 670 remaining households that were 'decanted' from Park Hill Estate, by February 2013 only 18 former residents had been returned to be rehoused (Elmer 2017). The emotional potency of words like 'abandoned', 'derelict', 'redundant' become a justification, in place of any socio-political context.[6] Park Hill was sold to Urban Splash for a nominal amount by Sheffield city council who could no longer afford to maintain the scheme due to decades of chronic underfunding by central government. The story is one that feels all too familiar; the social maleffects of gentrification have often been disguised through art-washing, developers making use of underfunded councils and desperate cultural institutions to produce colourful, hermetic, creative projects, superficially engaged with the community in order to cleanse their public image (Evans 2015; Minton 2017; Hatherley 2016; Hatherley 2009). Treated uncritically as a found object for the taking, the architectural relic becomes mute, treated as a blank canvas for the developer's imagination. The fragmented parts of Park Hill Estate signal a temporal collapse, losing its identity through its elevated mythic status – the archived building a social rupture rather than an act of civic repair.

Figure 4 (left) Alumno (@alumnogram), "Part of Otis Mensah poem 'We Were Never Derelict'[…]", Instagram, 13 November 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/CHh2xFfMHuo/ (accessed 12 February 2021).
Figure 5 (right) Alumno (@alumnogram), "Beton House […]", Instagram, 17 November 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/CHsJKJ4Mwq6/ (accessed 12 February 2021).

The developer's campaign to rebrand Park Hill relied heavily on re-engaging a collective memory and local heroism through aggressively sentimental nostalgia.[7] This was a tactic

[6] 'Representing the joint venture, Simon Gawthorpe of Urban Splash said: "We have always been committed long-term to fulfilling the creation of this exciting new neighbourhood. Phase 1 is sold out, complete and fully occupied – attracting the first residents and businesses to an area which for so long had been abandoned, derelict and unloved"' (Gawthorpe 2019). 'functionally redundant buildings with new use agreed but not yet implemented' (Historic England 2006).
[7] 'I LOVE YOU WILL U MARRY ME?' is one of the most famous pieces of advertising used for Park Hill's redevelopment. The graffiti was scrawled on one of the Estate's footbridges. Urban Splash covered it in neon, blew it up to cover one side of the building, replicating it on T-shirts worn at their launch party and by a member of Arctic Monkeys on stage in America. A radio documentary by Frances Byrnes and Penny Woolcock and other local articles highlight the sad subtext to the slogan. Urban splash edited out the name of the person who the question addressed, the whole line being:

further reinforced in the second phase by student housing developer, Alumno, who stencilled quotes from former residents captured in workshops with Sheffield's poet laureate Otis Mensah onto crudely formed pseudo post-minimalist sculptural blocks. Residents were asked to contribute their affecting memories; inoffensive childhood stories, ideas of community and belonging. The quotes celebrate Park Hill, speaking positively of the lasting success of the building, so on first inspection it seems a strange decision on the part of the developers, yet by upholding these statements in such monumental nostalgic tones, it seals them safely away in the past – they appear as a distant dream, seemingly making it impossible for such notions to exist in the present. When a manufactured past is re-presented in the present as an aspiration for the future, it is a tactic to rewrite a new official narrative that renders change inevitable and relinquishes responsibility. Not only does the sculpture look like a memorial, its construction has been made in such a way which will not last. The black concrete stain already weathering away will disappear in 5-6 years.[8] Alongside the statements from residents, the sculpture includes an assortment of loosely connected quotes[9] including Reyner Banham's famous axiom 'an ethic, not aesthetic' (Banham 1966, 10). It seems absurd to selectively quote from socially progressive ideology reducing it to pastiche, when all that is left is an aesthetic repackaging of the building utterly divorced from its ethics.

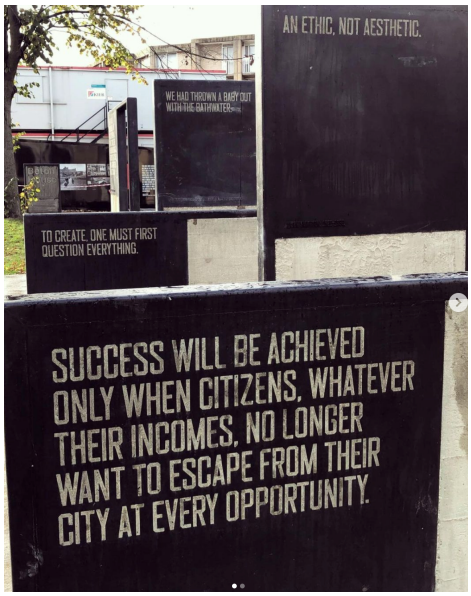


Figure 6 Alumno (@alumnogram), "Another magnificent arts installation […]", Instagram, 28 October 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/CG5mdMJsAIq/ (accessed 12 February 2021).

"Clare Middleton I love you will u marry me?" Clare died aged 30 of cancer and never married the man who proposed, but married another. The backstory makes Urban Splash's use of the slogan all the more intrusive and tasteless. As Janet, Clare's mother made clear, 'I'd like to go about life pretending that nothing's happened. And you can't do that when her name's scrawled in such a public place' (Woolcock 2011; Byrnes 2016).

[8] According to Prof. John Provis, the material scientist I worked with on *Deep Structure* (2019).

[9] Other quotes include the co-designer and architect of Park Hill Estate, Jack Lynn, Architect Eileen Gray and social housing advocate and architect, Elizabeth Denby (Lynn [1961] 1966; Gray [1929] 2000; Denby 1938).

These archival fragments reinforced the perceived redundance and obsolescence of such schemes, becoming rarefied relics, blank of their purpose, historicised placeholders for aesthetic speculation. Like a Lepidopterist's needle kills the butterfly, buildings are meaningless in the fragmented vacuum of their parts.

The complex fate and these sensitivities made it vital to involve former residents, mediating the archive through their own voices in a way which didn't ask them to perform affect symbolically, but through a more transgressive use of mood and gut feelings. Where we might expect sentimentality from the residents' appearance in the film, they channel something else from the apparent cool objectivity of the archive. The film experiments with the scale of speech, from the bureaucratic and instructional, to the emotionally intimate and physical, where voice and sound acts as both a dislocation and connecting element. The central participants of the film are caught between now and our recent-past, fluctuating between contemporary applications of big-data and past ideas of statistical surveying for social good. As exemplified by Sharon Mawson, Mandy Kent and Lynn Smith, former residents of Park Hill whose appearance in *Deep Structure* (2019) was grounded in a selection of material the group had chosen to voice, chorused in a rhythmic series of lists that became an overlapping chant, I have tried to visually represent here:

…Aspects not related to estate satisfaction, socioeconomic characteristics, whether the housewife works, number of children, housing background, length of stay in present dwelling, distance from previous dwelling, standard of previous dwelling, length of stay in previous dwelling, satisfaction with previous dwelling, aspects of dwelling and estate…'

…The design is based on repetitive units as follows, number of units, types of units, accommodation…'

…In traditional streets there is also a sense of identity it may be the position of a tree, or a post-box, or the pub on the corner, this gives to the individual families a satisfying sense of belonging within the structure of society…

The sociological survey data found in the archives of Park Hill is mediated through a chorus of voices, the residents acting to channel the data, selecting from it, abstracting it, and

transforming it into a strange poetry rather than allowing it to be simply read practically as scientific social mapping. The prevailing position of a single narrator is further undone by the officious tones of two voice actors, narrating short extracts from various textual sources from the Park Hill Local Council archives, knotted together with a third, overlayed voice with a South Yorkshire accent that frames, contrasts, and sits alongside the residents' voices. Rather than using the archive as a justification for decisions made in the present, this way of working allows the archive to remain unresolved, present, speculative and restless – a refusal to consign the significance of these sites only to historical figuration.

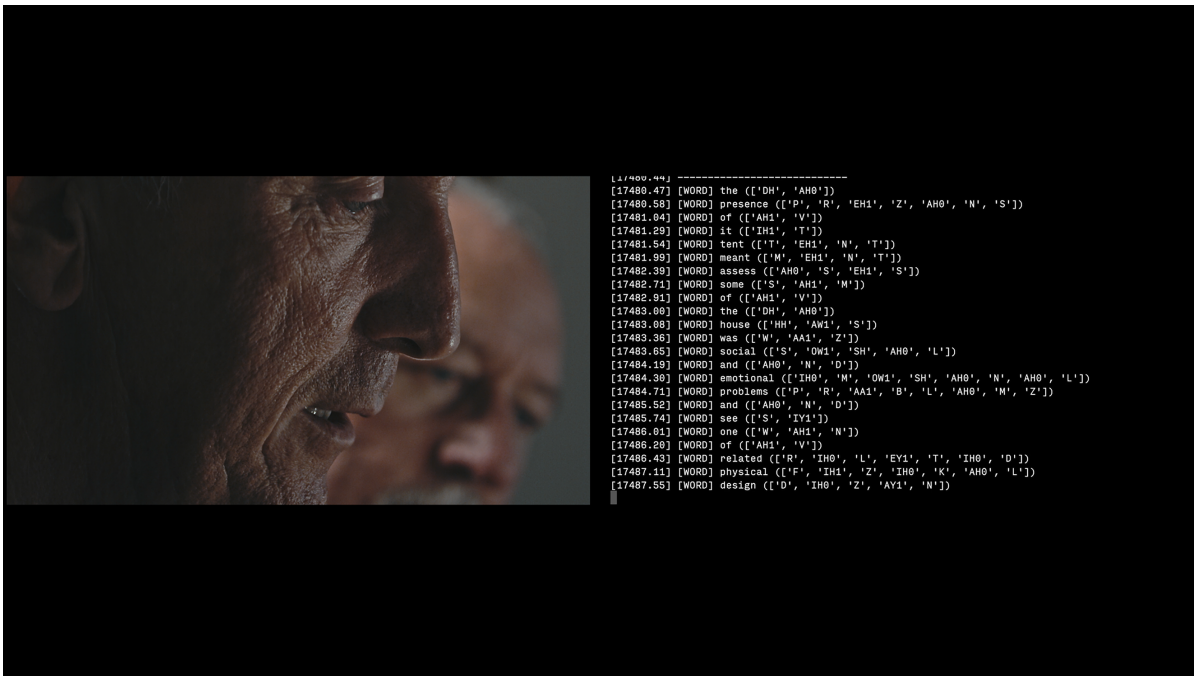


Figure 7 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

By allowing for the co-existence of particular knowledges, creating a suspension of certainty around knowing is for me a decision to stay with the complications the site emits. The desire I have to destabilise a linear narrative surrounding Park Hill is a reaction to seeing others simplify it through a rosy-hued nostalgia. *Deep Structure* (2019) allowed me to work with the site of Park Hill through this crucial, politically charged shift without being answerable to these aims, not being affiliated with or funded by the developers. The film asks, in ironing, polishing, rubbing down these desirable stories – what is left out?

We live in the physical mood-worlds we've inherited, lived textures spatially pressed into the unremitting design and redesign of overlapping social architectures. This is a spatial as well as a symbolic motif apparent in Highmore's description of the ruptured topographies of British post-war urban bomb sites; 'The landscape of ruined urbanism articulated a set of

feelings that were contradictory and ambivalent: of fragility and strength, of permanence and impermanence, of innocence and guilt. The images looked forward in time to inevitable devastation, while looking back to the still-warm memories of recent destruction' (Highmore 2017, 76). Understanding moods and feelings as physical and spatial states powerfully allow such affective encounters to be more than a nostalgic trick for commercially seductive means. What both sites central to this research represent is an emotional tear, but is there a way to channel such feelings without it becoming a hopeless lament? Rather than utilising poetics as mawkish sentimentality within my practice, it's an emotional narrative undoing, not apathetic and wistful, but assertive in its tactile and spatial dismantling.

