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**Crowd Crystal**

**The Space of Fear in Contemporary Society**

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*I would like to dedicate this dissertation to Prof. Sharon Morris and Dr Hayley Newman*



## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that except where specific reference is made to the work of others, the contents of this dissertation are original and have not been submitted in whole or in part for consideration for any other degree or qualification in this, or any other university. This dissertation is my own work and contains nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration with others, except as specified in the text and Acknowledgments. This dissertation contains fewer than 40,000 words including, bibliography, footnotes and figures.

Anna Jochymek

January, 2020





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## ABSTRACT

### **Crowd Crystal. The Space of Fear in Contemporary Society**

This thesis is the result of a practice-led, critical inquiry into the concept of the *Space of Fear*, which I developed and understand as a social construct with profound political meaning, enabling authorities to manipulate the masses. Drawing on Sarah Ahmed's 'inside out'<sup>1</sup> model of emotions, I recognise fear as a tool for the reproduction of power. In that context, fear should not be regarded as a psychological state but as a social and cultural practice. I focus on the social aspect of fear as it is imposed upon us. Cultural practice is the source of fear we feel in the social context. I firmly believe that the *space of fear* determines our attitude toward others.

This concept was developed as a result of artistic research conducted in London during 2017 – 2019 in the aftermath of the Brexit referendum vote. While personally experiencing the dynamic of the socio-cultural transformation, I looked at the mechanisms of social exclusion and contemplated the role of migrants in this reality.

My research methodology incorporates a theoretical enquiry with my practical, video-performative project *Crowd Crystal* which is an exploration of the *space of fear* that follows a young female protagonist dressed in the uniform of the Polish Army, inline skating along the first Roman borders of Londinium. Expanding upon Elias Canetti's 'crowd crystals'<sup>2</sup> concept, the figure of a lonely inline skating soldier becomes the embodiment of the potential we all carry within ourselves to influence change.

The adopted elements of skate culture here are a medium to comment on the vulnerability of the individual in the city. I will explain the significance of the phenomenological understanding of city space following the Yi-Fu Tuan concept of topophilia<sup>3</sup>. I will also refer

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Canetti Elias, *Crowds and Power* (New York: Continuum, 1978).

<sup>3</sup> Tuan Yi-Fu, *Topophilia. The Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1974).

to the skate culture theoretic such as Francisco Vivoni, Iain Borden, Don Mitchell, Christian Peters who reflects on regulations within public space<sup>4</sup>.

The work inspired by the uncertainty of the current political situation, can also be seen as a way of exploring the fluid position of the ‘Other’ within the society. Drawing on Sara Ahmed’s theory<sup>5</sup>, I present fear as a tool for the reproduction of power and explain how this emotion is imposed upon us. This will be followed by Ruth Wodak’s theory of the politicisation of fear and social exclusion<sup>6</sup>.

This thesis will thus argue that the changes that took place in our contemporary society are of significance to both the understanding of the meaning of memory, and spatial context, which surrounds us and influences the reduction of fear in contemporary society.

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<sup>4</sup> Butz Konstantin, Peters Christian, ed., *Skateboard Studies* (London: Koenig Books, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> Ahmed Sara, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Wodak Ruth, *The Politics of Fear* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2015).

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**Fig. 1** Insignia assigned to the rank of a major in the Polish Armed Forces with four added circles, sketch to the *Crowd Crystal* project (Anna Jochymek, 2019)

## **PREFACE**

On September 18, 2017 I moved to London. I start with an exact date since virtually everyone was focused on the numbers amid the on-going negotiations concerning one of the greatest socio-political decisions in the recent history of Western Europe, counting down the days until the referendum, the next parliamentary session and Brexit itself. Personally, I counted the time it might take me to settle down. How many days does it take to open a bank account, how many minutes does it take to commute to college, how many kilometres separates me from a workplace. At some point, this counting of mine shifted. It was no longer a struggle; it was a fight. Nonetheless, first and foremost I counted the days of my actual residence in the United Kingdom. In case of the ultimate Brexit, would the days I had spent here be enough for me to stay or quite the contrary. I wondered if my days here were limited, and analysed the value of time. Does the quality or economic value matter? What is the difference between the two concepts? I did all these things because I wanted to stay. I did all of it because I was scared. Everyone was scared.

I left for the United Kingdom as a sort of experiment, and yet I found myself in the epicentre of a political turmoil. Britain had just reached a halfway point leading to the country's split from the European Union. The inconclusive public vote pertaining to the potential withdrawal was held on June 23, 2016. The conservative administration of David Cameron asked the electorate a single question: 'should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?' 51.89% of votes were cast in favour of leaving. While the country was undergoing a monumental transformation, I crossed the border already expecting to plunge into the climate of uncertainty.

I moved to London with the view of working on my PhD. I received the status of a 'Visiting Research Student' at the Slade School of Fine Art at the University College London. I finally had a chance to stop for a moment, ask questions, try and clearly define the subject area I deal with. In order to do so, I developed a mind map comprising of forty pages

covered in notes and observations about the things and issues that captured my attention or stayed in my memory over the last couple of years. Faced with this mixture of multifarious components, I started noticing the connections and correspondences that ultimately gave rise to the notion of the *space of fear*. This term was crucial in the creation of the *Crowd Crystal* project.

Due to the largely abstract nature of the *space of fear*, I consulted my colleagues about their own associations with the concept. Finally, I approached my father who used to serve as a major in the military for a number of years. Our conversation inspired me to create a female figure wearing inline skates and the combat uniform of the Polish Armed Forces. This unorthodox combination, which unities my father's personal experience with that of my own, became the instrument for addressing the social climate in Europe suffused with tension, gravitas and absurdity. All of my colleagues were in a way amused by the image of a Polish female soldier inline skating in front of Buckingham Palace. They tried to imagine the confrontation of Queen Elizabeth II with a skater girl, for example. Not until a few months later had I settled on a route - the first historic border of the city of London (Londinium) retraced as a result of juxtaposing a map of the ancient metropolis against its modern counterpart.

Meditations on the *space of fear* accompanied me every step of the way. My understanding thereof influenced every moment, element and modification. A variety of other factors - especially my status as a migrant operating in society, which scorned the idea of unity and openly declared its aversion towards open borders - incurred shifts in the term's meaning. I also overcame the barriers of fear I managed to discern. I might as well start with the trivial matters. I feared that the idea of a performance involving an inline skating soldier was ludicrous, that my physical shape left much to be desired, that my project was way too convoluted. But more importantly I feared that I would never belong to the society I wished to be a part of. I was terrified of the lack of acceptance and inexorable stigma attached to my 'Otherness.'

Owing to the reprieve granted by the University College London I could engage in research surrounded by likeminded people with immense knowledge and remarkable sensibility. They would often explain to me the complexities and implications of some political decisions, debating, pondering over the way the city and the country affected their own identity. Around that time, I started working as a sales assistant at the high-end vintage



shop in Notting Hill. Apart from an injection of cash, this job provided me with the opportunity to learn more about the everyday life in London. While discussing the subject of my research and focus on the mechanism of exclusion with the persons associated with the United Kingdoms' universities and institutions, I was frequently told that it did not apply to London, that London was an open metropolitan centre voting in favour of staying in the European Union. It was the remaining parts of the country that voted differently. The situation outside the capital was clearly complicated. However, none of my interlocutors was an immigrant from Eastern Europe working at a clothing store.

My experimental stay morphed into a fairly down-to-earth process of defining my identity and assimilating as well as finding my home here. It results in the creation of a performative action in the public space that, in its final version, was displayed in the form of a multichannel video installation. The aim of the PhD dissertation is to analyse the practical and theoretical aspects of my project, as well as to offer a definition of the *space of fear*. For me Brexit has become the most accessible example of this mechanism. Not only have I observed this process, but also witnessed and experienced it first-hand.

The first chapter investigates the notion of 'crowd crystals,' which I borrow from Elias Canetti's book *Crowds and Power*.<sup>1</sup> A few years back, this concept attracted my attention almost instantly and has ruled my imagination ever since. The crystals were much more than a metaphor elucidating the crowd's origins - they illustrated the fact that even the smallest unit of society is capable of propelling change and alter the world as we know it. The dimension of fear manifests itself in this context, meaning the awareness that our individual existence and actions exert a profound impact on the shape of society.

The second chapter deals with alienation represented in the art project by the act of inline skating. The historically-oriented analysis of skating as a sport, including inline skating and skateboarding, highlights their inner correlations and the occurrence of dual isolation. Firstly, skateboarders 'banished' inline skaters to the fringes of skating community. Secondly, inline skaters, who are still members of the group, are continuously stripped of their right and banned from the public space. In this chapter, I throw some light on the reasons why inline skaters embody isolation and why I use skating to navigate around the *space of fear* both in a literal and figurative sense.

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<sup>1</sup> Canetti Elias, *Crowds and Power* (New York: Continuum, 1978).

The third chapter centres on the fluidity of meanings in the contemporary culture of oblivion and semantic dissipation. In the era of liquid modernity, we must be able to adapt rapidly to the existing conditions. The lack of a critical reflection makes us forget that our own mindset and presence stem from a larger structure the past of which remains inextricably linked to the present and future. In this context, I study the way the uniform's meaning and function developed over the centuries until it eventually penetrated under various forms into popular mass and culture. Removed from the military backdrop, the uniform is regarded merely as a 'fashion' ensemble. In particular, I answer the following questions: what does a female soldier in a military outfit mean? Where exactly does it stand? How was the *space of fear* in my project shaped by a woman appropriating the symbol of an archetypal Polish male?

The fourth chapter unveils a discussion on the public space viewed from a phenomenological standpoint, the invisible urban landscape evoked by our emotional connection to specific places. I adopt the notion of a palimpsest to highlight the endless and multi-faceted nature of individual memory of certain spaces and places, which builds the city's own character. Consequently, I retrace the steps that have guided my selection of the first historic border of London as the place that a female inline skating soldier would inhabit. The memory of a place is a key concept in the project's implementation. In that sense, I establish and underscore a close connection between the individual and collective memory.

The fifth and final chapter provides the overview of a nature of fear. Drawing on Sara Ahmed's theory, I present fear as a tool for the reproduction of power. I focus on the social aspect of fear, which might be extraneous to the self. Fear is imposed upon us. The analysis deals with the manner in which fear functions and spreads. In other words, stoked fears have an effect on society that grows terrified of the 'Other' and convinced that the world is filled with nothing except danger.

As I started working on my PhD, I consulted the structure of my thesis with Dr Hayley Newman, my supervisor at the Slade School of Fine Art. She suggested I should keep a journal during my stay in London, pointing out that a daily record of my thoughts and observations could eventually become a valuable compendium of information. A compendium of memories. I steered clear of the form. Nonetheless I consider this PhD dissertation as the account of the two years of Brexit I spent as a migrant. Admittedly as a white educated woman living in the European Union, I might approach the subject from

the vantage point of social privilege. On the other hand, my Eastern European origin consigns me simultaneously to the 'grey zone of exclusion.' The aim of my thesis is to establish the *space of fear* as the political and cultural concept, which we often subscribe to unwittingly. As opposed to the trite fears, fear of the heights etc., the dimension of fear pertains to an entirely fabricated construct that strikes terror into the hearts of people (or society as a whole) that faces circumstances categorized by leaders as some kind of threat to their well-being. Despite being almost completely unravelled at the turn of the century, these mechanisms have been perpetuated until this day by assuming an ostensibly milder and 'more rational' form. The female inline skating soldier is the embodiment of potential we all carry within ourselves. For me, she symbolises the strength resting upon the profound understanding of our identity and spatial context we find ourselves in, which allows us to curtail the negative tendencies and replace them with the new ones.



Fig. 2 *Crowd Crystal*, video still (Anna Jochymek, 2019)



Fig. 3 *Crowd Crystal*, video still (Anna Jochymek, 2019)

## CHAPTER 1

### ON THE CROWD CRYSTAL

In his book *Crowds and Power*, Elias Canetti states that ‘the crowd, suddenly there where there was nothing before, is a mysterious and universal phenomenon.’<sup>1</sup> However, the crowd does not emerge spontaneously. Its formation is founded upon the crowd crystals that - according to Canetti - could be defined as the small, rigid groups of men that precipitate crowds. According to Gustave Le Bon, the father of social and crowd psychology, transformation of the social order was triggered by the civilisational progress accompanied by the industrial revolution. His book entitled *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*<sup>2</sup> (1895) chronicles the modern transition of mankind that ‘will have to count with a new power, with the last surviving sovereign force of modern times, the power of crowds.’<sup>3</sup> Le Bon described this new era as ‘the era of crowds.’<sup>4</sup> Conscious of their strength and united by way of association and common interests, crowds realized their ability to challenge the political status quo and seized the power formerly vested in nations’ rulers.

As opposed to Canetti, Le Bon does not engage in the discussion on the crowd’s nucleus, asserting an organic character of its evolution determined by ‘the propagation of certain ideas, which have slowly implanted themselves in men’s minds, and afterwards by the gradual association of individuals bent on bringing about the realisation of theoretical conceptions.’<sup>5</sup> The emphasis is also placed on the figure of a leader who inspires, shapes and manipulates the crowd. In other words, at the very centre of any crowd ‘there is either a leader or an object which carries a symbolic value.’<sup>6</sup> However, it is rather the origin of the crowd that is

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<sup>1</sup> Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Le Bon, Gustave. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Mika, ‘Introduction to the Third Polish Edition’, 5.

of greater significance to this study, its foundation and roots dubbed by Canetti as ‘crowd crystals.’

Crowd crystals conjure a clearly defined structure, an accumulation of parts which still remains constant. Within a crowd each member performs their own role. Nevertheless, separate identities are rendered invalid by the decision to form a unit, to pursue unity arising from common goals. According to Canetti, ‘no one thinks of their private existence; they are the orchestra,’<sup>7</sup> a tight-knit community which appears as if it would never disperse or fall apart. What is more, ‘life outside the crystal does not count.’<sup>8</sup> Crystals manifest themselves for instance in a soldier’s uniform or monk’s habit. In spite of the members’ private existence outside a crystal, ‘it is only in uniform that one sees them together; out of it they are entirely different people.’<sup>9</sup>

It seems worth pointing out that the stability of the crystal form is juxtaposed against the dynamic flux of the crowd. Furthermore, in the face of historic transformations the units of crowd crystals will persist in a dormant state due to their seminal isolation and constancy. The crystals just keep on existing on their own. Their re-activation can occur only if their stimulation and function are deemed paramount to a given set of circumstances. In fact, ‘there is scarcely any major political revolution which has not on occasion remembered such old, demoted groups, seized and galvanized them, and used them so intensively that they have appeared as something completely new and dangerously active.’<sup>10</sup>

For me the most fascinating element of the crowd crystals is their ability to signify a dormant potential. Their ‘withdrawn’ existence is predicated on the certainty that they will be re-activated eventually. The crystals represent a collective entity that is neither present nor eliminated in its entirety. My understanding of the term ‘crowd crystals’ diverges from their original definition. The nucleus is indeed the central part of the atom, but the atom itself contains smaller elements. In case of physics, these would be the protons and neutrons. In case of the crowd crystals, these would be people even though the original definition mentions the group. Personally, I found myself increasingly absorbed by the study of a single unit, an individual laying the foundations to the dense structure, an individual in itself

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<sup>7</sup> Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 74.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 75.

representing the interest of a group, isolated and constituting ‘part of its boundary.’<sup>11</sup> As a result, the plural form of crowd crystals was substituted with the singular ‘crowd crystal’ indicating the dormant potential of a person and the power they hold within.

It all raises the question about the role of an individual. Le Bon argues that ‘characteristic to the individual absorbed by the crowd is the fervor of a primitive man who takes great pains to implement this one particular idea that has captivated the crowd. This sort of behaviour degrades the intellectual prowess of an individual who becomes savage, barbaric and impetuous.’<sup>12</sup> According to the scholar, ‘individual in the crowd loses the awareness of the self’<sup>13</sup> and who they truly are, they unwittingly embrace the allure of the collective identity and diffused responsibility. Gabriel Tarde, a French sociologist, espoused a similar theory around the same period of time. Whereas an Italian criminologist Scipio Sighele advocated for a mass punishment for public disorder.<sup>14</sup> This pessimistic approach portrays the individual as a brainless cog in the machine of society that can be steered and manipulated easily for the sake of the higher goals. There is a reason why Hitler was enthralled by Le Bon’s theories, as well as meditations on crowds and race, including the following statement of his: ‘cross-breeding may be a source of improvement when it occurs between superior and sufficiently allied races, such as English and Germans of America, but it always constitutes an element of degeneration when the races, even though superior are too different.’<sup>15</sup> In his book *The Political Context of Sociology* published in 1961, Leon Bramson presents the critique of the European school of crowd theory that, in his opinion, was ‘inspired by anti-democratic sentiments.’<sup>16</sup> In the 1960s, the line of thought regarding the politics of crowds and their social function shifted its course. The dominating rhetoric changed in the aftermath of the World War II. Hence *Crowds and Power* by Elias Canetti turned out to be highly influential. The book marked a decisive departure from a conservative approach to the subject, included an extended area of research by opting for a more liberal outlook and demonstrating that ‘the equality created in crowds both has a liberating effect on the individual crowd members, and enables a democratic transformation that is in clear contrast to totalitarian tendencies.’<sup>17</sup> Canetti declares that crowds produce individuals whose separate lives he describes as prison, enclosed confinements - since only ‘in the crowd the individual feels that he is transcending

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>12</sup> Mika, ‘Introduction to the Third Polish Edition’, 5.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Aizman, ‘Crowd Theory’.

<sup>15</sup> Le Bon, *The Psychology of Peoples*, 53.

<sup>16</sup> Bramson, *The Political Context of Sociology*, 53.

<sup>17</sup> Borch, ‘Body to Body: On the Political Anatomy of Crowds,’ 282.

the limits of his own person. He has a sense of relief, for the distances are removed which used to throw him back on himself and shut him in. With the lifting of these burdens of distance he feels free; his freedom is the crossing of these boundaries.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, Canetti believes that the individual yearns for a respite from their own autonomy, and being a part of the crowd offers him this opportunity. Due to the fact that he is embroiled in the vast array of hierarchies, which should not even exist within the ostensibly disorganized, dynamic and fluctuating crowd, the individual is granted impunity and protected from the detrimental use of authority. Canetti's approach brings to mind the anarchic theory of Mikhail Bakunin who claimed that the individual is conceived by society: 'individual, his freedom and reason are the products of society, and not vice versa: society is not the product of individuals comprising it; and the higher, the more fully the individual is developed, the greater his freedom - and the more he is the product of society, the more does he receive from society and the greater his debt to it.'<sup>19</sup>

Canetti's analysis on the crowd crystals and the essential role they play in those crowds' emergence makes no mention of their discharge and scope. The author only states that the crystal 'never changes its size,'<sup>20</sup> maintains the sense of its own separateness, 'even in the midst of the greatest excitement the crystal stands out against it. Whatever the nature of the crowd it gives birth to, and however much it may appear to merge with it, it never completely loses the sense of its own identity and always recombines again after the disintegration of the crowd.'<sup>21</sup> Our discussion veers into the topic of the distribution of power, time and location where the groups of crystals make an appearance.

From a geological standpoint, the process of crystallisation encompasses a fluid-based mineral dissolution and reprecipitation, which usually transpires as a result of water penetrating into the subsequent layers of the earth. The freezing temperature of water dissolves those minerals into separate ions. Upon the water's evaporation, the ions bind and form the structure of a mineral. Dissolved into water, the minerals stop existing for a period of time only to return to their former state. An obvious analogy to the crowd crystals highlights the circularity of this process based upon individual particles susceptible to transformations. Crowd crystals act as the catalysts for social change. Assuming the process of crystallisation involves a gradual formation of underlying structures, then the

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<sup>18</sup> Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 20.

<sup>19</sup> Bakunin, 'Society and the Individual,' 158.

<sup>20</sup> Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 73.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 74.



crowds are in fact processes not products. In case of ‘the actual precipitation of crowds out of the (fluid) dynamics of ambient events [...] crowd crystals will be granted a role [of the] [...] “spine”.’<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile my project evokes the notion of the crowd crystal - an individual stimulating collective thinking that at no stage rises to the position of a leader. While elaborating on the narrative spun by Canetti, I come to the conclusion that not only do crowds produce individuals, but also individuals, at their very core, initiate crowds’ production. Within this extended framework, the precipitated crowd generates the crowd crystal which is then relocated. The crystal is instilled with the potential to build awareness, assume responsibility and initiate change.

My entire generation grew up in the reality marked by open borders and the realisation that you had to speak English if you wanted to become ‘a citizen of the world.’ We were being trained to live in the new era. Poland became a member state of the European Union when I was sixteen. My innate curiosity combined with lifestyle and career ambitions inspired me to move to London. One day, I suddenly became part of a society I seemingly had everything in common with. My enrolment into the postgraduate programme at the prestigious University College London lent me credibility in the eyes of people I met. Often, I had to explain my foreign accent, which exposed my ‘Other’ origin in an instant. In the two years I have spent here, there was no single week when I did not utter the formulaic phrase ‘I am from Poland.’ My response to hordes of people asking me questions and their varied reactions ranged from pride to shame. Over and over again, I had to repeat the same string of words. The sheer force of my weariness prompted me to modify my answer to the question ‘Where are you from?’ and opt for ‘For now, from London.’ And yet I was still incapable of cutting short the conversation about my origins. On top of that, the people I was taking to were even more intrigued.

I have lived in Poland for twenty-nine years being Polish. No one questioned it, no one asked me about it, no one had doubts. Ever since I arrived in the United Kingdom, I had to spell out where I was from and why I was here, every single day. The intensity of this experience made me question my Polish identity. I was wondering whether I was genuinely Polish. Do I want to be Polish? How do I know I am and why does it matter so much to all those people around me? I realized that my descent determines my identity. Overwhelming uncertainty related to the person I was and wanted to be ensued. Upon familiarizing myself

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<sup>22</sup> ‘Confronting Crowds And Power: 1. The Crowd (Crowd Crystals).’

closer with the surrounding space and environment, I noticed there was no place for those who wondered. The world I live in is the world of rigid definitions and declarations. I need to know where I come from and where I am going. I need to recognize my aptitude, role and offer, learn to communicate it. Thus, the mundane daily existence in the metropolis, which encapsulates every possible association subsumed under the umbrella term of 21<sup>st</sup> century civilisation, has eviscerated virtually all aspects of such a delicate topic as the sense of one's identity and belonging. My origin became my obsession, which has only been exacerbated by the fact that I applied for the pre-settled status that would allow me to stay legally in the United Kingdom in case of 'hard' Brexit or a complete overhaul of the migration policy. Despite multiple privileges I enjoy right now, I decided to make major strides in legalizing my residence at the place I call home. I was appointed a member of the minority regardless of my own volition. The crowd decided my social status for me.

