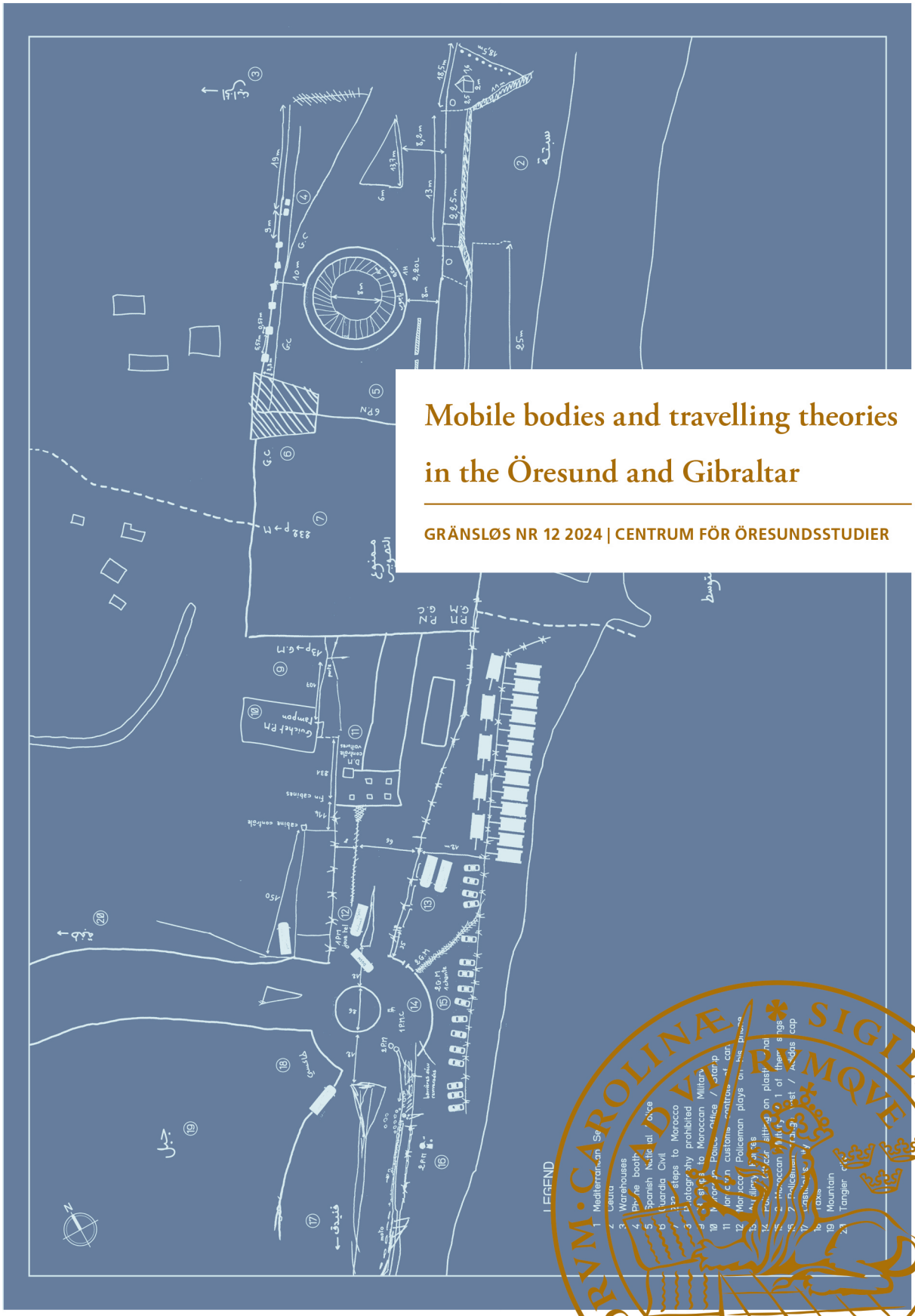

Mobile bodies and travelling theories in the Öresund and Gibraltar

GRÄNSLØS NR 12 2024 | CENTRUM FÖR ÖRESUNDSSTUDIER

Mobile bodies and travelling theories in the Öresund and Gibraltar

WILLIAM KUTZ (RED.)

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The Centre for Oresund Region Studies (Centrum för Öresundsstudier) is an interdisciplinary network organization that creates dynamic meetings between researchers, and between researchers and actors outside of the academia. As part of this work, the Centre for Oresund Region Studies organises workshops and seminars. We invite researchers to discuss current issues, methodology and research results.

The knowledge discussed at these workshops and seminars is disseminated through the Centre for Oresund Region Studies book series and through this journal, *Gränsløs: med fokus på gränser, regioner och Öresund* [Borderless: with a focus on borders, regions and the Oresund].

Gränsløs is primarily aimed at researchers, but also at students, opinion shapers and an interested public. The journal is thematically structured. Each number centers on a specific theme and is reviewed by an editorial board. *Gränsløs* is available Open Access through Lund University's Open Journals website.

The theme of number 12 is borders, borderlands and movements over the Öresund and Gibraltar.

CORS would like to thank Think Tanger for their collaboration and support for the events from which this issue originated.

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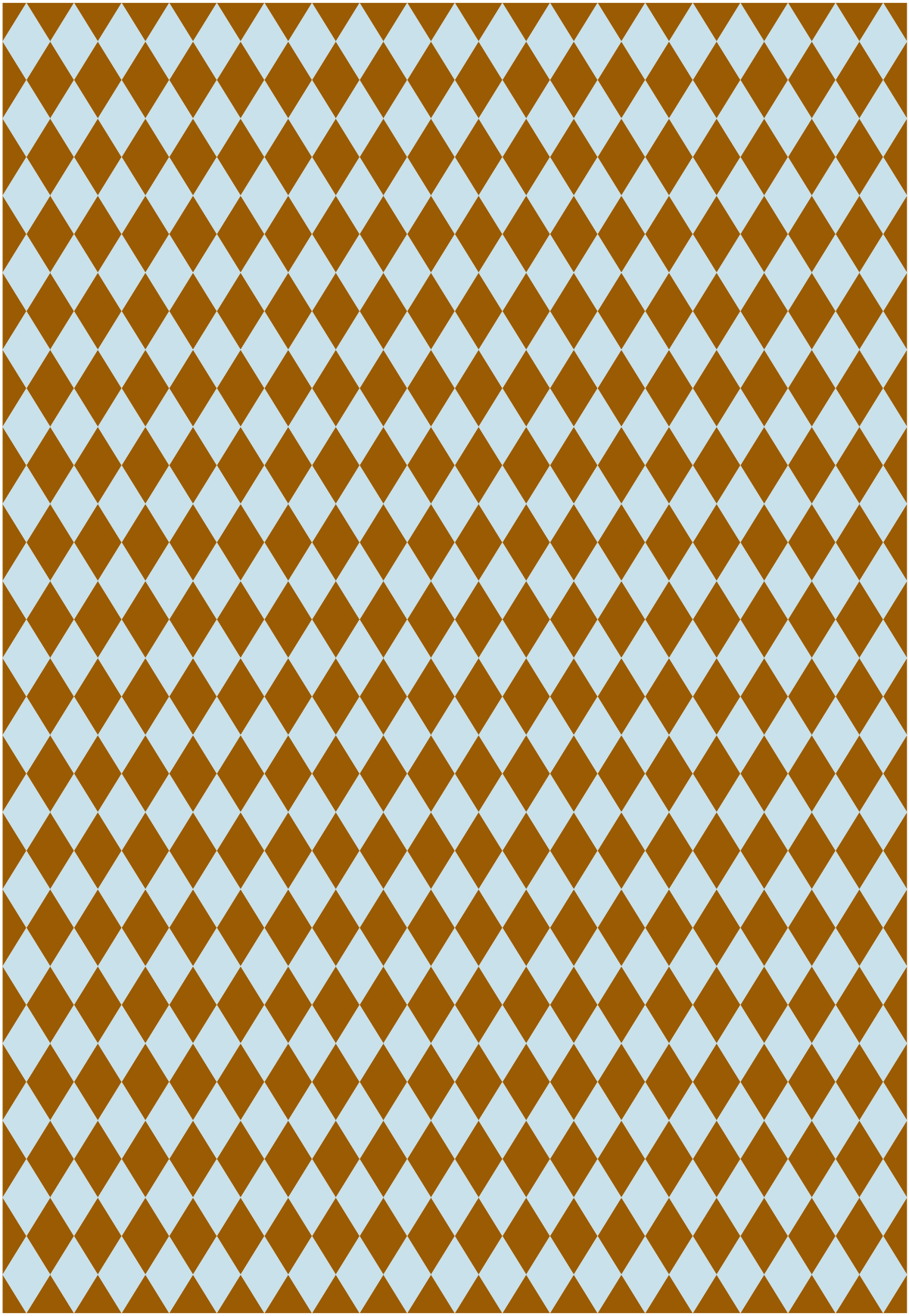

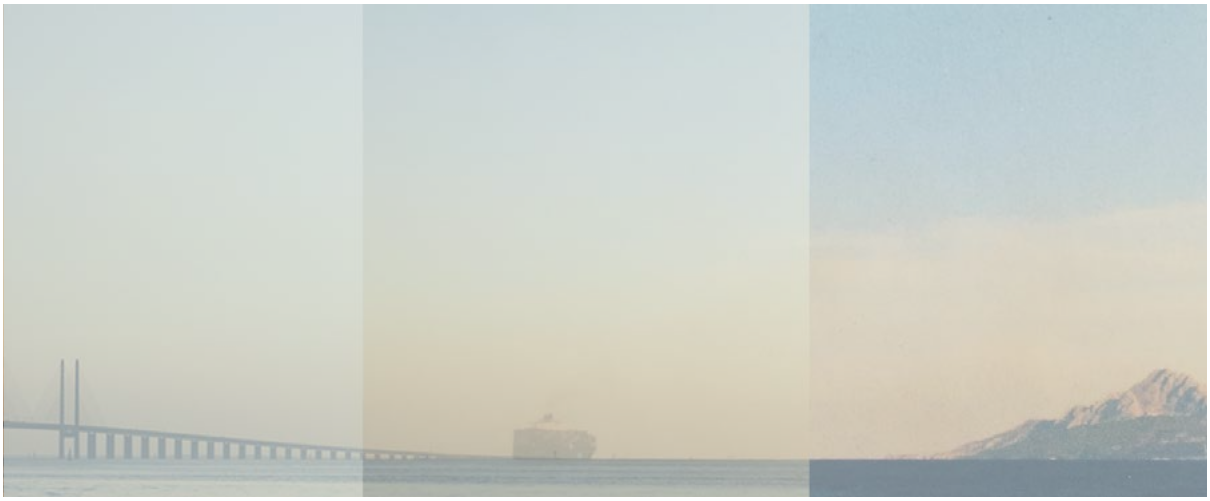

William Kutz

Borderlands beyond compare?

The first thing you notice about the Strait of Gibraltar when you are there is the undulating slopes of the coastal mountains contrasted to the flatness of the sea between them. The two peaks, Djebel Tarek and Djebel Moussa, make up a promontory that has been known since antiquity as the "Pillars of Hercules." Together they constitute a vast natural gateway linking the Atlantic Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea.

The second feature that attracts the viewer's attention is the fences. Whether going by ship, bus, or foot, mobility is strictly controlled on both sides of the Strait. Barriers, checkpoints and surveillance systems channel the movement of people and goods throughout the region. The most well-known of these is the militarized border complex separating the Spanish exclave of Ceuta from the rest of the Moroccan hinterland, which has been a focal point for violent attacks against undocumented migrants and refugees looking to start a new life in the European Union. To prevent this from happening, an extended field of monitoring and control systems reach deep into the coastal region and further afield: nothing moves unobserved and uninhibited into or out of the zone.

For a time, many within the European Union considered the militarization of its external frontier as something exceptional, occurring at arm's length on the peripheries of its macro-regions. This image contrasted to the Union's own effort to project an idea of the continent as united by the free movement of people and capital across geopolitical borders. As a result, efforts to draw comparisons between internal and external bordering processes of the EU often appeared incommensurable. In both the popular and academic imagination, borderlands like the Öresund and Gibraltar regions were, like the Pillars of Hercules, seen as dissonant extremes struggling to hold the entire European project together. At one end, the Öresund was considered a pioneer and hallmark of the "golden

age" of post-war European unification, especially after the opening of the Öresund Bridge in the year 2000, which physically linked southern Sweden and Denmark. At the same time, however, Gibraltar increasingly became a metonym for the mass proliferation of border infrastructures into nearly every social and material domain of everyday life in the region.

While these perspectives are important, their emphasis on contrast and distinction have tended to overshadow valuable points of comparison between the two places, in terms how we think about borders as gateways and destinations, in terms of the dependencies and engagements that bind distant peripheries to one another, as well as the physical and symbolic resources by which ordinary borderwork is made possible and enacted. These considerations are vital sources of understanding that inform a wider muti-perspectival turn in critical border studies.

The need to look beyond difference and exceptionalism as the starting point for conversations about EU borders is more than just a theoretical exercise, but shape emerging political conversations over, for example, the normalization of nativist ideologies, the hardening of national frontiers, the aggravation of territorial disparities across regions, and the increasing 'externalization' of these problems onto marginalized groups – issues that are at the forefront of both European domestic *and* foreign affairs. Since 2015, the Öresund has been a proving ground for how these questions play out, particularly in regard to rising public resentment expressed towards refugees and migrants, expanded border closures and mobility restrictions, and growing awareness of inequities in socio-economic power and opportunity available to residents in education, transportation, housing and other staple amenities that were once foundational to Scandinavian social democracy. They are likewise key concerns in critical border studies; as they evolve, researchers and the general public alike need to come together to develop a more sensitive eye to the ways that borders are established in, related to, and made meaningful for different groups – a task that is arguably as urgent as ever.

It is in this context that discussions took place to develop a public seminar that explicitly held the interplay between the internal and external peripheries of the EU in tension with each other. Focusing on two ostensible extremes of the EU – the "open borders" of the Öresund and the increasingly "fortified" Gibraltar region – as our starting point, we sought to raise several overarching questions to foster a recurring dialogue on several topics, including:

- How are bordering processes in the Öresund and Gibraltar constituted in practice? What tools and techniques might we harness to identify these landscapes as distinct, but ultimately comparable, borderlands?

- What types of shared material resources, social practices and symbolic representations characterise the two frontier zones?

- How is ordinary borderwork negotiated or contested by different actors in these areas?

- In what ways do bordering practices shape inhabitants' sense of place and belonging?
- How might such bordering tendencies impact different articulations of social and territorial cohesion and political solidarity among inhabitants in each place?

None of these questions was intended to generate definitive answers, but to foster a conversation about the analytical and practical potential that such comparisons might generate. Key to this was a guiding ethos to be open to all relevant disciplinary, artistic and professional outlooks. Sound, text and image were held with equal regard. Through this dialogue our aim was to support wider efforts to *destabilize* taken-for-granted assumptions about the power geometries that underlie bordering practices between the EU and third-countries, to *pluralize* the diversity of actors typically included in discussions of cross-border affairs, to *reaffirm* the porosity and hybridity of social and territorial frontiers, and finally to *critically interrogate* the presumed legitimacy and authenticity of current discourses underpinning wider Europeanisation initiatives.

The texts that make up this special issue are the product of a collaboration between the Centre for Öresund Region Studies at Lund University and the Association Think Tanger – the latter being a civil society organisation focused interrogating challenges that confront residents in the Gibraltar region of northern Morocco through visual arts, design and engaged social practice. The texts are the outcome of dialogue fostered over seven seminars held from September to December 2022.

The first group of articles examines visual representations of identity and belonging in borderlands. Pei-Sze Chow, an Assistant Professor of Media and Culture at the University of Amsterdam, draws on the hit Nordic Noir TV series *Bron/Broen* (*The Bridge*, 2011–2018) and a short film *Out* (2006) as examples of 'regioscaping' – a practice that manifests and crafts a sense of a regional imaginary – of the Öresund as a transnational border-zone. As she demonstrates, film and television are deeply embedded in shaping public perceptions of the Öresund in material and symbolic ways that are constantly in the process of renegotiation. They reflect and refract different outlooks of the Öresund that arise from a complex web of relations that render visible and invisible traces of the borderland as an identifiable, coherent landscape.

In contrast to the fast-paced narratives of *Bron/Broen* and *Out* elaborated by Chow, our second contribution is an interview with Randa Maroufi over her slow, cinematic portrait of Moroccan porters who traffic goods between Morocco and Spain, at a site known as *Bab Sebta* (Ceuta Gate). We discuss the autobiographical circumstances that inspired the making of the film, the techniques used to depict the border complex while being physically prohibited from filming there, and the ways in which her portrayal of the border shares commonalities with events in the Öresund, particularly in regard to violence, gender relations, and the temporality of movement, which offer telling insight into bordering trajectories underway in Southern Scandinavia today.