For me, this opens up possibilities, allowing for a critique of the hierarchy between linear history and lived experience. Throughout the development of *Deep Structure* (2019) and *Correspondence O* (2018) desire lines were formed through the personal and archivally sanctioned material, conjoining fragments and materialising the archive through the knowledge and experience of others, enabling fluid forms of comparison and association. The collating of archives, artifacts and objects that were physically handled, passed around, looked at up close by a range of participants, with different proximities of closeness to the material, form a patchwork of voices and encounters that summon something from elsewhere. Together we shared what we felt was important, we brought articles, maps, journals, technical implements, family photos. We walked, we spoke on the phone, our associations to the material we collected crisscrossed each meeting. This process could be understood as a method of bricolage and therefore positioning myself as a researcher as a 'bricoleur', resonant of how artistic approaches to finding things out might be perceived – where improvisation and resourcefulness can lead to invention (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, 2-3). Thus, within this archive of fragments, every trail, trace, imprint reminds us of the turbulence of these materials, each root returning to the tactile, mnemonic device of the building. An architectural exploration of a memory, that is turned over, returned to a collection of edited gestures – an assemblage of triggers that become a kind of visual scene gist.[10] This is defined through a spatial configuration held by the physical presence of textural and constituent layers, unexpected partnerships, co-inquiries, material navigations. The flow of fractured and contrasting material speaks to the gaps, a volatile encounter with historically and politically charged sites, allowing them to remain open and restless rather than reducing the complexities of their significance into a singular narrative fixed by my authorship. In the films, this technique is conveyed through tonal montage, rhythmic editing

[10] Scene gist refers to the way we can complexly interpret the perceptual and semantic information of images in a matter of seconds through our received knowledge and previous experiences. It is a term I have borrowed from vision research, used in reference to human sight and computer vision (Gong, et al. 2018).

and voice-over, influenced by materials gathered through such interactions, archives, feedback from the application of data and surveying tools across the films' locations. This conception of montage allows the resulting work to remain materially restless, fragmentary events producing parts that become wholes. In the process of constructing the films, I cut, arrange, assemble, split, and overlay, the digital razor works in place of the physical reels of the flatbed editor.[11] Such an approach to the materiality of my research is not narrative or sequential, but rather it's a process of fragmentation and re-encoding. A method that allows for more marginal, less linear readings to emerge that sit in resistance to the conventions of a chronological approach to histories found in more sanctioned forms of archiving and documentary. Seen no longer as a neutral vehicle of political and social critique, the debates surrounding documentary aesthetics have been well trodden and critically dismantled by artists and critics, such as Allan Sekula, Martha Rosler, Victor Burgin, and John Tagg (Diack and Duganne 2017). The conventional view of documentary is to represent a neutral account, to retell a story from a position of truth, what Rosler views as the 'myth of journalistic objectivity' (Rosler [1992] 1989, 306). Documentary techniques are based on the image's indexical value, that I would posit, doesn't mean that it offers an unmediated access to an authentic reality, but instead generates questions surrounding the status of knowledge, representation, truth, and objective reality. This research is not a critique of documentary aesthetics, it offers a disruption to such conventions. My approach to moving-image transmits ideas not through the continuity of images, objectivity, and notions of impartiality, but among the interwoven gaps between image, voice, audience and material. I consider how these histories, knowledges and lived experiences might spatially intersect. A collective searching out of different ways to destabilise or entangle the way that a subject might be understood, complicates an official narrative that might sit around a place, its ideology and archival imprint.

Such an approach to montage aligns with experimental film practitioners using such techniques to disrupt the tendency towards linearity and singular narrative. This notion is evocatively present in *Blight* (1994-6), a collaboration between filmmaker John Smith and composer Jocelyn Pook. The film weaves together emotional layers of resident testimonies, diegetic sound and an affecting, powerful score by Pook to address the changing topography of East London in the wake of the construction of the M11 link road. Through a process of dissection and reconstruction, an abstracted narrative structurally emerges within

[11] Such a physically charged encounter is evocative of how Deleuze positions montage in relation to the passage of time as a taxonomy based primarily on editing processes physically and materially charged by a phenomenological perspective, achieved through the techniques of cutting, editing and assemblage , 'Montage is composition, the assemblage [agencement] of movement images as constituting an indirect image of time' (Deleuze [1986] 2009, 30).

a montage of observed, gestural moments. ‘I don't really remember’ a recurrent voice seemingly sings, it’s vague grasping allowing us to skip between recollections of the city. The film signposts the imminent destruction caused by the link road but equally evokes the bomb damage sites of post war London. Image and sound entangle a literal and metaphoric web of recollections, evocative of photo reportage of bomb damage, waste grounds and slum clearance, misguided notions of progress and urban renewal. Ben Highmore observes such imagery as something embedded into our emotional, cultural memory, set with its own conventions; ‘one of the functions of this particular genre of image is to fold together bomb damage and redevelopment into a single continuum. The image genre seems to say: it is all, in one way or another, damage’ (Highmore 2017, 78). This conjures a space beyond imagery alone.

> Some of the most powerful aspects of it might be connected to sound (the sound of laughter mixed with sirens, for instance), and smell (cement dust and burning wood, perhaps) […] the image-repertoire of post-war Britain that fashions the moods and feelings of redevelopment from wrecked landscapes (Highmore 2017, 77).

This is a sentiment seen and felt in Smith and Pook’s use of emotional abstraction. *Blight* (1994-6) breaks away from the polemical boundaries of documentary, revealing a more open-ended metaphorical space.

Figure 8 John Smith & Jocelyn Pook, *Blight,* 1994-96, HD video from 16mm, 14 mins, colour, sound, John Smith artist website, https://johnsmithfilms.com/selected-works/blight/ (accessed April 5, 2023)

The action of speaking to the archive, returning to the past's artefacts, is not for me about reconciling histories, but acknowledging the multiplicity present in archives, records, and historical accounts. This is an act of skipping across, criss-crossing, knotting together and acknowledging the breakpoints, a playful flitting between the practical and theoretical signs of the everyday that Ben Highmore proposes as method to navigate the interdisciplinary nature of Brutalism and its archival echoes. Highmore calls for Hopscotch Modernism: 'To sketch something of this trajectory will require that I hopscotch across seemingly disparate terrains: the goal is necessarily limited – a snapshot of a range of possibly haphazard connections' (Highmore 2006, 71). In mobilising the idea of play to animate fragments from the archive he acknowledges the hybridity and interdisciplinary blurring of modernist urbanism. Rather than seeing notions of the materiality of archive spaces as a 'return' to a past I instead understand this encounter with the broken time of archives as something more viscerally active. In hopping, weaving, mending the uncertainty in which these buildings sit becomes a potent invitation for speculation and a disruption of a linear reading of their identities. Such an intuitive approach can be found in unexpected moments of research and practice within each project where a more procedural and epistemic approach might be expected, as exemplified in my work with Prof. John Provis, Department of Material Science and Engineering, University of Sheffield.

Residual material undercurrents: the matter of archives

John Provis and I met at Park Hill in hard hats and steel toecaps, walked the curving levels, while he picked at the crumbling structure with his fingernails. Together we worked to break the building down to its elements as a way to consider its composition and erosion beyond the surface imagery of ruins and laments. This process is both a practical activity and simultaneously abstract – his laboratory a hybrid between the material experimentation of an artist's sculpture studio and a scientific wet lab. Smells of clay, dirt, sulphur, drying plaster processes spread across benches. A paint mixer attachment hangs dripping near some reappropriated bread mixers full of the slush of previous experiments. We mixed the original cement composition found in Ove Arup's archives, tested its tensile strength, its internal structure. This process is part archaeology, part undoing, the building becoming elemental, granular.

Figure 9 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

Using the archive in the making provokes a strategy of co-enquiry, designed to explore a dialogue between record and potential by way of technical knowledge, embodied technique and memory. The archive then becomes not only the place where history is established, but material to be shared and used to produce a common space of enquiry. The architectonics of the archive itself in its material disintegration adds an additional dimension to the forcing open of these physical histories; opening out the currency of the icon of the building to a more agitated space, breaking it down into its constituent parts. It becomes the catalyst for a more discursive co-inquiry to inform the work. I argue that this type of participation emerges at the generative locus in-between disciplinary knowledge and lived experience. For me, this is an opening up of practice, allowing alternative connections to be made, where haptic and tacit thinking meets historical and a priori knowledge. Such material thinking has been considered by Barbara Bolt and Estelle Barrett (Bolt and Barrett 2007) as a means of providing new methodological perspective for artistic research that acknowledges knowing through making. A mode of working that I posit, creates a space for me to experimentally mediate other professional, lived and embodied perspectives, applying their experiences, knowledges, technologies, and discourse as tools to navigate the subject of focus. These methods present an opportunity to understand co-inquiry as a specific kind of working together, not a process of extraction, instead evoking a shared space between approaches to a subject – being ‘with’ rather than doing something ‘for’ or ‘to’ another. These are conditions Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick terms as being ‘beside’ (as opposed to ‘beyond’ or ‘beneath’), ‘tools and techniques for non-dualistic thought’ (Sedgwick [2002] 2006, i). There is something distinctly spatial about such a partnership, as Sedgwick makes clear when she uses this preposition to highlight what theoretically underpins her collection of essays in *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (2002).

> The irreducibly spatial positionality of beside also seems to offer some useful resistance to the ease with which beneath and beyond turn from spatial descriptors into implicit narratives of, respectively, origin and telos (Sedgwick [2002] 2006, 8).

This demonstrates the entwined relationships between modes of practice and the spatial ways of knowing they employ. These are emotional, physical, intellectual, and sensory, upholding particular relations between doing and thinking, that can open up a field of possibilities between the boundaries of knowledge, not easily defined, allowing them to be leaky and perfusing.

To return to a phrase I introduced at the beginning of this chapter – 'not knowing' is a term for me that strongly correlates to Sedgwick's notion of beside-ness. Sitting beside, between, alongside denotes positions without an implicit hierarchy in the same way not knowing is a shared state. Not knowing as a phraseology is not about ignorance, but descriptive of a gap, an undetermined and unnamed space, a pregnant pause that connects the site of knowledge to a shared vulnerability and willingness to not know, to work alongside, to search out and undo received knowledges. This approach can be found in the shared moments that happen with neuroscientist Prof. Paul Fletcher, architectural surveyor, Tom Bell or Prof. Laura Vaughan's Space Syntax investigations that I mention in the previous chapters, or here in this chapter my work with residents of Park Hill Estate and material scientist Prof. John Provis. This is a way of working that doesn't seek to reproduce a known participatory power dynamic, one where the artist enforces a perspective on another, whether they are a community collaborator or a professional discipline. Instead, I set out to find a shared language that sits in between. 'Not knowing' resists the dogmas of a fixed or linear understanding of histories – an attempt to acknowledge that these processes are not infallible but something more transferable, fluid and interchangeable – a symbolic transposition of matter. This produces mutual respect and interest in provoking the gaps that exist between different disciplinary schools of thought surrounding an area of shared enquiry such as social, historical and political geographies. For these forms of working together to take place there needs to be a shared openness to 'not knowing', a meaningful, common space of enquiry between the questions of the researcher and the questions posed by the artist. I am interested in the hybrid language that is developed by working outside my practice. What new knowledges are created in those intersections? The development of both *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019) offered me space to critically reflect on what analytical and creative tools I employ in research practice, and how my position as

an artist differs from other professional perspectives. What is the cultural and political currency of my position? What new knowledges are produced that differ from other academic and professional disciplines that have a stake in the subject? The assembly of layers of professional and lived experience acts as a refusal to create a finite narrative, instead addressing the entwined resonances between these charged sites.