All the former rules about 'living' were rendered invalid. I was speaking in a different language. I had to get used to a different way of thinking, a different way of life. Although my perspective is obviously highly subjective, it still conveys the nature of conditions my friends and I were confronted with (not necessarily migrants, I mean). I had no influence whatsoever on the processes that affected my own life. There was little I could do. Even now I keep mulling over the way I lived my life during the first two years I spent in London: was it 'written in the stars?' Was it my own 'choice' or politically determined route? My own sense of isolation emerged - to some degree - from this pervading atmosphere. I felt alienated because of the lifestyle I happened to lead, as well as the fact that I was the citizen of another country. And this is the way the inline skating female soldier was born, almost analogously, out of the two contradictory elements as uniform and inline skates. The creation of a humorous hybrid was as innocuous as my arrival in the United Kingdom. However, it is the spatial context that elevates the whole thing in both cases. The visual landscape around the skater brings to the fore her social separateness and isolation. Military uniform (not to mention inline skates) clashes with the streets of London's business district. What is more, this typically jammed and crowded area is at odds with the air of the surroundings. The soldier is the crowd crystal.

All these observations spark the basic question: where does the crowd crystal come from? My deeply biased point of view would suggest that its structure is moulded very precisely by the crowd operating within society. One should however bear in mind that there are multiple crowds a person might co-establish and belong to simultaneously. The enormous

weight of mutual responsibility incurred by a decision to change one's place of residence or accept someone into society has contributed to the migrant crisis. In this situation, both parties 'negotiate' the conditions of their co-existence, agree to respect their differences and worldviews while abiding by the social order of a given region. For instance, I can practice my own religion, participate in or form an organization representing the interests of my own community, and yet if I apply for the permanent citizenship I must demonstrate a high degree of assimilation through my knowledge of the official language, national history and culture of the country, as well as my grasp of social conventions, which are of utmost importance.

My decision to live and stay in the United Kingdom was motivated by a great variety of rational (e.g. professional ambitions) and emotional factors. The political climate facilitated my transition, in a sense I was plucked from the Polish crowd and inserted into the British one. My new predicament was governed by the set of rules that, though often incredibly similar, diverged considerably from my former experiences, which were incongruous and lacking. This kind of situation only aggravates one's sense of alienation. Nonetheless, a more thorough analysis laid bare the fact that a person belongs to a number of various crowds by simultaneously being for instance: a woman, Polish citizen, East European migrant, and ultimately a legitimate British citizen (interesting how the informal and symbolic variation of this process goes way faster than its formal counterpart). This fascinating evolution compelled me to define my own identity. Otherwise I would be incapable of functioning under these new circumstances due to the emotional distress caused by internal disintegration. Thus, I embraced my Polish identity anew. It is my constant, unchanging state of affair impervious to the positive or negative decision concerning my British citizenship. At the same time, I am adapting to the new social context, gradually becoming a full-fledged member of the British society. Presumably even though the crystal (or migrant) might 'appear to merge with it [crowd], it never completely loses the sense of its own identity.'<sup>23</sup> Therefore, I bear the brunt of dual responsibility of showing respect to the culture I actually come from, as well as the culture in which I now live.

I created the project *Crowd Crystal* while all of the abovementioned processes were affecting my life to the point where I could no longer ignore it. I would never purport to represent a perfect model of the crowd crystal, but a collection of my personal experiences inspired me to adopt and painstakingly investigate this notion. Furthermore, it allowed

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<sup>23</sup> Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 74.

me to conduct experiments in the current context. The project with an inline skating female soldier unfurls the slightly utopian yet disturbing narrative about the identity. The overtly exaggerated persona is the embodiment of every single attribute of the crystals determined by Canetti himself: a ‘one-man show’ (meaning ‘small’) that attains ‘unity’ owing to an appearance and ‘can be comprehended’ easily. You probably would not mistake the soldier for someone else and recognize her almost immediately. In all likelihood, she holds a representative function. No soldier is regarded in terms of ‘their private existence.’ Her ‘sense of identity’ – ‘isolation’ even - is evident. Her actions are precise, constant, stable, static perhaps, but never spontaneous. In addition, the soldier is perfectly aware of the context she inhabits at any moment. Most notably, she ensures an astounding historical permanence of the represented idea. From the dawn of times, people have relocated, migrated and adapted to the new conditions regardless of their gender, class, social standing, descent and race. The utopian quality of the project mentioned above derives from the isolation and ‘crystalline’ nature of our protagonist emphasized by every single component of the video installation. We are watching this character, observing, poring over every element of her outfit, over her every movement, judging as if she was placed under a microscope. We decipher meanings behind this strange figure traversing a simulated landscape. The image is transmitted with no interference. Meanwhile in today’s society, it is extremely difficult to identify clearly which group (or individual) is the crowd crystal or not. I am fascinated by the figure of Greta Thunberg whose tenaciousness, young age and media buzz earned her the symbolic status of the global climate strike’s instigator. And yet she has never declared herself the leader. Crowds find her unyielding integrity inspiring. Though thematically distant from the main narrative, this example illustrates the fact that the mechanisms described in this chapter persist until this day in the not necessarily negative contexts. A departure from the terms ‘ruler’ and ‘leader’ creates an entirely different social dynamic. The crowd knows it has power. In that sense, I would like to think that every person is ‘the crowd crystal’ because every person has a potential to initiate social change or at least point at its direction. Awareness of this potential seems problematic from the vantage point of politics and distribution of power, which we tackled previously. As a prerequisite for social progress and elimination of stale conventions, it might contradict the interests of those who actually benefit from the status quo. And that is the clue of the *Crowd Crystal* project. My intention was to emphasize the agency of each and every individual irrespective of their origin and location, their responsibility for the state of reality and ability to change it.

The process of adaptation occurs gradually. Cognizant of our origins, which we cherish, we maintain our individual identity in this situation while assimilating into the new community and operating as part of a different culture and nation. This exchange and ethnic diversity fosters a more rapid and dynamic development of societies. Equally ubiquitous are the opposite tendencies that unfortunately promote isolation and monoculturalism. Elias Canetti devoted his whole life to the study of how individual activity affects crowd behaviour. The contemporary grassroot movements and civic initiatives and activism bear testimony to a man's potential to usher in and advocate for change. Furthermore, the crowd's increased awareness boosts a number of this type of initiatives, people's engagement and their expression of support.



**Fig. 4** *Skateboarding Summit, the reflection on social exclusion in the context of alternative culture, video still*  
(Anna Jochymek, 2019)



**Fig. 5** *Skateboarding Summit, the reflection on social exclusion in the context of alternative culture, video still*  
(Anna Jochymek, 2019)

## CHAPTER 2

### ON INLINE SKATING

I was staring at the reverse side of my business card while sitting in a studio. It features the insignia assigned to the rank of a major in the Polish Armed Forces - a star and two bars. This symbol has never belonged to me personally. However, it represents a certain idea and evokes my graduate art project *Bâton Fleurdelisé* (2013). I added four circles to the sign, which suddenly became more dynamic. My instinctive response was to conjure inline skates and create a brand-new rank insignia for skating army members. I pictured the entire units inline skating around the city instead of just marching in columns. The solitude pertinent to inline skating has always been quite fascinating to me. The military uniform of my father was shipped to the United Kingdom. I tried it on. It fit perfectly. I put on inline skates. The image was complete.

A closer look at the studies on the history of skateboarding and inline skating proves that these sports have developed independently from one another despite the fact that they belong to the same sports category. Hardly any scientific publications about inline skating have been published. Meanwhile, the abundance of books and articles tackling every aspect of skateboarding imaginable is readily available on the market. When asked about inline skaters, Piotr Lewicki, a Poznań-based skateboarder, responded with ‘all I know is that there is no feud between us.’<sup>1</sup> His statement only confirmed my suspicion about the existence of an inner divide. The so-called roller sports, meaning sports that use human physical ability to powered vehicles are associated mainly within the World Skate organization that describes itself as the institution promoting ‘Skateboarding & Roller Sports,’ which seems rather inaccurate. By definition, skateboarding is clearly subsumed under the group of roller sports. The terminology used by Francisco Vivoni in his essay ‘City of Social Control. Skateboarding

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<sup>1</sup> The conversation was held on-line on July 30, 2019.

and the Regulation of Public Space’ correlates more closely with the course of my study. The term ‘skate sports’ proposed by Vivoni seems particularly suitable in the context of the area of my research since it denotes not only the physical activity but also its cultural meaning. Skate sports viewed as subculture constitute ‘material expression of resistance.’<sup>2</sup> Although a great majority of theories about street skating refers to skateboarding only, they could also be applied to all the activities related to the skate sports, including the presence of skaters in public space.

In English, *skating* refers to ice-skates and ice-skating; *inline skating* involves roller skating on skates whose wheels are attached in a single line; while *skateboarding* stands for riding on a skateboard. Originally, the root *skate* defines skating as the mean of transportation using a small device propelled by a person’s physical strength. The word *skater* ultimately came to describe all people engaged in all types of skate sports. The lexical meaning is however slightly misleading. Today, *skater* is considered widely as the equivalent of the term *skateboarder*. During my conversation with Piotr Lewicki<sup>3</sup> I inquired about the scene’s nomenclature and the distinction between *skate* and *skater* – ‘it is reduced to skateboarders and skateboarding now,’ he said without missing a beat. Obviously, I could not simply accept the answer. Inline skaters were bothered by the lack of label for their sport. At some point, inline skaters coined the term *aggressive skating* that separated them from other skating disciplines (e.g. hockey and inline speed skating). Tough readily adopted, *aggressive skating* does not account for the development of various trends and styles within the discipline. The community believes that *aggressive skaters* were ‘trying too hard’ to differentiate themselves. As a result, the term *rollerblading* was embraced anew. It derives from the name of a company which first produced inline skates. Nonetheless, *rollerblades* entered the English dictionary as the officially recognized noun. The word was imbibed into the global jargon and continues to be most commonly used by the members of the international inline skating community.

The first primitive roller skates were created in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Netherlands as the alternative to ice-skates, which at that time were considered as an easy mean of transportation used mainly over short distances. The prototype of roller skates first recorded in history was designed by the British inventor Jean Joseph Merlin who affixed metal rollers to a wooden board around the year 1760, a decade prior to the discovery of the Polynesian surfing by the

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<sup>2</sup> Vivoni, ‘City of Social Control. Skateboarding and the Regulation of Public Space,’ 117.

<sup>3</sup> The conversation was held on July 30, 2019.



Europeans. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, James Leonard Plimpton from New York invented the model of roller skates we are nowadays familiar with. Joseph Gidman filed a patent for roller skates equipped with ball bearings in 1852. Another improvement was introduced by William Bown who patented a new design for wheels. Additionally, his adjustable roller bearing system was implemented in the wheels of bicycles and carriages.<sup>4</sup> The revolution in the world of roller skating erupted in the 1950s California. The unsatisfactory height of waves compelled bored surfers to seek out other pastimes. They adapted the construction of wheels and bearing systems in roller skates and affixed them to a board. Thus, the first skateboards were born. Presumably, similar solutions were being developed simultaneously by a few independent persons. Therefore, it is quite difficult to determine who in fact invented a skateboard. The very first production, commission and sale of skateboards can be traced back definitively to the Los Angeles based store. The activity itself was dubbed *sidewalk surfing*. According to a deal with the Chicago Roller Skate Company, Bill Richard manufactured wooden square boards with wheel systems for skating attached underneath. The popularity of skateboards increased exponentially over the next 50 years. Consequently, the new centres and shops were established in the surfing spots, such as North Bondi in Australia, Manly Beach in Cornwall, the United Kingdom and New South Wales. A few years later, at the beginning of 1970s, skateboards' popularity declined. Due to the spike in insurance prices and volatile markets the construction of skateparks was terminated, the already existing ones were closed. The skateboard was returning to its former glory in the mid-1970s. The improvements in the construction of wheels enabled a smooth ride on the not necessarily flat terrain. In this manner skateboarders traversed their pre-designated areas and took to suburban alleys, schoolyards, nearby drainage ditches and pools. The last two locations were embraced by skateboarders especially during the longstanding drought raging around California. Skateboarders moved to the places defined by Iain Borden as 'found spaces,' meaning 'places not intended for skateboarding but nonetheless appropriated by skaters, and often on a temporary or semi-illegal basis.'<sup>5</sup> The social awareness of skateboarders and their own lifestyle started growing. From the outset, their visibility in public spaces induced strong emotions. In 1964, Chris Villalobos, a fifteen year-old from Los Angeles, was shot by his neighbour because of the loud noise he produced while riding on a skateboard.

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<sup>4</sup> Williams, 'The History of Inline Skate Development'.

<sup>5</sup> Borden, 'Skateboarding and Public Space. A Brief History of 50 Years of Change,' 19.

The first modern inline skates were created in the 1980s so that hockey players could continue to train outside the season. The popularisation of this sport is attributed to Brennan and Scott Olson, brothers and founders of the company Rollerblade, which gave rise to the term *rollerblading*. It was the first company that produced and marketed rollerblades on a large scale. Rollerblades gained immense popularity and recognition among snow skiers, hockey players and figure skaters. For this reason, they were advertised in the 1980s mainly in the magazines for winter sports enthusiasts, the slogan being ‘Moving fast into the future!’<sup>6</sup>

Inline skating gained popularity as skaters made their way around seaside towns, wowing the crowds at the beach with their moves. Demonstration groups of skaters encouraged passers-by to take a shot at it. This extremely successful strategy convinced hordes of people to strap on inline skates. The activity itself was embraced as a form of recreation, fitness and entertainment. As a result, by 1991 inline skating was a 200 million dollars a year industry. In this economic and participation boom, a group of skaters delved deeper into the sport’s possibilities and gravitated towards a more extreme version of inline skating. In spite of the initially sceptical reaction, the movement evolved into the form of artistic expression. What is more, the first issue of *Daily Breed Magazine* dedicated solely to inline skating was issued in 1993.

The most influential group of the 1990s were the founders of the company Senate who also pioneered street and aggressive inline skating: Arlo Eisenberg, Brooke Howard-Smith, Brian Konoske, Aaron Spohn and Mark ‘Heineken’ Groenhuyzen. The company produced accessories for inline skating. Its inaugural line of t-shirts sparked media outrage due to the slogan reading ‘Destroy all girls’ sawn on the backs of washing labels. According to the company representatives, the slogan was a marketing gimmick designed to ruffle consumers’ feathers. The attention of news outlets, including CNN, was unexpected. In twenty-four hours, inline skating became associated closely with the name Senate. The company promised that the slogan would not appear on labels from their new season line, but they never made an official apology either. A scandal of this magnitude did not cause the downfall of a company, quite the contrary. Senate was thriving and turning a huge profit. The sport of inline skating captured people’s imagination. Inline skates were as omnipresent as skateboards and BMX at least as far as the market dominance was concerned. They generated buzz in the mass media. In 1991, Rick King directed the classic film *Rollerboys*

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<sup>6</sup> ‘Barely Dead: The Saga of Modern Rollerblading.’

featuring the line ‘we are the new generation and we are the remedy.’ The film *Airborne* (dir. Rob Bowman) premiered in 1993, whereas X Games, which promoted extreme skate sports including aggressive inline skating, were launched in 1995. The subject caught attention of MTV Sports, MTV Music and Sports Festival. Inline skating reflected the same ‘do-it-yourself’ ethos as many other youth movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Skaters ‘were bucking the system and popular opinion to focus on their own specialized interests,’<sup>7</sup> dedicating their whole lives to inline skating and showcasing independence, self-expression and freedom.

In case of skateboarding, the late 1980s saw the rapid development of *streetstyle* which then became known as *street skating*. Skaters tapped into all the possibilities offered by public space: curbs, walls, benches, stairs, rails, barriers and numerous other elements posed a greater challenge to skaters than riding in emptied swimming pools. In his essay entitled “‘Reclaim Your City!’ Skateboarding and Do-It-Yourself Urbanism,” Christian Peters states the following: ‘street skateboarding skating happens without the spatial and material framings that classic skate-specific spaces such as indoor and outdoor skate parks and street plazas designed for skateboarding provide. Its natural habitat is the street; it takes place in the public space of the city [...]. The city thereby functions as a “land of opportunity” with boundless possibilities; it constitutes the unlimited playground of street skateboarding. Street skateboarding is therefore a practice of urban geography.’<sup>8</sup>

Skaters appropriated the public space, ‘helped unlock a hidden potential of cities’<sup>9</sup> and - according to the architect Anthony Bracali – ‘energized many of these poorly conceived and under-utilized spaces with a new activity.’<sup>10</sup> Skaters spreading around the cities elicited a generally visceral reaction because as Iain Borden wrote drawing on LeFebvre’s thought ‘Social space is always a matter of contestation, and this fact was made extremely evident to skaters via innumerable anti-skateboarding bans, bylaws, fines, and even prosecutions,’<sup>11</sup>

The position of skateboarding was built continuously by its participants since the late 1940s and early 1950s. Meanwhile inline skating achieved the same, if not actually higher, market position in approximately ten years. This fact fueled the strong antagonism between the two groups. The very first X Games promoting all kinds of extreme skater sports (e.g. skateboarding, inline skating and BMX) were held in 1995. As then the most important

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Peters, “‘Reclaim Your City!’ Skateboarding and Do-It-Yourself Urbanism,” 202.

<sup>9</sup> Borden, ‘Skateboarding and Public Space. A Brief History of 50 Years of Change,’ 22.

<sup>10</sup> As cited in: Ibid, 22.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 22.

event in the industry, X Games attracted a wealth of various sponsors and all media channels specializing in the subject. The legends of every discipline participated in the competition. No wonder the skateboarding community was making attempts at undermining inline skaters, who came to such a high prominence. Before MTV had even discovered the format of 'Jackass',<sup>12</sup> it was *Big Brother* skateboarding magazine that strived to ridicule the culture of inline skating. The cover of its 69. issue entitled *Worst Issue Ever* featured *the benihana air* (commonly viewed by skateboarders as tacky) done over a couple of oversized porn models covered in fake blood. The interview with Arlo Eisenberg conducted by the editor-in-chief Dave Carnie was published in the same issue and the conversation revolved around the incident that went down in history as *the rollerblader hunter*. Carnie and Chris Nieratko, his fellow editor, were lurking in the bushes around the spots where Arlo trained. When he landed a trick, they jumped and tackled him. It was a satirical piece that was not perceived as such by the majority of inline skaters. Their impression was only confirmed by the embarrassing and humiliating questions asked by David as part of the interview. Arlo exhibited a great sense of humour by going along with the skit that would make him look bad. Moreover, both the interview and prank showed that the team at *Big Brother* magazine was really concerned with ridiculing all inline skaters. Andy Kruse, a pioneering aggressive inline skater, explains that 'the part of animosity originated from the fact that inline skating was really big. We were taking skateboarders and they were turning into rollerbladers. Kids were starting rollerblading instead of skateboarding. And so they saw us as a threat to their industry. So of course they are goanna rag on it and try to beat it out.'<sup>13</sup> A group of inline skaters who used to skateboard was deeply disappointed by this state of affairs. Arlo Eisenberg said in an interview that 'it was just this whole culture. It was unconventional. And so now to be hated just because of what I do...it is disappointing and not only that but the way that they would disrespect us, that is disheartening. My idols, the people that created this counterculture model. [...] we are all following the skateboarding's lead.'<sup>14</sup> The attitude along the lines of 'let me do my thing, you do yours' was then adopted to curb this onslaught of negativity in the skating community. Still the conflict continued to escalate to the point when inline skaters got into fights or were thrown out of bars. 'I have scars to show for [...]

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<sup>12</sup> An American reality comedy television series broadcasted by MTV in the years 2000-2002 that featured a cast carrying out a variety of dangerous, brutal and shocking stunts or pranks. The format was design to cause outrage. The group of screenwriters and main actors included the stuntmen originating from the skating or BMX community.

<sup>13</sup> 'Barely Dead: The Saga of Modern Rollerblading.'

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

the time when I stood up for rollerblading,' Jon Elliott recalls while also mentioning that the group was "tortured" by the skateboarding community.<sup>15</sup>

By 2004, the overall impression was that inline skating was languishing. A year later, the discipline was also removed from X Games' programme. Inline skaters disappeared from the media; the industry started collapsing. To be fair, local competitions did revive some interest in the sport around Europe and Asia. Professional inline skaters from the US admitted with a bout of sadness that the contests were organized more frequently abroad than in the country where the culture was born. These circumstances failed to boost the commercial business. The market shrunk, professionals earned a pittance, financial prizes were off the table and sponsorship dropped. On top of all that, skating magazines closed their doors. In this way, aggressive inline skating returned to 'the underground.' Some of the dedicated skaters were quite pleased with this turn of events. However, the opposing fraction dominated the scene. In an interview featured in the film *Barely Dead: The Saga of Modern Rollerblading*, Arlo Eisenberg argues: 'people say that it is cool we are underground, and I say fuck that!'<sup>16</sup>

In retrospect, the parallel evolution of these two sports, skateboarding and inline skating, was filled with tension. History shows that even within the same subculture inline skating has always been perceived as strange and incongruous. Skateboarders were clearly bothered by their foe's ability to capture the public imagination, to gain recognition and position in the market. Even though both crews represented the same culture, they were vying for sponsorship, media deals and coverage, as well as the symbolic values such as social prestige and status.

Since 2017, I have interviewed dozens of skaters from Poland, the United Kingdom and the Czech Republic for the sake of the *Crowd Crystal* project. As it turns out, inline skaters slipped into oblivion, so I spoke mainly with skateboarders. An aggressive inline skater from the United Kingdom confessed to me that he had not been inline skating for a long time because 'this sport was already over.' In 2018, Marcin Polak, a curator, invited me to participate in the *Limit/less (Bez/granicznie)* project. My initial idea to collaborate with a group of inline skaters did not come to fruition since, for a while now, inline skaters were nowhere to be found in Łódź. As a result, I decided to approach some local skateboarders. Together, we created the project entitled *Skateboarding Summit or the reflection on social*

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

*exclusion in the context of alternative culture* and focused on the thing these two activities had in common, namely operating in the public space while street or urban skating. During our meeting, we made a video and engaged in a discussion on the issues faced by skaters. We gathered in the empty WY Gallery in Łódź. In a span of several hours, my collaborators constructed a makeshift skatepark solely out of the interior elements they found on location. Then, we concentrated on the conversation. The end result of our project was the black and white video that built the narrative of exclusion and otherness while showcasing some of the most impactful slogans uttered by participating skaters.