The second theme explored in the issue concerns the ways that borders both impinge upon and are shaped by geo-economic life. For Christer Persson, an economic geographer and former Director of Strategic Development at the City of Malmö, he argues that no meaningful strategy has ever been put in place to adequately govern the cross-border movement of people, goods and capital in the Öresund region. As he writes: "To promote integration, we need governments to acknowledge that the cross-border region has added value for both countries from different perspectives – the general economy, the labour market, the housing market, the environment." However, Persson describes the evolution of cross-border relations in the region as marked by a steady decline away from cooperation, in favour of more aggressive place-branding campaigns that undermine the ability for local authorities on each side of the Sound to respond to regional challenges. In Gibraltar we see a very different set of machinations at work in the text by William Kutz, a geographer at Lund University. Cross-border relations in the region have long been coloured by the violent history of Spanish colonisation of Morocco up through the 1950s; since then, various forms of symbolic cooperation have occurred, especially over precolonial cultural heritage initiatives. Yet, in the early 2000s this began to change as the collapse of the European housing bubble encouraged city and regional authorities to reconsider Morocco as an untapped resource for a host of investment opportunities that could no longer be found in the domestic economy then in ruin. As private real estate becomes increasingly important for household financial security in Scandinavia, the economic history of Gibraltar offers valuable lessons for future planners and policy makers.

The third topic of the special issue focuses on the ways that spaces within borderlands come to be appropriated, modified and transformed by both elites and inhabitants alike. Professor Cecilia Fredrickson, from the Department of Service Studies at Lund University, begins this discussion with her article on the social and historical significance of seaweed in the Öresund. Once a prized commodity, seaweed provided the basis for an important micro-economy in southern Sweden, with its own cultural rituals and ways of life. Though many of these traditions are no longer practiced, seaweed is today again showing promise as an environmentally sustainable resource for future food supplies, building materials, as well as habitat for marine life. Fredrickson illustrates the complex interplay of different temporal, geographical, social and cultural borderings around which renewed interest in seaweed plays out across popular and scientific discussions about the plant and its place in confronting our uncertain ecological future. Back on land, and by way of contrast, the Moroccan-born visual artist, Hicham Gardaf, offers an intimate, autobiographical photo-essay of landscape change in northern Morocco. Inspired by the work of Georges Perec's 1974 classic, *Species of Spaces and Other Places*, he reflects on the forgotten and taken-for-granted areas of his hometown, Tangier – abandoned buildings, construction sites, vacant lots, unfinished housing projects – he reveals how these sites are never as overlooked as they may seem. Showing us the 'species' of these spaces, Gardaf challenges us to question the paradoxical link between the urban borderland we no longer see and the way we actually look at it.

In our fourth and final section of the issue we explore the more-than-human entanglements of land and sea at the peripheries of the European Union. First, we have Lisa Babette Diedrich, Professor of landscape architecture at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, and Gini Lee, Professor of Landscape Architecture at the University of Melbourne, who team up to discuss a methodology they have developed for the comparative study of contemporary borderlands. Drawn from the work of Alexander von Humbolt, their "travelling transect" approach offers a framework to stitch together diverse social, environmental, material and symbolic worlds across an archipelago of global borderlands in order to "elaborate on the connections, dynamics, and shared understandings of liminal landscapes, and to amplify the types of encounters and landscape works that propose ways of adapting to change through design." Following this, our final contribution by Eugénie Denarnaud, architect and researcher at the École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage in Marseille, tells the history and continued importance of 'pirate gardening' on the southern shores of the Strait of Gibraltar. Amid unprecedented urbanization and social transformation occurring across the region, these gardens have become a crucial link for inhabitants to maintain an attachment to something durable and lasting in the landscape – knowledge of plants and animals, cultivation and breeding techniques, and the use of tools become "strong markers of one's connection to the land and to gardening practices even when they take place outside the site of the garden itself."

By way of conclusion, the Centre for Oresund Region Studies would like to extend their sincere thanks to all participants and discussants who joined us for the *Mobile Bodies, Travelling Theories* seminar, whose insights vastly enriched the quality of the discussions held during the meetings. Beyond those already present in this special issue, we would like to extend a special thanks to Hicham Bouzid from Think Tanger who co-sponsored the event, as well as Medine Altiok, Marie Northrup Christensen, Sarah Green, Annette Hill, Marco Mogiani, Nina Grønlykke Mollerup, Kristian Olesen, Lina Olsson, Mathilda Rosengren, James W. Scott, Christophe Sohn, and Burcu Yigit Turan.

GIBRALTAR

ÖRESUND

Maps by Eugénie Denarnaud

Pei-Sze Chow

Regioscaping the Øresund through film and television

How is the transnational border-space of the Øresund region mediated and imagined through audiovisual means? What role do film and television texts play in shaping how inhabitants (and distant viewers) perceive the Øresund region? These are the questions that guided my investigation into the two audiovisual texts that locate and are located in the transnational Danish-Swedish region. This short essay offers the argument that film and television are not only shaped by material conditions of policy and production contexts in the region, but also play a particular role in producing affective and evocative imaginations of the region that, in turn, shape peoples' sense of regional space. Through the examples of the TV series *Bron/Broen* (*The Bridge*, 2011–2018) and a short film *Out* (2006), I will outline the concept of a regioscape, a conceptual lens that I introduced in my book *Transnational Screen Culture in Scandinavia: Mediating Regional Space and Identity in the Øresund Region* (Chow 2021), and suggest ways in which the two texts perform acts of regioscaping in their imaginations of transnational border-spaces in the Øresund region.

For almost the entire span of the 2010s, the moody urban landscapes in *Bron/Broen* captured the attention of Nordic Noir fans across Scandinavia, Europe, and even farther afield, casting a noir-tinged spotlight on the Øresundsbron (Oresund bridge) and the cities of Malmö and Copenhagen. What many international audiences don't immediately notice or associate with the region is the body of water that runs between Denmark and Sweden – the Øresund strait, or 'the Sound', from which the region gets its name. The marine landscape is a dynamic space that registers the region's history, politics, transnational tensions, and identities, and these complexities find some expression in the little-known

short film *Out*, which explores the question of who 'belongs' in this transnational space. The two audiovisual texts are, in my view, examples of how the Øresund region is mediated and imagined through popular media, both critically reflecting and refracting what the region means to ordinary inhabitants beyond the official narratives of economic and political co-operation between two Scandinavian nations.

Regions are 'always in the process of being made, never finalised' and are 'constituted out of relations that stretch across the boundaries given by the administrative map-makers' (Cochrane 2012:95). Far from the notion of a region as a fixed space, his is one of the more nuanced understandings of regions as complex, multi-layered entities that take on new forms in varying social and political contexts. As Anssi Paasi notes, 'regions are complicated ideological and material media of power for individuals and social groups that researchers can conceptualize from different angles' (Paasi 2002:805); he further emphasises that regions should be seen as 'complicated constellations of agency, social relations and power' (Paasi 2009:124). It is from this complexity of discourse around how a region is communicated that I wish to offer my own conceptual means of making sense of regions: *regioscape.*

To understand the Øresund region through the lens of regioscaping is no less complicated, as, to this day, it continues to be shaped by a mix of political, economic, and social relations that shift over time. In thinking about how *Bron/Broen* and *Out* bear and reflect traces of a transnational region in the making, I consider these films not only as artistic texts, but also as elements within a larger ecosystem of practices and relations on political, economic, and cultural levels, asserting agency in shaping attitudes about a place and geopolitical project. The Øresund project and its audiovisual articulations are thus constituents of what I call a *regioscape*, a conceptual lens in part inspired by the location studies model (Hansen and Waade 2017) and in part informed by theories of space, place, and the (trans)national as articulated in cultural geography and film and media studies. I use the concept as a way to make sense of the conditions and interrelations that underlie how individual and collective regional imaginaries intersect with audiovisual mediations, screen-cultural policy, urban policy, and geopolitics.

SCULPTING A REGIOSCAPE

My conception of a regioscape comes from an interest in the intricate processes and practices by which regions are shaped, produced, sensed, and imagined by diverse entities from the regional screen-cultural milieu, an ecosystem that includes film and television practitioners, production companies, agencies like national and regional film funds, film policy, the audiovisual productions, their corresponding (para-)texts, film locations, and so on. In other words, the regioscape emerges through the material and symbolic relations and interactions between actants that operate within and across a regional context. Take a regional film fund like the short-lived Copenhagen Film Fund (2013–2017), for example, which played an active role in fostering the growth and sustainability of the regional film

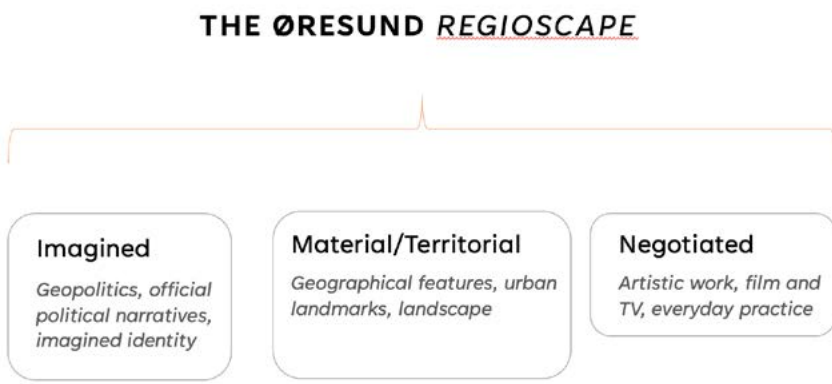

Figure 1: The Øresund regioscape.

industry, and through the selection process of choosing projects to fund or film talent to develop. Or the national Danish Film Institute, which supports and co-produces short and feature-length films and documentaries and has the larger remit of investing in film and television productions that boost the development of the Danish screen industry and its transnational connections with its immediate Scandinavian neighbours via the Nordic Film and TV Fund. A condition for funding from such bodies inevitably involves a territorial stipulation that the production should take place in the region and employ local workers. As an important funding entity, a national or regional film fund is thus deeply imbricated with the rest of the production ecosystem — which includes people (the various types of practitioners), material objects and spaces (e.g. equipment, studios, buildings for businesses, film locations, cinemas), policy discourse, the film texts, and the formal and informal relationships that link these entities. Each of them is of course involved with the other in the act of *regioscaping* – manifesting and shaping a sense of the regional imaginary. Such agencies are thus ultimately involved in sculpting and shaping the character of the regioscape.

By now, what should be clear is that regioscaping is something that connects the audiovisual texts and practice with the wider material context of the region. My intention is to reflect on how a sense of the Øresund region is mediated — indeed, sculpted — through a plethora of actors that occur at not only at the textual, cinematic level, but also at the extra-textual dimensions of production practices and political discourses. Specifically, I conceptualise the Øresund region in terms of a regioscape that comprises the interrelations between **material/territorial** elements of territory (e.g. geographical features, urban landmarks, landscape), the **imagined** layers (e.g. the imagined community, policy space, geopolitical space of official designations and narratives of region-building), and **negotiated** spaces (e.g. artistic interpretations like films, everyday practice) (Figure 1). Through contestation and concord, these different dimensions of a regioscape *produce* the region.

In this web of relations, audiovisual texts play a particular role as they register the traces of as well as critically participate in the processes of regioscaping. Far from being a static and particular projection of a region, *Bron/Broen* and *Out* participate in the negotiation of a regioscape as a constructed and performative space within which notions of identity, power, and territory are signalled.

BRON/BROEN

It is *Bron/Broen* that has done the most legwork in mediating the Øresund region to an international audience, even though the region, as constructed in the fictional universe of the series, is one that is tinted by a noir lens. Across four seasons of remarkable storytelling, viewers watched intently as the binational police team criss-crossed the region in search of victims, suspects, and criminal masterminds. The media project of the bridge is the political project of the Øresund, an audiovisual tapestry of the transnational region, stitched together by the trajectories of the 'regionauts', to borrow Tom O'Dell's (2003) wonderful term, in the drama. A co-production between Swedish and Danish production houses, the series boasted a bi-national cast and crew, with everything split 50-50. Two languages, two national audiences, two cultures, two nations welded together by a televisual bridge. While the production and marketing of the series emphasised the border between two nations, the fictional narrative sought to do away with this sense of separation.

Saga Noren, the Swedish detective, and Martin Rohde, her Danish counterpart, are Øresund regionauts, traversing the region with the kind of ease and fluidity made possible by the Øresund political project and its attendant infrastructure, the bridge. They are not the only regionauts in this story, of course, as the criminals cross the border just as easily as the good guys. The fictional border is one that is porous, permeable, invisible and hardly felt nor sensed throughout the drama. While images of the Danish-Swedish border and ideas of cultural borders between the two countries are present (to comedic effect) in the first episode, it swiftly disappears from the fictional universe from the next episode onwards. The televisual medium allows for this dissolution and erasure of a border. A single crime narrative is stretched out across 10 episodes, allowing for the simultaneous expansion and compression of regional space and time. In one scene, the detectives are dissecting clues in the police headquarters at Malmö, and immediately in the next shot they are in downtown Copenhagen hunting down suspects, and in the next shot we are transported to yet another unnamed or unmarked post-industrial space somewhere in the Øresund. The entire urban landscape of the Øresund region becomes one unified space, albeit one that is unified by crime.

In yet another layer of mediation that branches out from the TV series, we see the Øresund as a media tourist's wonderland. This tourist, another kind of regionaut, seeks to immerse herself in the fictional-yet-real region by exploring the various film locations on an embedded Google Map on DR's dedicated website on the series (this unfortunately no

longer exists), zooming into Martin's designer family home in the suburbs of Copenhagen and click over to Saga's apartment in the Western Harbour (Västra Hamnen) district in Malmö. Or, she signs up for a guided tour that takes her to the actual locations where filming took place. For this viewer-tourist, both the digital and physical real-world mediations allow her to traverse the region as a leisure activity, deriving a certain pleasure from being, even at least temporarily, an Øresund citizen.

OUT

But what of those who do not have the ease, freedom, and pleasure of roaming across the border region? I turn to a short film made by Daniel Dencik in 2006 called *Out*, a film about the risks taken by transnational figures who do not fit into the predominant notion of the 'Øresund community' and frames the Øresund in those terms: an open, but paradoxically exclusionary space in which the only way to survive is to risk one's life. Kim Bodnia plays a nameless character who is a warden of the nature reserve on Saltholm, the Danish island situated right in the middle of the Øresund strait. Yasmine Garbi, also the writer of the screenplay, plays a pregnant refugee, a fugitive on the run from the Danish police who are trying to deport her to Russia. She is accused of being a Chechen terrorist and the film begins with her attempting to flee to Sweden by stowing away on a small rowboat which the man, Bodnia's character, rows back to Saltholm. She begs Bodnia's character to help her escape and cross the (maritime) border into Sweden. At first, he is sceptical and wary of the woman's intentions, but eventually offers to bring her to Sweden by boat. They set off, and the film ends on an ambiguous note as the boat stops in the middle of the strait while a police helicopter approaches, and the final shot is of the refugee swimming in desperation, presumably towards the coast of Sweden.

The film highlights the 'other' spaces of the Øresund strait that have been overshadowed by the visual dominance of the bridge. In this case, the bridge excludes safe passage for those who do not fit into the prescribed ideal of the transnational citizen who makes these privileged crossings. The space of the bridge is framed as a site of power, accessible only to 'legitimate' transnationals and policed by authorities.

Occasionally, the camera catches the sunlight, blinding the viewer's perspective while, in the fuzzy distance, the bridge is just about visible (Figure 2). Visible – but out of reach to those who do not legitimately belong to the region. The artistic imagination of the island as a liminal space is emphatic in the film and acts as a mirror of the woman's uncertain identity as a fugitive/terrorist/refugee, and the man's ambivalent character. The film directly problematises the notion of the *ideal* Øresund community and criticises the repeated characterisation of the Øresund citizen as either Dane or Swede, and which excludes others of foreign origin or of different political and economic situations, as Fredrik Nilsson notes in his study of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in the regional imaginary (2000).

THIS IMAGE CAN BE VIEWED BY clicking here

Figure 2: Screenshot from *Out* (dir. Daniel Dencik, 2006).

The framing of the woman's position is a clear and direct reference to the contemporary 'problem' of asylum seekers, refugees, and (chiefly non-Nordic) immigrants — the transnational groups of people who are part of the region, but who exist in the gaps between states and cultures. I read *Out* as a critical reflection on the suspicion, mistrust, and resentment that would have been palpable in popular discourse at the time of the film's making, considering the so-called 'refugee crisis' in Europe around 2015-16, when border controls were reinstated on the Øresund bridge to stem the flow of refugees from Denmark moving to Sweden. The Øresund imaginary is thus a problem highlighted in the film: how can a transnational region with very different national policies cooperate on and deal with the topic of asylum seekers? Does the imagined community of the region want to develop into an 'exclusionary community', as Nilsson suggests (2000:198), which privileges the notion of an idealised ethno-transnational elite while ignoring those that do not fall within the Danish-Swedish-Nordic nexus? The film *Out* thus rejects the notion of the Øresund region and its imagined community as a utopian, essentialist given.

That the film is set in the maritime centre of the Øresund region is important, as the marine imagery reflects important ideas about real and imagined borders, as well as national and social identity. Instead of a symbol of borderless collaboration and integration in a shared space, this body of water registers the exclusionary nature of the Øresund rhetoric and moral indeterminacy in particular political contexts. In the short film, there is a brief visual reference to the similar journeys made by Danish Jews who were smuggled to Sweden to escape the Nazis. The film conjures the layers of historical and imaginary border-crossings across the Sound, of people caught in the interstices between legitimacy and illegitimacy. By highlighting these real and imagined stories of risk, the film problematises the economic, political, and psychological realities of the notion of a 'borderless' Øresund region and community.