The kinds of discursive methodologies I use to navigate these complexities have a root in earlier critical analysis of participatory practice found in Grant Kester's definition of dialogic art. As Kester argues in his key text on collaborative art, *Conversation Pieces : Community and Communication in Modern Art* (2004), 'dialogic art'[12] is 'defined in terms of openness, of listening […] and of a willingness to accept a position of dependence and intersubjective vulnerability relative to the viewer or collaborator' (Kester 2004, 110). This space of exchange is not ephemeral but materially grounded in the strange spatial plasticity that intersects between social protocols and the knowledges produced at those intersections. This is not a reductive stereotype where the participant is transformed, as Kester notes drawing on David Smith's writings,

> an evangelical superiority that conceives of the viewer as a subject-to-be-transformed […] In neither case is the artist content to engage with the viewer as he or she actually is, here and now, through a process of collaborative interaction' (Kester 2004, 88).

Yet, it would be naive to suggest that this methodology in itself is a collapse of art's hegemony over cultural production. I regard my practice as a critical tool, a space of discursive exchange and negotiation, although I am acutely aware of the unease associated with these modes of practice and the different economies of labour they entail.

Although my practice intentionally avoids sitting comfortably in the syntax of social engagement, it is important to acknowledge the critical discourse that is located at a distance from it. In what has become a fundamental argument in the critical understanding of participatory art, Claire Bishop's canonisation of the social turn centres on a criticism of Kester's dialogic aesthetics, highlighting the underlying tensions played out in its resistance

[12] 'In dialogical practice the artist, whose perceptions are informed by his or her own training, past projects, and lived experience, comes into a given site or community characterized by its own unique constellation of social and economic forces, personalities, and traditions. In the ex change that follows, both the artist and his or her collaborators will have their existing perceptions challenged; the artist may well recognize relationships or connections that the community members have become inured to, while the collaborators will also challenge the artist's preconceptions about the community itself and about his or her own function as an artist. What emerges is a new set of insights, generated at the intersection of both perspectives and catalysed through the collaborative production of a given project' (Kester 2004, 95).

to engage with its own critical discourse.[13] Since the collaborative discourse was progressed by practitioners such as Bishop and Kester, a parallel critical shift has grown surrounding the relationship between artistic practice and other cultural fields. This can be found in the work of artists that more directly align with notions of social practice such as Helen Cammock (2018), Rory Pilgrim (2017), Abbas Zahedi (2020) and Resolve Collective (2019).[14] A variant on this shift sets out to challenge the boundaries between art, architecture, ecology and geopolitics as seen through the work of collectives such as Forensic Architecture[15] and Cooking Sections (2020),[16] where we see a different kind convergence of interest in interdisciplinary or shared forms of creative production.

Since writing the incendiary text 'The Social Turn: Collaboration and its Discontents' (2006), Bishop's change in attitude towards social practice marks growing critical sympathies towards participatory art practices which she once critically dismantled.[17] Bishop acknowledges this shift in the introduction to her more recent publication *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (2012), but still warns us to consider how such works are to be critically interpreted. As observed by Bishop in relation to Superflex's socially-engaged radio station *Tenantspin* (1999-2013),[18] such an approach to collaboration should be treated with caution,

> Without finding a more nuanced language to address the artistic status of this work, we risk discussing these practices solely in positivist terms, that is, by focusing on demonstrable impact (Bishop 2012, 18).

By outlining within my methodology, a more fluid, holistic understanding of the categorising of knowledge production inside each project, these relationships can become more nuanced, resisting being read only through the lens of community action. In attempting to

[13] This was a turn that grew in parallel to the promise of New Labour's campaign rhetoric to steer culture toward policies of social inclusion, that as Bishop notes 'Reduc[es] art to statistical information about target audiences and "performance indicators," the government prioritizes social effect over considerations of artistic quality' (Bishop 2006, 180).
[14] Examples of this approach can be found in further works by the listed artists such as: *Concrete Feathers and Porcelain Tacks* (Cammock 2021)*, RAFTS* (Pilgrim 2022)*, Fish Bar Symposium* (Zahedi 2010-2015)*, Them's the breaks* (Resolve Collective, 2023).
[15] Forensic Architecture operates as a team of researchers from various fields based at Goldsmiths, University of London. The group employs architectural methods and technologies to investigate instances of state violence and human rights abuses worldwide, led by architect Eyal Weizman.
[16] Other works by Cooking Sections that demonstrate this approach are: Oyster Readings (Cooking Sections, Oyster Readings 2021-22)*Salmon: Traces of Escapees* (Cooking Sections 2021)
Offsetted (Cooking Sections 2019).
[17] An important motivation for this study was my frustration at the foreclosure of critical distance in these curatorial narratives […] The hidden narrative of this book is therefore a journey from sceptical distance to imbrication: as relationships with producers were consolidated, my comfortable outsider status (impotent but secure in my critical superiority) had to be recalibrated along more constructive lines' (Bishop 2012, 6).
[18] Tenantspin (1999-2013) was a community television, media and arts project supported by FACT, Liverpool Housing Action Trust and later Your Housing Group (Yates 2013).

undo the monolithic conception of Park Hill and The Pioneer Centre, my collaborations were not designed to reinforce a better, truer or dogmatic picture of the two sites, but instead to explore moments of relationality and reciprocity, recast as an embedded and critical component of interdisciplinary process. At the beginning of a project, I spend a great deal of time on the phone, local forums, emailing, Zoom calls, speaking to many who choose not to be involved, but it's through these processes, I find the people who stick, who share a desire to encounter the site differently.

Before, beside, between, to not know, to know differently

My decision not to position collaborators as consumers of an artistic process but instead part of an extended production team, each individual bringing their skill and value to the process, generating valuable, but different ways of knowing. This is a move away from participatory modes of art making where invited participants are asked to respond to a fixed brief demarcated by the artist, its success driven by demonstrable outcomes rather than its artistic value. I do not work with specific groups or practitioners because I have been instructed to by an institution or in a way that is conditional to funding requirements. I find the people I work with through a process of research and encounter that begins with the site, its conditions, its archives, its current usages, then spiraling out into a wider, more sprawling network of connections. It's a process of finding the gaps, wondering how someone else's perspective might collide with another's, testing or confronting the site in unexpected ways. It is a more intimate process than only finding people that 'represent' a type of knowledge – a neuroscientist, a resident, an architectural historian – but finding personal connections with people who are open to a process that is malleable and fluid, that can change, shaped by these encounters and for which the end results are somewhat unknown.

A partnership which highlights this particular kind of enmeshment between lived experience and technical knowledge is my work with Breedon Hope Cement Works that plays a pivotal role in the formation of *Deep Structure* (2019). After a cautious series of email exchanges in which Ed Cavanagh, manager of the plant, sussed out our intentions, a meeting was arranged. I dressed smartly, subdued, consciously tidying away any traces of what could be considered the signs of a chaotic artist, instead wanting to convey my trustworthiness with heavy machinery. We met in his office, where on the wall was a plan of the factory.

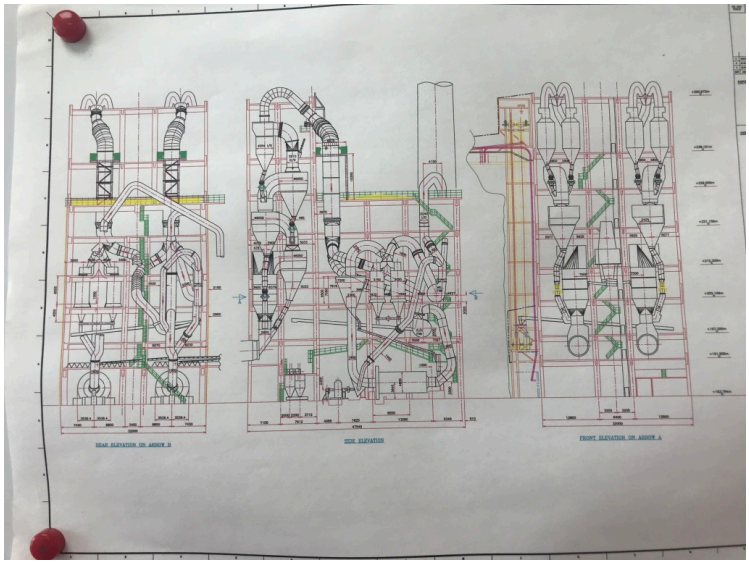


Figure 10 *Cross section technical drawing of Cement Works, taken during a site visit*, March 2019, Breedon Hope Valley Cement Works, Peak District, (photograph, courtesy of author).

Tubes and pipes are woven together in an intestinal array, thrown into circular folds. I tell him how much the factory looks to me like the cross section of a human body. He laughed, saying he often thought the same, and suggested we have a look at the guts of the factory's workings. Although this is a poetic interpretation of the site as holding a bodily language, there are real overlaps between medical and material research. CAT scanning and macroscopy for example, are commonly used techniques within both material science and medical research. Within minutes of meeting, he had us changed into PPE, my attempt to look formal crumpling under high-vis overalls, and we climbed the 14-story raw mill, the clinker, the kilns, the parts of the plant that he thought most matched my description of the human body. The raging, 110dB of factory noise, the shaking force of the machinery and heat peaking at 1450 °C in the rotating kilns. Trust in each other here is practical and interpersonal, not wrapped up in the sober formality I thought I was expected to present.

Figure 11 *Curator Laura Clarke and Site Manager Ed Cavanagh during a site visit,* March 2019, Breedon Hope Valley Cement Works, Peak District, (photograph, courtesy of author). Figure 12 *Plant control room, taken during a site visit,* March 2019, Breedon Hope Valley Cement Works, Peak District, (photograph, courtesy of author).

Figure 13 *Co-camera operator Tom Nowell and Site manager Ed Cavanagh during filming,* June 2019, Breedon Hope Valley Cement Works, Peak District, (photograph, courtesy of author).

Later I returned to film with my co-camera operator, Tom Nowell, establishing what each piece of plant equipment did, the timings between processes, coordinating camera movements with the strokes of the operation. As we began to build the camera rig, the site managers supervising us asked questions about the kit being assembled. This was a reciprocal enquiry, a mutual process of looking together, sharing and showing. Myself and Tom and the factory managers equally interested in each other's procedures. What was routine to us in our kit was fascinating to them, and what was mundane to them was fascinating to us. Looking together at the factory through the director's monitor, became a useful resistance to what might be expected in such interactions, creating a common space where our sights could meet. In navigating the site together, mediated by the camera, we found ways to know the factory differently. This way of working together is underlined by an agreement to not know, to know differently, at ease in the unknown territory of working alongside one another. To return to Sedgwick, such an effort 'comprises a wide range of desiring, identifying, representing, repelling, paralleling, differentiating, rivaling, leaning, twisting, mimicking, withdrawing, attracting, aggressing, warping, and other relations' (Sedgwick [2002] 2006, 8). She makes clear, the conditions of being beside, are not always a consensus, as much about acknowledging different positionalities as it is about agreement. It is a process of disruption and reconfiguring.

Hope Cement Works presents a complex, monolithic space within the film, representing something in-between industrialised bodies of infrastructure and natural systems. I walked across the Ringinglow Moor when planning the film and mistook the cement factory for an outlandish art deco folly, its tiered heights more heroic than practical from a distance. This

pastoral view concealed the factory's visceral, choking fog, the immense heat and energy required to power 460 meters of rotating kiln, the vociferous sound of blocks of stone ground to micro-dust in open, unguarded, raw mills. I don't think that this is only about the raw materials of buildings, in the same way that the cement factory in the film isn't there because it's the material stuff of Park Hill, but a reconfigured way to speak about industrial bodies, laboured landscapes that are so intrinsically part of the fabric of the estate. This emphasises the deliberate complication of the images I present. If I had filmed in a steel works it would directly signpost these Sheffield narratives of work, landscape and class heritages, but in the quickness of the images, there is something lost, almost as if the answer is written before the viewer has time to consider the spaces between the overlapping materials. In an attempt to resist the dogmas of a fixed or linear understanding of history, I pull the building apart into the realm of forces, laboured landscape, unearthed nature.