In this context, the city becomes much more than an architectural structure or ingenious playground for skaters. It embodies the social and political dimensions laid bare by the skaters' presence, appropriation and co-existence in the urban space alongside its other inhabitants. In his essay 'City of Social Control. Skateboarding and the Regulation of Public Space,' Francisco Vivoni examines the activity of skaters and describes it as 'an ephemeral spatial tactic, an everyday practice, and an aesthetic playful intervention that undermines the intended uses of built forms and the moral panic inherent to the "cleansing" project concerned with regulation, privatisation, and urban beautification.'<sup>17</sup> The contemporary urban spaces are governed by the set of strict precise rules designed to organize lives of their citizens and define what brings either 'order' or 'chaos'. Mike Davis refers directly to the militarisation of urban space through the implementation of state-of-the-art CCTV technology to ensure proper conduct. Additionally, design deterrents targeted at skateboarders include for instance the automatically deployed sprinklers, bird control ledges and the so-called bum-proof benches which are furnished with rails or spikes to prevent people from sleeping and skating on them. Labelled 'sadistic urbanism,' this last tactic aimed at preserving the places for sitting has been transferred frequently onto the sidewalk with the view of deterring the homeless. Don Mitchell, in his book *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, stipulates that fear is in fact 'the driving force' behind the regulations that 'tend toward [...] the wholesale elimination of a class of people who have nowhere else to be but in public. In short, anti-homeless laws undermine the very right to the city.'<sup>18</sup> The assumption that precise spatial design fosters the development of desirable social behaviours underpins the attempts to turn cities into fortresses. This type of control mechanism could manifest itself through the instalment of the CCTV surveillance systems, brightness of night-time lighting, spikes affixed

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<sup>17</sup> Vivoni, 'City of Social Control. Skateboarding and the Regulation of Public Space,' 111.

<sup>18</sup> Mitchell, *The Right to the City. Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, 9.

on top of gates and fences you cannot jump over, with a series of regulations and even the police hour. Street skaters openly express their defiance against these sorts of practices. In his article ‘Street and Park Skateboarding in New York City Public Space,’ Chihsin Chiu states that ‘skateboarding in the park is like walking through the Central Park on the paths. One [street skating] is [that] you are making your own path, the other way is [that] you are making the path that urban planners say “this is the path that you should walk on”.’<sup>19</sup>

Skaters are excluded from the public space on the grounds that they pose an alleged threat to public safety, buildings’ preservation and maintenance. Authorities have at their disposal a vast array of rationales and tools that they could invoke in order to admonish or even punish skaters for their use of public space. These potential offences, such as trespassing, activities which generate noise and defacement of property, motivated by the conviction that ‘from the standpoint of public safety, scuff-producing skateboarding bodies must be deterred in order to uphold the symbolic purchase of private property and state authority’<sup>20</sup> bring us to the subject of public space’s privatisation and expansion of public-private partnership, which breeds commercialisation by way of outdoor advertising. In the essay entitled ‘City of Social Control. Skateboarding and the Regulation of Public Space,’ Francisco Vivoni recognizes the fact that ‘trappings of private ownership and commerce are woven into the fabric of the place.’<sup>21</sup> The strategies aimed at ‘improving the quality of life’ of citizenry are swayed by the private sector and capital flow. Vivoni makes the following observation that ‘the most recent wave of urban revitalisation effort produces downtown public spaces that cater to the leisure pursuits of affluent newcomers while pricing out tenured working poor and indigent people from their neighbourhoods and single occupancy residences.’<sup>22</sup> The transformation of Notting Hill in London could serve as an example here. After the district had been demolished in the World War II bombings, it was populated mainly by the Afro-Caribbean minority. The standard of living in the area was extremely low. Racial tensions between minorities and working-class people escalated in the 1950s. The British subculture of ‘Teddy Boy’ consisted of young white men whose outfits were inspired partially by the dandy style of the Edwardian period, which the Savile Row tailors strived to revive after the war. Teddy Boys displayed deep hostility towards their black neighbours. The conflict was exacerbated even further by frictions caused by the forming nationalist organizations, such as Oswald Mosley’s Union

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<sup>19</sup> Chiu, ‘Street and Park Skateboarding in New York City Public Space,’ 35.

<sup>20</sup> Vivoni, ‘City of Social Control. Skateboarding and the Regulation of Public Space,’ 115.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 112.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 110.

Movement and the White Defence League. In the aftermath of two-weeks riots which erupted in September 1958, a total of 108 persons (72 white, 32 black) were charged with offences, such as assault, riot, grievous bodily harm and weapon possession. In the 1980s, Notting Hill's stylish yet neglected architecture began to return to favour with the citizens of London who were buying and renovating houses in the area. The then established Notting Hill Housing Trust was the socially-oriented organization that helped provide homes for lower-income families living in London. Some members of the community who were struggling with making ends meet or living in the area since the post-war period were forced to leave Notting Hill due to its increasing popularity and luxurious standing.

Contemporary cities are managed according to the strategies (directed to skaters, among other groups) that cultivate their visual facade ideally exuding a sense contemporaneity, magnificent history, flawless organization and harmony. This image of a city could be tarnished in a literal and metaphorical sense by a presence of skaters taking into account the fact that 'street skateboarding in public thus attracts much more attention than skateboarding does in the isolation of skate-specific spaces. Its spectacular presence in the everyday environments of the city and the bodily contestation of normative regulations inscribed in public spaces that becomes highly visible for bystanders and passers-by make street skateboarding a highly controversial practice.'<sup>23</sup> Skaters' activity, which imbues public space with freshness and vibrancy, could be considered the antidote to 'urban drought.' This was certainly the reason why the notorious media campaign was launched against the redevelopment scheme of London's South Bank that would incur the closure of the Undercroft skatepark. The name of a spot derives from its location - the undercroft of the Southbank Centre. The formerly vacant space was adapted to skateboarding in the 1970s. As street skating's popularity grew in the 1980s and 1990s, the Southbank Undercroft evolved into Iain Borden's 'found space'. It is a creative destination for skateboarders, BMXers, photographers, filmmakers, dancers and musicians inspired by the place whose every inch has been covered gradually in graffiti. In 2013, the skating community gathered an immense public support and rallied ferociously against the plans of the Southbank Centre to close the spot permanently in order to refurbish the entire complex. Long Live Southbank, the campaign which united those wishing to preserve the Undercroft, used such slogans as 'You Can't Move History', 'Preservation and Not Relocation' and 'Construction Without

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<sup>23</sup> Peters, "Reclaim Your City!" Skateboarding and Do-It-Yourself Urbanism,' 202.



Destruction.<sup>24</sup> The binding agreement guaranteeing the place's long-term future was signed by both parties in September 2014.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, news concerning the plans for the skate spot's expansion and foundation of 'the creative education centre' made headlines in 2018. Elaine Bedell, the Southbank Centre's chief executive, declared that 'the development of this space will give skaters and BMXers access to newly opened up and restored sections of the Undercroft whilst young people and schoolchildren from across the capital will benefit from a new fully accessible arena for diverse creative and learning activities.'<sup>26</sup> The restored sections of the Southbank Undercroft Skate Space opened to the public on July 20, 2019.<sup>27</sup>

Another illustrative example of this sort of practice could be the John F. Kennedy Plaza (better known as LOVE Park) which opened in Philadelphia in 1965. Iain Borden emphasizes the fact that Edmund Bacon, an extraordinary architect, originally devised the park as 'a civic space.' Over the years, the skating spot has gained international recognition. It was frequented by the legends of skateboarding, such as Brian Wenning, Matt Reason, Fred Gall, Rick Oyola, Stevie Williams and Josh Kalis. The presence of skaters reduced drug dealing and crime in the park, and as a consequence was welcomed by a number of businessmen working in the area. As cited by Borden, the investment banker Andrew Honhs appreciates LOVE Park as 'an international symbol of youth and vitality, an image Philadelphia desperately needs to project. It provides a generous amount of free publicity for the city, and generates a significant amount of tourism.'<sup>28</sup> The park's reputation as a skating-friendly zone influenced the decision to organize the 2001 and 2002 X Games in Philadelphia. As a result, the city turned an enormous profit. Nevertheless, the authorities banned skating from the LOVE Park in 2002. Rick Oyola commented on the decision in one of his interviews: 'we made this place. We made this place alive. Honestly we made this place worth anything. It was just fuckin' drug dealers, dudes chillin' up there, fightin' each other all the time, every day, you know what I mean. Like that is all it was. We came here and we gave it life.'<sup>29</sup> The general opinion is that the ordinance to close the park to skaters had a detrimental effect, and 'the end of LOVE Park as a skateboarding mecca is something all Philadelphians should mourn.'<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Borden, 'Skateboarding and Public Space. A Brief History of 50 Years of Change,' 25.

<sup>25</sup> 'Long Live Southbank.'

<sup>26</sup> De Peyer, 'South Bank's Famous Undercroft Skate Park to be Given Huge Extension.'

<sup>27</sup> 'Restored sections of renowned Southbank Undercroft Skate Space to open July 20th.'

<sup>28</sup> Borden, 'Skateboarding and Public Space. A Brief History of 50 Years of Change,' 23.

<sup>29</sup> Howell, 'The 'Creative Class' and the Gentrifying City. Skateboarding in Philadelphia's Love Park', 40.

<sup>30</sup> McQuade, 'A Farewell: LOVE Park, Skateboard Mecca.'

Skaters' attitude and tenacity push them to go into 'a battle to liberate public space from legal regulation, and to reencode the meaning of public space within the experience of skating.'<sup>31</sup> Their presence reminds us of the alternative ways in which we could use public space that at the end of the day is supposed to serve the people. Their needs should go hand in hand with any adjustments to the continuously evolving urban landscape. Skaters constantly question the prevailing rules by bringing unique energy to the space. Skating 'thrives on the creative exploration of the built environment rather than on ready-made regulated, and enclosed parks'<sup>32</sup> but it is worth bearing in mind that their (our) presence precipitates the cities' further development.

In London, I observed a curious tendency to build skateparks surrounded by fences, such as Canteloves Concrete Bowl and Skatepark situated in Camden Town. This sort of spatial intervention seems to reflect some kind of compromise brokered by contemporary city councils. Street skaters were noticed and given their own place. In exchange, they are expected to reign in their unpredictable manner of conduct and maintain social order. Surely it is a nod to the skating community. However, in my opinion, the practice represents an attempt to tame and commercialize the inherently free and rebellious culture. First and foremost, street skaters relentlessly call for and demand their own place in society as 'whether on planned or found spaces, street skateboarding [...] embodies a politics of resistance and social inclusion.'<sup>33</sup>

The use of inline skates in the *Crowd Crystal* project carries a double meaning. As a daring expression of youthful energy, vitality, defiance and protest, inline skaters are associated 'with emotions of wildness, lawlessness, and adventure, as well as an aura of rebelliousness'<sup>34</sup> projected as you dash around a city, not a skatepark. On the other hand, street skating is essentially a *death drive*, it is a risk one decides to take in the face of high accident possibility deriving from unpredictable circumstances. These are the real threats and the real risk linked to extreme sports. Marcin Sińczak, one of the skaters from Łódź I spoke with,<sup>35</sup> certainly did not mince words: 'if you dislocate your knee, then that is it, you are done. The knees and ankles are the biggest pain in the ass. A lot of guys who had some kind of knee injury either stopped skateboarding or they kept going, but will never skateboard the way they used to. I

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<sup>31</sup> Ferrell, *Tearing Down the Streets: Adventures in Urban Anarchy*, 72.

<sup>32</sup> Vivoni, 'City of Social Control. Skateboarding and the Regulation of Public Space,' 119.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, 125.

<sup>34</sup> Peters, "'Reclaim Your City!'" Skateboarding and Do-It-Yourself Urbanism,' 203.

<sup>35</sup> The conversation was held in Łódź on November 24, 2018.

would never even have thought about this stuff before, but the thoughts come to you with age, as you become more responsible and also mature. You get a little scared as you start thinking about what would happen if something happened to you, if you could not live normally, if your life was taken away from you.’

The degree of difficulty involved in skateboarding and inline skating spikes on real city streets and sidewalks since the surface is much more uneven than in skateparks. As part of my project, I never even attempted aggressive skating, rail grinding and stairs jumping. However, I had to navigate the space which was completely unsuitable for skating, I had to adapt to its own unique rhythm. The dynamic of my ride was controlled by the presence of cars, passers-by, changing traffic lights or even random events, such as the city marathon. If I wanted to co-exist with others in the same space, then I had to follow its rules. Others had to come to terms with my right to the same space even if it somehow disrupted their familiar rhythm. Sometimes the car drivers had to slow down, sometimes give way. I was the weakest link comparing to all of them. Thrilling speed and notoriety notwithstanding, every wrong movement on inline skates carried the huge risk of a fall, injury or death in the worst-case scenario. In a way, it was the manifestation of otherness which established a mutual trust between different users of the same space, the manifestation of acceptance for the needs of others as well as respect for the relation emerging between us.

Skate sports still encapsulate social exclusion even though they have stimulated the imaginations of millions throughout the years. Drawing on Kathrine Duffy’s theory, I understand social exclusion as ‘a broader concept than poverty, encompassing not only low material means but the inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life and in some characterisations alienation and distance from mainstream society.’<sup>36</sup> From my perspective as a migrant, inline skates came to represent a ‘liminal’ quality of my life. At the same time, they symbolise something which could be described as the alternative lifestyle. In fact, turning one’s attention towards the individual and individual needs always constitutes the gesture of defiance against the accepted system assuming that widespread trends and demands determined largely by the Western model of capitalism are considered the norm. In his great book *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, Jonathan Crary puts forward the theory that sleep is the expression of anarchy. When we sleep, we are neither productive nor useful from the economic standpoint. We ‘waste’ the time and refuse

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<sup>36</sup> As cited in: Muddiman, ‘Theories of Social Exclusion and The Public Library.’

to participate in the financial turnover. Sleeping is at variance with the system because the system is built on individual soldiers that must be active and available - as the title suggests - 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Sleep grants freedom to an individual.

In that sense, skaters have separated themselves from the mainstream. They take a stand against social convention in the local context and space. Bearing in mind thinking outside the box has always pushed societies forward, skating does have the power to snap people out of their stupor and transform 'ordinary urban spaces into temporary autonomous play zones.'<sup>37</sup> Skaters would never allow for their attitude to be marginalized. Additionally, their downright subversive gesture of (even aggressive) street skating demonstrates the fact that everyone has an equal right to the city, to utilize its infrastructure in any and all ways they want or need. Perhaps this whole conflict, joke and situational ludicrousness keep escalating because the city officers 'fight against' groups of pretty downbeat skaters riding around on wooden planks or wearing shoes with tiny polyurethane wheels.

Prof. Hilary Silver, a sociologist from Brown University in Rhode Island, compiled the list of twenty-three types of people most susceptible to the social exclusion ranging from the illiterate, unemployed, women, foreigners and immigrants 'to those whose consumption, leisure or any other practices are stigmatized or deemed deviant (abuse of alcohol or drugs, offenders, those who dress or speak differently, subcultures, cults).'<sup>38</sup> There is a considerable difference between members of every group. It is hard to compare criminals with impoverished people. The foundations and degree of stigmatisation are also quite apart in the respective groups. However, they are all united in their social disadvantage. Whereas skaters are discriminated on the basis of their presence in public space because the law defines their activity as illegal. The dominating class always adopts the acts of law compliant with its own viewpoint and interests, which runs the risk of bias. The legislative power affirms the position and superiority of one group over the other. The skating community is relentless in their resistance to the attempts at removing them from collective society. They achieved a great success in this regard. On August 3, 2016 the International Olympic Committee approved to add baseball/softball, karate, sports climbing, surfing and skateboarding to the programme for the 2020 Summer Olympics in Tokyo. The motion of the International Federation of Roller Sports (FIRS) to include inline speed skating in the Olympic programme was

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<sup>37</sup> Vivoni, 'City of Social Control. Skateboarding and the Regulation of Public Space,' 125.

<sup>38</sup> Szarfenberg, 'Pojęcie wykluczenia społecznego,' my translation.

rejected on the grounds of the discipline's close similarity to speed skating. Unfortunately, the subject of aggressive inline skating has been excluded from any professional discourse.

Inline skaters are therefore subject to two forms of exclusion. Firstly, inline skating was pushed to the margins of skate sports. Secondly, despite its unofficial exclusion from this sports group, inline skating is still included in this very category and skaters are vilified constantly for breaking the rules of conduct in public space. It is debatable who is more or less excluded. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is that, in a broader sense, skaters are in fact pursuing the policy to reduce exclusion through the endeavours to legalize their presence in public space. In my project, inline skaters became the instrument that 'pulled the inline skating female soldier through Brexit' and transformed her into a superhero. Detached from the American patterns of capitalism, the figure of a female soldier goes against the system. Superman, the archetypical American superhero, works flawlessly in a corporation, as a journalist brings the light of truth to the crowds, stands up for 'the little man.' Then he turns into the super-individual with superpowers who saves the world off-the-clock. All this power in the hands of one man, the responsibility for the shape of the entire universe falling on his shoulders. The superhero character was inspired originally by the figures from myths and history, such as Samson, Hercules, Moses, as well as pop culture idols of the 1930s and 1940s including Doc Savage and Buck Rogers.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, Superman is not even human. He is an alien from the planet Krypton whose powers come from his extra-terrestrial origin. As opposed to Superman, Batman proves than any 'ordinary' person could be a superhero. Instead of supernatural powers, he relies on his high intelligence, excellent physical form and unusual gadgets. Becoming the superhero helps him come to terms with the loss of his parents who were killed by a mugger. Superheroes never rest, they save the world 24/7 but if they fail, there is no one who will come to their rescue.

In spite of her ostentatious individualism, the inline skating female soldier is a kind of person that rejects the notion of secret world saving. She brings the awareness. Her 'superpowers' and attributes, such as a uniform and inline skates, derive from the common and familiar order. She plays the symbolic role, provokes a debate, directs people's attention to the issues plaguing societies. Perhaps skaters cannot save the world, but they certainly can seek and call for an equal access to all things public. The inline skating female soldier does the exact same thing, though the stakes are higher - armed with the symbol of social

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<sup>39</sup> Connolly and Quinones, 'The History Of Superman!'

<sup>40</sup> Szarfenberg, 'Pojęcie wykluczenia społecznego,' my translation.

exclusion, a seemingly innocuous artifact, she emphasizes this issue in a more poignant context of the human right to live and be a member of society. The effects of exclusion might also include ‘simultaneous problems with one’s autonomy, rights, freedom of choice, employment, wage, education, relaxation, safeguards against the future uncertainty, equality and social image.’<sup>40</sup> Marginalisation has reached the point when anyone affected by it must prove their value and merit almost constantly while also assuming that the model behaviour is displayed automatically by the dominant group. Tough durable and self-perpetuating, the process of exclusion can be curbed and terminated. It just needs to be identified first.

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<sup>40</sup> Szarfenberg, ‘Pojęcie wykluczenia społecznego,’ my translation.





**Fig. 6** Inline skating female soldier, sketch to the *Crowd Crystal* project (Anna Jochymek, 2019)



## Chapter 3

### On Uniform

Uniforms project equality. The individual origin and social status, inextricably linked to the spreading globalisation and homogenized lifestyle, are rendered invalid. In Russian, the process is reinforced by the straightforward lexical equivalent of *форма* (read: /fɔ:rmʌ/). The uniform was conceived originally as the instrument to strip a person of their own identity and construct this identity anew as the member of a group, substituting the ‘I’ with ‘we.’ Until this day, a variety of contemporary institutions - in the fields such as education, gastronomy and military - espouses the view that ‘individuality brings chaos’ whereas standardized dress determines one’s sense of belonging and the exact position in a system of hierarchies, neither higher nor lower. According to the American sociologist Philip Slater, ‘a person in a uniform is merely an extension of another person’s will.’<sup>1</sup> Miuccia Prada, one of the first designers who consciously translated uniform into ready-to-wear, holds the following opinion: ‘I think if you dress in a uniform you feel very comfortable and neutral, your personality is hidden beneath the uniform.’<sup>2</sup> One might certainly argue with this statement since the need to ‘hide one’s personality’ is by no means universal. Nonetheless, ‘what’s amazing is that the most subversive and transgressive forms of dress eventually become uniforms [...] to instantly identify someone as part of a certain group, [...]. The current fashionista obsession with studded Rockstar T-shirts, for example, is at once an attempt to, through a fashion message, flag that the wearer is wild and avant-garde. Yet when everyone has them and wears them, isn’t the message diluted?’<sup>3</sup>

The historic consensus attributes the first use of the uniform in the military context to the emperor Qin Shi Huang who assembled the Terracotta Army in 210 BCE. Although the

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<sup>1</sup> Dunn, *Uniforms*, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Spindler, ‘The Power of the Uniform,’ 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 164.

officers' outfits differ depending on their rank, together they display coherence and uniformity even in details, such as the hairstyle. Every soldier's hair is tied in a small flat bun or cone bun. A few years later, in 247-182 BCE, Hannibal, a Carthaginian general, developed the military uniform for his Spanish infantry division on the opposite side of the globe. The hired unit wore white tunics with violet piping. Spearmen, members of the army higher in rank, were clothed in the white linen cuirass embellished with the sunburst motif which consists of rays or 'beams' radiating out from a central disk in the manner of sunbeams.