CONCLUSION

The two texts described here are but a drop in the Øresund strait when it comes to visual representations of the region. Yet, I argue that they are essential actants in the larger network of relations that form the Øresund regioscape. I have not delved into the media production contexts nor the film-political dynamics from which the two texts were produced, yet this short exploration shows how film and television are embedded in the region in material and symbolic ways. As part of the larger regioscape, they reflect and refract particular perspectives of the Øresund region and are simultaneously a product of the complex relations between different media and geopolitical entities in a transnational industrial network. Through these audiovisual texts, what is revealed through the visible and invisible traces of these relationships, are the contours of a regional space.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

The photograph on page 12 is by Thomas Arvidsson.

William Kutz, Randa Maroufi, Kristine Samson & Pei-Sze Chow

Traversing cinematic representations of borderland identity and belonging

IN DIALOGUE WITH RANDA MAROUFI AND *BAB SEBTA* (CEUTA'S GATE)

> "The limits of my territoriality are the limits of my mediators."
> - Claude Raffestin (1984)

Randa Maroufi (b. 1987) is an award-winning visual artist from Casablanca, Morocco. Now based in Paris, she holds degrees from the Institut national des beaux-arts de Tétouan, Morocco (2010), the École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts d'Angers (ESBA TALM) (2013), and is a graduate of the prestigious Le Fresnoy – Studio national des arts contemporains in Tourcoing, France (2015).

Maroufi's artistic practice spans art and politics, the status of the image, and the limits of representation itself. At the core of this work is a recurring interest in borders, notably between nation-states, social classes, genders, as well as the staging and moving of bodies in space. Her engagement puts multiple artistic lineages into conversation with each other - evoking at once performance art, installation, photography, sound and video. The juxtaposition of these techniques, and the refusal to arbitrate fact from fiction and fine art, grants her an uncommon capacity to provide clarity and nuance to the taken-for-granted, politically-charged situations that structure contemporary societies.

Bab Sebta (2019), or Ceuta's Gate, is emblematic of her craftsmanship. Moving beyond her initial focus on the gendered segregation of public spaces (n.b. *Attempts of seduction*, 2013; *Le Park*, 2015; *Les Intruses*, 2019), Maroufi's short film consists of a series of reconstructed situations observed at Morocco's land border with Ceuta. Her interest

centres on the thousands of people whose livelihoods are tied to the intense trafficking of inexpensive commercial goods from the Spanish exclave into northern Morocco. In the context of the highly contested geopolitical climate between the two countries, and equally ambiguous legal formalities, it is people who are at the centre of this borderland history. If as Marx once argued that the circulation of commodities is the precondition for the circulation of money, these men and women, who physically carry countless wares on their backs across the frontier, are undoubtedly the *ur*-laborers without which the current border regime would cease to function.

In September 2022, William Kutz spoke with Randa Maroufi about the making of *Bab Sebta*. They were joined by Pei-Sze Chow, a specialist in media-geographic approaches to place-making and identity in film and television at the University of Amsterdam, and Kristine Samson, a scholar and artistic practitioner from Roskilde University with expertise in the embodied, situated co-design of urban-environmental spaces and performative activism. Their conversation has been edited for space.

William Kutz: To start, Randa, I just want to say how much I really loved this film, especially how you captured the nuances of how people actually live and experience crossing the Spanish-Moroccan frontier — such as the blending of different languages, gender dynamics, how these relate to the hierarchies of how bordering is physically enacted by different types of (im)mobile bodies in this territorial complex, and especially the way that you seem, from an aesthetic perspective, to combine elements of theatre, cinema and ethnography all in a single artwork. Yet, for me, as someone who has lived and worked in northern Morocco, I can imagine that there are a lot of nuances that people who aren't familiar with this part of the world might have overlooked. What I'd like to do today is to have this conversation with you, so that everyone can get a better sense of the finer details that I think make this such a great film for comparing this Mediterranean borderland to the Öresund region of southern Scandinavia. That said, what I would like to do is start with the most relevant question: what exactly is Ceuta Gate and why are people doing what they are doing in this space?

Randa Maroufi: The project, *Bab Sebta*, took four years of work, and there are many other elements related to it, which is why I chose to express myself through the film, but also through drawing, photography, and other installations. The film was actually at the centre of this project. Sebta is a Spanish exclave, only 18 square kilometres wide, located in northern Morocco – a piece of Europe in Africa. I spent a lot of time going back and forth there in 2015 to observe what was going on during a Trankat Art Residency I was invited to in Tétouan. The anecdotal part of this project is that it kindled my desire to work on this topic. Sebta is a territory that I have frequented since a young age as my father was a customs inspector. Also, many people in my family work in this sector, as well as in shipping, import-export and so on. Customs slang was often used in our family meetings. I remember that we even used goods from custom seizures!

Poster for *Bab Sebta*.

I lived in Tétouan when I was at the École des Beaux Arts for four years, and I have always been struck by the Spanish influence in the region, which is almost omnipresent in the original dialect [of Moroccan Arabic spoken in the region], the way of living, but especially in the culture of consumption in the area. So, when I was invited to this residency in 2015, I spent around one month returning on foot and by car to watch this kind of ballet of individuals around the border of Bab Sebta. I was interested in the dynamics of movement, the plastic and visual appearance of the passage, the characteristic situations and gestures of waiting. I also met two women, Nabila and Keltoum, who were working as smugglers at the border. In the beginning, I just wanted to do some experimentations in a studio with them, and after that I decided to make the film entirely in a studio setting. But Nabila and Keltoum had many different roles in the production of the film — they also acted as stage managers, casting directors, and actresses. In the film, I was interested in specific situations taking place in Bab Sebta and its surroundings, as well as the way in which this geography produces a very special temporal experience like a cyclical route

from the exit of the Moroccan *khzayn* – a kind of warehouse – and from the *khzayn* to the interior of the Moroccan territory. However, it was strictly forbidden to take pictures at the border in the way I wanted to do for the film. It was impossible to do this at the actual border, so I chose to craft the film, let's say, in a more conceptual way.

WK: I want to follow up with a clarifying question for people who might not get the appreciate point you are raising. When we're talking about these smugglers or porters, can you tell us a bit more about why exactly this scenario is happening?

Still from *Bab Sebta*.

RM: Yeah, so actually before 2019 — not because of Covid, but other political reasons, they closed the border. But before, when you bought goods in Ceuta, anyone going to Morocco could bring as many items as they could physically carry into the country without paying taxes. You are not taxed because these goods were considered personal property. So, if you have more than that, there are many other ways to get around this. For example, some cars with a lot of goods could manage to go to Morocco and sell [the merchandise]. It's not illegal, but it's not legal either, it's an informal exchange. This is why they work with women and men. They use them as porters. They put these packages around their body, [with products like] biscuits and socks. They're cheap goods. There are other kinds of goods too, like weapons or drugs, but I was more interested in the cheap goods.

WK: To add to that, something that I think people might not understand from just watching the film is that before Spain became a member of the European Union in 1986, this border complex didn't exist. This infrastructure — the fences and everything

else around it: this is something that has only recently come about since 1993 when the first fences started going up. All Moroccans need a Schengen visa to go to Ceuta – it is formally a part of the European Union. The exception to this, however, is for Moroccans who live in the surrounding area. Tétouan is only about 40km away from the frontier.

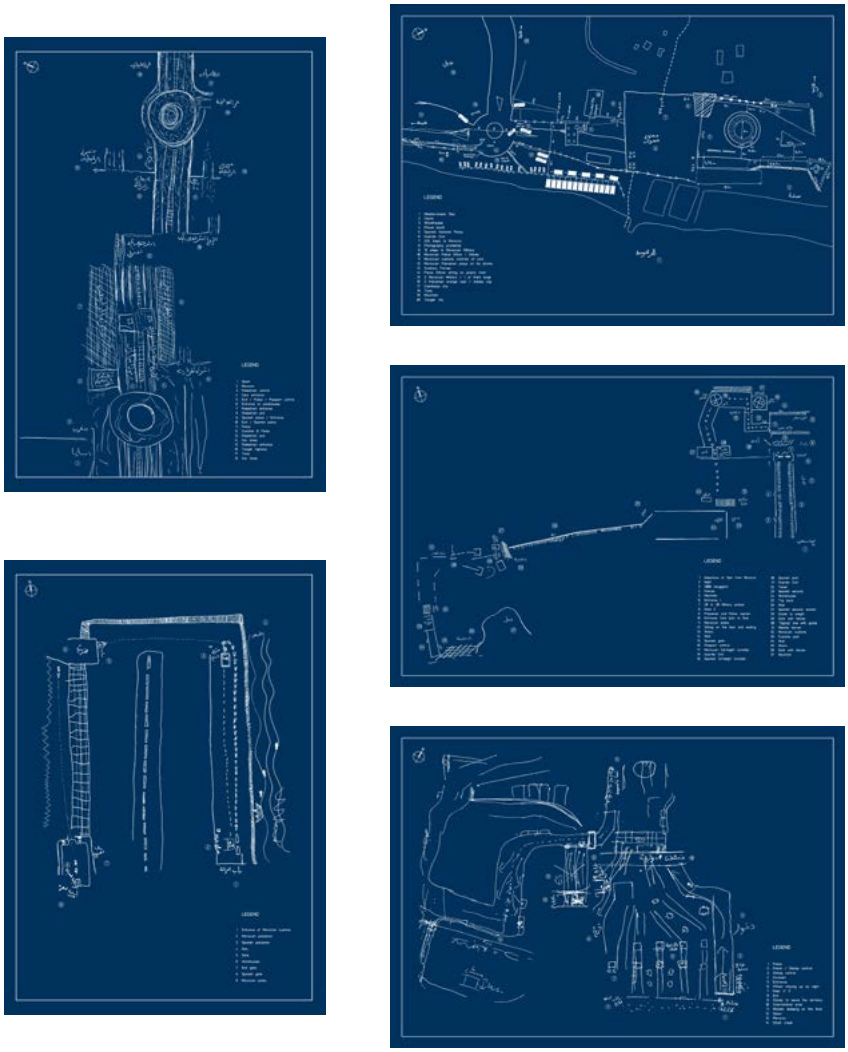
RM: Tétouan, but also Castillejos, Martil. Yes, all Moroccans need a Schengen visa to go to Sebta, but people around Sebta, Castillejos, Martil, all they need is a valid passport.

WK: It's like a special ID that allows them to go back and forth across the border. Yet, because Morocco doesn't recognize Ceuta or Melilla — the other Spanish exclave — as being part of the Spanish territory, the Moroccan government considers both as occupied territories, there is no formal agreement between the Moroccan state and the governments of Ceuta and Melilla. As a result, there are essentially all these loopholes around what people are allowed to do, which I think is what makes this such an interesting phenomenon that you've captured through the figure of the female porters. It's partly the fact that they don't have to pay taxes, but it's also partly the fact that other larger-scale commerce and shipping isn't happening at this crossing. It is all being taken up almost exclusively by individual people carrying these inexpensive Spanish commodities – chips, gum, things like that – for sale throughout the region. The economy on both sides is massively dependent on this foot traffic. So people work on both sides, some people live on one side and have family members on another. It's a super tight community of people that is divided by this border, that also has this interesting set of social practices that have developed and that I think you've illustrated so well in your film.

Could I also ask you more about how you went about designing and putting together your way of representing what is going on? It so remarkable and I think it comes from another project, the *Diwana* (Customs) series, that you did with people who were also working at the border.

RM: Yeah, they are cyanotype print drawings. I tried to use the same method that architects use to design their master plans. I asked people, some smugglers but also some warehouse owners and people who live in the area, to draw for me the paths from the warehouses in Sebta to the entrance of the frontier and back again. I was trying to represent this cyclical movement and we can find also in the legend the same features – entrance, police, *gendarme*, *Guardia Civil*, etc. to connect the drawings together.

WK: Did this project happen after the film was made or was this something that was happening at the same time? For me, when I look at this work it reminds me very much of the mise-en-scene of the map of the border you zoomed out to show at the very end of *Bab Sebta*. Until this shot, so much of what we had been seeing actually takes place on a slow panning micro level with individual people doing very specific actions in a longer chain of people and commodities circulating across the border. The final images, however, this map you created here, puts together these otherwise fragmented steps. Was



Sans titre 1-5, série *Diwana*, Randa Maroufi.

this something that came about through the work that you were doing with the porters themselves helping you to link their stories together?

RM: I actually started with interviewing people when I was visiting Sebta and the surrounding area, so this drawing was made before the start of the film. I was also at times recording audio, so the sounds we find in the film, for example, when one woman Tamo said "we wake up at five…" this was recorded at the same time as she was drawing. It was a kind of *mode d'emploi*, a guide, for how to use the map. Then, for the film – there is actually no camera movement throughout the entire film — it's only still shots with a lot

Still from *Bab Sebta*.

of additional work in post-production. I took the final map of the border from Google maps and moved the lines around as I saw fit. There's no relation to the actual scale, however. It's an artistic representation not a literal representation. I was mostly playing with moving borders, trying to fit all the shots that we took in each sequence.

WK: For my last question, you grew up in a family where your father was a customs agent. Did working with the different porters change your impression of the border complex, what it was like and how it worked for people?

RM: For sure, I grew up with this situation in my family, but when I was younger, I didn't really understand what it was like. There would be conversations about how they stopped such and such a car because of drugs. When I was younger it was more of a game, but later it was more a personal experience crossing with just a passport into Sebta. Being able to do this raised my awareness of the tension caused by not knowing whether you are able to cross or not. Also, I was very intrigued by the people working there. The fact that my father was a customs agent and other family members worked in the border zone – these were more anecdotal elements that helped me to make the film, and connect it to broader socio-political questions. If I hadn't come from these family circumstances, I don't know if the film would be the same.

Kristine Samson: I was actually quite amazed by your film, Randa. I think it's incredible how you both work with the cinematic image but also sonography and choreography. When I saw *Bab Sebta*, I was intrigued by the psychological space, by the fact that you actually saw a lot of scenographies determining the borders and making a specific choreography of the bodies moving, or not moving, and how this was embodied in a psychological

atmosphere reinforced by the camera angles from above and into the specific viewpoints of the changing narrators. You could say this is a way of engaging aesthetically with the border that somehow mirrors the political violence, or the power that compels bodies to move or not move in certain ways. I could expand a bit on it, because I have my own hypothesis, but…

Pei-Sze Chow: Yeah, I think the psycho-geographical exploration of space and power and the idea of visible and invisible borders is so powerful in your film. The question of how politics inscribes itself into space, especially the politics of the border, plays out on women's bodies very strongly. The women who are carrying the goods on their bodies – I mean that itself is such a strong visual inscription of the border onto a woman's body and I found that striking as an image. It definitely brings to the fore all these questions of how the politics of borders materialize through people's bodies, women's bodies. I found that gendered dimension really fascinating.

WK: Randa, was this something that was a conscious choice on your part in the making of your film, to show how women are particularly affected by these border regimes?

RM: The reality of the film was the reality of scouting and shooting. To give you two anecdotes that are interesting to consider: the props in the film are filled with straw. In reality there are goods inside but the way in which these bundles are packed is very particular. There were about three people on the team [in charge of accessories] but they couldn't pack the bundles in the way they do at the border. So, after three or four days we had to bring people in to show us how to do it the right way. It was also the case for certain goods that we filmed, for example the quantity and the brand of socks or underwear. I wanted to use actual contraband, not just accessories. So the question we needed to figure out was how to transport these goods between Tetouan and Azla, the city where we were filming. There are gendarmes between Tétouan and Azla and if we were stopped with real contraband, the pretext of filming would not be enough to keep us from being arrested. So, yeah, we had to proceed in the same way as at the border to get these goods through without a problem — that is to say though informal channels.

WK: This reminds me of something else about your film in that it is not just that you show that women are carrying these goods on their backs. They are actually wrapping them on their bodies, as physical appendages almost like cyborgs. The goods themselves become *part of* their bodies.

RM: Yes, there's a certain *grossophobie* (fat-phobia) because if the woman is too large she cannot pass through the turnstiles. This was a big problem around which a lot of discussions were had. It is one of the reasons why they removed the turnstiles at the border. Some people die because the goods are wrapped too close to their bodies, and when they get tired they fall and get trampled to death by others behind them.

Still from *Bab Sebta*.

KS: I think the last example was quite interesting and it reminded me of a performance scholar called Dorita Hannah who talks about barricade mentality and the performativity of the space. She talks about how the built environment reinforces a contemporary barricade mentality curtailing our freedom and movement. I think it's very clear in Randa's *Bab Sebta* how this space is actually reinforcing a barricade mentality. Conversely, when you compare it to the Öresund region, you can't really find the same physical space, and this is actually a thing I'm interested in: how can we actually talk in the Öresund region about barricade mentalities because obviously they're here. It's like the whole structure seems to be so open and inclusive; is it because the whole biopolitics of the border and restrictions are so much more imminent or embodied in the Öresund landscape? It's like it comes out of nowhere but obviously it's here so I think it just addresses something about the internal and external violence of these spaces, what can be seen and not seen which is interesting.