Figure 14 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

Figure 15 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual screen, stereo sound, S1 Artspace, Sheffield, (photograph, Ruben Brown, 2019).

Beyond the surface imagery of ruins and laments

There is a plasticity to cement. It isn't a static material, changing state, flowing, hardening, its dust drifts, it rots, cracks, expands and moves with age. Concrete production encapsulates a different, deeper structure of time. Limestone, slate, Carboniferous stones are sediments between the sand of the deltas that became the stones of the Yorkshire Pennines, mined in a national park that is more a constructed ideal of nature than natural. Concrete is one of the most widely used materials on earth, but unsustainable, yet still aggressively pervasive. This residual material undercurrent doesn't only sit in the redevelopment of Park Hill, but is underpinned historically. As set out in Chapter One, the twentieth century saw a wave of material innovation in glass, steel, and concrete. Owen Williams worked for Truscon[19] in 1912 before becoming an independent engineer-architect. Williams experimented with reinforced concrete and explored its architectural potentials (Mutch 2013; Sutherland, Humm and Chrimes 2001). Later in the century, Jack Lynn and Ivor Smith would be among the many architects embracing the raw impact of concrete in collaboration with Arup, to devise unique, gridded forms at immense scale (Hatherley 2011; Grindrod 2013; Murphy 2016; Hughes 2022). Yet these advancements weren't as maintenance-free as intended. Water ingress caused reinforced concrete to burst and crack, condensation and lack of air-flow forming black mould and rising damp. The elegantly thin Juliet balconies of Park Hill crumbled away to look like hundreds of broken bones and teeth. In tracing the decay, what is exposed is what maintenance means, both in its utility and ideological politics.[20] As Hilary Sample suggests, maintenance is 'more than a problem of trying to be or appear eternally new. Maintenance presents evidence of nature, evidence of human relationships beyond the technical' (Sample 2016, 4).

Buildings, from the moment they are erected are in a constant state of decay, corrosion and collapse, requiring attendance, time, skills and handed-down knowledge found in repair manuals, archives and learnt through word-of-mouth. Maintenance is not only defined

[19] Trussed Concrete Steel Company (Truscon).

[20] It is important to make the distinction between 'cleaning', 'repair' and 'maintenance', as they are not interchangeable terms. Repair is to make whole, to return to a state, maintenance is the act of constant work, both requiring professionalised skill, conditions of labour that holds the object being maintained in the present, both as a image and as a functional object. Whereas cleaning is a separate action. Cleaning although can occur in public is treated more discreetly, still bound in many ways to a domestic organisation of work. Dusting, washing, disinfecting, polishing, hidden behind the private parts of the building. Interestingly – Park Hill Estate considers both of these labours. The architect's designed and planned laundry rooms, permanent washing lines and mop washing areas, alongside a permanent onside maintenance team, including Grenville Squires who I met during the project, in charge of the garchey waste disposal system and district heating.

through specialised technical disciplines such as conservation, building regulations and material science, but equally reliant on embodied knowledge, expertise invested in individual, collective and infrastructural labours. Steven J. Jackson makes clear the multidisciplinary co-dependency of infrastructure and repair, considering how they hold together.

> Repair […] has a literal and material dimension, filled with immediate questions: Who fixes the devices and systems we 'seamlessly' use? Who maintains the infrastructures within and against which our lives unfold? But it also speaks directly to 'the social', if we still choose to cut the world in this way: how are human orders broken and restored (and again, who does this work)? (Jackson 2014, 222-223)

The interplay of these factors is key to the way we understand notions of maintenance as both a process and subject of practice. This is a topic address by Roger Kneebone in *Expert* (2021), where he combines his experiences as a surgeon with insights into the ways skills are passed down, learnt, improvised, and embodied across a number of practical disciplines, attending to their emotional, physical and intellectual registers. He articulates the commonalities between different kinds of expertise, considering whose knowledge and expertise counts. Maintenance seen in these terms, is a continuous and unfinished effort, not authored by one hand but many, and as time moves and agendas change, so too does what is being maintained.

Maintenance is the act of constant work, both requiring professionalised skill, conditions of labour that hold the object being maintained in the present, both as an image and as a functional object. This diagnosis of the building establishes maintenance as an act of attention, watching and inspection that connects architectural materiality with archives, records, situated in ongoing lived experience, expert knowledges and embodied skill. The caretaker, architect, urban planner, resident, material scientist, conservationist, and innumerable other relations. Knowledges which not only present multiple past perspectives but provoke an examination of the aggregate histories they retain and inhabit. Yet, daily maintenance acts are again different from acts of preservation. The building becoming a preserved statement, a theoretical icon, its usefulness suspended, at least for now. As Hilary Sample posits, 'Maintenance performed on a building before it becomes a monument is fundamentally different from when it is performed afterward. Inevitably, there will be codes, practices, and strategies to be put in place when we are trying to uphold a new yet re-created image of the building. If "preservation is overtaking us," maintenance was there first' (Sample 2016, 14). The aesthetic conservations are closely enforced in the regeneration of

Park Hill,[21] for example because of its listing, the colour of the concrete is protected, any additions must be seamless, causing the developers a laborious process of scientific matching. Yet within this obsessive detail, the larger, arguably more significant social details are lost. Decay encapsulates a kind of cultural amnesia, an act of forgetting, the shedding of the past in order to embrace future possibilities, yet standing in the rubble of Park Hill it becomes apparent this is a site that refuses to be forgotten, an emphatic structure, misremembered.

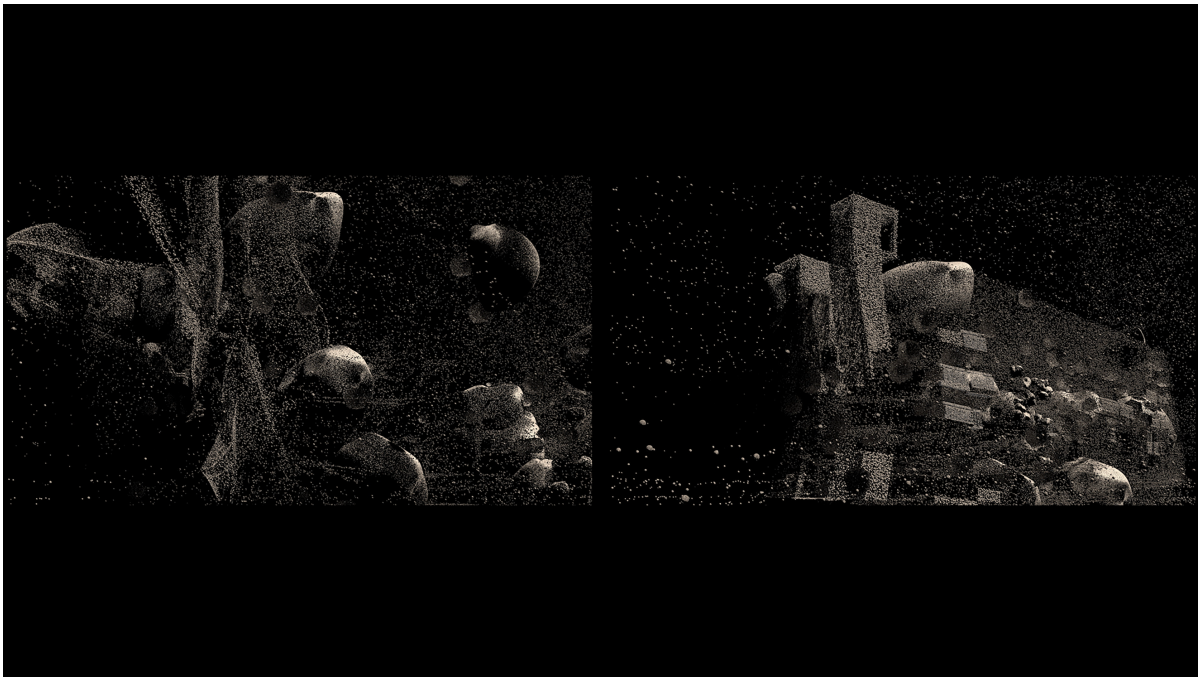


Figure 16 Ilona Sagar, *Deep Structure,* 2019, HD film, dual-screen, stereo sound, (still, courtesy of author).

The interdisciplinary nature of how these buildings come into being, how they move through time, how they sit in an unsettle present is central to my approach to this research. The intersection between expert professional knowledge, skills and lived experience, act as mediation between these archives, material samples, and social narratives – fragments imbued as much with power as with loss. Maintenance both practically and ideologically is defined by a multiplicity of collective acts of conservation, continuation and continuity, within this project the conceptual notion of maintenance and the material presence of technical

[21] It was sold to Urban Splash for a nominal amount, who although obligated to adhere to its listing, has found ways to minimise its restrictions. The first phase by Hawkins\Brown was the most drastic, where everything was removed except the concrete frame. becoming the largest listed building in Europe Park Hill is a skeletal dismembered body in limbo, only a third way through its regeneration. In future phases the walkways will be blocked between the different sections, further dismembering the carcass. Since 2013 each part of the estate has been redesigned by a different architect, for different private clients, from luxury flats to student accommodation, visually dislocating its uninterrupted curves. However, in another way Park Hill was saved from demolition because of its grid design and unique continuous structure that gained it a Grade II listing in 1998 (Historic England 1998-2023).

knowledge becomes a way of bearing witness to overlapping archives, histories and accounts in a method of making sense of a politically charged and embodied present. The spatial politics of the architectural relic is undone through discursive exchanges with who I collectively navigate the spatial and material resonances of both buildings and archives; a type of collective interaction that seeks to expose the visible and invisible aspects of the sites central to this research.

To think through the building without being immediately seduced by its aesthetics, co-enquiry became an intrinsic part of the project. The substance of these encounters that exist in the triangulated bond between bodies, buildings and archives is extended, problematised and aggregated by the viewer into the gallery space through a series of forums and participatory events that frame both *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019) [appendix A, B, C]. To establish a context in which all partners can participate in the discursive process collaboratively, the gallery space and exhibition of the work took on an active role. The films become part of an environment, inviting the audience to extend and challenge the ideas present within the exhibition. This is not a curatorial process, but engrained into how the works are formed and developed through my relationship with all the participants that are held within the project.

Figure 17 and Figure 18 Ilona Sagar & Kirsty Hendry, *Lab-oratory part of Self-Service,* May 6, 2018, live performative reading and workshop, CCA Glasgow, Glasgow International, Glasgow, (photograph, courtesy of author).

Self-Service (2018) which was part of *Glasgow International* (2018) is a good example of this form of situated research [appendix B]. With my collaborator artist and curator Kirsty Hendry, *Self-Service* (2018) was a collaborative project produced in response to

Correspondence O (2018) and the archives of The Peckham Pioneer Health Centre.[22] We worked in an open public forum with invited contributions from Dr Elsa Richardson, Anna Clover, Dr Lisa Curtice, Prof. John Curtice, and Henrietta Trotter, one of the original biologists of the experiment. The event considered questions of voice, agency, and authority in relation to the archive [appendix B]. By bringing the material into an open and live space the work was exposed to a more uncontrollable and risky set of encounters, not limited by editorial management, offering a material understanding of the archive, a hybrid of objective and emotional positions. Rather than reconciling these histories, such an approach allows the archive to be opened up to new readings and contexts. By involving participants, expert opinions and a variety of perspectives, what is produced is a dialogue that isn't simply a method of accumulating research material, but a mode of producing a pluralistic position and narrative using the film work as a site of mediation, channelling different knowledges and situated relationships. The moment of display then becomes constituent to knowledge creation through moments of activation rather than a summative moment of presentation. This was a process central to the exhibition of *Deep Structure* (2019) at S1 ArtSpace, occurring over the course of three interconnected events: Soft Power, Care and the Commons; Data Bodies, Social Objects; and a walking conversation with myself, Dr Helen Smith and Prof. John Provis [appendix A].