In the following centuries, the uniform turned out to be the perfect solution for ensuring soldiers' protection, as well as their easy recognition on the battlefield. What is more, the position, status and rank are all encoded firmly in uniforms. Initially the British army officers strongly contested the military uniformity by refusing to wear the same garments as regular soldiers, so they invested in the elements showcasing their rank on their own accord.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, they had to abide by the imposed rules. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, all British officers were wearing uniforms. In 1768, the epaulets - unique shoulder straps used as rank insignia - were introduced in the British army. At that time, the uniform was also designed to leave a specific impression on the hostile army. The units were to appear taller, stronger, more dignified. King Frederick William I of Prussia created the special battalion consisting of the extremely tall men, who were additionally equipped with one-meter hats.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from their purely protective function, uniforms used to prevent desertion. It was not easy to convert a well-designed military uniform into civilian clothing. Another significant aspect was the fact that the beautifully tailored uniforms compelled young men to enlist in the army. They believed a military dress would make them more attractive. In 1914, the British army recruits were particularly eager to join the rifle regiment wearing stylish dark green uniforms rather than the infantry, whose aesthetic was deemed less alluring.<sup>6</sup> Military uniforms are still supposed to boost the soldiers' morale. Nowadays, colourful adornments and sophisticated finishes affect individual attitudes instead of underscoring utility or intimidating members of the opposing army. Embellishments are usually embedded now

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<sup>4</sup> Dunn, *Uniforms*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 12.

in the ceremonial dress, while the modern ‘field’ dress became more practical because ‘it’s time to look tough and fight dirty.’<sup>7</sup>

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the khaki colour and silhouette of military uniforms started percolating into the popular culture. The origin of *khaki* (meaning the colour as well as the fabric) can be traced back to the colonial conquests of the British Empire. While stationing in India, Sir Harry Burnett Lumsden and William Stephen Raikes Hodson discovered that the khaki material was ideal for the monsoon climate. Subsequently, the British troops, which stationed in the region, adopted the fabric to create new uniforms. This original textile was a twilled cloth of beige cotton and wool. In Hindi, the word *khaki* (which derives from the Persian *khāk*<sup>8</sup>) stands for ‘dust-coloured.’ It was the name of the pigment used by the Indian soldiers to dye their own clothes. The irony is that ‘an Indian word becomes the emblem of colonial repression: from the first clashes between English and Indians in 1857 to the days of Gandhi, with the South African war in between, the khaki uniform wound up representing conflict and violence between two cultures, a chromatic metaphor for the rise and fall of the British Empire.’<sup>9</sup>

The world of fashion and military coalesce into one another constantly. Not only have multiple generations of fashion designers been inspired by the military aesthetic, but also the comfort and practicality of street style had an impact on the evolution of military uniforms, which became much more ergonomic over time. In his article ‘Military Dress, Modern Dress,’ Stefano Tonchi cites the example of the trench coat, originally developed for the English shepherds and farmers by Burberry. Designed to protect from rain and wind, the trench coat was embraced readily by the British soldiers fighting on the front of the First World War (in English, the now commonplace name of a *trench* means also ‘a narrow hole or valley’). In the interwar period, it was returned to the civilians as the sartorial staple of travellers, spies and resourceful emigrants epitomized for instance by Rick Blaine played in *Casablanca* by Humphrey Bogart. The trench coat’s status has evolved ever since. During the Second World War, it was the outwear of choice for an increasing number of generals and colonels. As the element of the post-war urban fashion, the trench coat was adopted by the intellectual circles and thus quite detached from the image of manual labour on a farm (the same might as well be said about the generals rarely found in trenches). Soon enough, the trench coat appeared

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Tonchi, “Military Dress, Modern Dress,” 156.

<sup>9</sup> Bonami, Frisa and Tonchi, ed. *Uniform. Order and Disorder*, 32.

naturally in the high-fashion runway shows all around the world. Hailed as the most luxurious piece of outerwear ever produced, the iconic Burberry trench coat with the current price tag of approximately £1500 holds the status bordering on the national landmark of the United Kingdom.

Soldiers returning home from war acquired not only the trauma, but also predilection for a certain kind of functionality in clothing, which penetrated quietly into the civilian mindset seamlessly improving the quality of everyday life. While designing the uniform, the wearable aspect of ready-to-wear comes to the fore more than ever. Every single element of the outfit is of great importance here. There's no place for, from today's perspective, sexist remarks of Christian Dior who in 1954 reportedly said that 'men have pockets to keep things in, women for decoration.'

Fashion trends of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were shaped considerably by the experience of warfare. The hippies, who championed anti-war ideals in the 1960s, were superseded by punks in the 1980s. The punk movement, an anti-establishment protest culture, originated from the music scene in New York and Los Angeles. Punks opposed government policy, prevalent social conditions, as well as the hippie movements. John Holmstrom, a founder of *Punk Magazine*, stated once: 'we wanted punk to wipe out the hippies, blow up the whole world and rock & roll and start all over again.'<sup>10</sup> Basic clothes, such as T-shirts, biker jackets and vintage trousers, clashed with the colourful outfits worn by 'the flower children.'

In the post-war Britain mired in the social and economic crisis, Vivienne Westwood and her partner Malcolm McLaren opened the 'Sex' boutique at 430 King's Road in London. The year was 1976 and punk started exploding across England. The shop was not just a place promoting a highly controversial style of fashion. It was the meeting point. Counterculture became the matter of style while the spot itself encouraged protests against anything and everything that was going on at that time. Visits to the Sex boutique were the expression of one's loathing for Margaret Thatcher's government. Westwood drew her inspiration from history (the Victorian aesthetic, the French Revolution) since, in her opinion, knowledge of the past is crucial to art creation. In the interview for i-D magazine, Westwood proclaims that 'the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a mistake. It preached the idea of smashing the past. We call it iconoclasm. It is like telling a scientist to throw away his laboratory. You throw away all your technique. You throw away all the skills. You throw away all the people in the past

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<sup>10</sup> 'Punk: Attitude'

who've been geniuses. You don't want to know about them because everything comes from you. [...] The only people who have any culture are the ones who don't throw away the past.'<sup>11</sup> In this manner, art and protest went out into the streets. Punk fashion was highly provocative. The clothes flogged in the Westwood-McLaren boutique included for instance a t-shirt with the upside down cross, swastika or the print featuring Snow White being raped by the five out of seven dwarfs while the other two engaged in anal sex (the image was based on *The Disneyland Memorial Orgy* published in *The Realist* magazine in May, 1967). James Truman, the editor of *Details*, stated in 1993 that the punk movement ran against fashion: 'to me the thing about grunge is it's not anti-fashion, it's un-fashion. Punk was anti-fashion. It made a statement. Grunge is about not making a statement, which is why it's crazy for it to become a fashion statement.'<sup>12</sup>

Grunge shifted the cultural landscape as the anti-establishment subculture spread into the mainstream. Colloquially, the term itself means 'filth.' The inception of grunge is rooted in the Seattle music scene which was operating underground and dismissed by the music industry. Artists did not have professional equipment that would allow them to record high-resolution sound, so the tendency was to leave it 'dirty' and turn up the volume instead. Grunge evolved from the local punk rock scene, especially bands such as the Fartz, the U-Men, 10 Minute Warning, the Accused and Fastback. It is fascinating that the Seattle music scene as well as some grunge icons, e.g. Kurt Cobain, had a strong aversion to the word. The term lumped different styles of music together and was considered misleading. Mark Yarm, the author of a book *Everybody Loves Our Town: An Oral History of Grunge*, points out blatant differences between grunge bands: some opted for punk, other preferred metal. In the late 1980s, some of the grunge bands, such as Soundgarden, Alice In Chains and Nirvana, stepped into the mainstream limelight. Their success bears testimony to the potential of niche cultures - no matter how radical or anti-systemic - to appeal to a broader audience, which reinforces the belief in individual artistic expression and value of an alternative culture.

Visually, grunge was reminiscent of the place where it was born. The city of Seattle populated largely by the working class shaped the aesthetic of grunge fashion: workers' clothes, oversized flannel shirts and trucker hats. As a result, grunge became 'an anti-consumerist movement where the less you spent on clothes, the more "coolness" you had.'<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> 'i-Cons: Vivienne Westwood.'

<sup>12</sup> Marin, 'Grunge: A Success Story.'

<sup>13</sup> Strong, *Grunge: Music and memory*, 19.

In 2014, Vogue published the article on grunge style: ‘Cobain pulled liberally from both ends of a woman’s and a man’s wardrobe, and his Seattle thrift-store look ran the gamut of masculine lumberjack workwear and 40s-by-way-of-70s feminine dresses. It was completely counter to the shellacked, flashy aesthetic of the 1980s in every way. In dishevelled jeans and floral frocks, he softened the tough exterior of the archetypal rebel from the inside out, and set the ball in motion for a radical, millennial idea of androgyny.’<sup>14</sup>

The 1990s was a turbulent yet transformative decade in fashion. The grunge style emerged initially from the underground as the response to the struggles of Generation X that entered the global arena disappointed by reality, scorned corporate jobs and refused to partake in the rat race. Though often characterized as cynical and easy-going, members of this new generation still managed to counteract some negative social tendencies. They were the ones who popularized self-employment as an alternative business model. In the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher left the office in the midst of a recession (1992). Generation X rebelled against the popular culture, establishment and fashion which had nothing to offer. They found *haute couture* tedious and entirely vacuous. Biding their time until the upcoming fashion revolution, they preferred minimalism and ‘blending into the crowd’ rather than following trends dictated then by the names, such as Gianni Versace, Thierry Mugler, Claude Montana and Azzedine Alaïa. In his article entitled ‘The Nineties Utility Movement: Prime Suspect in the Death of Designer Fashion,’ James Sherwood refers to *haute couture* as the actual ‘enemy’ of Generation X.<sup>15</sup> Minimalism gave people a sense of unity. Amid a consumerist frenzy, they could demonstrate their own discomfort by rejecting big labels. Grunge laid the foundations for deconstructing the abiding fashion trends. Kate Moss, the embodiment of anger raging across societies, represented a distinct type of beauty at odds with the 1990s canon displayed by Cindy Crawford, Elle Macpherson, Claudia Schiffer and Naomi Campbell. In lieu of sexy curves, she helped popularize the so-called heroin chic, characterized by a very skinny, almost androgynous, body figure, pale skin and dark circles under the eyes.

In London, members of Generation X were playing war games on PlayStation<sup>16</sup> (it was the first generation in history that has no direct experience of war at any stage in life) and enjoying themselves in clubs where corporate suits apparently did not go well with the ear-

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<sup>14</sup> Nnadi, ‘Why Kurt Cobain Was One of the Most Influential Style Icons of Our Times.’

<sup>15</sup> Sherwood, ‘The Nineties Utility Movement: Prime Suspect in the Death of Designer Fashion,’ 177.

<sup>16</sup> The first PlayStation console was launched in Japan on December 3, 1994.

shattering techno beat. A step further - suits were banned. Music, pot and drugs, emblems of protest against the dreary reality, ruled on the dancefloor. The club culture has steered the direction of fashion for many decades. No exception in this case. One should always keep their water, powder and pills close-by. Enter 'combats' - the ideal sartorial solution modelled after the military uniform furnished with multiple pockets. These pants gave people freedom of movement and ability to smuggle illegal substances into the clubs. There is no place here for useless accessories. Everything must have a purpose. Partying in clubs was the breeding ground for the new generation of YMC designers abiding by the *You Must Create* rule. Their uniform consisted of khaki combats, white Adidas sneakers, a basic white T's and puffa jacket. Survival fashion seems to encapsulate the needs of Generation X which were satisfied at the ideological and material level by the military aesthetic. *Utility* was key to everything the British society deemed significant and fashionable. High fashion was infiltrated by street style of London. Miuccia Prada (as one of the few designers) knew how to respond to the new generation's demands. She was the first fashion designer that incorporated the elements of military dress into her 1994 collection unveiled outside the United Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> For Prada, functionality and utility of garments were of paramount importance, she dubbed this trend *utility chic*. In the 1999 article published in *The International Herald Tribune*, James Sherwood commented on the trend's ingenuity: 'sportswear (and utility) was a street uniform born in the dark ages of early Nineties Grunge. The puffa jacket, combat pants and trophy trainer were adopted by a generation of DJs, dealers, skate kids and underground clubbers. It signified the disillusionment of generation X. These were cruel world clothes: wind, bullet and knife repellent fabrics cut into streamlined urban armour-plating. It was a don't touch, Teflon-coated declaration of independence from the chi-chi fashion labels.'<sup>18</sup> Utility is ugly, aggressive, practical and anti-fashion. Since the trend had been rising in popularity around the United Kingdom for a period of time, Monserrat Mukherjee – one of the young emerging British designers - accused Miuccia Prada of plagiarism instead of defining fashion trends, by saying: 'in my opinion Prada is copying styles that have been worn by the really cool people for years.'<sup>19</sup> The capitalist system is always ready to cash in, hence the inevitable battle over the military style. The streets of London were swarming with youths wearing clothes adorned with authentic military elements they inherited or bought in second-hand shops. It was the manner in which young British people constructed their personal identity.

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<sup>17</sup> Sherwood, 'The Nineties Utility Movement: Prime Suspect in the Death of Designer Fashion,' 181.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 176.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 181.

Over time, incorporating military symbols into one's personal style became more and more popular. Subsequent generations, which had never witnessed the war, started transferring these symbols onto everyday clothes as embellishments because they no longer associated them so strongly with anti-war movements. The fashion houses of Chanel, Gucci and Prada elevated khakis into a sophisticated and functional piece of garment: 'it is evident that the illusion of being able to change the world and reinvent its rules has been replaced by a more playful attitude, in which the original "no future" has become a mocking sneer.'<sup>20</sup> The world of fashion followed this direction, exchanged bullets for lipstick. In response to Tom Ford's attempt at transforming combats into the blue satin trousers with a dropped skater-like crotch which he showed at Gucci's runway show in Milan, Hillary Alexander, a British journalist from *The Telegraph*, was quick to observe the following: 'surely it is far too early to bring back baggy combats, even if they are redone in cobalt satin? All Saints's original pairs haven't worn out yet.'<sup>21</sup>

The creation of the Crowd Crystal's protagonist, the inline skating female soldier, is underpinned by this kind of play on convention. She is wearing the designed combat uniform of the Polish army - a jacket, trousers, belt, side cap and inline skates. The uniform is devoid of any components that could indicate her military rank or position. The only detail, which might suggest the ensemble's origin in any sort of way, is the Polish flag affixed at the upper arm's length. According to Gianni Versace, 'it's a dream for a designer to invent a uniform. [...] But uniform should never be too safe. You can lose your individuality if you don't put your things together in a certain way. That's what scares me about any uniform.'<sup>22</sup> Without a doubt, one of the most exciting elements of the whole project was the creation of the inline skating female soldier's figure, even though I had no idea what I should do with this brainchild of mine at this stage of the process.

The military uniform and symbolism were assimilated into our normal culture to such an immense degree that we no longer notice their ubiquity. Combat pants, bomber jackets, aviator sunglasses, Dr. Martens boots, trench coats and many other clothing items branched out from the army and into the civilian life. My first job as a migrant was a shopping assistant's position at a high-end vintage store. Day in, day out I was handling hundreds of clothes which once upon a time appeared on the catwalks of some of the greatest fashion

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<sup>20</sup> Bonami, Frisa and Tonchi, ed. *Uniform. Order and Disorder*, 66.

<sup>21</sup> Sherwood, "The Nineties Utility Movement: Prime Suspect in the Death of Designer Fashion," 184.

<sup>22</sup> Spindler, "The Power of the Uniform", 164.



labels in the world. The minimal wage combined with priceless knowledge of the world of fashion and luxury was the quintessence of everything London (probably) stood for in the eyes of local immigrants. Initially, I only noticed a wealth of similarities. As time passed, I started detecting the differences. Finally, someone asked me about the year in which this ‘purple nylon Prada bag’ was made, and I was so convinced the correct answer was ‘last season.’ Fat chance, the 1980s was the decade of nylon fabric for Prada. The iconic nylon backpack first premiered in 1992, the bag mentioned above was made over ten years old (utility chic’s remnant). Military symbols were plucked from the military context. Our vigilance and sensibility were dulled by their incessant reinvention in fashion and pop culture. People are oblivious to the fact they are marching in military uniforms. Their outfit is socially transparent presumably because its various elements derive from various periods in culture and history. On top of all that, slight adjustments in colour and fabrication have been introduced over time. We like referring to this tendency as ‘enjoying fashion.’ We go along with this widespread process of symbolic neutralisation in the name of good taste and popular trends. Meanwhile the fashion houses’ creations are replicated with the use of cheaper fabrics in the Chinese sweatshops. Clothes are modified over and over again, ending up as another flower bomber you can buy off-the-rack at Zara. *Devil Wears Prada* portrays this process in a somewhat simplistic manner in the iconic scene: ‘You think this has nothing to do with you. You go to your closet and you select, I don’t know, that lumpy blue sweater, for instance because you’re trying to tell the world that you take yourself too seriously to care about what you put on your back, but what you don’t know is that that sweater is not just blue, it’s not turquoise, it’s not lapis. It’s actually cerulean. And you’re also blithely unaware of the fact that in 2002, Oscar de la Renta did a collection of cerulean gowns and then I think it was Yves Saint Laurent who showed cerulean military jackets. [...] Then cerulean quickly showed up in the collections of eight different designers. And then it filtered down through the department stores and then trickled on down into some tragic Casual Corner where you, no doubt, fished it out of some clearance bin. However, that blue represents millions of dollars and countless jobs. And its sort of comical how you think that you’ve made a choice that exempts you from the fashion industry when, in fact, you’re wearing a sweater that was selected for you by the people in this room from a pile of “stuff”.’<sup>23</sup>

The question about a camouflage occurred to me quite naturally as I was inline skating in my father’s military uniform. Here, in London the same outfit, which would allow me

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<sup>23</sup> *Devil Wears Prada*.

to blend in with the environment in the field conditions, attracted rapt attention of passers-by. It is hard to tell whether it was the encounter with the uniform or the fact that this uniform was ‘inline skating.’ However, their attention was brief, its duration limited to the time I brushed past, lasting merely as long as I was present in a given place. It turned out the on-lookers did not have enough time to react in any way. In other words, it was the velocity - alongside a propelling device (i.e. inline skates) - that acted as my urban camouflage.

Invisibility favours those in the throes of combat, those wishing to survive, as well as to triumph. The more undetectable their presence, the higher the element of surprise in the field and the lesser probability of death. On the other hand, visibility is almost obligatory in the institutional and social contexts - there must not be any doubt with regard to a soldier’s rank and assigned regiment. A soldier should be recognized instantly as a soldier. If he wears the uniform, then he is surely on duty, standing guard over public safety, maintaining peace and order. For this reason, development of camouflage patterns was a trailblazing achievement in the military dress technology. During World War I, the troops were in dire need of concealing their position due to the birth of aerial warfare. In 1915, the French soldier Guingot hand-painted his jacket in more neutral, camouflage colours. This method was developed further by the French. The Italians soon followed suit with their invention of the first mimetic camouflage pattern in history - M1929 lent itself perfectly to mass production, and as such was used to conceal soldiers, artillery and vehicles. Although this overtly repetitive print was not particularly effective, it still determined the course of camouflage’s subsequent evolution.<sup>24</sup> Advancements in technology had to go hand in hand with the development of military uniforms as modern armours. Organic and breathable fabrics, such as wool, cotton and linen, were not waterproof. The invention of Gore-Tex in 1976 was a real gamechanger. It was a water-, wind- and snow proof material that caused the upcoming renaissance of the textile industry, whose expanded range of similar types of products included the fire retardant, infrared resilient, antibacterial, antistatic and hypoallergic fabrics. And so, in the last fifty years, the everchanging demands of the armed forces all around the globe, have stimulated constant enhancements of military uniforms’ utility and functionality. During the 2018 edition of the Defence and Security Equipment International Exhibition (DSEI) in London, the British Ministry of Defence (MOD) unveiled the new combat uniform designed in collaboration with the Royal College of Art. The project implemented within the framework of the MOD’s initiative ‘Future Soldier Vision (FSV)’ resulted in the advanced

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<sup>24</sup> Lucchini, ‘Soldier’s Stuff,’ 231.

prototype of a military kit that improved the troops' comfort, practicality and level of protection in enemy territory owing to a much better body fit and reinforced construction in the areas highly susceptible to ordinary wear and tear. A reduction in seaming and fabric increased ease of laundering and drying. There was the reason why the MOD forged a collaboration with the institution specializing in creative design solutions. Discussing the project, Minister for Defence Procurement Harriett Baldwin said: 'From new materials to high-tech helmets, innovation is all about giving our personnel the kit they need by working with world famous partners like the Royal College of Art. You might not expect the MOD to work with an art and design university, but it is this kind of non-traditional partnership which will keep our Armed Forces equipped with cutting edge technology.'<sup>25</sup> Innovations in textile design spread through the world of fashion, sportswear for example. The stylistic frame of reference of CP Company upholds the dictum of 'urban protection.' Alongside several other brands, the company develops the aesthetic which could be described as 'contemporary Armor.' In addition, Uniqlo's line includes 'coats armed with the innovative performance of Blocktech technology.'<sup>26</sup>

The element of the uniform, which enthralled me the most, is the care applied to its production, care for another human being, mindful devotion to this person that will wear the uniform comprising multiple pieces at some point in the future and discover a sense of belonging to a group, their mission and vocation. People wearing uniforms feel safe, loved and cared for by the hordes of designers and technicians participating in a meticulous design process. The appearance of a military uniform must comply with the set of official and strict guidelines which regulate every single piece's length, width and placement. Adornments, embellishments and seams denote a specific rank assigned to a specific person in a specific military organization. Self-expression is frowned upon. It is not what the military uniform is for.

Until recently, one's social status could have been discerned definitively from the personal style of dressing. Nothing is certain right now due to the aspirational quality of clothing: people wearing suits work for those who do not have to wear suits anymore, 'these days [...] the more elaborate the uniform, the lower down the pecking order the poor prole wearing it actually seems to be. Conversely, the "creative" and the people who are so powerful that

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<sup>25</sup> Bull, 'Future Soldier Vision: RCA Collaborates with MOD on Cutting-edge Kit.'

<sup>26</sup> 'Blocktech Raincoats & Parkas.'

they do not need to care what other people think of them wear pretty much what they want.’<sup>27</sup> The outfit can make a statement, reflect one’s ambition and place in society or become a disguise (none of the abovementioned functions are mutually exclusive). In fact, any soldier and civilian have a lot in common. They both make a decision to dress a certain way. Military uniform must be worn only during the military ‘time’ and situations. After hours, soldiers could define their personal identity regardless of duties. Whereas a civilian could put on the uniform whenever they feel like it, there is no reason why they should be prohibited from doing so.

Personally, I was forced to deal with the uniform assigned to me when I started the job as an evening receptionist in one of the corporate law firms in Warsaw. Only the receptionists and technicians on staff had to wear uniforms with the firm’s logo. The law firm’s manager was always explaining to us that our appearance is the reflection of the company’s image. However, the fact that the uniform was meant to distinguish lower rank personnel fulfilling the most mundane tasks was hard to ignore.

After I started working on my project, I called my father and asked him about his own experience with the *space of fear*. His answer could not have been obvious. As a former soldier, he never served in any peace missions, so I was under the impression that his life was never actually in danger. My father was an engineer who instructed other recruits on the construction and operation of rocket launchers and radio surveillance measures. As a major, he had a few additional responsibilities, such as night-time checks of the ammunition storing base situated in the nearby woods. The military facilities were enclosed with a double-wired fence. Every single time, my father had to traverse this looped corridor. The path was illuminated by reflectors. The soldiers were visible, exposed, the rest of the space was enveloped in darkness: ‘I always had this thought that I would have only two-meters [of free space] to perform any kind of manoeuvre if someone had appeared behind the net and attacked me.’<sup>28</sup> The predicament of a guard confined in a cage was quite paradoxical. The uniform did neither conceal nor protect a soldier from anything. In this context, it was yet another element that revealed his presence and defencelessness.

In today’s world ruled by stereotypes, uniform is still associated strongly with war, death and power symbol. Though partially justified, the history of meanings behind the uniform

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<sup>27</sup> Dunn, *Uniforms*, 8.