P-SC: To add to that, I think on the point about how infrastructure and the built environment channels or determines movement across borders, or this barricade mentality, the only way to cross the border of the Öresund in a legitimate way is to take the train, drive across, or possibly by boat. So I think that we can see a bit of how the built environment does perform the border or make it fairly visible and material. You know, in the 2015-16 period when passport controls were reinstated which violated the whole Nordic passport Union, that was such a bold gesture of demarcating the border. I think that is a very paradoxical moment because we see the water and we see the marine environment as a free, open space, and the idea of Saltholm — I don't know if people know it — but it's a nature reserve, it's a protected space for wildlife. The visual aesthetics of it, the openness,

the brightness — it all contradicts this sense of an open region that's ready to help anyone, but really the borders are still there.

WK: I think that's such an interesting insight to think about how everything in this open space is illegitimate if it isn't already following pre-established modes of mobility.

RM: At the start, the project was originally a documentary, but as I said, it was not possible to film at the border. This is why I was thinking of how to make a documentary but not in the same place. For me it's still kind of a hybrid documentary; the *mise-en-scene* is a fiction, but I am working with the real people. Also, my background, I'm not a filmmaker. I'm coming from a fine arts background, which is why I try to combine performance, photography, sound, installation and décor — all these mediums in the film…

ILLUSTRATIONS

The photograph on page 19 is a detail of a still from *Bab Sebta*.

Christer Persson

Reflections on region-building in the Öresund 20 years after the bridge

I have decided to focus on what I regard as the most important issue of the region-building process in the Øresund area. I will come back to this soon, but first some general thoughts about the region and its short history. To begin with, the Øresund region has been transformed and enlarged, and is now called the Greater Copenhagen Region, which includes four governing regions and 85 municipalities. What I find is a very heavy organisation where it is difficult to maintain engagement and focus among all these different members.

If we look back at the purpose of the region-building process as it was presented in the mid-2000s, the objective was to create Europe's most integrated cross-border region through strong economic growth, generous social welfare commitments and sustainable environmental policies. This was aimed at attracting residents, businesses and visitors alike.

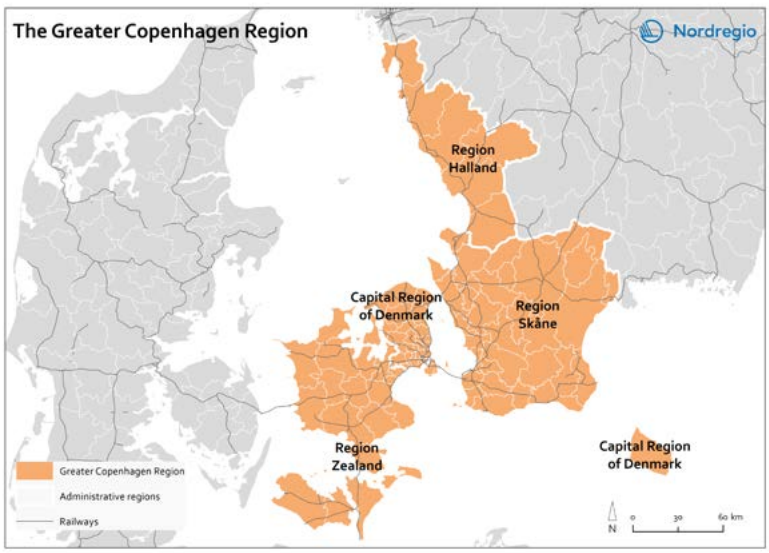
The short story of the region is comprised of four periods:

The years leading up to the opening of the bridge, between 1993 and 2000, was a period for building expectations. Both Malmö and Copenhagen suffered at the time from industrial decline and financial problems. The bridge became a bridge of hope; that is, it was looked upon as the key to solving these problems and as a lever for future prosperity.

After the opening of the bridge, between 2000 and 2004, things did not take off as expected, which raised numerous grievances across many circles. Institutional cooperation took some time, which was quite natural and should have been expected.

The peak years from 2004 to 2010 showed that things were starting to happen. The number of persons commuting across both sides increased heavily, from about 3,000 in the year 2000 up to 24,000 in 2009. People began to discover the advantages created by differences in wages, housing prices, currencies, access to jobs. Swedes invaded the Greater Copenhagen labour market. Danes bought houses in the Malmö area but kept their jobs in Denmark.

Since 2010, the situation has changed radically as the result of three events: the financial crisis starting in 2008, the migration influx of 2015 and the outbreak of the pandemic in 2020. Commuting dropped considerably according to unofficial figures. Swedes left their jobs in the Copenhagen area and Danes started to move back to Denmark. ID checks and border closures hit the Øresund region hard, which is now gradually recuperating.



Greater Copenhagen Region, which constists of 85 municipalities and four regional authorities: the Capital Region of Denmark and Region Zealand on the Danish side, and the regions of Skåne and Halland on the Swedish side. Designer/Cartographer: Julien Grunfelder/Nordregio.

These four main periods of cross-border cooperation highlight several important lessons for region-building efforts in the area. The first thing we have learned is that public authorities cannot drive the integration process. The market, or rather the behaviour of people and companies, determine how successful the process will be. Public authorities, sadly, have hardly any economic strategies in place for the Øresund region. Having said that, it is of course important that authorities create the most favourable preconditions for regional development as possible, but this is tricky in a cross-border environment where national laws, rules, regulations, economic principles and political preferences collide. Many of these elements have created obstacles for a smoothly functioning region.

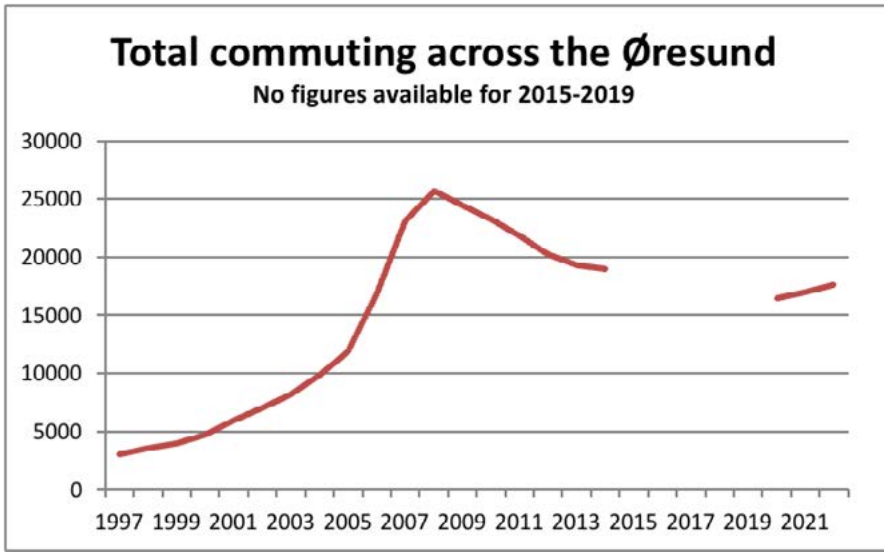
Foto: Johan Nilsson/Scandpix, TT.

The key issue is that governments need to have a more active role in defining the nature of regional integration efforts. To promote integration, we need governments to acknowledge that the cross-border region has added value for both countries from different perspectives – the general economy, the labour market, the housing market, the environment, etc. The main problem is that, over the past 10-12 years, the Swedish and Danish governments have lost interest in the Øresund region. These years are rather a clear example of nationalistic behaviour including competition with, and criticism of, each other's policies that have taken precedence over cooperation. In such an unfriendly environment, it is quite difficult to get a cross-border region to evolve and flourish.

The underlying and most problematic issue is that the governments have never thought to form a common vision, strategy or action plan for the Øresund region. Prime ministers, regardless of the party they represented, have never really been involved in talks about the Øresund. We have hardly ever heard about Øresund in local, regional or national elections. Instead, the Øresund portfolio is given to lower-ranking ministers whose main responsibilities focus on other political topics.

As long as this situation prevails, local and regional politicians will have limited scope to act, despite continued efforts to cooperate over infrastructure, labour market, environment and life science development. This can only be seen as preparatory work while waiting for governments to act — and that is of course both good and important. In my opinion, so-called cooperation today is mainly marketing for Greater Copenhagen, while the Swedish side is more or less overlooked, which explains some of the lack of interest from the Swedish government.

Regarding the future, I would like to point to two important issues. The first is the big question concerning when the next fixed link between Sweden and Denmark will be built. There are three different alternatives and a lot of money is at stake. Who is going to pay? Which connection will win the competition? Can the Swedish and Danish governments come to an agreement over the plan itself? Can the regional authorities



agree on which alternative to pick? These questions have to be answered sooner or later, preferably quite soon.

The second issue has quite another bearing on the region. Having experienced both the migration wave and the pandemic with its heavy restrictions on travelling across the Øresund and having to deal with the obstacles that remain, how will people act in the future? Are they still ready to live on one side and work on the other and commute on a daily basis? Or, is there a lingering worry that new restrictions will occur and the existing ones not be removed, thus affecting people's willingness to expose themselves to an unsecure future of travelling across national borders.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The photograph on page 29 is by Oskar Falck, Malmö stads mediabank.

William Kutz

Commodifying Tangier

THE MAKING OF A SUBMARKET FOR EUROPEAN HOMEBUYERS

Housing is an increasingly global affair. Once organized around the operations of local builders and buyers, events like the Great Recession of 2008 highlight the vast and interconnected nature of property markets that structure participation in home ownership today. The majority of what we know about international property markets largely comes from research focused on well-known cities like Berlin, London, San Francisco, Bangkok and Seoul, which have become long-term investment havens for private and commercial actors alike. Yet, beyond these destinations there is a growing recognition that housing has become a crucial asset with which to safeguard against financial vulnerability, even in places once considered peripheral to such transnational economic forces. Now, if played right, many see home buying as a pathway to significant financial gain.

An overlooked aspect of discussions about the assetisation and globalization (Wijburg 2023) of residential real estate is the question of borders (Kutz 2017). The common view is that buyers and sellers live and work more or less in the same general area as the properties they exchange on the market. Therefore, housing prices are presumed to reflect the purchasing power and willingness of the economic actors in the respective location. Yet, as housing markets open up to new forms of profit-making, speculation and exchange across a wider pool of potential investors, buyers and sellers are put into increasing competition with market forces beyond the locality itself. External buyers with higher purchasing power can push property prices beyond the affordability of local inhabitants, especially in zones with pre-existing demand pressures. This means that buyers must increasingly formulate calculations and judgements about where and

how to live according to a larger web of investment criteria. How these circumstances are socially and spatially bordered has a critical role in shaping an individual's access to or exclusion from housing opportunities.

The case of northern Morocco is illustrative of such bordering dynamics. In the mid-2000s, the region especially around the city of Tangier became acutely impacted by foreign real estate speculation as an outcome of the growth and collapse of the Spanish property bubble. The Moroccan Ministry of Housing and Urban Policy reported a substantial increase in foreign direct investment in northern real estate between 2002 to 2008, growing from just 1.82 billion ($179 million) to 9.15 billion ($1.13 billion) Moroccan dirhams (MHU 2013). Local authorities and the media frequently reported that European property speculation was driving the investment surge, with one journalist predicting that "Morocco [would] not be spared from the real estate crisis affecting more economically powerful nations" (Harakat 2008:6).

As I will show, a major reason this coastal area along the Strait of Gibraltar became such an important arena for European investors in the leadup to the Great Recession was due to governmental authorities actively reforming national housing policies to explicitly attract foreign capital to the housing sector while European markets confronted a growing affordability crisis. The most important of the reforms targeted the liberalization of the low-income housing sector which until that time had been unable to attract sufficient interest from the local populace. In response, policymakers sought to take what was an over-abundant stock of unsold, low-cost housing and rebrand it as an under-exploited opportunity for buyers priced-out from the European property market.

Although a significant body of scholarship written about housing during and after the Great Recession points to the role of financial intermediaries and innovations in restructuring the historic barriers between different financial and territorial markets – largely focused on the socio-technical concentration of lending activities among small number of financial groups while also expanding the geographical reach of mortgage market activities themselves (Aalbers 2012; Wyly et al. 2007) – the comparatively underdeveloped banking and financial sector in Morocco did not follow this "northern" trend, leading to important differences in how one ought to consider the story of cross-border investment.

A legacy of post-colonial economic history, Moroccan governmental authorities intentionally chose to avoid closely integrating into the financial networks that have come to dominate markets and society in Europe and North America in recent decades. Therefore, when policymakers began to reposition the Moroccan real estate sector in competition with those in Europe, the main, immediate task focused less on expanding the market's links to institutional financial investors than on the development of social, political and regulatory infrastructures to encourage foreign investment to take actually place (c.f. Gotham 2006; Newman 2009) – what Neil Smith (1987) called the "demand structures" by which capital from one location shifts to another. In northern Morocco, this was based

Photograph: William Kutz.

on cultivating an awareness and desire among European buyers to invest in Moroccan real estate. This interest was explicitly crafted through the interplay of two particular forms of bordering: (i) *geographical bordering*, in the sense that the social, cultural and environmental qualities of northern Morocco were largely indistinguishable from other high-demand destinations on Europe's Mediterranean coast; and (ii) *economic bordering*, in that, while the amenities and quality of life were comparable – if not better – than those found in Europe, the financial cost of acquiring property in northern Morocco was significantly more affordable. Combined, these overlapping modes of cultural and economic bordering were designed to transform northern Morocco into a sub-market for European investors at the onset of the Great Recession.

The repositioning of northern Morocco's housing market was a strategy driven by the Moroccan government in collaboration with industry leaders, particularly the National Federation of Real Estate Developers (Federation National des Promoteurs Immobiliers – FNPI), who together coordinated a number of international real estate fairs in several major European cities. The first of these events took place in 2004, and was initially only hosted in Paris (Salon Immobilier Marocain à Paris – SMAP immo), due to both the prestige commanded by the French capital, but also its ideal location to reach the large community of Meghrebi expatriates and their decedents living between Paris and Brussels (Najati 1998). Expatriates have been a major source of revenue for the Moroccan economy, and in the 2000s, their remittances constituted roughly 10% of Moroccan GDP, which made them the second-largest contributor to the national

balance of payments (Abdelkader et al. 2008). Furthermore, a major portion of these remittances targeted the real estate sector, which in 2003, represented 95% of regional bank lending to expatriates (Sefrioui 2005).

The effectiveness of the Moroccan real estate conventions was evident the organisers' ability to attract a substantial number of visitors, growing to up to 40,000 attendees at its height in the mid-2000s (A.C. 2008). The popularity of the events quickly led to their expansion into other major European destinations, including Milan, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Brussels, and Marseille – all of which whose resident populations have historically strong links to Morocco. As the allure of foreign investment to Morocco grew, local authorities even began to branch the events out to cities like Berlin, Abu Dhabi, and Dubai, which historically have had less significant ties to the country (Ghayet 2005).

Photograph: William Kutz.

Foreign and expatriate buyers evidence important differences in how and where they invest, however. Historically, Moroccan expatriates tended to invest in the regions in which their extended families were based (Sefrioui 2005). By contrast, non-Moroccan buyers from Europe tended to focus their investment decisions on more economic considerations rather than local cultural or social factors. For example, the "Europeanization" of Morocco's housing market was characterized by the strong participation of Spanish and French investors — typically middle-aged, middle-class individuals seeking second homes for retirement (Filali 2007; Perreau 2007). For such investors, Morocco's appeal lay in its affordability, proximity to Europe, and the allure of living in an exotic country with an exceptional coastline and rich urban culture (Harakat 2008).

Photo of advertisement, William Kutz.

Such divergences in the investment behaviours between Moroccan and non-Moroccan buyers also reflected deeper problems in the strategy underlying Morocco's new housing policies at the onset of the Great Recession. For instance, news reports and well-placed advertisements, which were pivotal to showcasing investment opportunities to European buyers, often encouraged property speculation by portraying Morocco as an "El Dorado" where real estate could be acquired and flipped for a fraction of cost needed in Europe. As one leisure-oriented weekly periodical from Marseille stated:

> Soaring housing prices in France? For the price of an apartment, you could have a villa with a pool, service staff, and the furniture included – down to the teaspoons – under the sun and near the sea in a country celebrated for its good life and hospitality: Morocco. [. . .] Developers offer unparalleled prices at half those found in Europe. (Pierrat 2007)

Many estate agents and developers for their part played a role in aggravating these speculative practices. In one video advertisement from the 2010s, a UK-based group called Compass Properties, sought to attract the interest of British nationals who historically purchased properties on Spain's southern coast. Their sales pitch focused in the notion that northern Morocco and southern Spain offered essentially the same lifestyle, but with very different financial rewards. As their promotional video stated:

> [Narrator]: Thinking of buying an overseas property? Think Morocco. Now one of the top three destinations in the world for buying property, the country's entering a boom phase with purchases moving in from all over the world to snap up bargains. The north coast of Morocco, the "Costa Vista", is only nine miles from Spain and easily accessible from the UK. [. . .] Nestled between the crystal blue sea and backdrop of mountains, the Costa Vista is a lush green coast with incredible beaches and idyllic scenery. Easily accessible via Malaga, Gibraltar, or Tangier, the "Costa Vista" beckons holiday visitors from Spain, France, and the UK particularly during the summer months. The rental market here is booming due to a shortage of property. Demand for accommodation is very high during the peak season. This has created a win-win situation for UK purchases. Super high summer rental yields, with plenty of time for personal use, property values on the "Costa

Photograph: William Kutz.