Figure 19 Ilona Sagar, *Soft Power, Care and the Commons*, December 12, 2019, live event, S1 Artspace, Sheffield, (photograph, Elle Stocks).

[22] The title, *Self-Service* (2018) derives directly from the archives of the Peckham Experiment, which not only exists in the Wellcome Trust and RIBA but in an unofficial private archive in Glasgow managed by the Pioneer Health Foundation. 'Self-service not an expedient but a principle' (Pearse and Crocker [1943] 2007, 57).

The installation of the work and threads of connected events are used as a framework to expand the subject of the film, aimed to create a space continuously evolved by audiences and participants. These events were conceived to acknowledge the physicality of our personal encounter with the archives and to question my own and public interpretations of the materials. These are shared actions of sifting through the archives and recognising their contradictions and problematic interpretations, understanding the political value in a hybrid lexicon formed between objective and emotional positionality. Drawing on the productive tension between the archival materials, the audiences and site-specificity of the conversation, I came to understand the discursive agency that comes from using the filmic space as a forum for intervention and challenge. The discursive event becomes a third space between the filmic encounter and the material of research, part of a reflexive practice that neither rejects expertise, nor re-produces the expected hierarchies of expertise, but instead acknowledges a multiplicity of positions of knowledge, witnessing and identification. This methodology aligns with existing, established art discourse prevalent since the late 1990s, surrounding a tendency towards alternative pedagogical methods and programmes, appearing as a medium of curatorial and artistic practices (O'Neill and Wilson 2010).

Discursive events that were once regarded as supplements to the exhibition: lectures, symposia, discussions, talks, workshops, become a central medium within the exhibition space in their own right. The exhibition space becomes a multifunctional forum; ‘besides its showroom function, it is also a site for education, research’ (Lázár 2014). Such a consideration for the potential of dialogic practice was recognised by art historians and critics such as Grant Kester, and has later been extended by artists and curators such as Paul O’Neill, co-editor of *Curating and the Educational Turn* (O'Neill and Wilson 2010) and *How Institutions Think Between Contemporary Art and Curatorial Discourse* (O'Neill, Steeds and Wilson 2017). Although I consider my approach outside the tenets of the pedagogic turn, by cultivating a dialogue in and around the film as a fulcrum, a web of connections becomes visible and physically present in the gallery space. Through reciprocal exchange, conversations displace the authority of the singular orator into an interstice of polyvocality. This is a way of working not isolated to a single event, place or situation, but part of a generative network of discussion and challenge, as evident by the inclusion of *Deep Structure* (2019) in the *Shape Helsinki Symposium* (2022) curated by Paul O’Neill at Publics with contributions from Carolina Rito, Bassam El Baroni, Joasia Krysa, Dahlia El Broul and Constantinos Miltiadis.

Figure 20 and Figure 21 Ilona Sagar, *Deep structure, screened at SHAPE Helsinki*, June 9, 2022, live event, Publics, Helsinki, (photograph, Aman Askarizad).

Understanding my approach to film as an expanded form of research implies that the artwork itself becomes a site of knowledge production not limited to previous modes of disciplinary structure. It presents the possibility for radical approaches to frameworks of knowing, analysis and articulation. The collision between apparatus and subject are what constitutes the material of my practice, the result of the networked act of editing, making and discussion, opened out into the public forum of the exhibition. As evident in the encounters evoked by these expanded research projects, the work I make is not documentary, instead, operating in a more permeable space between the film and its extension into the gallery. It functions in-between multiple worlds of knowledge to collide within a forum that participants would not normally be invited to inhabit simultaneously. This expanded definition of co-production is an affective, entangled process, grounded by unsaid and unspoken forms of knowledge – spaces in-between the rational and somatic.

In navigating and reflecting on the relationships enmeshed within this body of research, I began listing each person and organisation involved, accumulating an overwhelming web of over 200 connections. With a pen I circled around names, weaving and skipping between their interconnectedness, a diagrammatic approach revealing associative structures. In my desire to express these relationships, a new collaboration was formed with bioinformatician Brian M. Schilder,[23] working to visualise this matrix of connections, using methodologies adapted from bioinformatics. The diagram becomes a mode of translation, filtration and aggregation.

[23] Research Associate at Neurogenomics Lab, Imperial College London.

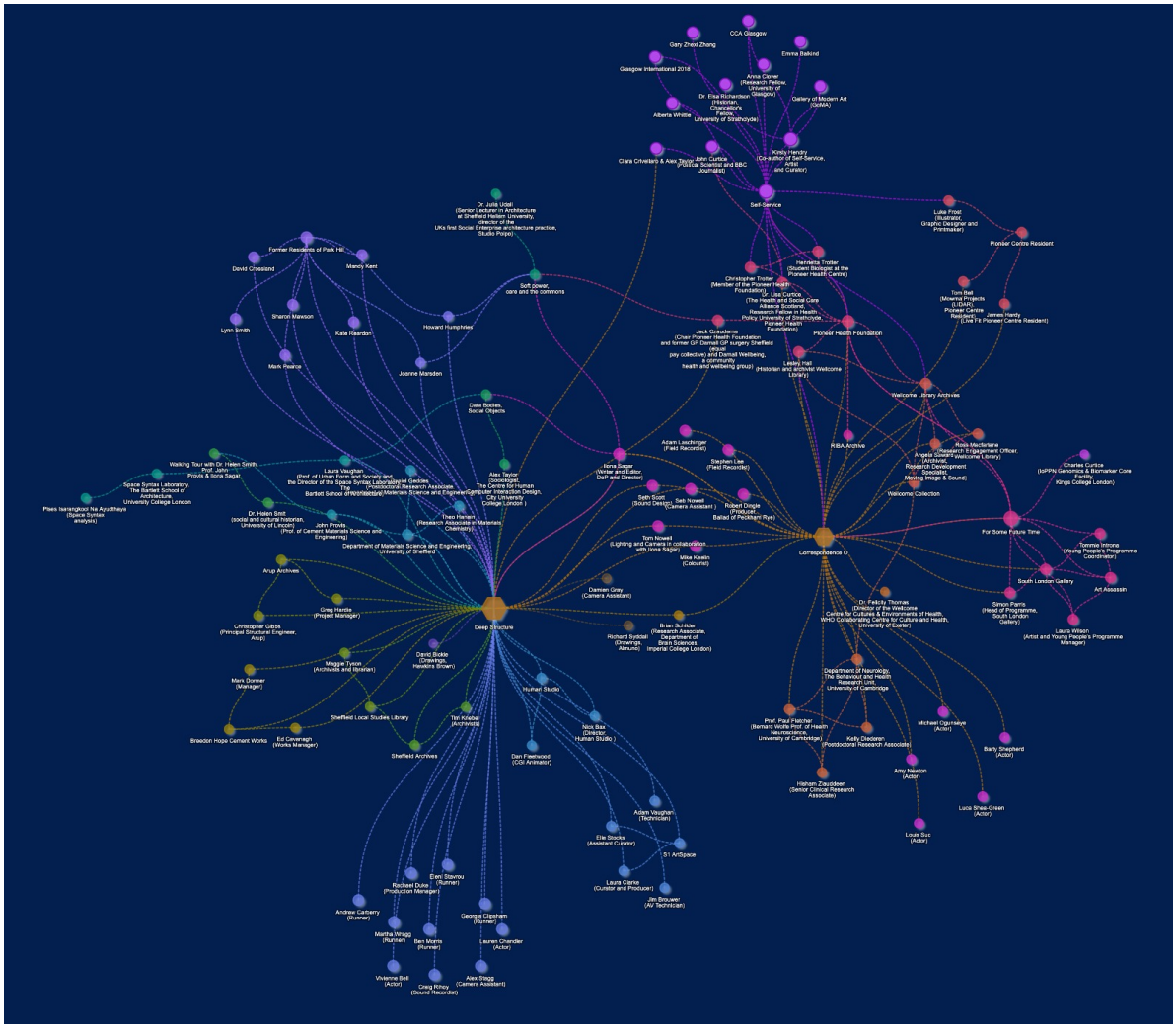


Figure 22 Brian M. Schilder and Ilona Sagar, *Map of Relationship,* 2023 (screen capture, courtesy of Brian M. Schilder and Ilona Sagar, full resolution interactive map accessible via practice submission).

This constellation of connections demonstrates a central aspect of my approach, the individuals involved not isolated to one event, but these relationships spread and grow roots in other projects, such as Jack Czauderna chair of the Pioneer Health Foundation, who ran a co-operative GP practice in the 1970s near Park Hill Estate, thus connecting the two projects.[24] This kind of associative, sustained dialogue is also evident in my work with Prof. Alex Taylor with whom I worked on *Deep Structure* (2019) and previously on my *HereAfter* (2016) commission at Space Studios. He is an advisor on my future work with Paimio Sanatorium and the Aalto Foundation (2024). This is further evident with Prof. John Provis who I worked with on *Deep Structure* (2019) and advised me on my recent Serpentine Gallery commission *The Body Blow* (2022). The diagram containing these manifold connections acts as a multiplicitous, unpredictable mesh of intersections, clearly

[24] Jack Czauderna worked with me on both *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019). I have also become a trustee of the Pioneer Health Foundation as a result of the project. He ran A co-operative GP practice where doctors were paid the same as the cleaner on an equal pay scale.

demonstrating the discursive and rhizomatic[25] nature of my practice. The spatialised concept of the rhizome serves as a description of the way partnerships develop, something buried only to shoot up again later or burst out in unexpected places. The life of the network continues to exist underground (Deleuze and Guattari [1987] 2005, 7).[26] It does not stem from one individual source, existing as a result of multiple sources, numerous contributors, and infinite nodal points of knowledge. The lattice woven through such partnerships extends to my production crew.[27] Filmmaking is a networked creative process, involving both hard and soft skills. Gaffer, grip, sound designer, animator, actor, producer, colourist, are embodied skills and notions of knowing, and embedded modes of production, all integral to each project, sitting alongside the many knowledge networks housed within the films. Where the previous chapter wrestled with the technocratic, statistical function of the diagram, here the technic of the diagram takes on a more sprawling, ungovernable function.

> Make a map, not a tracing […] What distinguishes the map from the tracing is that it is entirely oriented toward an experimentation in contact with the real […] the map is open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group, or social formation (Deleuze and Guattari [1987] 2005, 12-13)

The diagrammatic method itself, part of a collaborative process, expressing an on-going, co-constituting map of relations. Long tendrils spread across pages, as if touching, feeling and sensing things out, what Haraway might have termed a type of tentacular thinking,[28] a tangle of trajectories, outside a binary consideration of practices, knowledges, and modes of experience. Haraway's many-armed and many-brained conception of knowledge has parallels with Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) characterisation of the rhizome as a map rather than a tracing. For Haraway, knowledge is always situated knowledge, within and from the body, informed by our received experience, the burden of memories, learnt and innate behaviours. A tactile sight that is diffused into 'A splitting of senses, a confusion of voice and sight, rather than clear and distinct ideas, becomes the metaphor for the ground of the

[25] Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the rhizome is first introduced in the introduction to A Thousand Plateaus (Deleuze and Guattari [1987] 2005), and derives from the botanical category of modified stems of the same name.
[26] 'The rhizome itself assumes very diverse forms, from ramified surface extension in all directions to concretion into bulbs and tubers' (Deleuze and Guattari [1987] 2005, 7).
[27] Tom Nowell, gaffer and my co-camera operator, who I have worked together with for over ten years, similarly composer Seth Scott and colourist Mike Keelin, play a pivotal role across multiple projects and are a close part of my team.
[28] 'The tentacles represent the other, the non-human, and implicitly ask how perception, which is not two-armed, two-eyed, two-eared, and one-brained, but many-armed and many-brained, can generate other types of knowledge […] collectively-producing systems that do not have self-defined spatial or temporal boundaries. Information and control are distributed among components. The systems are evolutionary and have the potential for surprising change' (Haraway 2016, 58-61).

rational' (Haraway 1988, 590). This diffusion of sights into a web of interlinked positions indicates that there is no single truth to be uncovered, instead that the knowledges produced within these encounters are amorphous and linked to other contexts. As Haraway states

> We seek those ruled by partial sight and limited voice-not partiality for its own sake but, rather, for the sake of the connections and unexpected openings situated knowledges make possible. Situated knowledges are about communities, not about isolated individuals (Haraway 1988, 590).