<sup>28</sup> The phone conversation was held on January 15, 2018.

is much more complex than that. I am a member of a military family, so in my mind the uniform has always symbolised movement. It sort of ‘emigrated’ to the rebellious groups fighting for a better future of the real world, striving to put an end to armed conflict; it ‘emigrated’ to the fashion world allowing us to define new identities in society; it ‘emigrated’ to the tech world stimulating growth in the textile industry; it ‘emigrated’ to Hollywood to stir up the emotions of millions. For me, the uniform stands for the migration of my family members and I. The uniform forced my parents to move to a different place, my grandfather was buried in the uniform, as he departed for his final journey. Finally, there is me, a twenty-nine-year-old woman from Poland who moved to London in 2017. Never before did I have to face the questions about my identity, values and expectations towards my surroundings. My father’s military uniform, mailed by my aunt, made me realize that my presence in this place has a social and political meaning. By wearing this uniform, I intercepted and appropriated one of the most potent symbols of masculinity. Whereas the figure of a female soldier armed with inline skaters is transported into the world of fantasy where order and discipline are juxtaposed against the symbol of freedom and defiance. The character of the inline skating female soldier is conspicuous. I catch people’s attention. In spite of their inability to verify my military credentials, the seemingly complete outfit (jacket, trousers, side cap) legitimizes my status in the eyes of the beholder because ‘in the cities of the twenty-first century, we accepted almost subconsciously that anyone wearing a uniform must be in a position of authority. We follow their orders with a grumble but without a question.’<sup>29</sup> Yet the only question left is what am I to them? Is my presence erased by consciousness just like the rest of external stimuli? The female soldier is a mirage, she comes and goes. She is real and unreal to the extent that the film recording’s spectators were suspecting image manipulation, some slick copy-and-paste action which positioned the skating character in the midst of urban landscape. We interpret the things we notice. We never pay attention to the things we fail to notice.

In *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*,<sup>30</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari introduced the theory of assemblage and developed the theoretical framework for analysing social complexity by emphasizing fluidity, exchangeability, and multiple functionalities through the connectivity of entities. This theory asserts that the relationship between these components is not stable, but rather, they can be displaced and replaced with

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<sup>29</sup> Dunn, *Uniforms*, 56.

<sup>30</sup> Deleuze, Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

the systems external to the bodies. The new arrangement of those concepts is what provides sense or meaning. The Polish equivalent evoking the notion of a system (*układ*) misses the mark completely and does not really convey the dynamic nature of the French *agencement* ('assemblage' in English) meaning 'a specific type of arrangement of various components, which can be easily subjected to reconfiguration.'<sup>31</sup> (the English version proposed by Brian Massumi, a Canadian philosopher, seems to be the most accurate translation in comparison to numerous other versions of the French word). According to Deleuze and Guattari, 'we are not in the world, we become with the world; we become by contemplating it. Everything is vision, becoming. We become universes.'<sup>32</sup> In his study entitled *A New Philosophy of Society*, Manuel DeLanda, an American sociologist, defines the French philosophic notion of assemblages as 'wholes characterized by relations of exteriority.'<sup>33</sup> As our circumstances change, the components of our consciousness are subject to displacement and replacement parallel to the components of the uniform which I also displaced and replaced with the new ones in order to create the uniform for the inline skating female soldier. A person is in a way 'assembled' anew, their knowledge and experience 'upgraded' to conform to a given situation. In that sense, I view the process of adaptation in terms of the assemblage. In Bauman's liquid modernity, the most valued human skill is the ability to adjust rapidly to volatile conditions. Everything which surrounds us, including relationships and material goods, is disposable because it belongs to the culture of oblivion and evisceration. In my project, I conjured the situation which was designed to be noticed, exposing the fact that 'we wear uniforms. Now, the wearing of uniforms simultaneously humiliates and exalts us. We look like unfree people, and that is possibly a disgrace, but we also look nice in our uniforms, and that sets us apart from the deep disgrace of those people who walk around in their very own clothes but in torn and dirty ones. To me, for instance, wearing a uniform is very pleasant because I never did know, before, what clothes to put on. But in this, too, I am a mystery to myself for the time being.'<sup>34</sup> Passing by other people in the streets of London affects us and them through the formation of hundreds of assemblages encompassing the uncertainty and fear of the other (if we choose to notice them). For their behaviour is entirely unpredictable. One person influences the other in the unfathomable, often unconscious way. It is this relation that continues to transform us all.

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<sup>31</sup> Chaberski, 'Performans jako Asamblaż,' my translation, 86.

<sup>32</sup> As cited in: Chaberski, 'Performans jako Asamblaż,' my translation, 86.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>34</sup> Walser, 'Jakob von Gunten,' 226.



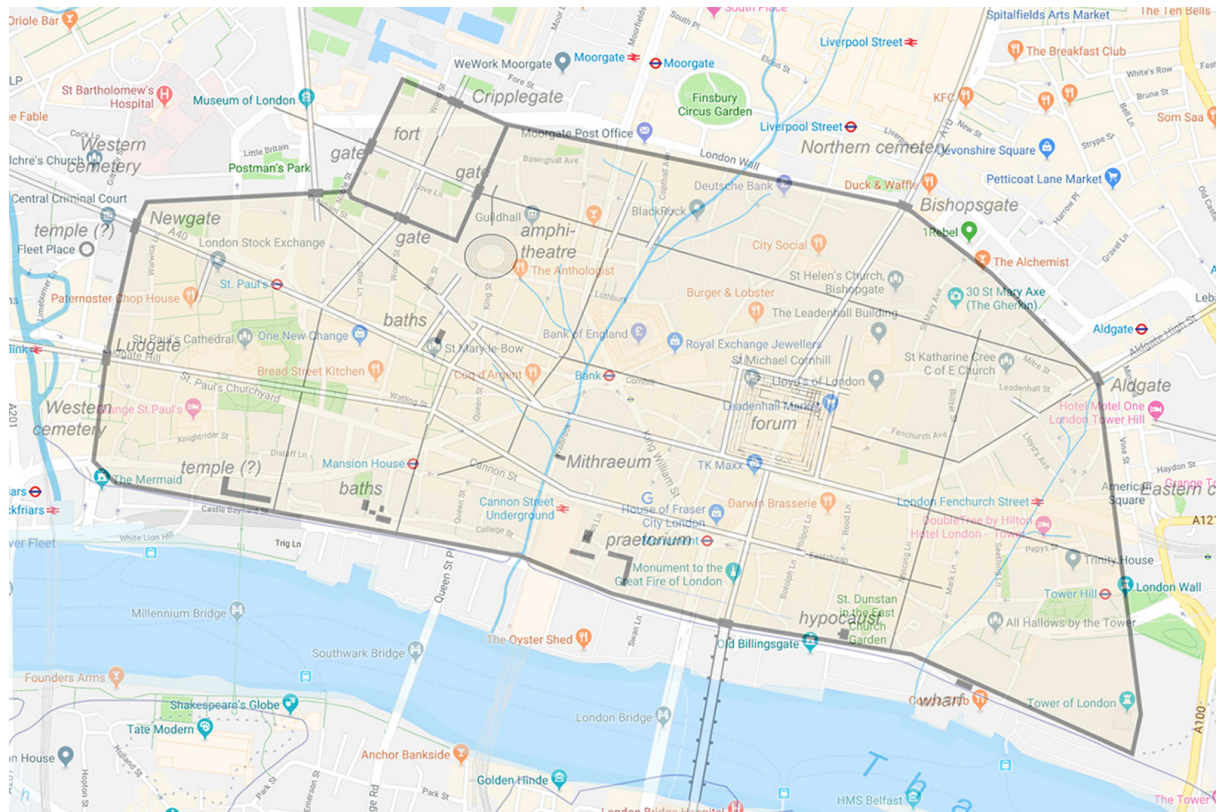


Fig. 7 Google Maps View, London, United Kingdom, 2018. A simplified outline of the historical map of London has been applied to the current city map, sketch to the *Crowd Crystal* project (Anna Jochymek, 2019)



## CHAPTER 4

### ON ARCHITECTURE

After arriving in London, I settled in Haringey, the northern part of the city, populated mainly by the Turkish and Albanian minorities. Haringay remained the rural area until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Its close proximity to London and introduction of railway in the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the rapid urbanisation of the area. In 1965, the district was officially absorbed by the capital city. An exponential number of immigrants gravitated towards the borough after World War II. The Harrington Area Stadium was its greatest landmark until the mid-1980s. Owing to the Piccadilly Line (initially running to Finsbury Park, the tube line was extended to the Manor House station), Londoners arrived to Haringay in their droves to gamble and watch the races, ice-hockey and boxing matches. Local residents started protesting against the ear-shattering noise and jammed public transport caused by the rise in popularity of the arena. In his book *The Story of Haringay Stadium & Arena*, Mike Ticher describes the situation of female residents who were working in factories situated in the eastern parts of London. Crowded public transit forced them to walk for miles to get to work or home every single day. The authorities did investigate the received complaints. The stadium was closed in 1987, while the Sainsbury's corporation bought the land itself. Eventually the stadium was demolished and superseded by the still operating supermarket, which was expanded into the Arena Shopping Centre. Haringey is the contemporary transit point, 'unfashionable, but with good train and

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<sup>1</sup> The name Haringey (or Haringay) dates back to the Saxon era and derives from the word 'Haeringes-hege', meaning the enclosure of the Saxon chief Haeringe. The colloquial term Haeringe was replaced by Haringey, which was easier to pronounce. 'Hornsey' (currently denoting one of Haringey's districts) became increasingly prevalent until it almost caused the extinction of the original 'Haringay.' In 1792, Haringay House was built and revived the use of its original name among citizens. In 1965, three separate boroughs of Wood Green, Hornsey and Tottenham were merged to officially create the London borough of Haringey. Bureaucrats were apparently trying to preserve the original name of the area since 'Haringey' does actually predate 'Haringay.' The whole situation seems confusing. The current consensus is that Haringey is the borough and Haringay is the area.

Rosehill, 'Is It Haringey Or Haringay?'

tram connections'<sup>2</sup> according to the 1926 archives. It is surprising how little has changed ever since. Though far from being 'sexy', alluring or fashionable, the borough has down-to-earth benefits: a short distance away from the city centre, great commute and fairly low rent in the area. People assume you live here 'temporarily' and will either move to a better area of London in three to four years or leave the city altogether. Families do not stay in Haringey for generations.

Haringey also has its dark secrets. Two different gangs flank the opposite ends of the main street - Green Lanes - creating a heroin trafficking corridor. People sell drugs in the local park, but you do not really notice it every day. Realisation dawns on you only after the actual stabbing incidents. A guy was attacked right by my house in the middle of the night. An ambulance took him to the hospital. He survived. Another one was murdered in a park. I saw the secured crime scene for the first time in my life. They stopped the traffic for over 24 hours. As it turns out, these sorts of gang-related incidents occur on a regular basis. London is considered the breeding ground for stabbers. Situations like this seem completely unreal from the perspective of one's daily routine. What is more, riding a bike has created the impression of myself as a bystander watching the world from a distance. The possibility of someone attacking me while I was on my bike seemed highly unlikely. I was wrong, actually. A man, who had been lurking behind a car, jumped my housemate as she was cycling by the canal. Immediately, he flashed the knife blade he was hiding in his jacket's inside pocket. He refused to accept her phone and an empty wallet. He took her bike and proposed to exchange it for sex. Fortunately a boat with the lights still on was docking by the canal. My friend jumped aboard and started banging on the door. The stabber ran away.

It is quite easy to witness a crime if you ride a bike around the metropolis such as London. After I had spotted for the first time an organized criminal group stealing someone's scooter at the city centre, I was instructed not to interact with the robbers because those people were simply dangerous, particularly scooter gangs infamous for acid attacks. This awareness was enough for me to reconcile with the fact that I cannot afford to protect anyone's material possessions. So, I ignored it when a bike lock fell out of the pocket of a cyclist riding in front of me; and I turned a blind eye to a pretty young guy snatching a bag of candy in Poundland, which sells most items at the single price of £1.

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<sup>2</sup> Ticher, *The Story of Haringay Stadium & Arena*, 13.

Green Lanes became the point of departure for my every urban escapade. I started right there, no matter where I was going. I still remember my inaugural commute in London, as I took a bus to the University College London, where I was going to study. I was extremely excited. In fact, my excitement was so overwhelming that I got off the bus too early and walked the rest of the way. Since that day, I have been covering this distance every day while riding a bike. I sometimes describe it in my head as the safety route, a 40-minute stretch of spatial and temporal architecture when I am alone with my thoughts.

Green Lanes, Seven Sisters Road, Tollington Road, Camden Road, Bayham Street, Crowndale Road, Eversholt Street and Euston Road - all these streets are marked with my own emotions.<sup>3</sup> Within this structure, I allowed myself to finally give vent to my feelings. Everything around me was so volatile and unstable that I embraced the route between my house and the rest of the world as my only constant. Until this day, I still have not found the answer to the frequently asked question about my favourite place in London. At least I am aware of a place I hold most dear, the patch of interwoven streets whose architecture I know by heart. *In The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World*, Deyan Sudjić states that ‘architecture is a device that allows us the chance to forget the precariousness of our position for a moment, to create at least the illusion of meaning when we measure it against its own internal logic and find some sense of correspondence and predictability. It cannot, of course, impose order on an order-less universe, but within its own terms architecture does offer the possibility of a fleeting respite from the random.’<sup>4</sup> As I consider the order and traffic regulations, the rhythm it dictates and the tactic everyone adopts, I realize that, at least here, the rules and procedures are perfectly clear. No wonder this fact brings a sense of relief.

While we are adapting to the new environment, we are also creating the new narrative of a new place. In the micro perspective, the process transpires as we change schools or jobs; in the macro perspective - as we move to a different city or country. I believe our awareness of it increases with age. I believe I based my personal mythology of London on the relation between an event and space. There are no places I could refer to with the lines such as ‘we always go there’ or ‘it has been here forever.’ A piece of personal memory is always bound to any familiar place of mine. Everything has meaning. I suppose - in a broad holistic

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<sup>3</sup> The first stretch of route finished always at the intersection of the Eversholt St and Euston Rd. Then the route changed depending on my final destination.

<sup>4</sup> Sudjić, *The Edifice Complex. How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World*, 286.

sense - you cannot really experience it for instance in your home town. In his letter to a friend, Walter Benjamin recounted his visit to Moscow in 1926 as ‘the two months in which I had to struggle [...] with the city [what] have given me some understanding of things that I could not have achieved in any other way.’<sup>5</sup> For this reason, I perceive my relation to London in terms of a romantic relationship nurturing the need for domesticity and connection with the new space. I made a conscious decision to live here, though ultimately, I came to a conclusion that people fall in love with London, but London does not care about them at all. The relationship is one-sided. A person’s affection towards a place builds their sense of attachment and lulls them into a false sense of security. It gives, like form me, a false sense of stability.

The phenomenological approach to time and space was developed for instance by Yi-Fu Tuan (a geographer specializing in the discipline of human geography) who popularized the term ‘topophilia’, meaning love for a place. In his book *Topophilia. The Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*, he defines this concept as ‘the affective bond between people and place or setting.’<sup>6</sup> However, uses of this word had been recorded in source literature much earlier. In 1947, W. H. Auden used the term ‘topophilia’ in his introduction to John Betjeman's book *Slick but Not Streamlined*. He wrote that book of poetry ‘will inspire American topophils to take poetry seriously and American poets to take topophilia seriously.’<sup>7</sup> A few years later Gaston Bachelard gave topophilia a slightly altered meaning in his book *The Poetics of Space*. He used the term while referring to the area of his studies as ‘felicitous space,’ while firmly maintaining the following: ‘in this orientation, these investigations would deserve to be called topophilia. They seek to determine the human value of the sorts of space that may be grasped, that may be defended against adverse forces, the space we love. For diverse reasons, [...] this is eulogized space. [...] Space that has been seized upon by the imagination cannot remain indifferent space subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor.’<sup>8</sup>

The approach of Yi-Fu Tuan and Gaston Bachelard reflects the scholars’ shared belief that emotions and memories forge relations with a place, while also highlighting the significance of associations and meanings, which in turn lead to the emergence of mythology and symbolism of this place. At an early stage in his career, Yi-Fu Tuan specialized

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<sup>5</sup> As cited in: Savage, ‘Walter Benjamin’s Urban Thought: A Critical Analysis’, 45.

<sup>6</sup> Tuan, *Topophilia. The Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Relph, ‘Topophilia and Topophils.’

<sup>8</sup> Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, XXXI.

in geomorphology. Over time, he has developed a predilection for the cultural geography as well as the analysis of geographic concepts from the humanistic standpoint. Through his research, he incorporated existentialism and phenomenology into the field of geography. His affinity with Heidegger's thought compelled him to adopt the phrase 'Being-in-the-World' that, according to Heidegger, was meant to serve as a replacement for terms such as subject, object, consciousness and world. Heidegger contends that these sorts of divisions should be renounced as everything establishes mutual relations with everything else. All consciousness is the consciousness of 'something,' and no consciousness can exist without the object.

Modern geography struggled to come to terms with Tuan's line of thought as in scientific analysis the concept of 'space' was considered as easily measurable. If space was to acquire a much broader and symbolic meaning, then it would be harder to define and measure objectively. Following Maurice Merleau-Ponty's argument that 'space is not the setting (real or logical) in which things are arranged, but the means whereby the position of things becomes possible. This means that [...] we must think of it as the universal power enabling them to be connected,'<sup>9</sup> Tuan rightfully asserts the rejection of these sort of concepts by the exact science on the grounds of their closer link to abstract thinking in line with psychology or literature, not science. Tuan himself espouses the following view: 'In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place. "Space" is more abstract than "place". What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. Architects talk about the spatial qualities of place; they can equally well speak of the locational (place) qualities of space. The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.'<sup>10</sup>

The key for Tuan's theories was realisation that phenomenological studies are concerned about human 'in the space' not 'in an abstract' and had a profound impact on his pursuits which made a valuable contribution to the field of geography. His research traversed widely acknowledged subject area which focused on the 'desire to explain how specific social,

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<sup>9</sup> Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 284.

<sup>10</sup> Tuan, *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*, 6.

economic and spatial patterns arise, are sustained and ultimately change,<sup>11</sup> spawning a change in the mode of thinking and affirming the connection between place and emotional relation people form with their environment. Tuan's novel approach gained him substantial acclaim as the proponent of 'new geography,' meaning the human geography. The same questions were examined simultaneously by other scholars, including David Lowenthal, Anne Buttimer, Edward Relph and David Seamon. In lieu of computer simulation and hard-line theorizing, the human geography centred on the exploration of 'personal encounter, literary reflection, and of humility and wonder and hope.'<sup>12</sup>

The space of London is an intricate structure. The layers of meaning fuse into one another continuously. My perspective is the outside-in perspective, the perspective of the 'Other' determined by a combination of factors, such as my limited knowledge of local history, customs, culture and language. It is fascinating that the great majority of London's population consists of the 'Other' citizens. Along with the decision to live in this city, they brought with them another layer enriching the space.<sup>13</sup> In this context, I envision the space of London as the utterly captivating multicultural palimpsest of human experiences. Even more interesting, its multicultural, and every single person builds their own idiosyncratic history of a place. Here, it no longer matters whether you are one of the 'Others' or not. What matters solely is the human relation to place. In his essay entitled 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', Walter Benjamin claims that 'the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity.'<sup>14</sup> In that sense, authenticity of a city rests upon the human relation to space or particular places. In the abovementioned article including his own definition of 'aura', Benjamin writes that 'the unique value of the "authentic" work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value.'<sup>15</sup> All in all, the author concentrates on the aura enveloping the *flâneurs*, those urban onlookers who elevated strolling and meandering about places into the status of a ritual. However, I am much more interested in the origins of the aura which, according to Benjamin, is embedded in the object's ritual function. In other words, every person's presence and daily routine affects the aura of a place, and builds its history and character.

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<sup>11</sup> Rodaway, 'Yi-Fu Tuan,' 429.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 427.

<sup>13</sup> According to the 2018 study conducted by Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva and Dr Cinzia Rienzo, the number of foreign-born migrants living in London in 2017 amounted to 3,354,000 people, which constitutes 38% of the city's population. People born outside the United Kingdom made up an estimated 14,4% of the population, while the share of foreign nationals equaled 9,5% of the population.

<sup>14</sup> Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,' 214.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 217.

This excluded, overlooked and even dismissed presence resonated throughout the British society in the exceptionally enthralling manner after unexpected result of the public vote on the country's split from the European Union. One of the most remarkable and positive consequences was the encouraged and prominent engagement of immigrants in the public debate on the social issues of Britain. Their presence, worldviews and experiences were all taken into account. The mass media gave voice to millions of immigrants who shared their stories and started painting a much more faithful portrait of social migration in the United Kingdom, which eschewed the image of a stereotypical 'economic migrant milking the welfare benefits.' Another fascinating shift in attitudes among the British people, which I observed in the wake of all these events, was a tendency to question their British-ness and point out the foreign origin of their parents or grandparents. Let's take David Blackmore's extreme reaction as the example – 'the European-born artist' who erased the national emblem and pertinent pieces of information from his passport as part of the project he initiated in 2015 under the title *European Passport*. Brexit made the entire society challenge their national identity.