> Vista" are rising steadily. Early bird investors, Ben Collucci and Tony James certainly agree: [Collucci]: When I bought [the property] I anticipated that we were going to get a growth of about 30% return on our investment. And in anyone's book that's obviously fantastic. You don't see those sorts of growth in England on properties in 18 months. What I have to say is that I'm amazed that it's achieved close to 50% in an 18-month period, thus well exceeding my expectations and it's been fantastic. (PLM Direct 2010)

Although cross-border speculation increasingly inflated Moroccan housing prices, the market overall continued to remain more affordable than those in Europe (Delahaye 2008). By contrast, in many Spanish regions, housing prices more than doubled during the same period. As a result, the onset of the Great Recession did not so much deter speculative behaviour, but rather encouraged its geographical displacement to Morocco by allowing buyers from Europe the opportunity to channel their upwardly mobile aspirations and capital elsewhere. This was precisely what motivated "Alice" to purchase property in Tangier during this time period. Living abroad, she had no prior interest buying real estate in Morocco, but she had friends who had recently purchased two apartments along the Bay of Tangier and could see the area was suited for investment:

> At that time, the building was sold out. Two years later my husband had a contract with a big company [redacted] overseas. The pay was good. There was financial collapse all around, especially in real estate in Spain. By contrast, Morocco continued to make its own way. It had its own development funds and [other] countries were also investing, or so I understood. Where to put the spare cash? (Interview, Alice, 13 April 2012)

The impact these and other forms of "playing the market" across borders unfolded in different ways in Morocco. The first and perhaps most immediate impact was the inflation of domestic construction and purchasing costs. No longer needing to rely exclusively

Photograph: William Kutz.

on the purchasing power of Moroccan residents in the country, local sellers could drive up the final sales price to totally unrealistic levels — often based purely off the seller's wishful thinking about a buyer's financial situation. Property developers, striving to maximize the pace of turnover in a hot market, expedited the construction of housing projects even at times when the groundwork for basic utility hook-ups had not yet been completed – with all the predictable consequences for the unwitting buyer (Filali 2008).

Secondly, foreign investment intensified the existing shortage of safe, healthy and affordable property in a country already affected by an over-abundance of unregulated housing. As housing prices began to surge, both developers and homeowners became increasingly inclined to speculatively retain their properties in anticipation that even higher returns could be gained in the near future, which reduced the number of available units on offer (CIH 2009).

Finally, as a consequence of the first and second impacts noted above, the inability for an increasing number of Moroccan inhabitants to access affordable housing opportunities unintentionally contributed to the expansion of new rounds of informal housing construction for lack of housing options elsewhere on or off the market. Thus, despite public authorities long-standing efforts to boost the supply of low-cost housing, clandestine construction actually began to grow at a rapid pace in northern Morocco at the onset of the Great Recession (Filali 2012).

To conclude, European investment in the Moroccan real estate sector in the lead-up to the Great Recession is a story about the increasing importance of housing being used as the basis for a household's long-term financial security and well-being. As an asset for

investment, the buying and selling of residential property is tied up in a web of international markets whose actors hold very different forms and degrees of financial power to acquire property vis-a-vis those who are place-bound to their local circumstances. We can better understand how the relationships between this assetization and globalisation of residential real estate play out by looking at the ways that investment criteria and decision-making are socially and territorially bordered. While Morocco clearly has very different contextual circumstances that inform how this story evolved at the onset of the Great Recession, it does not mean that this story is by any means exceptional.

Photograph: William Kutz.

Even in Sweden, the turn towards asset-based welfare reforms have actively encouraged property investment as a strategic avenue for both municipalities and households to foster long-term financial stability in light of diminishing safeguards that were once considered foundational to social democracy (Holmqvist & Magnusson Turner 2014). These changes have facilitated an influx of investors from cities like Stockholm and Gothenburg buying up properties in small rural and coastal communities that have driven up housing prices beyond the affordability of local buyers and have placed new demands on planners to navigate the contrasting needs of tax-paying residents and transient, non-taxed populations. Compounding the problem are place marketing efforts that seek to entice investors from outside Sweden – notably from Norway, Denmark and Germany – and thereby placing residents into growing competition with buyers with stronger financial leverage than is typically available locally. In this regard, Morocco is not just another case study, but offers valuable lessons for the Öresund and wider Sweden today.

Photograph: William Kutz.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

The photograph on page 33 is by William Kutz.

Cecilia Fredriksson

Seaweed Stories

EXPLORING THE BLUE FIELDS OF ÖRESUND

INTRODUCTION

”The seaweed was in the sea. That’s how it was supposed to be. And in the autumn, they had a jetty where it could be caught.” My neighbour on Sweden’s south coast tells me about seaweed in the past — “the poor man’s fertilizer” — as it was called back then. He tells me that the farms further inland from the shore never used seaweed, they could afford to buy fertilizer instead. “The location for storing it was important”, he says. The seaweed had to be drained off before it could be taken home. Access to a marine resource was the main thing. These days, he hauls the seaweed up using his tractor. ”I just drive down to the pier and pick it up, no one else uses it.”

This is a story about the making of marine seaweed as a value-creating phenomenon, commodity and resource. How can we investigate the relationship between humans and seaweed? How do marine markets emerge during the performance of future consumption and production in the cultural economy of food (Wilk 2009)? In the flow between resources, processes, markets and everyday food consumption, there are different actors, practices, and systems. Here, there are societal structures which can be more or less open to change, thus working as barriers to new food resources (Falk, 1994; Mintz, 1996). This requires deeper insight into the various practices involved in the systems constituting the flow between food resource and consumer (Warde 2016).

The marine environment has an important part to play in the change-over to a green economy, where the blue fields of the sea can form new and expanded cultivation spaces (Doumeizel et al. 2021). Macro algae can be cultivated or harvested for food produc-

tion (Mouritsen et al. 2013; Birch et al. 2019) but also for reducing eutrophication and as a renewable source of energy (Monagail et al. 2017, Hasselström et al. 2018). In the agriculture and food sector, there are great expectations regarding this flourishing aquaculture, with algae often being described as a sustainable alternative and a successful example of green biotechnology (Hasselström et al. 2020).

The seas and oceans have always been a resource for food, containing complex ecosystems providing valuable biodiversity. In recent years, there has been increasing interest in using seaweed as food in Europe (Wendin et al. 2020). Seaweeds are recognized for their nutritional value and unique flavor, color and textural properties, and they have become a popular raw material among top chefs, as well as opinion shapers in the food retail segment (Mouritsen 2017). Aquaculture, and especially algae aquaculture, shows a potential significant enough to overcome the challenge of increasing food demand. Algae biomass can either be used directly as food or indirectly in food and non-food applications. An important basis for the extended use of seaweed as food is the availability of sustainably-farmed biomass.

The sustainable production of agricultural resources for food and food additives is facing significant challenges due to the increasing world population and limitations to cultivable land. There is a need to explore alternative markets, production sites and food sources of great capacity and consumer acceptance, as well as a low need for fertilization. Along with the need to increase the production of food in a sustainable way, the stages between producer and consumer have become more numerous, while the flow of goods has become more difficult to understand, manage and control. Increasing numbers of consumers are demanding ethical responsibility, sustainability and traceability in the goods they purchase (Connolly and Prothero 2008; Moisander 2008; Jackson 2010; Miller 2012; Evans 2019). Water, energy, natural resources and waste are the dominant pressure areas in the discussion concerning sustainable consumption.

SEAWEED HABITATS

Down by the water, the seaweed is thick and fermenting. The rotting strip of brown bladderwrack sways in the water. The steam makes its mark against the cold February sun. Seagulls look for food among the warm sludge. The eel grass is still green and weaves the seaweed together into a winding belt.

Seaweed is an algae we can see with the naked eye. Today, we know that algae is important for biodiversity. We know that seaweed constitutes a protective habitat for many small animals. Seaweed lives in the gaps. Where sea meets land, seaweed has silently been swaying for 1.5 billion years. As one of the Earth's oldest living organisms, seaweed hugs our shores, clinging to our legs as it reaches toward the sunlight. Bladderwrack shimmers in endless shades of brown, green, yellow. Bubbles of air help it to stand firmly, even in restless waters. It has been called the savior of the Baltic Sea, and it can live for up to fifty years.

”There’s no bottom to it,” my neighbor says.

People sometimes sink into the pulsating mass. There are stories of people disappearing. But that was a long time ago. Now the municipality cleans up most of it, at least before the summer season, and the sea takes care of the rest.

There was a time when seaweed commanded a high value in the traditional coastal landscape economy. As a fertilizer and soil improver, as insulation material and filler. Seaweed has also been used as a sustainable building material. On the Danish island of Læsø, houses with seaweed roofs are still there, and they will last for centuries. Seaweed was livestock food, and infrequently also human food.

During Carolus Linnaeus’ trip to the Swedish island of Gotland, he observed how farmers mixed cooked seaweed with flour before feeding it to pigs. For women, the seaweed blown ashore could supplement the meagre fishing, and perhaps also help to feed sheep and chickens. Seaweed made soup more nutritious, and could also serve as extra fuel. But above all, it was an important fertilizer for small potato fields. No money was needed to get seaweed. The kind of work that children and old people could do was enough.

Until 1869, farmers in Stora Hult in Scania were allowed to collect seaweed at any time of the day. When the flag was raised, you were allowed to pick it up. It was piled up on the beach, and made a desirable and highly-valued resource. Sometimes, farmers had

to take turns guarding "Bjäre gold" during long nights to prevent repeated thefts of it. The problem of theft grew during the latter part of the 19th century, and a special by-law order was established to regulate distribution. After that, no one was allowed to collect seaweed from the beach before sunrise. It was also decided that seaweed was not a commodity: Anyone who tried to sell it down on the beach would have to pay a fine. Collecting and using the seaweed that had been blown ashore was a valuable right to protect. The beaches were kept clean and no one had heard of algae blooming.

SEAWEED EXPERIENCES

Today, there is no infrastructure for seaweed as a domestic resource. Most often, it is considered a problem by the municipality and tourists when the visibility of seaweed suddenly increases for a few months every summer (Hultman et al. 2023). Seaweed rotting at the water's edge obscures the sandy beach and creates a haven for unwanted birds, flies and other insects. It becomes a threat to the hospitality industry and coastal life during the summer. The responsibility for maintaining and cleaning beaches shifts, sometimes falling between stools. Who takes care of the smell of seaweed when the beach is privately owned? The seaweed that washes up on beaches is mostly considered part of the natural cycle. Environmental legislation requires that there is a danger to human health before a municipality can force a landowner to remove seaweed.

Seaweed activates several of our senses. You can smell and feel it, you can experience it in different ways. Among the answers to a questionnaire sent out on the topic of seaweed and algae, sensory memories and experiences are a consistent theme. Many people say they love the sea, but few love the smell of rotten seaweed. But seaweed can also be perceived as something safe and familiar. A woman who grew up on Sweden's south coast says that the smell of seaweed is something she experiences positively:

> When I think of seaweed, I think of my childhood in Trelleborg. I think of the sea where a lot of seaweed has floated up on to the shore. I think of algae in the sea that felt slimy. When I moved and then came back to visit, I could smell the seaweed even as we were driving into Trelleborg. It always put me at ease and made me feel comfortable.

Other memories concern how it felt to play with the seaweed, to break the blisters or make green "snowballs" from the smooth green algae. Or maybe to look for amber that was stuck in the seaweed after the autumn storms, or swimming with a childhood friend: "We wore seaweed garlands in our hair, us — old dears!" Someone remembers the nice and healthy seaweed baths thus:

> It was just wonderful to step into the warm water in the old tubs and have seaweed covering your body like a blanket. After a while someone came in and scrubbed your back, arms and legs with bladderwrack. Afterwards, we drank tea and listened to the howling of the wind, and the waves crashing outside.

THE WOMEN OF THE SEA

Seaweed practices and experiences can be organized in different ways. Today, we often look towards geographically — or historically — distant practices to create a culinary heritage (Lysaght 2013). Future challenges require new visions and new narratives.

One such narrative is the story of the women of the sea. The Korean tradition of *haenyeo* is a female practice whereby women dive for food in the sea. The women, often in their seventies or older, are said to be able to free-dive down to a depth of twenty meters, supporting entire families with their catches. The women of the sea wear simple diving suits with colorful t-shirts on top, and have been portrayed by promoter Min Jeong Ko, whose own grandmother was a *haenyeo*. To be able to dive without tubes requires a special breathing technique and the visualization of these women's work defines a special state of symbiosis with the sea, the waves and the storms. To guarantee regrowth, there are also strict regulations regarding what may be caught or harvested from the sea. The number of practitioners, however, is decreasing every year and this female diving tradition has been listed as an intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO.

In Sweden, seaweed is being harvested again and "seaweed diver" has been established as a new profession, often with reference to the female role models of Korea and Japan. Among green entrepreneurs on Sweden's west coast, marine resources have been gaining an important role during the transformation to more circular supply chains. Through guided seaweed safaris that include self-picking, species identification and cooking courses, a local economy is being created around a marine resource (Merkel et al. 2021, Fredriksson and Säwe, *forthcoming*). Harvesting below the surface has become a practice to learn, with wild seaweed best being picked in cold water. The hand-picked raw material is delivered to selected restaurants and retailers. The seaweed comes loaded with new value and future promises of useful and health-giving benefits.

SEAWEED CHALLENGES

Seaweed, as a natural resource, organizes parts of society and various practices (Appadurai 1986; Douglas 1975; Kaufman 2010). It is also a protective community for other living creatures. But what if we run out of seaweed in the future? Even though it seems like the visibility of seaweed has increased in recent years (wrong place, wrong time), there seems to have been even more seaweed before. Bladderwrack is said to have existed in significantly deeper waters in the Baltic Sea during the last century. More plankton, more nutrition and poorer visibility are some of the reasons why seaweed is now gravitating closer to the surface.

In various contexts, efforts are being made to increase knowledge of our threatened seaweed. Marine centers want to create a new "ocean consciousness", while ongoing research has invited the public to submit "bladderwrack everyday-observations". The aim here is to produce new knowledge of the number of small animals living among seaweed, and of how

these numbers vary with time and space. By shaking bladderwrack over a washbasin, and counting the small animals that tumble off it, each of us can contribute to this research. In order not to harm the ecosystem, both the bladderwrack and its inhabitants should preferably be returned to the sea after the survey. Other things we can do to make life easier for bladderwrack include: stop peeing in the sea and scrub stones and rocks clean of fine filamentous algae so that bladderwrack can more easily gain a foothold.

For those active in marine restoration work, new knowledge is constantly being gained regarding the regrowth of the blue forests of the Baltic Sea. A recurring perspective in many of the statements intended to increase our knowledge of threatened natural resources is the "empathic method". With its roots in design and innovation theory, the empathic approach is an important tool for creating knowledge through understanding and participation. Attributing human characteristics to nature was an early utopian approach used in Rachel Carson's pioneering texts about the sea. In giving seaweed its own agency, with a soul and a will, empathy and new insights can be created. What happens if we take the perspective of bladderwrack? How do we want to be treated?

SEAWEED MAGIC

Today we see a growing interest in the forgotten resource of seaweed. Seaweed can be an important part of a sustainable lifestyle, as well as a key metaphor for a sustainable future in harmony with nature. Seaweed recipes and their health benefits are being

shared on social media. But there are also doubts about what seaweed actually contains. Eating seaweed is still unfamiliar to many in the Nordic countries, although sushi and seaweed caviar have found their place in specific consumer contexts (Chapman et al. 2015; Wendin et al. 2020). Contemporary consumer culture is characterized by an increased interest in new foods, while many people are hanging on to traditional eating practices. Developments in gastronomy in Sweden have changed from the idea of a "New Nordic Cuisine" to a national food strategy, focusing more on sustainability and resilience of the food sector than on culinary experiences (Jönsson 2013; 2020; Neuman and Leer 2018).

Interest in growing or harvesting seaweed has also increased in Sweden, not least due to several research projects addressing its climate-smart benefits. Expectations regarding utopian aquaculture are high, with seaweed as a future protein source, and ecosystem services are frequently being emphasized as seaweed absorbs nitrogen and phosphorus from the sea. Seaweed is a contradictory phenomenon pointing into the future.

There are animals and there are plants, and then there is algae. Algae has its own kingdom. A magical phylum in the gap between plants and animals. Seaweed is a forest in the sea where water slaters graze, where crayfish crawl between clams and sea brush worms. The synchronized swarming of seaweed follows the tides and lunar gravity. This ancient ritual is still taking place and is a holdover from when seaweed only grew in the intertidal zone. Moonlight increases opportunities for female and male plants to reach each other. Who can resist a love story like that?

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ILLUSTRATIONS

All illustrations by Cecilia Fredriksson. The image on page 43 is a detail of the watercolour on page 46.

Hicham Gardaf

Interroger l'espace

The following are fragments of a longer text written for a presentation I gave at the Atelier Kissaria in Tangier in 2019. Throughout the presentation, I shared a selection of photography projects I made between 2010 and 2018, for which Tangier was the backdrop for the situations I photographed. For the purpose of this publication, I disposed of the intertitles, which have been used to divide my presentation into chapters. There are no footnotes either. Only fragments of texts, brief and succinct.