By linking the idea of situated knowledge to notions of co-inquiry, both projects in their production and exhibition were constituted to support other forms of research-based, dialogic practice in which the procedural and the serendipitous intersect. By acknowledging the entanglement between social and material concerns, this kind of techno-scientific outlook is not asking us to separate out these conditions, but understand their relationality and multiplicity. Who matters, how they matter, and the modes through which they are materialised and represented is the critical centre of this body of research. This is a reminder that common good, like common land, is complex and unstable, requiring a troubled and intricate mix of practical, interpersonal and ideological expertise, experience and knowledges.

Conclusion

I began this research exploring the links between bodies and buildings, health and architecture through the lens of my case studies, examining the critical potential of my practice-based research as a point of mediation, provoking new approaches to archival and collaborative methodologies. My central case studies are a starting point as they represent two distinct periods of modernism, drawing on the perspective of writers such as Owen Hatherley, Beatriz Colomina, Ken Warpole and Douglas Murphy, I reflected on the tenets of modernism inherent in public design and common assets (Hatherley 2009; Colomina 2019; Warpole 2000; Murphy 2016). This led me to ask, what do we do with these traces, how might they be held within the constellations of archival knowledge and artistic practice?

An important contribution to this discourse was provided by a focus on practices that take us away from the notion of the artist as archivist, as established by Hal Foster, towards a more transgressive territory no longer synonymous with a stylised longing for the ruins of modernism, instead into something concurrent and radically reflexive. By foregrounding a new approach to the archive through my practice and thesis, aligning with artists such as Jasmina Cibic (2021), Liisa Roberts (2003-2004), Ruth Beale (2016) and Amie Siegel (2015),[1] I seek to avoid a romanticised 'ruin lust', synonymous with earlier approaches to archival space, found in the works of artists including Jane and Louise Wilson (1997), Tacita Dean (1996) and Sam Durant (2012-17),[2] who were the focus of Hal Foster's 'An Archival Impulse' (2004). This shift in approach works with, rather than against the archival gap. Not attempting to smooth over dissonant materials and mend fragmentary icons, my approach to the archive allows troublesome histories to remain restless, leaving the debris subversive, unresolved, and alive. Expanding on notions of liveness in relation to the archival, presented by writers such as Stuart Hall (2001), and to differing degrees, Achille Mbemebe (2002) and Jacques Derrida (1995), I have foregrounded the schismatic collision found in buildings; a point of merger that brings together the architect, occupier, artist and archivist whose differing expertise and experience connects architectural materiality with embodied

[1] Although the practices of these artists are relevant to my practice, the specific works I am making references to are *The Gift* (Cibic 2021), *Nada: Act II* (Cibic 2017)*What's the Time in Vyborg?* (Roberts 2003–2004), *Their Constructive Materials/Layers* (Beale 2016), *Berlin Remake* (Siegel 2005), *Provenance* (Siegel 2013), *Double Negative* (Siegel 2015)
[2] Further examples of this approach can be found in; *A Free and Anonymous Monument* (Wilson 2003), *Bubble House* (Dean 1999), *Fernsehturm* (Dean 2001).

knowledges, archives, entangled and physically sited in on-going lived experience and encounter.

The first chapter introduced commonalities found between Benjamin and Foucault's understanding of architecture as the site of political and social agency, countering the idea that spaces of surveillance and spaces of appearance are somehow distinct (Benjamin 1933; Benjamin 1940; Foucault 1963; Foucault 1977). As I demonstrated, Foucault's clinical modes of power leak beyond into a wider notion of panoptic space that blur distinctions between doctor and patient, subject and object, body and building, inculcated into the glass envelope of the Pioneer Health Centre. The 'see-through' capabilities of glass establish structural conditions that strengthen the assumed link between transparent architecture and observable societal factors, representing ideals of openness and equality as rooted in spatial and material contexts. Considering the intertwined technological relationships between the LiDAR and MRI scanner, I critically drew on their role as key tools for me to deal with the weight of the archive, to test and provoke internal and external narratives present in the building and its purpose. Engaging the limits of the inside and outside of the body and building, I used these tools to twist and warp our understanding of these architectural and bodily envelopes. Notions of material 'transparency,' 'clarity,' and 'openness' are terms enfolded into my method, operating as a practical and metaphorical device to navigate multiple gazes in an omnipotently architectonic manner that extend the penetrating sights of medical diagnostic and surveying technologies. This chapter sought to draw out architecture not only as governmental agent, but an actor in its own right, asking in what way the historical apparatus of publicly activated architecture as an instrument of health becomes a critical tool and witness. This conception of the building and the issue of observation is returned to in Chapter Two.

With this as a basis, the second chapter expanded on these concerns, examining ways in which such radical schemes enable the production of the subject at the centre of social experimentation. Data bodies, social bodies and individual bodies are deeply entwined and interdependent, as this chapter claimed, not merely as a result of a post-digital era, but through a history of civil analysis and attempts at quantification with both progressive and repressive potential. Here I find parallels between the experiences of the tenants of Park Hill Estate and the members of the Peckham Experiment; both highlighting modes of surveillance being key in the production of the notion of a civic 'healthy' subject. In response to practices of historical ordering, organising, searching and instituting I used functional optic imaging techniques to displace the photographic in my practice as a method to reapproach

the fragmentary nature of the archive and its narrative resonances. This conception of the embodied archival function of data was discussed in this second chapter, where I established the syntax of the afterimage, referencing what Harun Farocki terms ‘operative images’ (Farocki 2004, 17). or what Jussi Parikka later elaborates on as being ‘part of an ecology of observation, analysis, and surveillance’ (Parikka 2022). This reading of the subjectivity of the figure and its afterimages is founded on a linguistic and physical understanding of imaging, recording and archiving as outlined by Foucault, and more contemporary sociotechnological and legislative perspectives from writers such as Donna Haraway, Alex Taylor, Karen Barad and Daston & Galison (Haraway 1988; Taylor 2017; Barad 2007; Daston & Galison 2007).

I contend that by exploring the edges and boundaries of both eye and technology, new, transgressive, machinic possibilities develop outside their original purpose. For me, the relationship between the camera eye and the embodied space of film has the potential to open up different encounters between visuality and corporeality, between time and tense, the felt and representational. The spectator extends, complicates, and aggregates the meaning of these laden phrases and interactions. By utilising the material potential of my practice-based methodologies, this research sought to critically unpick how bodies perform the architecture of power and consequently in what way embodiment becomes the catalyst for a variety of forms of mapping, metaphor, analogy and blurring, both within the realisation of utopic architectural health proposals for social remodelling, and as a method of navigation, experimentation and provocation within my own practice.

Here we find the root of a much more contemporary debate about technology in society, reflected in recent concerns about the power of computation and algorithmic processes. As this chapter revealed, constant overhauling of algorithmic knowledge produces a different alignment to the form of our histories and shared identities, how they are shaped and archived. I assert that by instrumentalising my practice as a mode to consider the possibilities of observational practice, it offers a way to move beyond a paradigm of objective or subjective looking. The gaps and omissions left open and slippery in both archives materialise the question of observation: who is being watched and what is the apparatus of the observer? Who is invisible? These are questions difficult if not impossible to resolve, as it is in their openness that a space is provided to reappraise the boundaries active within the archive, between observed and observer, public and private, modernity and obsolescence.

In order to further scrutinise the technologies of power and governance enacted through my core case studies, their impact on contemporary notions of the public and the social, I formed a cross disciplinary methodology grounded in different professional and personal knowledges. In the final chapter of the written thesis, I mapped the cooperative relations that are instrumentalised within the filmic space of my practice and which are fundamental to reading both case studies. In previous chapters, I described an approach to cross-disciplinary modes of working that entail a variety of professional knowledges and expertise. In this chapter, I expanded on these types of collaboration and included the role that lived experience plays in my approach to the two sites, the Pioneer Centre and Park Hill Estate. Drawing on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's concept of beside-ness, as well as what Haraway refers to as ‘situated knowledge’, I demonstrated how filmic space becomes a discursive terrain (Sedgwick 2006; Haraway 1988). This research sought to critically reflect on a method of working which does not aspire to reproduce a known participatory power dynamic - one in which the artist imposes a perspective on another, whether they are a community collaborator or a professional discipline - but instead seeks to find a shared language that sits in between.

Maintenance is discussed at key points throughout the thesis. In Chapter One, I used maintenance as a way to speak to a series of indexical, semiotic codes of attendance, that through corrosion and decay expose the structures, both ideological and practical, that frame these architectural schemes (Graham and Thrift 2007). Citing Heidegger's account of the tool-use of a hammer, I consider how these moments of disorder are not only about sites of forgetting and neglect, but draw our attention closer. The world can be broken down into the ‘ready-to-hand’, where the hammer is ready to be used, and the ‘present-at-hand’, where there is some sort of breakdown which pulls our focus onto the tool itself (Heidegger [1962] 2001, 67-98). I noted that the dichotomy between these two states of being is not binary, but interchangeable. As this chapter highlighted, objects don't exist in isolation, but within a totality of relationships. Heidegger's hammer doesn't exist without its nails, a building doesn't exist without its people, we are co-dependent at an intimate and infrastructural scale. Maintenance is returned to in Chapter Three as a multiplicitous and collaborative act. Here, I considered maintenance and repair as unending processes that connect architectural materiality with archives, situated in ongoing lived experience, expert knowledges and embodied skill. Steven J. Jackson (2014) and Roger Kneebone (2021) make clear the multidisciplinary co-dependency of infrastructure and repair, considering how they hold together. Chapter Three revealed the interplay of these aspects of interdisciplinarity and co-

inquiry that are key to the way we understand notions of maintenance as both a process and subject of practice. Maintenance as an act becomes not merely a secondary activity, but crucial to perceiving and interpreting our contemporary experience. As Maria Puig de la Bellacasa and Shannon Mattern emphasise, our need for it webs us together into networks (Mattern 2018; Bellacasa 2017). Both social and personal care zoom in and out at different scales from one body, to communities, civic systems, infrastructural bodies and societies. Such an understanding of maintenance as part of a regime of care connecting different temporalities, is what I contest throughout the thesis, makes these projects of modernism neither past nor present, archival or lived, but part of a constant dynamic between these different sites of reflection. What anchors my research is an interest in both case studies as sites in flux – archives that are perpetually unsettled and unfixed. I find that it is their uncertain state between a past vision and present reality that they most usefully speak to the ongoing issues they come to represent.

As I have indicated throughout the thesis, architecture is more than a static aesthetic object, but entwined with an invisible social infrastructure of support and spatial organisation that defines the public sphere, whether the architecture in hand is public or not. The various passionate reactions that architectural modernism provokes, demonstrate its ongoing importance and complex emotional, cultural, political legacy. Nowhere is this more visible than in the way social memory becomes enshrined in the building as a monumental relic. Using my practice to antagonise this assertion, this thesis sought to critically investigate in what ways the archive becomes a calcifying agent, conditioning architectural artefacts, grounding different genealogies of embodiment across the survey, the body and its attendant technologies.