Michel Foucault's concept of 'heterotopia', which underscores the plurality and inconsistency of place, represents the milestone in developing an understanding of the complex nature of the 21<sup>st</sup> century urban space. Iwan Sudradjat argues that Foucault depicts the city as the situation in which 'we can see this fragmented realm as one of opportunities and freedoms, as one in which "Otherness" becomes a real possibility.'<sup>16</sup> In that sense, otherness is considered the value that can evolve and impact the quality of place. Following Bart Lootsma's interpretation of Foucault's argument, I perceive his thought as optimistic since it suggests that the city always has room not only for otherness but also diversity. According to Sudradjat, 'heterotopias exist without any doubt in a society and give way to otherness, and otherness subsequently opens a door to plurality and heterogeneity.'<sup>17</sup> Drawing on Bachelard's approach, Foucault upholds his thesis on the affective response to meaningful places, as he declares the following: 'Bachelard's monumental work and the descriptions of phenomenologists have taught us that we do not live in a homogeneous and empty space, but on the contrary in a space thoroughly imbued with quantities and perhaps thoroughly phantasmatic as well. The space of our primary perception, the space of our dreams and that of our passions hold within themselves qualities that seem intrinsic: there

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<sup>16</sup> Sudradjat, 'Foucault, the Other Spaces, and Human Behaviour,' 32.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 32.

is a light, ethereal, transparent space, or again a dark, rough, encumbered space; a space from above, of summits, or on the contrary a space from below, of mud; or again a space that can be flowing like sparkling water, or space that is fixed, congealed, like stone or crystal.’<sup>18</sup>

Finding the space (or place) which would be occupied by the inline skating female soldier was one of the greatest challenges I had to face while working on the *Crowd Crystal* project; the hybrid, figure of a migrant wearing the archetypical armour of the Polish male and leg prosthetics (inline skates), which elongated her figure and granted the opportunity to manifest her presence in public space in the unique, rapid, rebellious and ephemeral fashion. Initially, I formed an association between architecture and metaphorical power emanating from the uniform. Deyan Sudjic’s book *The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World* inspired me to direct my attention towards the Millennium Dome - the unsightly blemish on the record of the 1990s New Labour government. The idea for the building’s construction appeared after Tony Blair had been appointed as the Prime Minister. The goal of the project was to celebrate the dawn of a new century and highlight the progressive character of the British nation. The government strived to boost the country’s image and ‘move beyond a threadbare, time-expired vision of Britishness rooted in pageantry, the royal family and cricket.’<sup>19</sup> In 1994, the members of the Millennium Commission, founded to achieve this goal, were touring the country ‘dispensing largesse to such unlikely projects as a scheme to garnish Portsmouth Harbour with a giant water spout, while refusing to fund Zaha Hadid’s design for an opera house in Cardiff. Two commissioners in particular, Michael Heseltine and the journalist Simon Jenkins, believed that it was essential to create a single national focus for the millennium.’<sup>20</sup> This object of focus was the Millennium Dome, conceived originally as the state-of-the-art theme park. In reality, the end product was ‘a fundamentally nostalgic and even inept return to the 1950s, recycling the Festival of Britain, conflating its two most enduring images - the Dome of Discovery and the Skylon, the needle-shaped landmark supported on steel cables designed for the same event – in Richard Rogers’s Teflon-coated tent, with its vivid yellow crown of thorns.’<sup>21</sup> For a year, the centre operated according to the plan, that is until its closure on December 31, 2000. Afterwards, the Dome hosted some occasional large-scale events and was converted temporarily into the homeless shelter. As a result, the decision about redevelopment was

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<sup>18</sup> Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias,’ 3.

<sup>19</sup> Sudjic, *The Edifice Complex. How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World*, 209.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 212.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 211.



made. Finally, it was transformed into the sports and entertainment centre called The O2 Arena. The total cost incurred by the British government amounts to £905 million. In 1994, the National Lottery was established to help collect the funds for construction. Until this day, the organization plays an important role in financing Britain's cultural and artistic endeavours. It is worth mentioning that the financial instrument was developed by the Conservative party: 'Though the Dome became the very embodiment of New Labour aspirations, it was a project first set in train by the fading Conservative Government of John Major. It was the Conservatives who initiated the National Lottery that was to end up paying for it. And it was the Conservatives who had the idea of celebrating the millennium by allotting one fifth of the yield to the public, from the lottery to the Millennium Commission.'<sup>22</sup> In response to the controversies, doubts about the building's functionality as well as claims of its dubious visual appeal, which erupted even prior to its opening, Tony Blair portrayed the vision behind the project:

Picture the scene. The clock strikes midnight on 31 December 1999. The eyes of the world turn to the spot where the new Millennium begins - the Meridian Line at Greenwich. This is Britain's opportunity to greet the world with a celebration that is so bold, so beautiful, so inspiring that it embodies at once the spirit of confidence and adventure in Britain and the spirit of the future in the world. This is the reason for the Millennium Experience. Not a product of the imagination run wild, but a huge opportunity for Britain. So let us seize the moment and put on something of which we and the world will be proud.

Then we will say to ourselves with pride this is our Dome, Britain's Dome, and believe me, it will be the envy of the world...

We are leading the world in creativity, so why not put it on display? Why not shout about it? The Dome will be a celebration of the Best of Britain...<sup>23</sup>

Although the building failed to bring to life the visionary concept of the New Labour government, it still managed to become the seminal component of London's heterotopic structure. Figurative meaning ascribed to the Millennium Dome denotes the floundering power, the power whose relentless demonstrations of strength end in a complete slightly ridiculous fiasco. Therefore, my first instinct was to utilize this object as the point

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 211.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 214.

of departure for the exploration of space conducted as part of the *Crowd Crystal* project. And yet I could not help it but feel that my interest in ‘the Great Tent of the Future’ had overly ironic underpinnings, and the inordinately close connection with my passion for discovering and naming some awkward pieces of architecture in London - for instance ‘the Olympic Hemorrhoid’ referring to the ArcelorMittal Orbit, a 115-meter-high observation tower designed by a sculptor Anish Kapoor and engineer Cecil Balmond to commemorate the The London 2012 Summer Olympics.

I decided to juxtapose these vertical staggering representations of ideas against their more horizontal counterparts corresponding directly to the actual human size and presence in a contemporary urban space. What is utterly fascinating about studies and investigations into urban space for me is certainly its multi-layered nature, which stems from the emotional and deeply subjective relation to a place. The ethereal history of a place is built upon layers and layers of multifarious correlations. However, Foucault’s heterotopic sites are not freely accessible: one either has to gain entrance (like in prisons) or submit themselves to rites of purification, be it ritualistic, symbolic or hygienic (like in saunas). In other words, heterotopias are isolated and impenetrable. By this definition, I had to gain access to London - have the entrance pass of sorts, in this case my European ID. On the other hand, I got permission to shape the societal structure of the city, the second I set foot on the British land. It made me wonder just how many of those privately earth-shattering moments (e.g. those which helped me map out my safety route) had an impact on the places we pass by daily completely unaware. Emotions are freely accessible to anyone. Buildings and architecture provide the framework for everything that is vibrant and teeming with life due to the human presence. No person in this whole wide world would be able to recreate the entire palimpsest of emotions created by all those people who have lived their lives in this particular place throughout the centuries.

The notion of a palimpsest allowed me to systematize all the contexts and layers which I detected in the course of research aimed at acquiring a deeper understanding of the urban landscape I would found myself in, ‘by using the palimpsest concept; it is suppose[d] that a new urban layer is superpose[d] on the previous one. The urban

palimpsest, by analogy, emphasizes the historical remnants (memorial traces), rituals, local traditions, folklore and other forms of built heritage.’<sup>24</sup>

In his 1845 essay titled ‘The Palimpsest,’ the English essayist Thomas De Quincey refers to the structure of a palimpsest as the phenomenon where otherwise unrelated texts are interwoven, infiltrating and superimposed upon one another to create the brand-new entity. He describes the process as ‘involuntary’ - the unique concept of intersecting elements originating from the pragmatic activity of overwriting texts was not supposed to highlight the contexts emerging from their respective layers. As a result, palimpsest preserves the distinctive content simultaneously subject to contamination. The original text and its memory are both embalmed within the palimpsest that places an emphasis on heterogeneity and multiplicity: ‘this multifarious and diverse vision projected by the palimpsest, despite being the product of an attempt of destruction and erasure, demands a revision of conceptual systems based on the notions of fixity, linearity, centre and hierarchy. It impels us to replace these systems with new foundations that privilege the conceptions of “multi-linearity, nodes, links and networks”.’<sup>25</sup> The concept of a palimpsest had an immense influence on the evolution of cultural studies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century owing to the fact that it designated ‘a conceptual model of a place as a multi-layered structure that emphasizes the coexistence of multiple visions and impacts of different cultures on the landscape.’<sup>26</sup> The first geographer to refer to a landscape as a palimpsest was Donald Meinig. He used this term in the preface to his book *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* published in 1979. Meinig stressed the importance of historical origins of all components embedded in the cultural landscape; in his opinion ‘the historical model of landscape as a palimpsest includes the genesis of its various elements - an approach that shows that some of them remain in place for long periods of time, some have changed, some have been forgotten, others have been reinvented, and, finally, some have been totally destroyed and new elements have emerged in their place.’<sup>27</sup> This ‘new cultural geography’ highlighted the importance of human interpretation and perception of a landscape and that ‘the emphasis in this approach was on differences in the landscape as it is ‘read’ by social groups and

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<sup>24</sup> Kosa and Tămârjan and Vâlceanu, ‘Urban Landscape As Palimpsest,’ 18.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Palimpsest.’

<sup>26</sup> Mitin, ‘Palimpsest.’

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

individuals, differentiated by identity, occupation, lifestyles, experience, imaginative power, and emotional factors.<sup>28</sup>

The metaphor of place as a palimpsest, which originated in the historical and cultural geography, can be adopted as one of the ways in which we could describe cultural changes in a landscape. In the article ‘Adorno’s Lesson: Text as a Mean of Cognition or on Culture as a Palimpsest,’ Ryszard Nycz explains that the new order, meaning and relations derive from a cultural landscape – ‘the properties of art and life become interchangeable to a certain degree: art is no longer an autonomous institution governed by the precise set of rules separating it from other spheres of life; whereas life is no longer a territory enabling direct experience of reality or the path towards cognition of its intrinsic steadfast foundation.’<sup>29</sup>

The concept of a palimpsest has been used in architecture to examine the layered construct of monuments, evident for instance in the process of their ‘revival’ propelled by the socio-political climate. The term has also been applied to explain how the urban morphologies have developed in the course of history. Sigmund Freud compared the Roman palimpsest to the structure of the human mind, which could be visualized as ‘a psychical entity with a similarly long and copious past [...] in which nothing that has once come into existence will have passed away and all the earlier phases of development continue to exist alongside to the latest one.’<sup>30</sup> In the urban discourse, the nature of a palimpsest is two-fold: its static property concerns the analysis of transformations in the physical appearance of the city, whereas the dynamic aspect pertains to the intangible spatial systems which could also be uncovered in the human mind. In Freud’s analogy ‘spatial layers in cities and their interrelations, like unconscious and conscious memories in human mind, are dynamic and ever changing.’<sup>31</sup> Palimpsest becomes the representation of ‘permanent preservation’ in which the past constantly infringes upon the present. Therefore, the notion of a palimpsest is of paramount importance to one’s understanding of the perpetually evolving, transforming and reproduced structure of the city. The meaning of space is overwritten and constructed anew as more people keep adding more layers. Personally, I became increasingly

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Nycz, ‘Lekcja Adorna: Tekst Jako Sposób Poznania Albo o Kulturze Jako Palimpseście,’ my translation, 39.

<sup>30</sup> Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 17.

<sup>31</sup> Azimzadeh and Bjur, ‘The urban palimpsest: the interplay between the historically generated layers in urban spatial system and urban life.’

conscious of my own daily contribution to this structure and realized that my presence in the urban landscape is far from innocent.

Since the very beginning, a map of London hanging on my studio wall accompanied me through my journey and ultimately offered a solution to my spatial quandary. I decided to retrace the history of London, from respective transformations to its foundation. London was established by the Romans who invaded Britain in the 5th century. Early London, founded in the aftermath of the Roman military conquests, occupied a relatively small area by the Thames, roughly equivalent to the size of Hyde Park. The wall was built around the entire area of the city. A bridge constructed across the Thames facilitated commerce and transportation across the Roman Britain. Londinium grew rapidly in the following decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and quickly became (and still is) the largest city in Britannia. Roman hostilities were targeted specifically at the Celtic Britons, indigenous peoples of Britannia. The Romans were invaders and also migrants. Around the year 309, the Ancient Romans were banished from these terrains. Surviving remnants of their rule include road networks and numerous cities founded originally as army camps (from the Latin *castra*). Contemporary names of several British cities could notably be traced back to this period in history, including Lancaster, Winchester, Leicester and Gloucester.

The Roman Wall, the first enclosure of the Ancient London become the point of departure and spatial context for the presence of the inline skating female soldier. History of the city is complex and multi-layered. My further pursuits and studies of the historic maps revealed that multiple sections of the Wall were positioned exactly along the main streets in the heart and centre of contemporary London – the City of London. Additionally, the northern fragment of the Wall coincided with the current London Wall Street. Opposite the Tower of London stands another surviving section of the wall erected in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. I studied the maps to create the perfect circuit - the female soldier's repeated route where she would mark her ephemeral presence along the historic border of the city founded and expanded by invaders. The *space of fear* would resonate through physical movement, following the layout of streets and the human life migrating through the urban tissue.

Obviously, the inline skating female soldier had to be me. The only equipment I took on a performative journey were inline skates and my father's uniform. I knew I had just

started the second stage of my journey though the *space of fear*, which I analysed. Although I had been an amateur inline skater for eight years, I had never attempted street skating. The initial trails were restricted to the streets around my house by the Sandringham Road. Not only had I tested my own comfort during the ride in full gear, but also people's reactions to the encounter and potential ways of documenting. The preparation stage lasted two months. Afterwards, I felt confident enough to face the challenge of travelling the section of my final route starting by the Aldgate Station. The inaugural ride happened at 9:54 a.m. on Thursday, August 13, 2019. It lasted exactly two minutes, six seconds. The palpable and expected bout of abstract fear, which overwhelmed me before I even went out into the streets, persisted after I made the first move. Video footage captured by the person riding a bike behind me left much to be desired. However, the experience itself allowed me to pinpoint the shortcomings. Immersed in the journey through time and space, I somehow forgot that London also has its own daily rhythm - I selected the time of rush hour. On top of all that, the fact that every hour was the rush hour in this particular London's business district would invariably alter the very nature of my project. My intention was to forge an intimate relation not only between a person and space, but also, on the next stage of my project, between the audience members, viewing the video installation, and the piece itself. The space had to be empty and encourage contemplation. The experience of other migrants helped me find the solution. My friend, who used to live in the area, pointed out that the character of this space changes drastically on Sunday mornings, so I travelled the streets in the city centre only on Sunday mornings, experiencing the fleeting moments of noticing and being noticed by other users of road traffic. The silence reverberated more powerfully throughout this space than at any other hour of any other day. I usually finished journeys around 10am when this part of town was just awakening, still encumbered by sleep. In the next six months, I appeared in the city centre at regular intervals to mark the following route segments. On February 17, 2019 I managed to travel the entire circuit for the very first time. There were eleven days left until Brexit.

I was thinking about the nature of the final video documentation many times over. I was thinking about Cormac McCarthy's *The Road*, about the world I was transported into, the colours I pictured, the emotions I felt, the empathy stirred up inside. Even though the characters of the novel traversed America's apocalyptic landscape at night, I still had an impression the events unfolded during the day while I was reading the book.

I followed the protagonists' story and journey. I was thinking about my father playing computer games when I was a teenager. I would not dare play Quake II on my own, and yet I used to sit right next to my father, enraptured by the images on the screen. I followed him, I followed game's character as the camera was positioned directly behind his back. Gus Van Sant in his movie *Elephant* (2003) used the same perspective. I also opted for the third-party angle to invite spectators to immerse themselves in this world I created. The soldier's figure becomes an anonymous guide through the unreal space, through the circuit of seemingly boundless presence and experiences. Ultimately, arrangement of the projection space offers the immersive almost physical experience of the surrounding *space of fear* while being stationed in the peaceful centre.

While working on the project, I often discovered its different layers. My personal history of subjective perception of place and emotions was rooted in the ephemerality and transience of presence. Since I had launched this project, I passed by and across the remnants of the Roman Wall on numerous occasions. The character of this area of the city has changed for me. The previously foreboding route became much more familiar, as I made it my own. Nonetheless, the aim of this project and undertaken activities was to raise the questions: what is the *space of fear*? How do we perceive it? I asked myself these questions many times during the creative process. Suddenly, I realized the importance of the female soldier's own point of view. Everything was so austere, cold and unsettled. Meanwhile the main character was human - a person marking the space along the physically non-existent enclosure, telling the story of a place which numerous people were still unaware of. March came, Brexit was scheduled for 11.00 p.m. on March 29. On this day, I stood by the Aldgate Station. It was a Friday. A few hours earlier, the media announced that government failed to reach the agreement, so the deadline for the United Kingdom leaving the European Union was postponed. I had my inline skates with me, the camera fastened to my body served as my third eye observing the reality I was about to enter. I travelled the whole route, started at 11.00 p.m., finished 40 minutes later. The city was swarming with people and cars. It was dark. I had never been so afraid, my leg bones turned to lead. I fell down once. At a halfway point, I crossed paths with a man driving a hoverboard. His reaction bolstered up my confidence. I was strangely delighted by this encounter with another human being. I am not sure why I was so terrified or found it so difficult, but the gamut of emotions was more powerful than ever. The end was the new beginning, not only for me, for a large group of people. Pierre

Nora, a French historian, argues that the present interest in memory stems from its disappearance. Invoking the past, I conjured the new history that will forever be attached to this particular space in London in my own memory, the memory of camerawomen and finally the memory of those who saw me live or will see me in the video. Everything is connected. The world we live in is built upon the interplay of correspondences, on the way in which we influence one another, and the way in which the elements of our surroundings influence us, on our personal history, and the dynamics of movement in space. We never exist in the void. The erosion of homogeneous space at every possible level is the epitome of modernity. Since a computer algorithm notified all my apps that I am a migrant living in London, sponsored posts of the user @MajorofLondon started popping up on my Facebook account. I might have never needed anything more after I had moved here than the assurance that #LondonIsOpen alongside other content popularized by Sadiq Khan, the first Muslim Mayor of London.





Fig. 8 *Crowd Crystal*, video still (Anna Jochymek, 2019)



Fig. 9 *Crowd Crystal*, video still (Anna Jochymek, 2019)

## CHAPTER 5

### ON FEAR

Fear is an emotion. One of many emotions we could experience. It is precise and it has the object. It is elicited in response to a direct threat as we are aware of all things fearsome. Fear is an instinct that helps us survive. It is primal. It is unconditional. It is also a powerful tool which manipulates entire societies.

The main distinction between emotion and feeling rests upon the universality of emotions. They are part of our DNA. Although different individuals might experience emotions in a different way, in principle the mode of emotionality is shared all across the board, among humans as well as other species. Emotions manifest themselves physiologically, whereas feelings are subjective reactions to emotions. Feelings derive from our personal experience, memories and worldviews. The aspects of memory and cognition are of great significance, since ‘the feeling is shaped by contact with the memory, and also involves an orientation towards what is remembered. So, I might feel pain when I remember this or that, and in remembering this or that, I might attribute what is remembered as being painful.’<sup>1</sup> Feelings circulate between the objects and build networks of correlation, for example ‘when I have expressed my feelings [...], then my feelings also become yours, and you may respond to them. If you sympathize, then we might have “fellow-feeling”. If you do not understand, we might feel alienated from each other.’<sup>2</sup> Consequently, feeling is the process of ‘reading’ emotions.

Before we move on to the discussion on the sociality of emotions, it seems worth pointing out that the everyday language assumes emotions are centred internally. This theoretic approach emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of independent pioneering studies done

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 8.

by William James, a psychologist, and Carl Lange, a physician. This theory suggests that our emotional response depends on the manner in which we interpret sensations triggered by specific stimuli. In other words, we simply *have* emotions. A group of modern sociologists and anthropologists, including Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, Michelle Rosaldo, Arlie Russell Hochschild, Theodore D. Kemper, Jack Katz, Simon Williams and Randall Collins, have argued that ‘emotions should not be regarded as psychological states, but as social and cultural practices.’<sup>3</sup> Sara Ahmed develops the ‘inside out’ model of emotions in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*. This model presupposes that our feelings move outwards towards other bodies, yet they could still return to us afterwards. Émile Durkheim, considered the ‘architect’<sup>4</sup> of social constructionist approach, maintained that every emotion expressed by the individual within any congregation echoes through others, thereby amplifying this impulse and creating ‘an avalanche’ of sorts. In other words, ‘every emotion expressed resonates without interference in consciousness that are wide open to external impressions, each one echoing the others.’<sup>5</sup> These repeated words and reactions affect others and elicit their emotional response, which grows and is amplified by the frequently intercepted stimuli. In his theoretic approach, Durkheim championed constraint: ‘most of our ideas and our tendencies are not developed by ourselves but come to us from without. How can they become a part of us except by imposing themselves upon us?’<sup>6</sup> In that sense, we view emotion as a social form, rather than the form of self-expression. The rise of emotion in crowds does not originate from the individual consciousness, but according to Randall Collins ‘is what holds or binds the social body together.’<sup>7</sup> As opposed to the model stating that emotions come from within, the ‘outside in’ model, often applied in the field of crowd psychology, assumes that the crowd has feelings. Influenced by the crowd’s feeling, the individual starts relating to it and perceives it as their own. The examination of faults in the *outside in* model will be presented in the following sections.

Following Ahmed’s approach, I contend that ‘emotions create the very effect of the surfaces and boundaries that allow us to distinguish an inside and an outside in the first place. So, emotions are not simply something “I” or “we” have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the “I” and the

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Fisher and Chon, ‘Durkheim and the Social Construction of Emotions,’ 1.

<sup>5</sup> Skoggard and Waterston, ‘Toward an Anthropology of Affect and Evocative Ethnography.’

<sup>6</sup> As cited in: Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 9.

“we” are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others.<sup>8</sup> In this context, emotions are neither the individual nor social practice - instead they ‘allow us to distinguish an inside and an outside in the first place.’<sup>9</sup> The emotional objects take shape because ‘such objects become sticky, or saturated with affect, as sites of personal and social tension.’<sup>10</sup> They are more a reason of the relation that exists between us and the world because ‘the objects of emotion take shape as effect of circulation.’<sup>11</sup> It is the case of emotions moving,<sup>12</sup> and even if they are not moving on their own, the objects are still affected and moved by them. This process could be interpreted in terms of a mutual relation established as the objects come into contact. It is a ground-breaking theory which depicts how bodies and worlds materialize from emotions, particularly in the process of nations’ building.

Ahmed’s line of thought is detached from the psychological studies on fear and corresponding privatisation of emotion. Hence, fear becomes the form of social practice, whereas individuals are aligned with popular ideology. As a result emotions can lead to social alliances and be used to create national identities. The analysis focusing on the public sphere of life draws on sociology, history and anthropology. Certain ‘truths’ are dependent on emotions, emotions perpetuate and constitute these truths. Others actually ‘leave us with an impression.’ For instance, we might interpret a small fleeting impression which gives us goose bumps as fear. In that sense, institutional and social structures play a key role in the reproduction of power. Gilles Deleuze’s affect theory states that the object acts upon and shapes the body during an encounter. Emotions are oriented towards the bodies they come in contact with. The relationship between the affecting and affected body ensues. Deleuze differentiates between the effect and plain emotion, since the effect is separate from the affected body.