I have chosen to talk about Georges Perec, not only because he is the author par excellence for describing the spaces of our daily lives in a methodical and exhaustive way, but also because this presentation itself has been thought out and structured to echo his 1974 book *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces*.

For Perec, he is interested in the question of time, freezing it in a few snapshots, like textual photographs. The choice of urban space allows him to depict the extraordinary banality of daily life, to describe the insignificant, the ordinary, and the trivial. He methodically inventories these banal spaces and points of passage, interrogating the paradoxical link between the city we no longer see and the way we look at it.

In his introduction to *Species of Spaces*, Perec writes:

> The space of our lives is neither continuous, nor infinite, nor homogeneous or isotropic. But do we know exactly where it breaks off, where it curves, where it disconnects and comes together? We confusedly experience cracks, gaps and points of friction, sometimes vaguely aware that something is stuck, that it breaks loose or collides. Though we seldom seek to learn more about it and more often than not, wander from one spot to another, from one space to another, without measuring, without taking into account or considering the course of space. The issue is not to invent space and certainly not to re-invent it (too many well-intentioned individuals are already there to reflect upon our environment...), the problem is rather to question space, or more exactly, to read space; for what we call everydayness is not the obvious, but opacity: a kind of blindness, or deafness, a sort of anesthesia.

Every summer for several years, when I arrived at my grandparents' house for my school holidays, I would go into their bedroom, get down on the floor and remove an old cardboard suitcase. This suitcase, as old as the photographs inside, contained familiar portraits and faces (those of my mother, my uncle and my grandparents), but also unfamiliar faces (former neighbours, for example, or distant friends). My fascination with these photographs was mainly related to the way my family members dressed, decorated their interiors, or simply how they looked at a given time.

The very first people I photographed, before I had the courage to go and photograph people in my neighbourhood, were my mother, my cousin and my close friends. My aim was not to produce perfectly composed images, but to create a kind of "family album" almost similar to that of my grandparents. Moreover, the quality and aesthetics of these very first photographs taken at home or in my neighbourhood are reminiscent of those found in the family albums from the sixties...

Later, after a long period of frequenting cafés in Tangier's medina with my friends, I decided to go back alone and photograph these spaces where hardly anything was happening. I spent long hours watching people smoking, playing parcheesi and cards, drinking their tea and coffee, talking about politics, watching television and sometimes just doing nothing, much like me, watching the other people sitting in the café, or looking out.

What attracted me to these spaces at first was their pictorial and cinematic quality - the soft light, the pastel colours of the interiors, the old furniture marked by the passage of time, and the regulars in the café, who seem to be there every day, a bit like extras in a film location, who end up being absorbed by the setting.

In his 1995 book *Generic City*, Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas wrote:

> the recent and belated discovery of the periphery as a zone of potential value - a kind of pre-historical condition that might finally be worthy of architectural attention - is only a disguised way of emphasising that the centre is the priority and everything else depends on it: without the centre, there is no periphery; the interest in the former presumably compensates for the emptiness of the latter.

As for me, my interest in exploring the periphery was not only limited to its 'potential value', but also to the fact that the periphery is an intermediate space in the city where one can find some form of "freedom". Ignasi de Sola-Morales argues that these "empty spaces", "become fertile ground for artists who take refuge on the outskirts of the city precisely when the city imposes an abusive identity, a stifling homogeneity, a freedom under control."

For example, whether on the *corniche*, in my neighbourhood in Marchane, or in the centre of Tangier, I have often been stopped by a *mokadem* – that is to say, a soldier, a policeman, or another agent of the state. I have been taken to the police station, questioned, and often asked not to return to the area without formal authorisation. These arrests are less likely to happen in the suburbs. And this, I think, is what allows for the emergence of new forms of informal urbanism in these peripheral areas as opposed to the (more controlled) central areas of the city.

Drawing on the notion of *terrain vague* as defined by the Spanish architect Ignasi de Sola-Morales, I began to document abandoned and isolated spaces in the surrounding areas of Tangier. *Terrain vague* (or wasteland in English) is an entry-point for deeper reflection on indeterminate spaces. Sola-Morales' essay begins with a discussion of the idea of photography, which the author considers essential to our understanding, particularly through photomontage and its inventive juxtaposition of forms, which helps us in our ability to explain the urban world.

The first part of the term, *terrain*, is a broader concept than territory, with more diverse spatial connotations, like the idea of a plot of land that can be built upon, which therefore has a more direct link to the urban landscape. The second part of the term, *vague*, on the other hand, evokes a range of ideas such as instability, uncertainty, ambiguity, vagueness, among others. In French, the roots come from the Latin adjectives "vacuus", which speaks of vacancy, emptiness and availability, and "vagus" which is related to the movement of the seas, and connotes both "movement, oscillation, instability and fluctuation" but also the 'indeterminate, imprecise, vague and uncertain'. These latter meanings are those which are most closely associated with urban and landscape planning considerations.

In *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces*, Perec methodically divided his book into distinct sections corresponding to different spaces of our daily lives, starting from the smallest to the largest: the page, the bed, the bedroom, the apartment, the apartment building, the street, the neighbourhood, the town, the countryside, the country, the world, and the universe. In doing so, he created an analogy between the most intimate of spaces (the page) and the farthest among them (the universe). Two spaces which may seem too far apart, but hold equal and endless possibilities.

It was through reading Perec that I became aware of the potential of my everyday surroundings. Spaces that I overlooked or took for granted, all of a sudden opened up and turned into a place of infinite possibilities. An apartment building was not just an apartment building. It was the people who built it, inhabited it, cared for it. It was the land it was built upon and the materials it was built from. It was the furniture and the objects in each of its apartments, rooms, cupboards, and the histories and memories they carried. It was almost as if there was a world before Perec and another one after. In the former, the world mirrored its own image, one that was flat, static and deprived of any meaning except for when there was an exceptional event, a tragedy. In the latter, the world was multidimensional. The eyes scrutinised the *infraordinary*. Every object represented a gateway to another universe.

> Before, there was nothing, or almost nothing; afterwards, there isn't much, a few signs, but which are enough for there to be a top and a bottom, a beginning and an end, a right and a left, a recto and a verso… This is how space begins, with words only, signs traced on the blank page.

Perec's description of the page evoked other spaces which I call here: *rectangles of open potentiality*: a projection screen in a movie theatre, a painter's blank canvas, an empty billboard, a car's windscreen, a camera's viewfinder… all of which are available to receive, contain, frame and reflect the world around us.

Gini Lee & Lisa Diedrich

Travelling Transect

FINDING AND COMMUNICATING FRAGILE SITE QUALITIES IN WATER LANDSCAPES THROUGH ARCHIPELAGIC APPROACHES TO FIELDWORK

PART 1 A CONVERSATION BETWEEN TRAVELLERS

Prologue

Gini: I have sent notes as promised. The open-ended curation is from Stony Rises (2010) — each time the exhibition was recurated to fit, and new narratives from the same material were superpositioned. Can this work in the translation from "exhibition as diary" to "drawing as diary" with the possibility for many diaries to emerge from one journey or site depending upon the situation at hand?

Lisa: Inspired by our conversation I produced another visual to bring that idea of the ongoing carto-diary into a picture, what I suggest is that the carto diary is an ongoing thing between us, never ending, transect after transect, and a *tableau physique* sometimes "drops out" in the form of an exhibition.

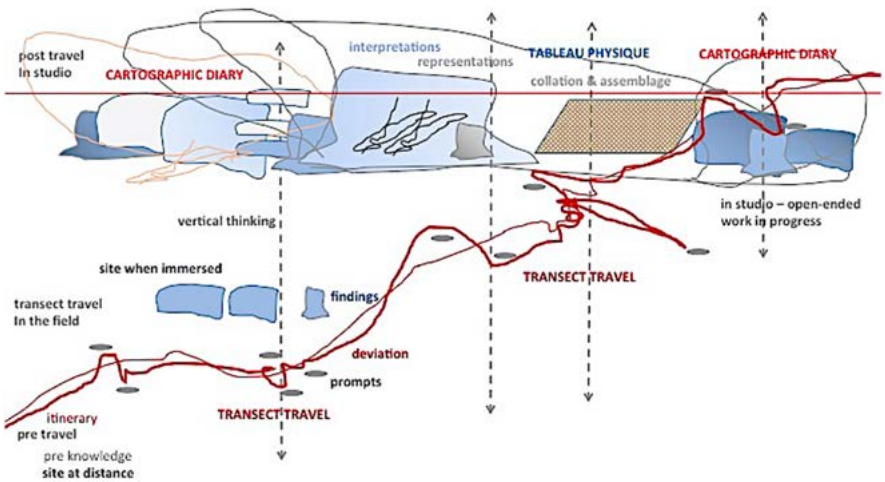
PREPARING FOR MOBILISING

Travelling collaborations are long in the making and we have been exposing ourselves to landscapes over space and time for more than ten years now. Despite our physical distances across hemispheres, ecosystems and time scales, we have developed a working methodology that is both explorative and discursive — a conversational, visual approach to working between the field, the studio and the gallery.

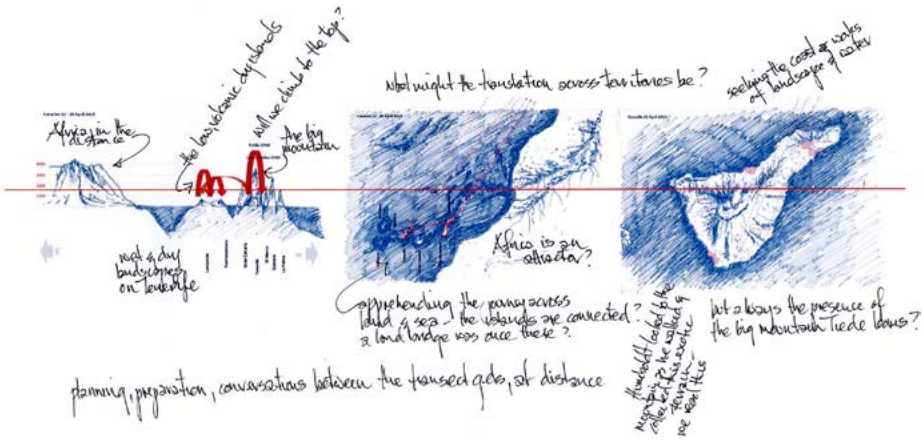
Our guides are those who practice/d journeys over vast and intimate territories (Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Smithson, Nicolas Bourriaud, Rebecca Solnit, and Lucy Lippard). We appropriate their knowledge alongside practicing a weather eye to terrain dynamics

After the fieldwork – the Mount Noorat volcano – building a deep map: grounding mat, mapping, collection from place, others' offerings, time passing . Gini Lee, 'A Deep Mapping for the Stony Rises' (2009). Photo: Gini Lee, 2010.

with the intent to map and communicate the atmospheres and ephemeral values that make places so distinct. Julian Raxworthy first introduced us to the notion of the thousands of kilometres transects, covering distances between the dry and the wet of Australia in a journey from city coast (Adelaide) to city coast (Sydney).



Methodological sketch to conceptualise the components of the Travelling Transect: transect travel, cartographic diary, *tableau physique*. Sketch: Lisa Diedrich.



Extract of the Canarysect's cartographic diary 2013. Sketch: Lisa Diedrich.

Learning from this expanded transect method we progress forward, tracing lines where water and landscapes intersect, preparing ourselves through making transects drawn from equal part research and equal part hunch. Our subsequent transects in the Canary Islands, southeastern Australia and the land/water interfaces of Sweden and Denmark, help us increasingly understand the serendipitous and deviant nature of a designerly

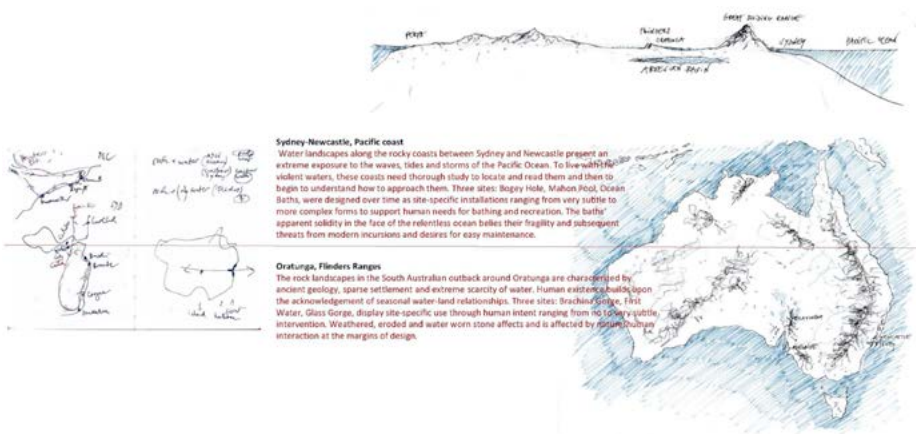
Rocksect exhibition Konstfack Stockholm 2015: assemblage as communication form. Photo: Gustaf Karlsson.

method that interrupts traditional transect concepts. Our fieldwork invites disruption as a necessary factor in gaining site knowledge of landscapes and peoples. We are challenged to find methods that assemble stuff and stories and to then find modes to communicate the material and immaterial complexities of places.

Finding the principle of deviation during the first research transect travel 2013. Sketch: Gini Lee.

AN ARCHIPELAGIC APPROACH TO FIELDWORK

We lack easy face-to-face collaboration as we need to correspond across the ether to document our physical and mental experiences through open-ended cartographies that express aspects of the physical, material, and temporal moments of places along our transects. This is a fieldwork method that relies on the specificity of place, individual re-collection and the process of exchange at distance. We share a contemporary understanding of Humboldtian science that defines knowledge generation as a mobile, transareal enterprise, moving across disciplinary and geographical boundaries and territories. Follow the line – and if there is something of interest to the side of the line? Deviate! That is the moment when on-site discoveries diverge, where exploration of new systems and situations found off the track allows new knowledge to arise.



Excerpt of the Rocksect's cartographic diary 2014. Sketch: Lisa Diedrich.

THE TYRANNY OF DISTANCE

We made a Rocksect *tableau physique* to express weather forming processes of rocky places where people go to bathe, for succour and where multiple stories underpin their emergence and possible decay over time. Our transect follows a sectional line of bathing rock pools along the east coast of Australia, and by contrast, exploring rock pools in shallow aquifers in the arid outback; a softly drawn line across dissimilar territories, each critical to the nature of contemporary water/land relations for a drying continent. We amassed digital images, hand drawn sketches, real time videos, samples captured in plastic bags, conversations and offerings from others, water samples, historical documents and temporal mappings.

Cartographic diary of the Rocksect from Sydney/Newcastle to Oratunga/Flinders, 2015.

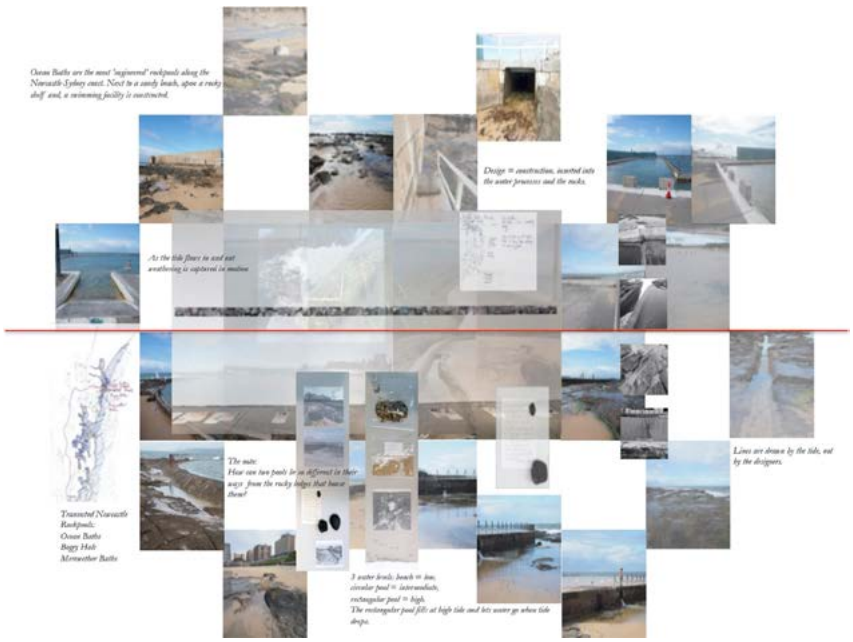


Tableau physique of Ocean Bath, extracted from the Rocksect 2015 cartographic diary.