I framed the filmic techniques employed within my practice as a distinct modality, acting as a catalyst for a more discursive co-inquiry to shape an encounter with these archives – a style of participation, arising at the generative nexus between disciplinary knowledge and lived experience. My approach to both the Pioneer Centre and Park Hill Estate challenges a romantic view of historical structures as nostalgic remnants of unfinished futures, instead instrumentalising their design as something contemporary and unstable that speak directly to our current reality. Ben Highmore has extensively written on the role of emotions and mood in the production of social and cultural experience, and I have drawn on his writings on the interwar and post-war period that sit as the fulcrum of this study (Highmore 2006; Highmore 2017). When we consider buildings as emotional sites of collective memory they become more than functional and pragmatic, but are complicated through notions of taste, identity

and our social sense of self. Rather than being sombre, static places of ruination, these are dynamic locations of breakdown and rupture. My practice, my writing, and the discursive space I allow between the two, through exchange and dialogue with different experiences and expertise, profoundly affects the way I understand archives. Such an approach to film and discursive practice transmits ideas not through the continuity of images, objectivity, and notions of impartiality, but through the interwoven gaps between image, voice, audience, and material, taking into account how these histories, knowledges, and lived experiences might spatially intersect. Hopping, weaving, maintaining the uncertainty in which these buildings sit is a potent invitation for speculation, a disruption of a linear reading of their identities.

I established three core terminologies to address the problems that I encounter in my case studies and their archives; co-inquiry, afterimage, maintenance. These terms were navigated methodologically through other connected terminologies of witnessing, looking, observing, the spatiality of those positions, and modes of expertise and experience in which to encounter them. In summary, I make three interconnected key original contributions, they are: a methodological approach to the ongoing archival encounter as a mode of practice, the development of methods of co-enquiry which uphold and bring together multiple forms of experience and expertise, and the third being around notions of maintenance. Not only as a way to think about actions of preservation and neglect, but also as a way to consider the different forms of care that operate through both case studies. Buildings almost from the moment they are erected are in a constant state of decay, corrosion and collapse, that requires attendance, time, skills and handed down knowledges found in repair manuals, archives and through word-of-mouth. This research arrives at a way of thinking through maintenance as a navigation of the archive, as both a means of theory and practice beyond the terms of either nostalgic lament, or condemnation and failure**.**

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this thesis, I ask: How do we ‘observe’ such radical social experiments in the social production of wellbeing from the locus of the present? What can artistic practice offer the space of archival resonance that moves us beyond the nostalgic or condemnatory? This research did not seek to provide a direct answer to this question, but instead, using my practice as a point of mediation throughout the thesis, I examined architecture as an active protagonist and means to expose the politics present in its physical design and bodily geographies. I come at these questions and ideas that surround bodies, buildings and archives - not as a social scientist, architectural historian, civic planner or health practitioner, a but as an artist and researcher. My practice-

based research and thesis asks us to consider what do we do with the architectural legacies of modernism that linger in our cultural imaginary? I do not focus on the perceived success or failure of these social health experiments, but instead, by expanding on notions of functionalism key to these health movements, my practice-based research considered the promises of change and the myths of failure physically embodied in public design and their radical alternatives. Thus, through the critical relationship between theory and practice, the research is a timely contribution to a renewed understanding of the archives central to this body of research, and how archives function as part of our contemporary political landscape.

Future outcomes and impact of research methods

In concluding this doctorial research, it is important to reflect on the lasting impact of this work on future outcomes and further insights. The expanded approach to a filmic practice that I developed by the interweaving of archives, lived experience and the imbrication of the body within buildings and public infrastructure is an implicit concern of both *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019). The method becomes acutely evident in new and future works. *The Body Blow* (2022) was commissioned by Serpentine Gallery for 'Radio Ballads' alongside Sonia Boyce, Helen Cammock and Rory Pilgrim. I developed this film work through long-term collaboration with those with lived experience of asbestos cancers, social workers, end-of-life carers, asbestos removal experts, campaigners, medical and legal professionals.

Focused on ideas of 'acceptable bodily risk', the film considers what risk means in the context of care, work and our health, reflecting on how intermeshed and entwined health inequalities are within work and the built environment.[3] The project took place during the Covid19 pandemic, and due to the vulnerability of those involved, many of the discussions had to happen on the phone. Through similar methods of collage and montage deployed in *Correspondence O* (2018) and *Deep Structure* (2019), the film responds to the earlier experimental methods developed by musicians Seeger and MacColl for *The Body Blow* (1962), from which the project takes its name. I navigate the layers of legal and bureaucratic paperwork those exposed to asbestos are stuck between. A collaborative script made during

[3] Asbestos is considered a historical concern, but it has very present and devastating effects on people's lives today. Asbestos fibres can lie dormant in victims' lungs for 20- 40 years health issues usually appearing long after retirement, the body containing a horrific archive. It is embedded in housing estates, post-war council properties, schools, hospitals and waste grounds. Traditionally, the people who were exposed to asbestos were in working class jobs, factory workers, dock yard workers and their families, miners in places like South Africa where the mineral was extracted. Now it's illegal, it's the people who remove it who are exposed: construction workers, site foremen, plumbers, electricians and asbestos removal workers. The ongoing crisis of asbestos is related to the invisibility of those voices.

a series of workshops asks us to think about the way that we navigate the language which permeates the legacy of asbestos. Who is allowed to be exposed to risk and how is risk quantified? The film draws on co-operative methods of collective enquiry developed during my doctorial research, particularly to be found in *Deep Structure* (2019). The approach enables a more in-depth exploration of archives, materials, technologies, notions of care, labour and the emotional complexity embodied in civic structures. Such a method attempts to circumvent the expected, extractive optics of social practice or community collaboration. It would be inappropriate to see this mode of working only through a quasi-cinematic lens. It is not only a film practice, but sits within a discursive framework seeking to understand moments in which people become enmeshed within a systemic structure of observation, allowing a space for difficult and challenging subjects to be held. This research-based methodology has significant impact on future projects that are directly informed by methods that I have generated throughout this doctorial project. What I gain from conducting this PhD research are tools and methods that allow me to navigate my practice in a reflective and rigorous way.

Future works demonstrate my continued interest in finding a more transgressive vocabulary to deal with symbolic icons of design and heritage. These concerns are seen within my 2026 commission between Firstsite Gallery Colchester and the National Gallery, focused on John Constable's 'The Hay Wain',[4] but this methodology is most strongly apparent in my forthcoming work in 2024 with Aalto foundation and Stanley Picker Gallery, that will explore the politics of design, health and architecture through the lens of Paimio Sanitorium.[5] Not only was this architectural scheme referenced within this thesis, but notions of care and maintenance that formed a critical component of my doctorial research play a pivotal role in this new project. Maintenance as a topic of enquiry is extended within this work, from the body, clinical treatment and care, to the intimacy of conservation and heritage. I have established links with the former maintenance team, patients, medical staff and surviving architects of the Aaltos' design team, whose accounts embody real knowledge of the building, speaking intimately to the archive and its importance. The sanitorium holds unseen

[4] The project will be grounded in John Constable's 'The Hay Wain' as a catalyst to explore the invisible labours embedded in agricultural landscapes, the notion of the bucolic and unnatural nature. Underpinning this is my personal connection to the Essex landscape and an interest in notions of 'britishness' that the Essex countryside has been co-opted into visually representing. I am collaborating with The Centre for Migration Studies at University of Essex, working directly with seasonal workers and migrant labourers, and the project will be informed by academic co-inquiries with experts in climate change; and ecologists working in Colchester and Essex, Including Smart Technology Experimental Plant Suite (STEPS) at the University of Essex, and Legacy Grazing, whose work focuses on landfill sites in Essex.

[5] Representing a radical shift in design for health, conceived as an instrument for healing, Aino & Alvar Aalto designed not for the verticality of the healthy body but the horizontal perspective of the sick. The Sanitorium is at a significant moment in its transition from hospital to its new purpose.

correspondence between the Aaltos and doctors that I have access to, alongside permission to use the family archives. The project is a substantial contribution to new knowledge surrounding Paimio Sanitorium and the Aalto archives.

An examination of this kind of methodology takes place throughout my doctoral research. Within these forthcoming projects I am able to demonstrate how such an approach is essential to my practice and contributes to a wider understanding of these methodologies and practice. The future work shows my continued enquiry, addressing the lingering effects of modernism in our cultural imaginary. How do we deal with the afterimage of modernism, still there, when we blink to see its fractured ideology persisting in a state of limbo. My research will continue to antagonise such questions, seeking to eschew the icons of modernism beyond fetishist quotation, and use them instead to platform those who would normally be hidden behind its visual facades.

Appendices

Appendix A

Three interconnected events staged S1 Artspace, Sheffield were designed to act as forum to extend and challenge ideas present within the exhibition of Deep Structure.

- **Soft Power, Care and the Commons**
  12th Dec 2019, S1 Artspace, Sheffield 2019

  Soft Power, Care and the Commons: an open discussion that considered where care is situated within notions of community, its social reproduction, and how it is determined by guidelines developed from statistics and data with both progressive and repressive potential. Where does community organising and the urban commons really exist on its own terms?

  Jack Czauderna was a GP in Darnall, Sheffield all his working life. In the early 1980's the practice ran as an equal pay collective, one of three in the country. Under changed political circumstances the practice became salaried. He set up Darnall Wellbeing, a community health and wellbeing group to run alongside his practice where he continues to work. He is also the Chair of the Pioneer Health Foundation, keeping alive the legacy of the 'Peckham Experiment'.

  Joanne Marsden is a former and current resident of Park Hill. She was part of a group of women who established, the 'Young Mums Action Group' in the late 80's, on Park Hill Estate. The group's main aim was to improve the lives of residents and children on Park Hill and the surrounding areas. Joanne played an influential part in the group and was proud to represent Park Hill even when the reputation of the flats was labelled as a "decrepit no-go area" by the press. In response to inequalities, the Young Mums picketed for better services and environmental improvements on Park Hill. Joanne Marsden went on to volunteer in the local Youth Clubs and later qualified as a Youth and Community Worker working for Sheffield City Council.

  Howard Humphries, born in the Park District and decanted from the Park slums in 1959, he lived in Park Hill up to 1975 after getting married and getting a tenancy on the neighbouring Hyde Park. He was a steelworker, made redundant during the Thatcher years. Retraining and qualifying as a social worker, Howard now works with young offenders both in a secure and community setting.

  Dr Julia Udall, Senior Lecturer in Architecture at Sheffield Hallam University, teaches across the M.Arch Course, and undergraduate history and theory. She is a director of the UKs first Social Enterprise architecture practice, Studio Polpo. Her research interests include urban commons, community economies and organising, and design pedagogy.

- **Data Bodies, Social Objects**
  27th Nov 2019, S1 Artspace, Sheffield 2019

  Data bodies, social objects was an open panel discussion between myself, Dr. Alex Taylor (Human-Computer Interaction Design, City University) and Laura Vaughan (Space Syntax Laboratory at The Bartlett , UCL). The panel explored methods of observation and analysis, kinship, human computation and social mapping. Discussion centred on the infusion of the often slippery and surprisingly human nature of data and surveying technologies that describes the space in between buildings, landscape and community.

Dr. Alex Taylor is a Sociologist and Co-Director of the Centre for Human Centred Interaction Design at City, University of London. With a fascination for the entanglements between social life and machines, his research ranges from empirical studies of technology in everyday life to speculative design interventions. He draws on feminist technoscience to ask questions about the roles played by human-machine composites in forms of knowing and being, and the transformational possibilities opened up in society.

Prof. Laura Vaughan is Professor of Urban Form and Society, and Director of the Space Syntax Laboratory at the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London. She has led several interdisciplinary research projects that consider some of the most critical aspects of cities today, ranging from ethnic segregation and health, poverty and housing, to economic and social vitality. These include: 'Act Early, A City Collaboratory approach to early promotion of good health and wellbeing in Bradford and London' and a 'Memory Map of the Jewish East End'. Her book, *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography*, was published open access with UCL Press in 2018.