Imagine the situation in which an inline skating female soldier passes you by on a street. The sight is quite unusual, her presence evokes fear. Perhaps the Armed Forces are field testing inline skates as its new experimental technology. Perhaps the soldier is patrolling the area because there is some kind of governmental meeting in close proximity to the place where I am at the moment. Perhaps riots have started somewhere. Something must have happened; something threatens the public safety. That is why the special military task force

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid,10.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>12</sup> The word ‘emotion’ comes from the Latin *emovere*, meaning ‘to move, to move out’.

is monitoring the streets. Perhaps we have just encountered one of those soldiers. Or the soldier is a terrorist. Perhaps she is wearing inline skates to move faster along the streets, perhaps she is armed and will soon murder me. I fear my life is in danger, I gather from my previous knowledge and experience that the soldier's presence in such unprecedented non-military circumstances is the sign that 'something bad is happening.' I identify this body as a threat because it operates 'outside the place' it belongs to. Frozen facial expression, increasingly frantic breathing and heartbeat. Now, let's reverse the scenario. I am wearing the military uniform, traversing the city streets. I notice people's spiked interest. Passers-by are scarce, they stop in their tracks, sometimes smile, usually stare anxiously. They fantasize about who am I and what my presence means. Maybe they are scared. I am not sure what would happen if the emotion of fear morphed into an exact feeling. It could result in a hostile activity directed at me. My legs are now stiff and I am starting to sweat. The stiffness in my legs makes it more difficult to inline skate and effectively avoid the bums in the road. This example illustrates how difficult it is to determine who is afraid of whom. I feel fear as I find myself in the situation that signals a potentially approaching danger, which would affect me. Fear closes the distance between the two bodies. We start to feel as if their fear were our own.

The main difference between fear and anxiety is that fear exists in relation to its 'object.' We fear 'something' imminent that would hurt us in one way or another. In his book entitled *Anxiety*, Stanley Rachman describes fear as an emotional reaction to the threat we can identify, whereas anxiety pertains to an anticipation of a vague threat – 'strictly, the term "fear" is used to describe an emotional reaction to a specific, perceived danger, to a threat that is identifiable. Most fear reactions are intense and have the quality of an emergency. [...]. The perceived source of danger might be accurately or inaccurately identified, or correctly identified but wrongly evaluated. The fear might be rational or irrational. [...] When feeling anxious, the person has difficulty in identifying the cause of the uneasy tension or the nature of the anticipated event or disaster. The emotion can be puzzling for the person experiencing it. In its purest form, anxiety is diffuse, objectless, unpleasant, and persistent.'<sup>13</sup> Sara Ahmed calls this theory into question while pointing out the 'passing-by' and temporal dimension of fear.<sup>14</sup> We anticipate an injury, so in this case fear transports us from the present into the future. The object's 'passing-by' is also of great importance. In the abovementioned example, the soldier is not only drawing close, but also passing by the person who finds her fearsome.

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<sup>13</sup> Rachman, *Anxiety*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 65.

Fear 'contained' within the soldier, enhanced by her movement, intensifies as she is approaching and passing by. Reduced physical distance only reinforces our impression of imminent pain. In this situation, a person who is feeling afraid could for instance take flight or grab a phone to dial the emergency number in order to prevent the body, which they fear, from coming nearer or at least to distance themselves further. In that sense, the female soldier's presence signifies fear.

Inline skates represent mobility, a means of transportation as an end in itself. The intention of the female soldier is not to arrive at any destination, but to move endlessly along the circuit designated by the non-existent borders of the ancient wall. She appears, approaches, disappears. Her presence generates the multidimensional *space of fear*. It is the fear of the highly probable relation between the soldier and random passers-by, it is the fear of one's belonging to the place.

In his book titled *White Skin, Black Skin*, Frantz Fanon, a French author and political activist associated with the Algerian National Liberation Front, portrays the encounter between a black man and a mother with a child that screams 'Look, a Negro!' then throws himself into his mother's arms yelling 'Mama, the nigger's going to eat me up.' According to Fanon, this moment involves turning towards the object of love: 'in this way, we can see that fear is that which keeps alive the fantasy of love as the preservation of life, but paradoxically only by announcing the possibility of death.'<sup>15</sup> Through its mobility, fear shapes the space as well as the bodies while also producing their surface (notably, a child embraced by his mother constructs the contained form which inhabits less space than two persons standing next to each other). Additionally, fear relates to the passing-by of the object and its potential 'loss'. Heidegger contents that the approaching object aggravates the fear and projects the thought that 'the object will hurt us' (in the future). However rather than arriving, the object of fear might simply pass us by and suddenly disappear. The loss of this object magnifies the fear even further because we can counteract fear as long as we can locate the object: 'this is an important dimension in the spatial politics of fear: the loss of the object of fear renders the world itself a space of potential danger, a space that is anticipated as pain or injury on the surface of the body that fears.'<sup>16</sup> Fear refers to the 'absence' of the object, not inexistence (as it is the case with anxiety). This mechanism could be observed during Brexit. As the set date of United Kingdom leaving the European Union was approaching, people

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 69.

overwhelmed by fear opted for mitigating or preventive measures, such as applying for a settled or pre-settled status. And yet, the object of fear ‘passed by’ the society. United Kingdom’s plan to leave the European Union on March 29, 2019 failed. Afterwards, everybody has gained an impression that Brexit ‘is’ and ‘is going to be’ happening. In this context, fear escalated for instance after Boris Johnson, a hard-line Brexit supporter, was appointed as the Prime Minister; or the proposal of Priti Patel, the Home Secretary, to raise the minimum wage threshold, allowing immigrants to stay in the United Kingdom, to £36,700 a year.<sup>17</sup>

The analysis of the spatial politics of fear should also mention its impact on collectives and crowds. Our fear brings us closer to the bodies that share the same fear. Niccolò Machiavelli, one of the greatest political thinkers of the Renaissance, meditates on the prince’s dilemma between spreading love or fear and draws the conclusion that ‘one ought to be both feared and loved, but as it is difficult for the two to go together, it is much safer to be feared than loved.’<sup>18</sup> What is more, since ‘fear is maintained by a dread of punishment which never fails,’<sup>19</sup> it is naturally considered a more effective instrument of power. In *Leviathan*, Thomas Hobbs asserts that the emergence of government is predicated upon fear, because society accedes to the governing entity out of fear of anarchy and chaos. According to Ahmed, the so called ‘technology of government’ is driven by fear – ‘the sovereign power either uses fear to make others consent to that power, or civil society promises protection, and the elimination of fear, to ensure consent.’<sup>20</sup>

In the opinion of contemporary scholars, such as Frank Furedi or Ruth Wodak, the events of 9/11 marked a milestone in the studies on the spatial politics of fear. For me personally, the turning point which I experienced directly and continue to experience as I am writing these words, is definitely Brexit. One could even risk the statement that Brexit would not have happened if it were not for the 2001 terrorist attacks. Brexit stems from the crackdown on border control and migration policy accompanied by stoked fears of the ‘Other.’ In Europe, a patent division between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ emerged post-1989, after the fall of the Iron Curtain that ‘had divided Europe into West and East, nobody expected that the immigration from the former Communist countries, Turkey and the Middle East would entail

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<sup>17</sup> Abgarian, ‘If Priti Patel backs this unfair minimum salary threshold for migrants, people like me won’t stand a chance.’

<sup>18</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince and The Discourses*, 61.

<sup>19</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 71.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 71.

a rise in xenophobia and fear of losing jobs, and cause division into “Us” and “Them”, into real “Austrians, Brits, Swedes, Germans or Danes” and the “Others”, that is foreigners. Old borders were dismantled and new borders were erected: via visas, language and citizenship tests, a veritable multitude of rules and regulations.’<sup>21</sup> Fear of the ‘Other,’ which brings people together, imbues this emotion with the spatial dimension. Fear exists as the social body. Our assumptions and suspicions are good enough reasons for identifying a threat and halting the fear-generating object. We are wary of the people with a ‘Middle Eastern’ quality to their outward appearance, so we subject them to a much more rigorous control at borders. The social fear and aversion to the ‘Other’ sent us into the downward spiral of proliferating stereotypes and hackneyed preconceptions about cultures. If a person recognizes a threat, they try to prevent this danger and rescue themselves, their loved ones, as well as those bound to them by a sense of community. The declaration of a crisis indicates that collectives or entire societies should be scared or anxious. It is the tool fabricated for the sake of a given situation or circumstance: ‘to announce a crisis is to produce the moral and political justification for maintaining “what is” (taken for granted or granted) in the name of future survival.’<sup>22</sup>

Fear manifests itself as the apprehension over degradation and collapse of the former order. Depending on personal circumstances, we might or might not experience fear that ‘has become a dominant public perspective. Fear begins with things we fear, but over time, with enough repetition and expanded use, it becomes a way of looking at life. [...] Fear is one of the few perspectives that citizens share today; while liberals and conservatives may differ in their object of fear, all sides express many fears and point to ‘blameworthy’ sources - often each other! The fear ‘market’ has also spawned an extensive cottage industry that promotes new fears and an expanding array of ‘victims’.<sup>23</sup> Society is built on the sense of unity, responsibility and care exhibited by its members who protect themselves from the ‘Other’ - be it real or imagined. We stand guard over the system we believe to be rightful. Meanwhile ‘the policy of continual surveillance of emergent forms is sustained as an ongoing project of survival.’<sup>24</sup> We no longer *have* fear, in fact fear is something we generate or what is impressed upon us. It is a social practice which shapes our existence in the world. Fear

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<sup>21</sup> Wodak, *The Politics of Fear*, X.

<sup>22</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 77.

<sup>23</sup> Altheide, *Creating Fear. News and the Construction of Crisis*, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 79.



became ‘a cultural metaphor for interpreting life’<sup>25</sup> whereas its cultural politics has infiltrated our lives permanently. The examination of fear in this context elucidates the spatiality of its relations producing ‘the culture of fear’ due to the fact that ‘in everyday encounters, we move towards and away from others, which affects the contours of bodily as well as social space.’<sup>26</sup> Nowadays, it is quite easy to fall into the trap of populist rhetoric. The normalisation of the politics of exclusion is clearly evident from the current dynamic shifts in Europe. In her book *The Politics of Fear*, Ruth Wodak observes that ‘scapegoating, blaming the victim, victim-perpetrator reversal, trivialisation and denial are among the common discursive strategies used to convince voters in many parts of Europe of what is termed “necessary” political measures of legitimizing exclusion and restricting immigration.’<sup>27</sup> Political parties construct the spaces of fear to validate their proposed program and ‘countermeasures’ designating the potential threats and the ways in which we could counteract this danger. It is a trap contrived day in, day out by the right-wing populist discourse. Needless to say, all politicians are populists regardless of their own point of view. However, right-wing populism extends beyond rhetoric – ‘such parties successfully construct fear and - related to the various real or imagined dangers - propose scapegoats that are blamed for threatening or actually damaging our societies, in Europe and beyond.’<sup>28</sup> In today’s reality, we bear witness to the widespread acquiescence in the face of the nationalist, xenophobic and racist tendencies born out of fear; the fear of change in every possible context ranging from gentrification to climate change and social role reversal. For this reason, the ‘Us’ is created - a homogeneous group inhabiting a carefully guarded territory, a group which can be manipulated in case of the looming threat of the ‘Other.’

Our main source of information on the current crises and threats are the mass media. Their coverage seems to imply that we live in a dangerous world ravaged by rape, crime, pedophilia, deviancy, plagues, illness, poison, war and domestic abuse. People behave like animals, predators are lurking around each corner, ready to humiliate, hurt or murder us. Media broadcasts show us so much evil, piping up terror and violence scares, that we cannot help it but feel as if we were stuck in ‘the danger zone.’ The statistic report published by the United Nations in 2017<sup>29</sup> indicates that the murder rate is on a steady decline in all parts of the world (2003-2015). Fear among societies increases, nonetheless. This tendency could

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<sup>25</sup> Furedi, *Culture of Fear Revisited. Risk-taking and the Morality of Low Expectation*, VII.

<sup>26</sup> Sapegano, ‘Book Review: The Cultural Politics of Emotion.’

<sup>27</sup> Cohen-Almagor, ‘Book Review. The Politics of Fear by Ruth Wodak.’

<sup>28</sup> R. Wodak, *The Politics of Fear*, Sage, Los Angeles 2015, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice.’

be illustrated by conservative governments' rise to power all around the globe - they make promises to counteract threats drawing closer to societies by combating the waves of immigration or even building walls on the national borders.

Initially, I thought the *Crowd Crystal* project would deal with empathy. Adam Smith, and other 18<sup>th</sup> century philosophers, relied on the term 'sympathy' which, to some extent, suggests learning about some else's history and understanding their feelings. Unfortunately, it is hard to argue with Paul Bloom's argument - outlined in his book *Just Babies: The Origins of Good and Evil* - stating that empathy is biased. In fact, it is easier to empathize with attractive people and those sharing our nationality or race. Though possibly dictated by empathy, decisions we make in the public interest could still be unjust or even immoral. The point of the project is surely not the fact that the inline skater is scared, so we should be scared as well. Viewers might be overwhelmed with even greater confusion and uncertainty than her. But she has no doubts. She is charging forward through the space she finds familiar yet unsettling, the space is oddly deserted. Sound underscores its surrounding void, the void which often surrounds us all, especially while making big life-changing decisions. Perhaps the project requires a degree of composure on the part of a viewer. The metaphoric figure of the inline skating female soldier is already 'there,' following a meticulously planned route she instils an antithesis of echoing fear in viewers, in spectators, in people. It is the story neither about empathy nor the need to elicit compassion in others. It is the story about respect and understanding of Otherness.

My exploration of the *space of fear* is informed by the fact that emotions are enacted upon us. The cultural practice is the source of fear we feel in the social context. Through her continuous movement, the inline skating female soldier surveys and in a way adapts to the situation she has found herself in. Her singularity rests on exclusion, on her escape from social influence, on constructing her presence amid the abovementioned non-existent 'collective politics and social alliances.' Who knows, maybe she is the perfect embodiment of the occupied time and place. Whereas the source of a fear, which she provokes, might ultimately boil down to the fact that we are not as isolated as her, united by fear - which seems like a natural, even appropriate, reaction to us.



**Fig. 10** *Crowd Crystal (in progress)*, exposition view, Centrala Space, Birmingham, 2019 (Anna Jochymek, 2019)



**Fig. 11** *Crowd Crystal*, visualisation of possible way of exposition (Anna Jochymek, 2019)

## CONCLUSION

The aim of my PhD dissertation was to investigate the concept of the *Space of Fear*, which I developed. I understand it as a social construct with a profound political meaning, enabling authorities to manipulate the crowds. Drawing on Sarah Ahmed's 'inside out' model of emotions, I recognise fear as a tool for the reproduction of power. In that context, fear should not be regarded as a psychological state but as a social and cultural practice. I focus on the social aspect of fear as it is imposed upon us. It is the power that sways our behaviours and decisions, compels us to accept, often unintentionally, morally dubious practices, to perpetuate the systems which are meant to 'protect' us from some imaginary evil. In addition, my intention was to demonstrate how a person's awareness of their spatial and historic contexts allows them to make a wiser judgment on a given situation. What is more, the analysis of the individual components of the *Crowd Crystal* project reveals its dominating narrative of memory. For it is the memory that affects the level of our awareness and helps us understand the existing mechanisms.

My initial project related to personal experience and memory has evolved into an exploration of the very specific collective and emerging memory of the times we live in. Consequently, I embraced the individual as my point of departure. The individual has a potential to alter the state of reality and abiding traditions, represents the slightly obfuscated community. For me, this was the community I was forced to join regardless of my own will or volition. Categorizing processes worked faster than I anticipated - before I had managed to define my own predicament, I was already labelled as an immigrant from Eastern Europe.

In the *Crowd Crystal* project, the inline skating female soldier is an isolated individual whom we examine 'under a microscope.' The female soldier evokes the past because her historically determined presence in this place allows her to construct a brand-new narrative, which will be forever attached to the history of this space. She travels alone through the desolate almost apocalyptic landscape. A few persons she might encounter on her way

resemble inanimate objects, completely unperturbed by the presence of this odd character. They ignore or overlook her, pay no attention, thus consigning her to oblivion. Though she was just there, she has already vanished without a trace. It is the statement of a simple indisputable fact. Memory fades extremely quickly.

The analysis of respective elements of the female soldier's uniform points to the conclusion that she is fully aware of her own position. The uniform makes her visible. Inline skates, which symbolise exclusion as well as rebellious approach to the pre-established order and rules, allow her to travel through time and space. Putting on the military uniform, the outfit associated strongly with strength and aggression, she hijacks and subverts its meaning. But at the very end she is still a single, lonely, woman. The sum of all these components facilitates her identification in space. However, all the effort and strain aimed at establishing her presence were futile. The female soldier is positioned in the void. Every single one of us is positioned in the void since every single one of us is positioned within the *space of fear*. Judging by the examples and behaviours examined in this dissertation, it is symptomatic of the decision which we all make regarding the degree of awareness channelled into 'exist in the world.'

Neither the theoretical nor practical section of his project exhausts fully the subject of the *space of fear*, but simply signals and names the state which affects us all. Over the last two years, I have been discovering what it means to be the 'Other' only to eventually feel and understand that it has nothing to do with otherness. At a fundamental level, everyone faces the same problems. Our lives are shaped by certain common denominators. We all live and die. The basic needs and desires are juxtaposed against aspiration, power and hierarchy, the by-products of civilisation for the sake of which we strip one another of dignity and the right to co-existence. Adrift in-between two contexts, I happened to be an artist and PhD candidate associated with the academic circles, as well as a shopping assistant in a fashion store. I firmly believe that the *space of fear* determines our attitude to others. I am also convinced it is the comprehension, rooted in self-awareness, that lays the foundations for society built on mutual respect, acceptance of cultural differences and so on. This awareness becomes the only rational instrument essential for escaping the painstakingly and carefully created trap of the *space of fear*.

My essay entitled *A4TERRITORY*, a kind of preamble to the PhD dissertation, mentions the absence of love in my practice. This paucity was always on my mind while I was working

on the *Crowd Crystal* project. In fact, my story would not have seen the light of day if it were not for dozens of people who came into my life after I had moved to London. The *Crowd Crystal* project emerged from their acceptance, trust and understanding that my presence has value; that I arrive carrying the experiences which I could share, which they could all absorb just like I have and still am absorbing my new culture. We learn from one another. Only awareness holds enough power to dispel the *space of fear* in the crowd.



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## APPENDIX

### ESSAY: *A4TERRITORY*

The essay *A4TERRITORY* is an analysis of the mind map I developed in November 2017. It comprised of forty pages covered in notes and observations about the things and issues that captured my attention or stayed in my memory over the last couple of years. Being confronted with this mixture of multifarious components, I started noticing the appearing connections and correspondences. It ultimately gave rise to the notion of *The Space of Fear*. As a result, this concept became the main focus of my doctoral dissertation and further research.



When I can not sleep at night I am imagining a white piece of paper in bright, unending space. My gaze is getting closer to the paper. I am watching it from every angle. It is easy to rotate paper in gravity-free space. Then I am starting to fold this paper. Every time when I am folding it I am getting closer to it. White fractal becomes a remedy for insomnia. Whiteness absorbs me. It seems like the process of dying is quite similar to the process of falling asleep.

A piece of A4 paper is present in my research practice from the beginning. I just like this surface. My studio's wall is filled with sheets of paper full of notes. My friend named it: *A4TERRITORY*. I like that. It sounds like AIR FORCE TERRITORY. The fact that my father served at Air Force Training Centre gives it a familiar and powerful resonance. You can feel space and air in it. It is also suggestive of the sky – ‘only sky is the limit.’ An intimidating idea that what is limiting our concepts is only that metaphorically sky.

A white piece of paper in A4 size is more informal than any bigger sheet. Any gesture made in relation to this ordinary sheet of paper is not categorical. A4 has its own mobility, can always be easily replaced or removed. It is an extremely good excuse for testing and experimenting. Normally I would just make notes and spread them on my desk on the surface surrounding my computer. This time I decided to stick them to the wall in a particular way even though I am not a great fan of diagrams. Probably, because I always had a problem with starting points. My thoughts are just floating so I decided to follow them as they appeared. I became a flaneur of my own thoughts and just forget about the centre. After a few days it became hard not to notice strong connections between elements. Creating this text I knew that the story would not be a chronological one. Its base will be the emotions and unexpected coincidences between those bits and pieces.

I assumed that having a PhD thesis already clarified would help. I started with the statement *Crowd Crystals. Spectator as a work of art*. Unfortunately, the longer I analysed the spectrum I was covering the more unsure I become. I had a formal structure that normally appears at the end of the creative process and it was necessary to dig much deeper to find what was actually missing – the content. I decided to take a step back and to start the journey from the beginning. Humility was going to play an important role in this process. I gathered all previous thoughts, ideas, flashbacks and faced them once again with the unrestricted mind.

*Space of Fear* appeared in my mind so unexpectedly and with such strength that I knew with absolute certainty that I have to find a material representation for it. I thought

about space, which is a pure fear itself, where we are not afraid we just can feel that fear surrounds us. Do not know how or do not know where. Do not know how real or how abstract that space should be. Do not know what type of relation and reaction between space and spectators it should generate. It is difficult at language level to describe if it is fear of angst, anxiety or of being scared. Some unknown universe became manifest and was crystallised from the chaos that day.

It came to my mind that from a formal, material point of view Panopticon would serve my needs well. Mostly because it does not allow to perform actions - it is an action itself. Architecture assumed the capability of man. The difference between Panopticon and any other architecture of power can be found in the auto functionality it has. The *twist* appears once you realise that no one is needed to manage the space. Space is like the Perpetuum mobile of functionality. The structure itself became a watchman, as Bentham said: 'I will be the gaoler. You will see [...] that the gaoler will have no salary - will cost nothing to the nation' (Bentham 1843: 269).

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Versailles, a panopticon shaped menagerie was created upon the orders of Louis XVI. The concept of panopticon per se did not exist in Bentham's age even though its execution already occurred. It is questionable if he ever saw this lithography or other sketches. But it does not matter. Substantially there is nothing special about that menagerie. Its charm resides in its nature as a luxurious version of a zoo. It is less vexing on the conscience to imagine such architecture being used in relation to furry animals than inmates. What drew my attention was, not so obvious, half hexagonal shape. Lithographs from the 17<sup>th</sup> century were drawn from a descriptive perspective, typical for architecture where it was more important to present as many details as possible over the strict observance of perspective rules. It is not immediately visible that it is not a circle. Hexagon is a structure of sweetness, the structure of sugar. It is the structure of crystals and also a structure favored in utopian projects designed by Oskar Hansen in the '60s.