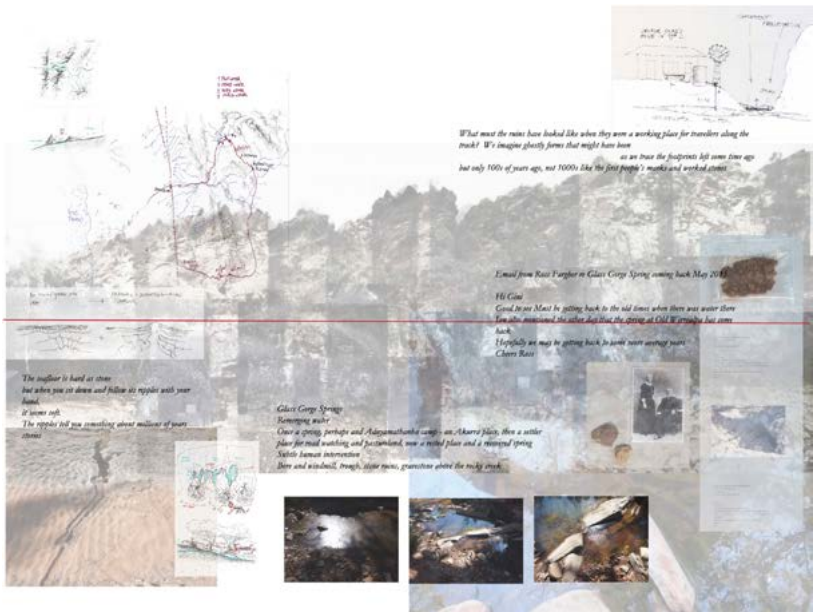


Tableau physique of Glass Gorge, extracted from the 2015 Rocksect cartographic diary.

We got our feet wet, were windblown and sunburnt. We took time to wander with intent regarding the distant view and the stuff under foot. Our conversations continued back home as we assembled our collections into an aesthetic of experience and material form. We made an opportunity to exhibit far from site and across hemispheres; a Munich studio our first making place for curating the Rocksect *tableau physique* of multimodal elements. Media are juxtaposed to make a tableaux sequence for six places and here we include two. One, for the Pacific Ocean in Newcastle, the Ocean Baths as a swimming place mediating the watery/sandy shoreline and another for Glass Gorge in the Flinders Ranges at a re-emerged spring where 19th century road makers found reliable water in the arid lands. Each tableau is co-made: Lisa's drawings, models and photos, Gini's photos, collections and story gathering, motivated towards revealing the critical nature of fragile water systems in the landscape. From the tableaux the cartographic diary reveals itself as a compendium of forms that may never be complete.

Currently we are working on a book on the (deviated) transect as a method to express the scope of the cartographic diary. Our representational references include Alexander von Humboldt's transareal mapping imagery, medieval *mappa mundi* and/or the types of archives that express complexity through visual immersion such as Gerhard Richter's archive or Hanne Darboven's installations.

Our Travelling Transects follow paths of co-musing upon fieldwork findings to represent the depth of landscapes to us, and to others through exhibition and publishing. In

voicing the dynamics of landscapes in the field (practical fieldwork) we then reprocess our collections in the studio (conceptual fieldwork) in a looping experiment that exposes an archipelagic approach to inhabited landscapes.

Epilogue

Lisa: Now we were driving always up from Adelaide to the Flinders Ranges, until reaching Oratunga. It seems so high and so far out, as if there were no higher and no farther, and the next discovery from here would be another world. Oratunga seems like an outpost for explorers. What lies farther north? My impression is that I might be able to discover an 'inner sea' somewhere out there…

Gini: In reality, Oratunga is the highest point in Flinders Ranges as part of the water system that drains into Ngarndamukia Lake Torrens and to Munda Lake Frome - further north the water is channelled into the Great Artesian Basin, an immense underground water reservoir. This was the inner sea that the explorers couldn't find as it was deep beneath their feet.

Water dynamics at the water-land margin, Canarysect 2013. Photo: Gini Lee.

PART 2: CROSSING HEMISPHERES – FROM ÖRESUNDSECT TO BAYSECT

TRAVELLING TRANSECT: FROM SITE TO NON-SITE

Defining the transect as a design analysis and production method involves inquiry into the natural and social sciences. The transect is an ordered spatial idea which makes use of the transverse section across a territory, along which points are located for observation and/or measurement. In the natural sciences this form includes observation of the distribution of object/element or creature of study, whereas the social sciences aim to reveal community practices along the line inscribed across the landscape. We developed a culturally-based transect method to capture site qualities through deep fieldwork-based empirical enquiry and interpretation as a critical component of the conceptual design act, calling this approach the 'Travelling Transect'.

The cartographic diaries compile what emerges from the collections of material encountered pre- and during fieldwork journeys. Post-journey mappings are co-postproduced in their temporal and material form in response to the dynamics of places and networks experienced along an itinerary. Through combinations of mixed media and conversational annotation as journey-makers we seek to express the situational and the abstract in an open-ended way. In the field, we take field notes, photos, films, samples, interview recordings etc. and develop our thoughts further when off site. We look towards new insights visualised in an ongoing form of off-site notation and visual thinking along the guiding transect line, as if scripting music on the lines of a score. Notation techniques embrace analogue and digital collages, transformed into pdf or other digital image formats to be sent back and forth by email to we geographically-separated authors. The arrangement of drawings, modeling, imagery, time-based recordings, text, and collections are made in a collaborative laying out of the material at hand. Techniques enabled by computer-based systems support the collation, and in some senses, abstraction and layering of the material, but we seek always to represent the anecdotal and immediacy of the analogue, as drawn from site experience. The cartographic diary is stored in a computer archive, is extended/updated after each transect travel, and accompanies our collaborative research over each transect. But also, along all transect travels together, as an ever-forward moving line, or an ever-ongoing musical score. Many cartographic diaries of many different transect travels form one single cartographic diary of our collaborative research. At precise moments, for exhibitions or publications, snapshot-like excerpts are distilled from the cartographic diary, named 'tableau physique' after the Humboldtian imagery.

TRAVELLING THEORIES AND TRAVELLING PRACTICES

Alexander von Humboldt, the early nineteenth-century traveller, writer, explorer, and scientist serves as critical inspiration, and in practical ways, as a transareal travel guide in the journey to develop and refine methods and theories to shape practice. Contemporary scholars in many disciplinary fields have recently rediscovered and adopted Alexander von Humboldt's understanding of science as a mobile, transareal enterprise that moves across disciplinary and geographical boundaries and territories (Potsdam International

Network for TransArea Studies). In his day, Humboldt operated within an environment characterised by intense global movement effected through seafaring and increased colonial trading. Today, similar dynamics are in play; movements driven by the globalised economy, the enormous changes inflicted by climate change, its attendant demographic shifts and altered human imaginaries, alongside destruction and disappearance of ecosystems and biodiversity at alarming rates.

Humboldt, a travelling scientific figure, responded to a radically changing worldview by advancing two 'epistemological revolutions'. First, he rejected science as pure reflection at a distance, advancing on-site empirical exploration as the new authority for reliable knowledge generation. Second, he posited knowledge as an open work, pushing research to ignore boundaries between areas of study and to instead explore their interrelatedness and relational dynamics. Humboldt treated science as a transareal pursuit. His approach resonates with contemporary scepticism around existing or emerging intellectual, disciplinary, and territorial boundaries and specialised disciplines (Ette 2012, 2009, Kutzinski et al. 2012). His transareal principles precede the transdisciplinary and artistic turn that the Travelling Transect project embraces.

The Travelling Transect re-appropriates Humboldt's transareal approach through practically embodied actions. Aligned theoretically with a growing interdisciplinary community of contemporary scholars, travelling transect knowledge is understood to arise 'on the move', through bodily immersion in the field, embracing accidental deviation from planned itineraries, identifying immersion, motion, and deviation as constitutive for knowledge production. The resultant form of mobile, relational, and open-ended knowledge creation is particularly apt for tackling wicked twenty-first-century challenges marked by interrelatedness and changeability. Practically, Humboldt's historic transareal travels, documentation techniques, and representations of findings guide the Travelling Transect journey-form. Humboldt travelled to the Canary Islands; we first journeyed to the Canaries. Our mode of collecting and recording everything that contributes to a sense of place or itinerary; our focus on points of interest; our return to home studios to delve into the collected materials; our commitment to modes of writing and visual representation accessible to wide audiences; our adoption of expressive methods of illustration and annotation such as the cartographic diary; all pay tribute to the Humboldtian journey-form (Diedrich, Lee & Braae 2017).

Humboldt's activism overlayed an aesthetic regard atop scientific exploration; he consciously embraced and represented socio-aesthetic experiences in his travels. The idea that aesthetic-affective landscape encounters can spark public empathy for everyday landscapes is now prevalent in landscape architecture and urbanism discourse. American scholar Elizabeth Meyer's seminal essay 'Sustaining beauty' (2008) introduced an aesthetic component into the sustainability triad. Her text instigated critical discussions (Hellström-Reimer 2010, Hellemondt & Notteboom 2018, De Block & Vicenzotti 2018); it also situates understanding the Travelling Transect as a tool for design and an activist

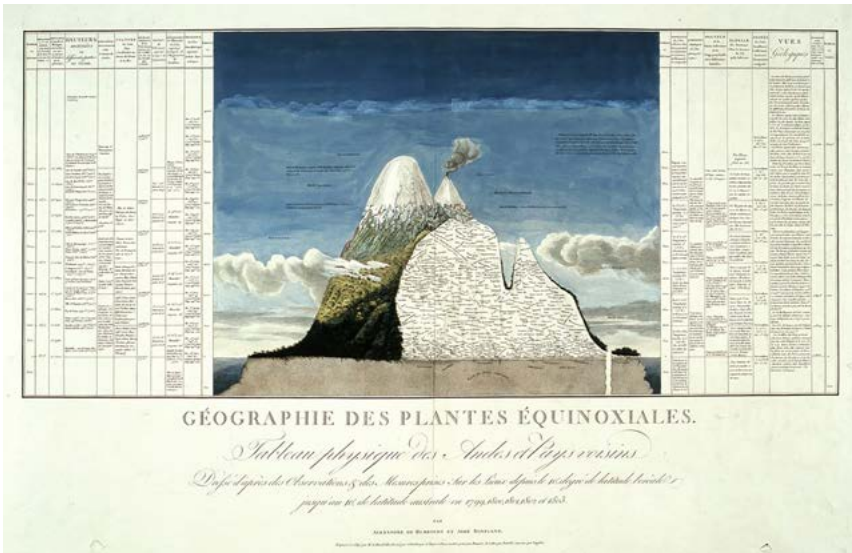


Tableau Physique 'Géographie des Plantes Equinoxiales' (Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, 1805)
Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

practice in its own right. To inform activism in favour of landscape fragilities, the project strives to convey the interrelatedness of aesthetic, ecological and cultural appreciation at the land/water margin.

Curator and art critic Nicolas Bourriaud investigates artistic practices where process becomes the art form itself, making his writings on the topic foundational to apprehending the open-work nature of the Travelling Transect project. Considering artworks as processes that play out over time, for example, cooking a meal over days (Rirkrit Tiravanija 2011) or a small boat journey tragedy (Bas Jan Ader 1975) Bourriaud offers up the critical idea of 'form in motion' or journey-form. Journey-form describes aesthetic practices where a performance or work eschews traditional modes of representation and places of production, which Bourriaud recognises as developing under conditions of exacerbated globalisation and hyper-mobility (Bourriaud 2009). Following Bourriaud, casting the Travelling Transect as journey-form means adopting a processive understanding of what constitutes a trip and its timeline. As journey-form, the Travelling Transect artistic practice encompasses pre-travel preparations; visits to distant locations; returns to home-base studios, writing-desks and public exhibition spaces where journey-makers sort through experiences, documents, findings, representations; and subsequent reflections and re-journeying through prior endeavours. So doing, it also encompasses the proposed as-yet enacted leg of the journey — to revisit, rethink and retheorise a trip initiated many years ago and iterated and reiterated multiple times. As an expansion of a journey-form that began in 2009 in the first visit to the Canary Islands, the leg here proposes forms as part of an ongoing artistic research practice responding to constantly changing 21st

century material and socio-political landscapes. Creative and cultural researcher Ross Gibson coined the term 'changescapes' to describe aesthetic forms that dramatise change. Gibson's activist storytelling retells encounters and experiences of a single place or visit, reflecting on them again and again at different moments, changing his own thinking across space and over time. This changescapes concept and approach to reflective work invites a performative mode of observation and analysis of situations that may be new or unusual, or even just everyday. In Gibson's words, changescapes "help us know mutability by immersing us in it […] by making change their theme […] they are usually of fragile and ephemeral stuff that reacts to altering [real-world] conditions […] Transformations happen at their boundaries, at the limits between the inside and the outside of their systems, and then the symptoms of change become manifest in them, palpably available for our contemplation" (Gibson 2015).

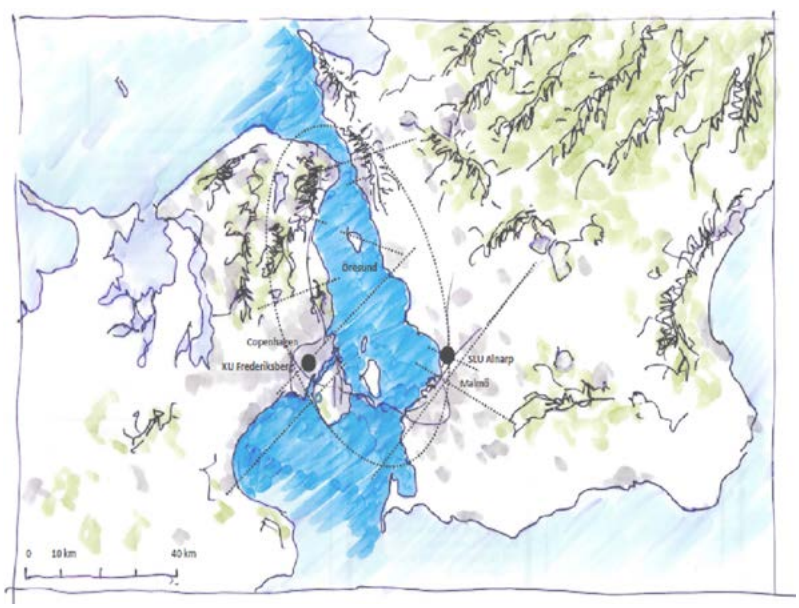
TRAVELLING TRANSECT: CO-RESPONDENCES ACROSS THE GLOBAL NORTH AND SOUTH

The Travelling Transect approach gave rise to a series of educational formats at the academic institutions we have been affiliated with: Design studios, summer schools, and master theses adopted the methodology. They are informed by and also enrich our ongoing research work across the hemispheres on what we came to call co-responding territories, i.e. the rocky coasts of Eastern Australia and the Canary Islands, or the bay areas of Naarm/Port Philip Bay and the Öresund. In the latter, we have hosted two design studios, in 2015 and in 2018 respectively.

Co-responding places around the water bodies as originally mapped in early exploration: Öresund and Naarm/Port Philip Bay. Left: *Speciel Kaart over Farvandet mellem Kullen og Falsterboe* (1830), nautical Chart of Oresund Strait: Denmark and Sweden. Source: Royal Danish Library. Right: Australia, South Coast, Port Phillip [cartographic material]/ surveyed by Lieutenants T.M. Symonds and H.R. Henry of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, 1836 with additions by Commander J.C. Wickham and Captain Stokes in H.M.S. Beagle, 1842; J. & C. Walker, sculpt. Source: National Library Australia.

ÖRESUNDSECT - DESIGNING AND RESEARCHING TRANSECT ITINERARIES

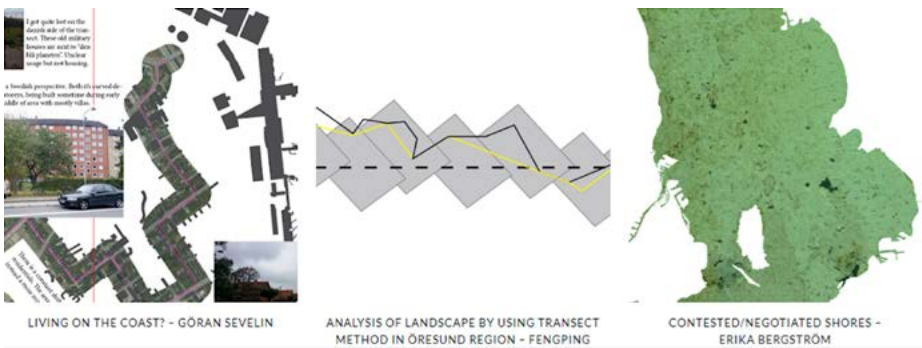
At SLU, the Öresundsect summer school invited master students and PhD students to engage with the Öresund region on both sides of the water body, 'crossing' the water in search of particular themes (landscape of the arts, of gardens, of living on the coast, of bathing, of terrestrial and water infrastructure) to capture landscape characteristics beyond the touristic, to speculate about an itinerary, a Water Trail, a circumnavigation of the Öresund along which locals and visitors could discover the region's particular landscapes and become aware of its beauties, histories, conflicts and changes. We asked the students how the itinerary would be laid out? Which sites would it comprise, why, and how could their specific values be communicated? We postulated that a raised public appreciation of the Öresund's specificities would lay the foundation for socially sustainable development. In this respect, the Travelling Transect has become a generator of itineraries, of collected fieldwork data, of insights into water-land relationships leading to speculative projects (by the master students) and to academic articles (by the PhD students) that were able to inform authorities, researchers, students, professionals, and interest groups. We understand that such awareness for a water body in the centre of an urbanising region is not only useful in support of sustainability thinking in the Öresund region but in any similar situation, even if on the other side of the globe. It became clear to us that the work done in the Öresund region holds a potential for informing a more respectful development of water-land ecologies, infrastructure, urban districts, and coastal facilities in co-responding landscapes.