- **Walking conversation with Dr Helen Smith, Prof. John Provis – Complete**
  15th Nov 2019, S1 Artspace, Sheffield 2019

  Starting at S1 Artspace, this was a walking conversation exploring the social and cultural history of industrial and post-war Sheffield within its contemporary context. Dr Helen Smith is a social and cultural historian from Sheffield, whose research looks at the relationship between industry, architecture and identity. Prof. John Provis' specialist knowledge of materials science provided a unique insight into the materiality of our shared environment and its impact on how we live in and inhabit our cities. The walk was informal and conversational, troubling the encounter with materials and (post)industrial landscapes. The walk started from S1 Artspace where Deep Structure was exhibited and allowed the city to slowly transition from day to night.

  Dr Helen Smith is a social and cultural historian specialising in histories of class, gender, sexuality and region. She has a particular interest in Sheffield and its people, begun with research for her book, *Masculinity, Class and Same-Sex Desire in Industrial England, 1895-1957*. Although she works at the University of Lincoln, she still lives in Sheffield and is currently working on how to tell more local stories to challenge a British history often focussed on London.

  Prof. John Provis is Professor of Cement Materials Science and Engineering, and Head of the Engineering Graduate School, at the University of Sheffield, leading the 'Cements at Sheffield' research team since 2012 with a focus on sustainable construction and the safe treatment of wastes from various industries. He has been a member of technical working parties for the United Nations Environment Programme and for the International Atomic Energy Agency and is the Editor-in-Chief of the international journal Materials and Structures.

Appendix B

Self-Service
Glasgow International 2018

Self-Service was a collaborative project led by myself and Glasgow-based artist and curator Kirsty Hendry, produced in response to *Correspondence O* (2018) and the archives of The Peckham Pioneer Health Centre. The title derives directly from the archives of the Peckham Experiment, not only existing in the Wellcome Trust and RIBA, but also finding a home in an unofficial private archive in Glasgow. We came across a leaflet in the Glasgow archive with the caption: 'Self-service not an

expedient but a principle.' The statement reads as a provocative foretelling. The hyphen of self-service troubles the position of 'self' within this transaction. Does it refer to self-in-service, self-serving or self-determining, self-sufficiency or self-care? Taking the form of an event series and publication, *Self-Service* brought together new works, and a range of invited collaborators and contributors to explore the history, design, and social context of welfare – examining our increasingly uneasy and technology infused relationship to health, wellbeing, and labour.

- **Self-Service, publication and screening programme CCA and GOMA, Glasgow**

  The publication included newly commissioned text by Alberta Whittle, Emma Balkind, Clara Crivellaro & Alex Taylor, Luke Frost, Gary Zhexi Zhang, myself and Kirsty Hendry. On the 26th April 2018 there was a screening programme, the first of two events developed as a companion to the publication. The event brought together artists' moving image works by Liz Magic Laser, Julien Previeux, Gary Zhexi Zhang, Alberta Whittle, Leeds Animation Workshop, myself and Kirsty Hendry. Selected works explored how the politics of health are tangled with ideas of compliance, prosperity, and control.

- **Lab-oratory, performative event and workshop, 6th May 2018, CCA, Glasgow**

  Lab-oratory was inspired by a serial publication authored by the members of the Peckham Experiment and titled 'The Guinea Pig'. Through talks, discussion, and working directly with the archive, we collectively generated new responses to the original materials. *Lab-oratory* was a public event considering questions of voice, agency, and authority in relation to the archive. Contributors included Dr Elsa Richardson (Historian and Chancellor's Fellow University of Strathclyde), Dr Lisa Curtice (The Health and Social Care Alliance Scotland and Research Fellow in Health Policy University of Strathclyde and chair of the Pioneer Health Foundation), Henrietta Trotter (who worked as a student biologist at the Pioneer Health Centre), John Curtice (political scientist and BBC journalist), and Christopher Trotter (member of the Pioneer Health Foundation), Anna Clover, Interdisciplinary Research Fellowship (School of Social & Political Sciences Glasgow University), Dr. Jake Watts, Lecturer in Contemporary Art Theory Edinburgh University.

Appendix C

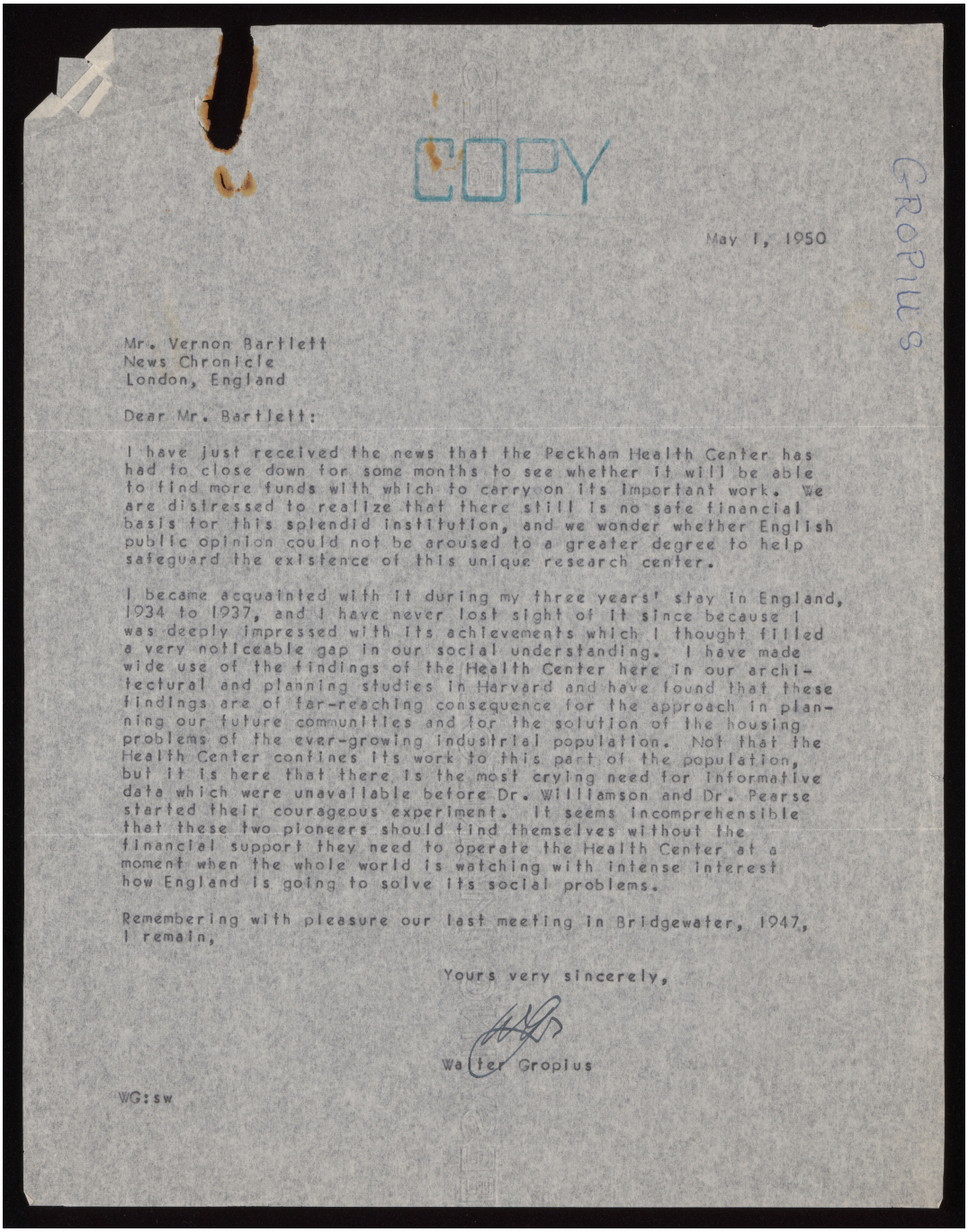
For Some Future Time (Data Dive)
South London Gallery and Resonance FM
For Some Future Time – South London Gallery and Resonance FM

My work with South London Gallery's young people's collective; Art Assassins gave me space to reconsider the Peckham Experiment within a much larger geographical and social context. My decision to articulate distinctions within my practice and research methodologies as 'situated research' and 'practice outcomes' in many ways came from working with this group. Although the work we did together does not directly reflect the research findings I have detailed, the discussions, walks and professionals involved stimulated a refocusing of the historical subject. *For Some Future Time* (2018) was a Heritage Lottery funded project led by the Art Assassins working with the Pioneer Health Foundation (PHF), the Wellcome Library and the Science Gallery at Kings College, as well as Peckham Vision and the Wilderness Wood. Over 10 months, the project explored health and wellbeing for young people today and the legacy of the Peckham Experiment. Early conversations were focused on health companies such as '23 and me' and 'Ancestry'. The ideas evolved to form a project that used Biodata to produce a series of works exploring privacy, health and data ownership. We worked closely with Charles Curtice at the IoPPN Genomics & Biomarker Core Facility at Kings College to sequence the groups DNA visually mapping it anonymously. Within our sample there were 10 plots that took 500 random SNPs (A 'SNIP') and combined all participants together. The sequenced DNA was transformed into a large-scale print and sculptural work covering a stage

that was a scaled version of the Pioneer Centre swimming pool. The lab data was destroyed afterwards, meaning that the only place these visual sequences now exist is in the work created by Art Assassins and myself. The group was able to take a new ownership over this kind of data production – developing techniques to reclaim it and debate: What makes you, you? What do we really mean by health? Is wellbeing a political question?

Appendix D

The letter below from Walter Gropius, architect and founder of the Bauhaus School, to Vernon Bartlett, journalist & politician is one of a series of correspondences indicating Gropius' interest in the experiment.



COPY

GROPIUS

May 1, 1950

Mr. Vernon Bartlett
News Chronicle
London, England

Dear Mr. Bartlett:

I have just received the news that the Peckham Health Center has had to close down for some months to see whether it will be able to find more funds with which to carry on its important work. We are distressed to realize that there still is no safe financial basis for this splendid institution, and we wonder whether English public opinion could not be aroused to a greater degree to help safeguard the existence of this unique research center.

I became acquainted with it during my three years' stay in England, 1934 to 1937, and I have never lost sight of it since because I was deeply impressed with its achievements which I thought filled a very noticeable gap in our social understanding. I have made wide use of the findings of the Health Center here in our architectural and planning studies in Harvard and have found that these findings are of far-reaching consequence for the approach in planning our future communities and for the solution of the housing problems of the ever-growing industrial population. Not that the Health Center confines its work to this part of the population, but it is here that there is the most crying need for informative data which were unavailable before Dr. Williamson and Dr. Pearse started their courageous experiment. It seems incomprehensible that these two pioneers should find themselves without the financial support they need to operate the Health Center at a moment when the whole world is watching with intense interest how England is going to solve its social problems.

Remembering with pleasure our last meeting in Bridgewater, 1947, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

Walter Gropius

WG:sw

Walter Gropius, *Letters from sympathisers,* 1950, SA/PHC/B6/6, Wellcome Collection, London.

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Ethics - additional consent documents

RCA Ethics <ethics@rca.ac.uk> 11 October 2018 at 17:24
To: Ilona Sagar <ilona.sagar@network.rca.ac.uk>
Cc: Ben Cranfield <ben.cranfield@rca.ac.uk>, Aura Satz <aura.satz@rca.ac.uk>

Dear Ilona,

Thank you for the additional documentation. Following the review and assessment of this your Research Ethics Application has been approved.

Good luck with your future research.

Kind regards,

Research Ethics Team.

[Quoted text hidden]
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