Öresundsect summer school to map the territory and expose the dynamics and counterpoints of the Swedish/ Danish water land margins around the Öresund, 2015. Sketch Lisa Diedrich.

BAYSECT - A DESIGN STUDIO AS EXPERIMENTAL FORM OF TRAVELLING

A second transect-based design studio was devised in 2018 following our recognition of the potential similarities in geographical structure of two places — Sound and Bay, both land-encircled water bodies. Naarm/Port Philip Bay in the Melbourne metropolitan region offered various analogies, points of contact and associations in water-land ecologies as in the Öresund project. The Melbourne School of Design landscape architecture students studied the interaction of waters and lands through investigating a practical infrastructure project, the heritage piers and jetties, often left idle from former uses or weathered to a state of decay and impending collapse. Collaborating with Parks Victoria the managing agents, a proposal to rework, recycle, or reform these much loved yet potentially redundant structures sought imagining new futures to spur new local economies, leisure uses, and maritime observation points. In this case the transects were drawn from pier to pier crossing over the water to expose the geological, ecological, and urban distinctiveness of the dissimilar surrounding landscapes – one side, rocky cliffs and sandy beaches and the other, low-lying wetlands and muddy shores. Working in groups to undertake detailed fieldwork across two sites allowed for the collation of a database of geographic, social, cultural, Indigenous, environmental, economic, political, and historic knowledge alongside the pragmatics of pier construction, weathering, and use. Eschewing replacement, novel adaptive projects were devised to include new economies based upon local marine life, an expanded interaction with the Bay's waters, wetland tourism and so on. Importantly the projects increasingly blurred the boundaries between land and water, both physically and cognitively, thus reinforcing the symbiotic nature of repositioned infrastructures in place, for people and nature.



LIVING ON THE COAST? - GÖRAN SEVELIN

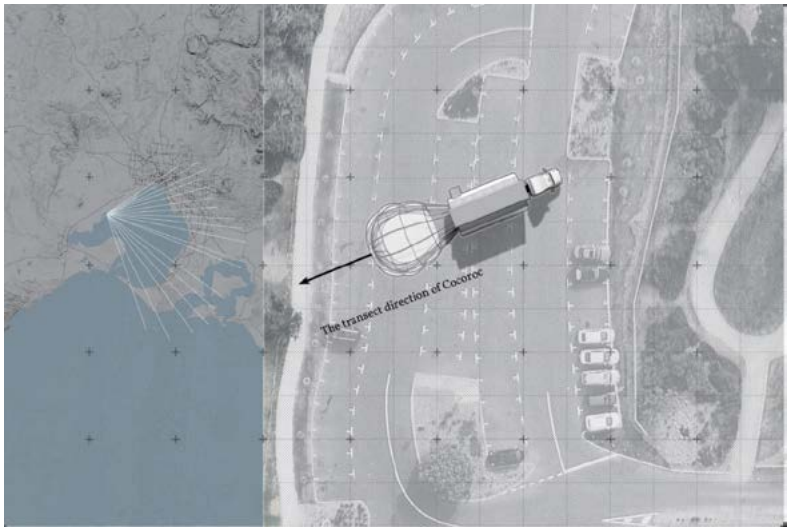
ANALYSIS OF LANDSCAPE BY USING TRANSECT METHOD IN ÖRESUND REGION - FENGPING

CONTESTED/NEGOTIATED SHORES - ERIKA BERGSTRÖM

Öresundsect studio 2015: students' final works. https://oresundsect.wordpress.com

EXPANDING THE ÖRESUNDSECT AND THE BAYSECT STUDIOS

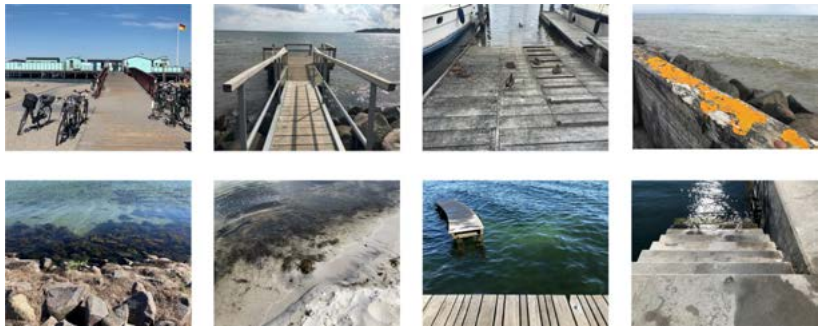
Concern for the destructive impacts on boundary landscapes world-wide drives our ambition to expand design studio principles through applied collaborative research activities and to communicate landscape values and qualities critical to retaining and prospering land/water interstices in the face of fundamental change. Concentrating on



Mobile piers, jetties and the intertidal zone as co-responding sites around the Bay: Wings Islands And Odyssey of Survival by Guanchao Liu. Student final works 2018.

two co-responding landscapes — the Öresund and Naarm/Port Philip Bay — demonstrates the transareal nature of our method, to embark on co-travelling via a deviating itinerary practice, and to organise mapping and collections into cartographic diaries of co-relating transect travels to form a transareal Baysect work like the Rocksect. While the Rocksect corresponds to inhabited rocky ocean shorelines with rocky inland water bodies, the Baysect interprets water bodies surrounded by urbanising regions. Our aim is to elaborate on the connections, dynamics, and shared understandings of liminal landscapes and to amplify the types of encounters and landscape works that propose ways of adapting to change through design.

Forthcoming transareal work across co-responding sound/bay landscapes of the Öresund (Denmark-Sweden) and the Port Philip Bay/Nairm (Australia).



Through establishing a Travelling Transect artist book and website specific to a series of sites around water/land places, narratives and themes can be published through a combination of materials to communicate the values and specificities of sites and their inhabitants already witnessing extreme change in all its guises. We intend to develop expressive communication formats capable of conveying how locally observed change dynamics can inform universal perspectives with broadly applicable concepts of site knowledge, when similar dynamics are evidenced across places of diverse geographical and cultural conditions. Tableaux physiques, as the ones presented in this text, will be used to communicate the dynamics and atmospheres, the tangible and intangible qualities and political, social, ecological, and economic issues leading to an informed landscape practice – for wise design and management for fragile places.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

The photograph on page 70 is by Gini Lee/Lisa Diedrich.

Eugénie Denarnaud

A garden without a place

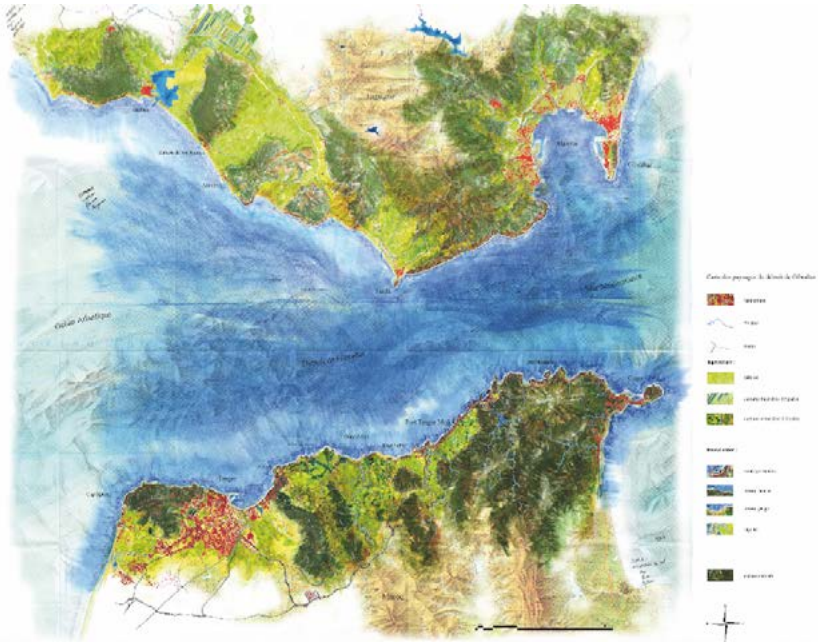
MAPPING THE TRAJECTORY OF A VERNACULAR GARDEN FORM IN THE LANDSCAPE OF THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR

FOR ALTERNATIVE MAPPING

I wish to sketch a trajectory of thought, an alternative cartography of informal spaces, through the evocation of a vernacular garden type found in the Moroccan costal city of Tangier, along the Strait of Gibraltar. Such gardens are without a clear purpose, but are nevertheless destined to be part of the emerging city. Gardening is one of several practices that live on in these undefined places like a kind of utopia. The occupants hold no rights to be there but nevertheless act as important markers of boundaries and spaces of another order. The gardens are more than merely the land on which to grow herbs and vegetables, and gardeners take part in the arrangement of the plots, transforming them over the years into bearers of good fortune for people starting their new lives in a neighbourhood.

AN ORDINARY GARDEN IN THE URBAN INTERSTICES

In speaking of utopia, I am not referring to a place that does not exist (More 1516), a fantastic, unattainable world, but of a living space, embodied in the world. This space is distinct and recognizable for the qualities it contains, its refined organization, its layout. A garden in the family of ordinary gardens (Brinckerhoff Jackson 1984), what makes it utopian is that it is a site without a place of its own. In the West, historically, gardens were designed as a representation of power, a Debordian (1996) spectacle — "a separate pseudo-world that can only be looked at." A space without place. The vernacular gardens of Tangier likewise lack a sense of pattern and definition of space. They are un-drawn, undefined. However, they are also properly spaces of opportunity, cultural



Strait of Gibraltar landscape map, 2020. Map: Eugénie Denarnaud.

and bodily transmission, not simply existing to be seen. When one garden is covered by a new construction, the gardener relocates to another place to continue gardening.

I first spotted gardening on the margins of an informal settlement in Tangier. It was a place for growing food and everything else, where the notion of pleasure was linked as much to what grows there as to the act of cultivating, indulging, or simply doing nothing. For its qualities of informality, ephemerality, gratuitousness, non-possession of land, I used piracy as a heuristic metaphor (Bey 1997). The adjective is used to understand and describe a way to "hack" space in a dynamic, adaptative, free and opportunistic way. These qualities have been used to describe communities of freed slaves and sailors who formed pirate communities, based on the sharing of loot, gender equality, and self-organization - a form of counter-power (Rediker 2008). My own engagement grew from a photographic series I exhibited in 2014 on *Pirate gardens* at the symposium of Cerisy-la-Salle "Nourritures jardinière dans les sociétés urbanisées."

A CITY IN FULL TRANSFORMATION, METROPOLITAN TANGIER ON THE STRAIT OF GIBRALTAR

Northern Morocco has been undergoing a massive urban transformation in recent years that has dramatically reinvented the landscape along the Strait of Gibraltar. Tangier, its location in the region lends itself to the particularity and preponderance of goods and people moving by boat. In the upheaval that the city has been experiencing, pirate gardens

create important links that ground people to a shared sense of place (Berque 2008). What is fostered in these gardens? A knowledge of plants including their nutritional virtues; smells (particularity of certain taxon e.g. mint *gnaouiya* and leaf cabbage); cultivation techniques, such as sowing, tillage, and the use of tools; the breeding of domestic animals (chickens, sheep) – all are strong markers of one's connection to the land and to gardening practices even when they take place outside the site of the garden itself.

Gobeur, Série. Photo: Eugénie Denarnaud.

Take, for example, the practice of inshore angling, where fishermen know perfectly the imperceptible traces in the landscape to reach the water's edge. These same figures also know which plants will cauterize bleeding should they cut themselves while mounting their lines. One of the most locally renowned is the viscous inula (Dittrichia viscosa (L.) Greuter). It is enough to crumple the freshly-collected plant and spread its juice on a wound to obtain an immediate effect. Fishermen know which plants can be used as a timely first aid kit to pick on site. Another practice, used for cooking, is the picking of leafy vegetables such as the large-flowered lavatera (Lavatera trimestris (L.), or *bqûl* in the Tangier dialect, to make a special dish of leafy tajine, also called *bqûl*. Similarly, at the end of every winter, green leaves appear in the meadows and are collected to make a different kind of tagine using garlic, crushed olives, and the triad of herbs used in basic cuisine in Tangier: parsley, coriander and wild celery. The result is the so-called "lean dish" that is used to regain fresh vitamins and fibres at the end of the rainy winter season (Lieutaghi 1998). Harvests of berries (blackberries, myrtle), honey from wild apiaries, and milk thistle cardings (Silybum marianum (L.) Gaertn.) are still very common near

Infrastructures, Tangier, 2019. Photo: Eugénie Denarnaud.

highways, traffic lights or road interchanges that spread over the countryside, and whose management is based on old and updated vernacular practices that have yet been affected by the green revolution in agriculture.

REINVENTING ULTRA-LOCAL PRACTICES IN A METROPOLITAN CONTEXT: LANDSCAPE AS RELATIONAL PRACTICE

Pirate gardens are part of the invention of everyday life (De Certeau 1990). They are places for the maintenance and transmission of living practices in a globalizing city whose arable lands are rapidly disappearing under the pressure of large-scale urbanization in the region. The small gardens often cultivated in the natural terrain, in plots of land between new buildings, are a link between the habits of the newly-arrived inhabitants from the countryside and those of their increasingly globally-connected urban neighbours. There is a strong dialectical relationship between the biodiversity present in these gardens, the richness of the local ecosystem (free of agricultural development planning), and the inherited ways of doing things that are intrinsically linked to the landscape (Ponsich 1970).

Pirate gardens are places of relations between humans and non-humans, spaces of "diplomacy" (Morizot 2016) – what I like to call "landscape carriers," to use Bernard Lassus's expression (De La Soudière 2019). In this sense, they encompass and transmit the skills, habits and modes of care associated with the people and sites where vernacular gardening is found. They constitute spaces of openness to the wider landscape. These

sites not only maintain the beauty of a place, they are crucial to the welcoming of new arrivals to Tangier as well as those relocating from other parts of the city (El Hafa, Merkala, Dradeb, Sidi Bouqnadel, Jbel Kbir, Foum del Oued Lihoud, Achaaba…) where similar gardening practises were used.

Buildings, Tangier, 2017. Photo: Eugénie Denarnaud.

As urbanization expands throughout the region, many residents living in informal neighbourhoods are being displaced by state and local authorities with the ambition to put these precarious lands to "better use". Without adequate proof of ownership or tenure rights many people who have been living in these informal districts for generations have been compelled to move elsewhere, to places totally unknown to them. In this context, vernacular gardens are a first step towards re-apropriating the areas to which they have been displaced. They ground themselves though their gardening practises and actions. For rural migrants coming from further afield, many decide to leave the countryside of northern Morocco and its southern regions, to work in Tangier's new factories. They too continue to cultivate plots of earth as a way to have a positive influence on their new urban lives. A form of *baraka*, or luck in dialectal Arabic, informal gardening is associated with this type of relationship, charging and transcribing the area with a divine spiritual force, religious or otherwise, for the neighbourhood to come. For such resident-gardeners excluded from the city's building programs, I see gardening practices as a way for people to get involved in their communities and the metropolis through a kind of direct democracy. Gardening, as a utopian practice, helps support the city's capacity to build itself through the forging of community relations (Zask 2016).

Gibraltar, Hypsométries. Map: Eugénie Denarnaud.

CONCLUSION

Anchoring myself in contemporary anthropology, gardening is a poetic expression of the Earth, insofar as it links us to places and experiences. Garden is a visceral, organic link in a globalized society now fragmented, where urban development has become a priority above all else, and where humans focus on that which is above-ground, leading us to search for a more "rooted" common sense in the land.

In this context, I am seeking to integrate a sensitivity for the Other through the development of an alternative form of cartography using the medium of photography. Ethnobotanical observation, herbarium practices, annotated sketches, discussions with actors in the respective sites are all elements of the field investigations that make it possible to decipher the experiences and relationships connecting Tangier and its landscape. Doing so, "it is to be hoped that subsequent research, and first of all new surveys of the last witnesses of the old society, can, in a broader comparatism, promote a better definition of what belongs to the territory in question" (Descola 2005). More than a science, landscape studies offer a socially-grounded way to highlight the relational fabric that we are a part of. Once we have encountered the germination of a plant, the condition of a fungus, or the temporality of a rock, we integrate this experience into our lives. They are considered.

In a world segmented between humans and everything else, everything is built in the immanent risk of encounter and interrelation. Complex ecosystems, like those found in informal and vernacular gardens, make up the spaces that allow us to live, to exist. From the multiplicity of these exchanges, landscapes are born.

Informal Garden, Tangier, 2019. Photo: Eugénie Denarnaud.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

The photograph on page 87 is a detail from the photo on page 93, by Eugénie Denarnaud.

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RANDA MAROUFI

Randa Maroufi is an artist and filmmaker whose artistic practice spans art and politics, the status of the image, and the limits of representation itself. Maroufi has directed several films which wield an elastic relationship to the world. Many of her projects involve close collaboration with communities she is connected to but not a part of, and employ the perspective 'observation at a distance'. This method has enabled her to construct scenes of strange reality that, while remaining committed to factual representation, forge an ethical relation to lived experience.

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