In 1963 Skopje, the capital city of Macedonia was completely destroyed by an earthquake. In a gesture of support, the Warsaw government offered full design of public utility building of their choice. The Skopje City authorities decided it should be the building of the Museum of Modern Art as a symbol of the progress and 'immortality' of the city. In 1966 in open competition, architectural groups submitted plans. One such was that of Oskar Hansen. It was extremely difficult to execute and did not win but still the design

is worth examination. His ‘folding’ museum consisted of umbrella shape platforms that would fold in areas and submerge underground in others according to their need. Hansen was probably one of the greatest utopian and visionary in the history of architecture. I am uncertain whether he has visited Kale mountain where the final project was supposed to appear before his submission, but for some reason when I went there it seemed like the right city and the right place. Diving up to the top you need to pass groups of homeless gypsy people. They live in tents just next to the street creating something like camp a village. Hansen’s hexagonal umbrella at the top of the mountain could serve as meaningful a symbol of support and protection. That vision led me to my computer archives where I was keeping newspaper cuttings containing information about engineer Carlos Espinosa Arancibila from Chile who in the ‘60s developed and patented so-called ‘mist catcher’ (*atrapanieblas*). A sophisticated half-broken, hexagonal construction was designed to collect water at Atacama desert. The scientists were inspired by Namibian Beetles *Onymacris unguicularis*. The project was donated to UNESCO for free use. Visions of a ‘protective’ aspect of never executed architecture had a special meaning for me and found their unexpected continuation in designs that find hope in hopeless places.

I can not escape from the fact that as Diamanda Galas said: ‘I have become a stranger to my own needs and desires. I look and see things that are not here’ (*Diamanda Galás – Panoptikon*, 2017). That is the first line of lyrics written and performed by her sound work titled ‘Panopticon.’ She has been described as ‘capable of the most unnerving vocal terror’ (Kenny, Robbins). She is a rebel, a fighter and unusual to say the least. She is a classically trained singer with a three and a half octave range and a very strict, tough vocabulary. She is angry, primarily about AIDS. She has been an AIDS activist since 1994. Two years before she lost her brother to the disease. It is worth noticing that Amanda’s outrage is often best expressed with a scream. She has become a medium for sounds work with its materiality. A completely new universe of sounds and emotions. At this point, I have to mention Marina’s Abramović performance *The Artist is Present*. An effective show displayed at MOMA New York in 2010 and American style movie production that comes with it, which was a part of a huge promotional campaign. Even it was probably one of the weakest pieces performed by her. Imagine that instead of her we have an opera singer sitting on a chair for 700 hours in silence. Imagine that castrated vocal sphere. Tension. Not cheap tension. Not cheap suffering but almost physical absence of missed potential. Nostalgia, pain, tension, melancholy, sadness utopian devotion.

Why does Dido's Lament aria 'When I am laid in earth' from the opera *Dido and Aeneas* by Henry Purcell breaks my heart every single time? Maybe because most of us want to stay immortal these times. This secret wish to be important to at least one person which will give us an illusionary feeling of timelessness. In the past I thought that if one day someone like Gombrich will insert my name in his book I will be saved. At some point to be forgotten is one of my biggest fears but at the same time, I feel an irresistible temptation to just drown in oblivion. Maybe that is why I am keeping that ephemeral vibe in my projects. Mirosław Bałka once showed me his sculpture. It was a permanent concrete structure at Umedalens Skulpturpark in Umeå in Sweden located in a ground depression. Looking from the top at his work he told me that maybe in centuries to come after huge earth catastrophe someone will discover it and will think these are a trace of some past architecture or urban structure.

'When I am laid, I am laid in earth, May my wrongs create  
No trouble, no trouble in thy breast;  
Remember me, remember me, but ah! Forget my fate.  
Remember me, but ah! forget my fate.' (Henry Purcell, When I am Laid in  
Earth [Dido's Lament], 2012)

The same words stay strong, sang four centuries later by Klaus Nomi. Nowadays this message may be perceived even stronger. He died too early, he was suffering from AIDS. He is hard to forget. Luckily.

It seems like we are living in times and in a place that was created somehow by a strange coincidence. I kept in my mind Blake's representations. He did not see the creator as being an all-wise God, but rather as Urizen a 'self-deluded and anxious' (2010) forger of pre-existent matter. He is using not only the capabilities of his own body. The calipers become a prosthesis, an extension of the human body. At that point, it indicates a change of category from impossibility even disability in a direction of possibility. Here where the action is indicated by caliper the person itself appears completely dependent and almost disabled without it. They are integral. Nietzsche used to say that he would not believe in a God who can not dance. It is hard to disagree with the fact that your state of mind changes while you are sitting or while you are dancing. I find it captivating to observe this Individual making perfect circles.

There was a time when I rediscovered circle shape for myself. A Japanese movie from 1972 *Female Prisoner 701: Scorpion* (1972) contains a scene where we can see a group

of female inmates digging a hole in the ground. One of them showed no sign of remorse when she was left to stay there alone with the order to fill it up. Their bodies of the rest of the inmates created a ring shape circle with a central point in a form of a persistent female prisoner. After a few weeks I realized that holes in the ground created by human hands are never round. Graves, trenches, grounds under buildings, mines, canals - they are never round. I watched that movie again. Everything in that scene is about circles. The round shape of the hole, the women whose cultural symbol is a circle, the prison lights chasing the space, the circular movement of the camera, the endless circle of digging and burying and finally the movement of the camera to the sun.

Because of this particular scene, I was thinking about round holes while my grandfather was telling me a story from the time when he was in professional military service fighting with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the south-eastern mountains in Poland. It was soon after the Second World War ended, between 1945-1947. Throughout his life, he never said a word about his activity as a soldier (he joined military service at the age of 19 and served for two years). A historical source says that this particular partisan activity was extremely brutal. At the end of his life, he had advanced Alzheimer and could speak only about the war. There was one story, which was always hurt him and provoking him to cry. A story about horses that were gathered in a hole and shot: 'I watched these neglected animals, those military horses down there, in the hole. They plunge them all, those innocent beings, and smashed them with rifles' (The conversation was held on February 11, 2013). No one from my family knows the actual place or the precise facts, not even to which army those horses belonged.

I have thought about this scene many times and can always see the round hole. Some time ago I found pictures full of saddles on the Internet. It is from a different period and place, Stalingrad 1943. I never realised that these saddles were such a precious and useful item. You can kill a horse, but you would keep the precious leather saddle. Leftover. The picture becomes a formal representation of a tragedy that happened or could happen to my grandpa. Unfortunately, I believe that it was not his sick fantasy, but a historical event, which caused this trauma. I asked him if he killed anyone. He answered that he did not target anyone with a barrel even if he had a gun because he looked at these horses, but I can not tell with certainty that he did not kill.

Sensory sensitivity affects us strongly. Can you imagine the scent of death? I can only guess that it depends on the personal experience, one I have never had and I am somehow grateful for that. I might know the smell of other ends, ends of things that are terminating in a certain moment. The scent of some final period closing on a chapter of your life. Like the scent of your first kiss or last meeting with someone. In this context, my London friend told me the story about his actual place of work. He creates intelligent electronic systems which are responsible for controlling a whole skyscraper. There is a place in this type of building in which all accumulators are connected in parallel series. When they are connected in this parallel series system they are strengthening the power. It is extremely dangerous to enter that space, but he knows how to move there safely. Sometimes he has to install something above these accumulators and at that moment he can physically feel their power. They are exhaling the smell of almonds. Almonds are the scent of death. Not without significance hydrogen cyanide which was widely used as a poison in the Middle Ages. A chemical weapon in these times had the same smell. It is an observation from contemporary reality, which I find very precious to my process of gaining knowledge about the space that surrounds us.

In this process of observing, looking around, I was staring at the sun a lot, which brought me to the routine of taping it. Every year since December 2013 I have filmed the sun for around 5 min. I use my handheld camera, keeping it in my hand so the movement of my body is somehow visible. It is just a romantic collection. The way of checking if the sun is changing, if I am changing or generally if anything changes. Another utopian idea just for my personal, perverted pleasure. Conceptual gestures, which keep my first part of December in discipline, ever since 2013.

When I looked in the opposite direction via the same window that I use to chase the sun I could see a bus depot. It was built in 1964 and it stopped functioning soon after I moved into the apartment (2013). I looked at the roof of that station every single day. The architecture of those post-industrial buildings with all their curves and huge surrounding halls are beautiful. Not many people have had the privilege to look at this property from my angle. I have always dreamed of making a spatial intervention at this property but never had enough spark to do it. Or maybe it was just intimidating. I was observing that place for so long that I became too shy to introduce myself to it. I just recently read that the city council decided to renovate that estate. In 2020 it will be completely rebuilt and shiny new constructions will replace the current ones. Pity. We had such an intimate relation.



I was standing in front of my wall with the same feeling as I had to observe this still, almost dead space of a bus depot, surprised that the central point is still empty. The only thing appeared around the centre of my map was a free thought *Rozpierdolić struktury* ('fuck the structures', but in Polish *rozpierdolić* holds a strong destroying or ruining vibe). But this empty space says a lot about the whole process. The eye of the storm. A central point was full of calm from which it is easy to observe and experience the situation around.

At some point, I was surprised and satisfied with what appeared on my *A4TERRITORY*. The invisible for me at the beginning connections become visible just because I have looked at it from a different perspective. I faced them and it led me to the next level in a completely different way. I created a spine to which muscles can be attached. It is difficult to get any distance during this type of process, but it became obvious which factor I missed...

I realised that Samuel Beckett wrote something especially for that occasion in his novel *Molloy*: 'But on examining my pocket-book I found it contained no more than fifteen shillings, which led me to the conclusion that my son had not been content with the sum already in his possession, but had gone through my pockets before he left, while I slept. And the human breast is so bizarre that my first feeling was of gratitude for his leaving me this little sum, enough to keep me going until help arrived, and I saw in this a kind of delicacy!' (Beckett, 1959, p. 219).

I am not escaping from the inevitable process to which people and things subordinates. Breakup and failing is a feature of our (every) civilisation. Now, as I look, and think once again about my history, which is a long account of calamities, it occurs to me that I missed a crucial factor. A factor of love. Love and empathy that was brought previously to my projects, mostly because of the generous performer and spectator involvement. Their personal and emotional impact fulfilled my narration. I became the son who had disappeared at the last stage and left this delicate space to be cherished by others. The question is, am I able to change that and take full responsibility for not only showing but also participating in the process of love. I decided to give myself unlimited space to play with the material of my own thoughts. I move out from one point to the other to experience that what I just created is a *space of fear*. Research has taken a shape of artistic gesture and it will lead me to another one soon.

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Appendix. Essay: A4TERRITORY

Q.

WHY IT IS IMPORTANT? (TO CO NOBIE)

SELF EXAMINATION - WHO ARE YOU IN IT?

TITLE: "CROWD CRYSTALS. SPECTATOR AS A WORK OF ART"

Q: "HOW TO CREATE A SPECTACLE WITHOUT SPECTATORS IN WHAT MEANS WITH THEIR FULL PARTICIPATION"

HOW?

HISTORY → WAR  
HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

CONTEMPORARY → ACTUAL MILITARY  
Q: HOW TO MAKE HISTORY CONTEMPORARY? SPAT/TEMP DIALECTIC

AIM

POWER

DIFFERENT VISUAL CONTEXT  
 RELATION AND IRRRELATION  
 JEDNYM Z PILARÓW METODOLOGI  
 JEST PRAKTYKA


PERSONAL VS COLLECTIVE HISTORIES  
 UNIVERSAL VS UNIQUE

PRMAT  
 COLLECTIVE NATIONAL

40 IX 2050 - 24 XI 16 95 (30 LAT+)

DZIADEK JOCHYMEK

A4TERRITORY: Beginning



PRZESTRZEŃ I WYKAZANIE ZA CZASU EWOLUCJI XIX

- THE SCENT OF DEATH

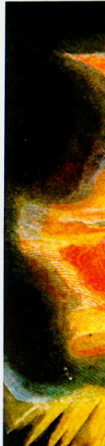
W O ELEKTRONICZNE, INTELIĞENTNE,  
 I BUDOWNE, TAKI DRAPACZ  
 CE, JAK O POLADATE,  
 WIMULATORZY POŁĄCZONE  
 EDY ŁĄCZY SIĘ JE SZPREGTOWO  
 OJA MOC. LUKASZ MÓWIE,  
 GO POMIESZCZENIA TO TAM  
 CZYNI, ALE ON DŁIE JAK  
 JERY NIC SIĘ NIE STAWO.  
 WOB THE ACCUMULATOR AND HE FEEL THEIR POWER  
 DŁAC NAD TAKIMI AKUMULATORAMI  
 MOC. I ONE WYDZIELAJĄ  
 NIE SĄ THE SCENT OF DEATH,  
 ATY TO JEST ZAPACH ŚMIERCI

PARALLEL CIRCUITS  
 POŁĄCZENIE ELEMENTÓW  
 A O OBLADNIE ELEKTRONICZNYMACH  
 SZPREGTOWIA PARALLEL

PRZESTRZEŃ OBawy - SPACE OF FEAR

YOU ARE NOT AFRAID  
 YOU ARE SURROUNDED BY FEAR

EMPTY HOUSE  
 KIM KI-DUK



A4TERRITORY: The Space of Fear



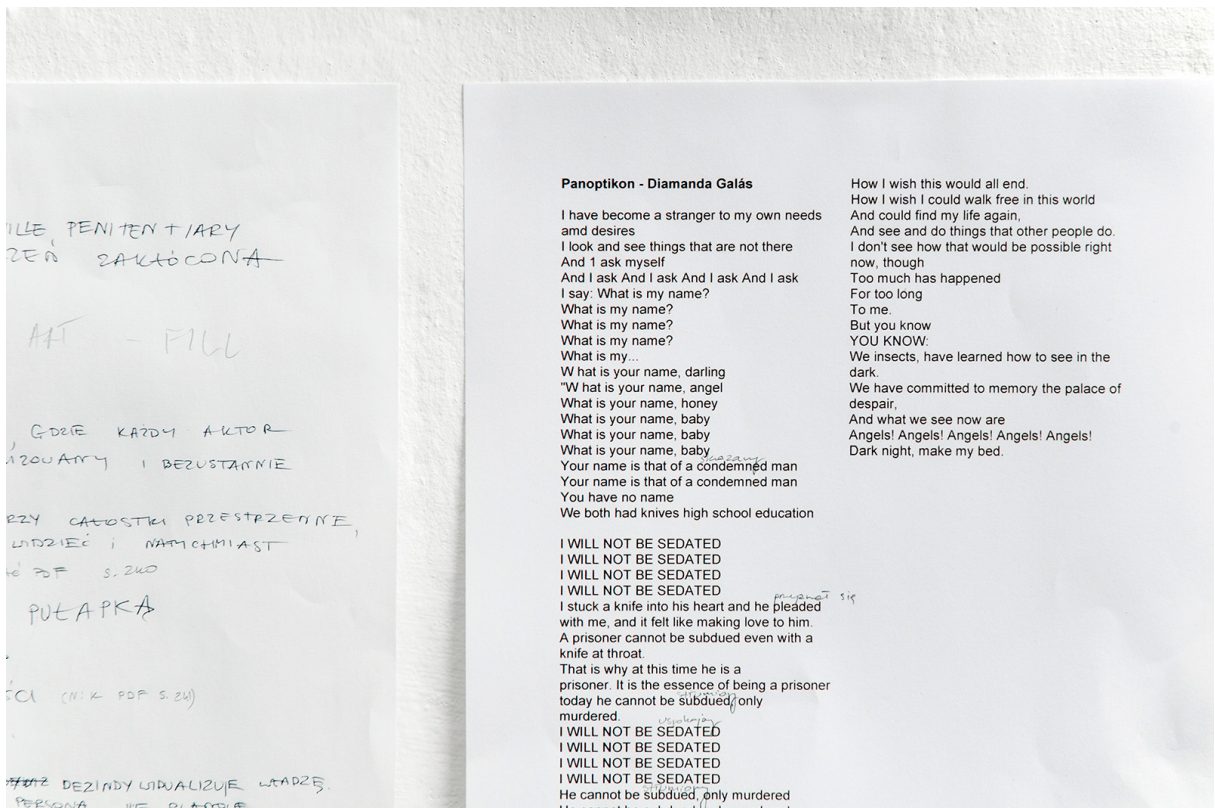
A4TERRITORY: Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon (18<sup>th</sup> century)



A4TERRITORY: The Versailles Menagerie during Louis XIV's reign, designed by the architect Louis Le Va (1662)

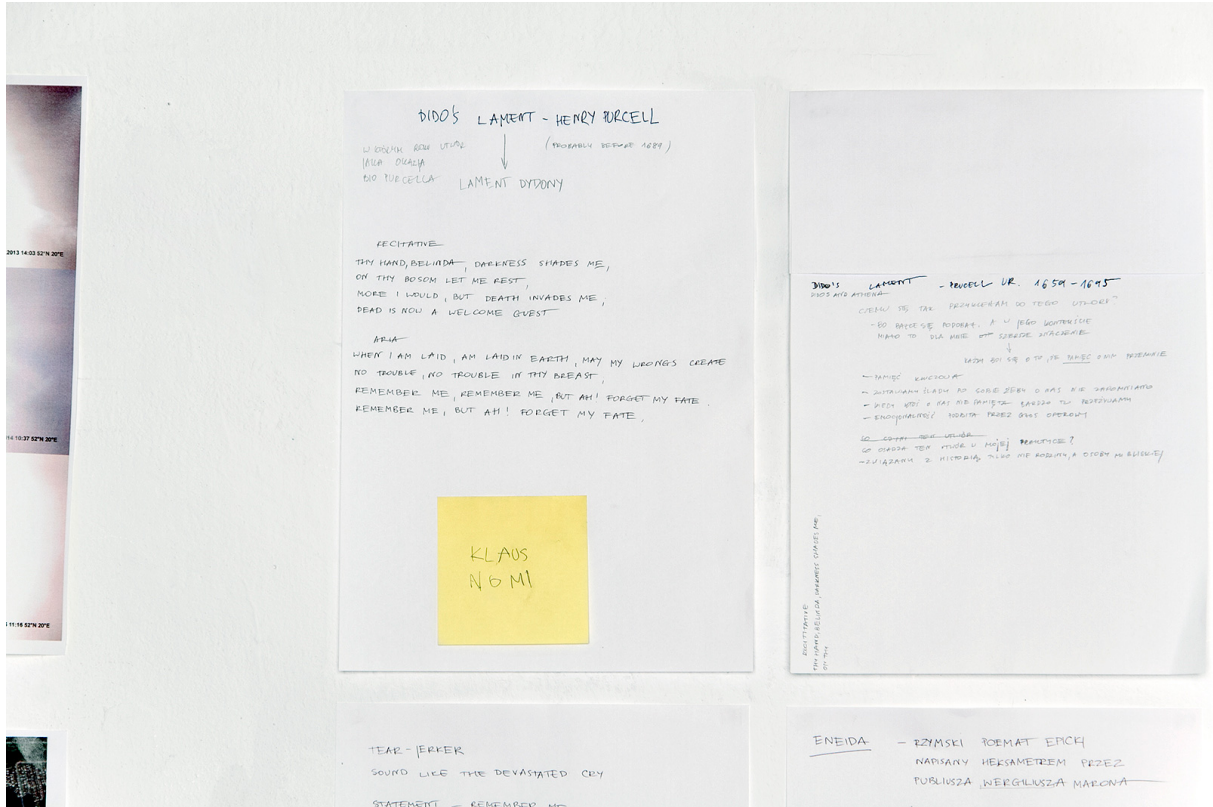


A4TERRITORY: Carlos Espinosa Arancibia 'mist catcher' (1960s) and Oskar Hansen's project of the building of the Museum of Modern Art in Skopje (1966)

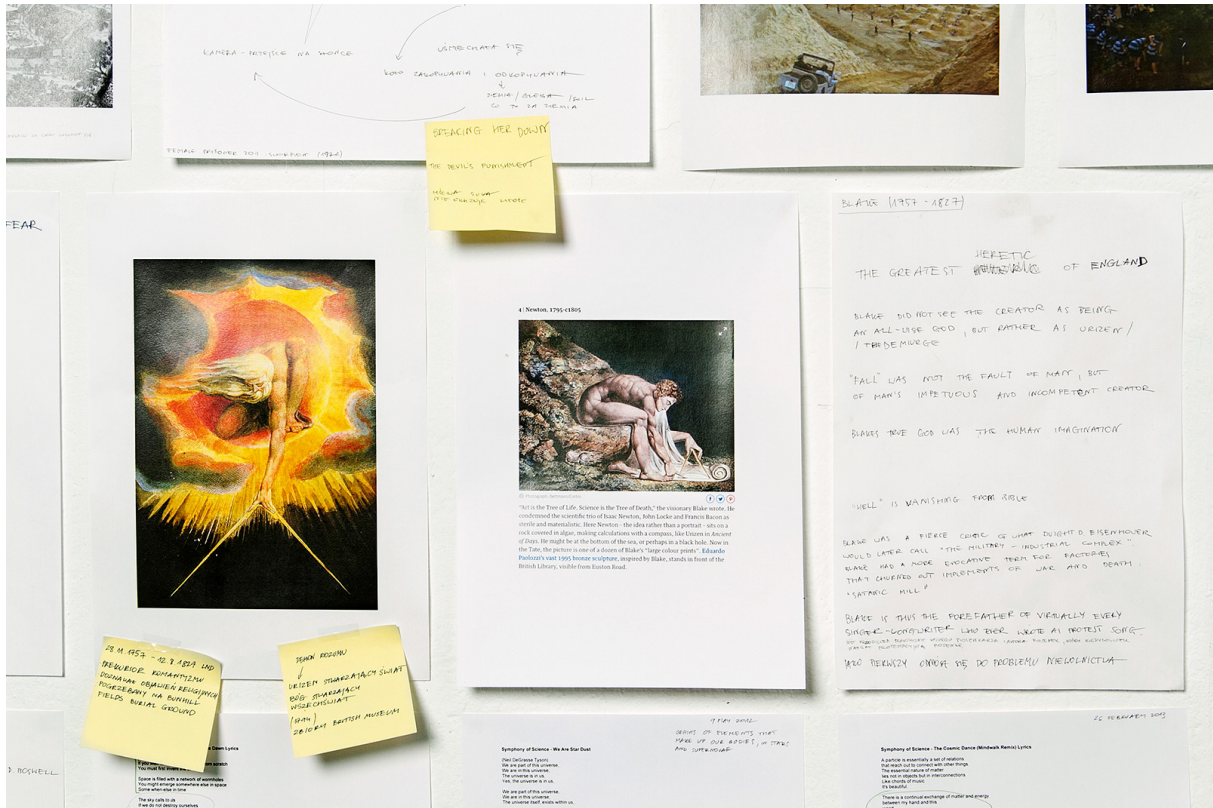


A4TERRITORY: Diamanda Galas 'Panoptikon' (1984)

Appendix. Essay: A4TERRITORY



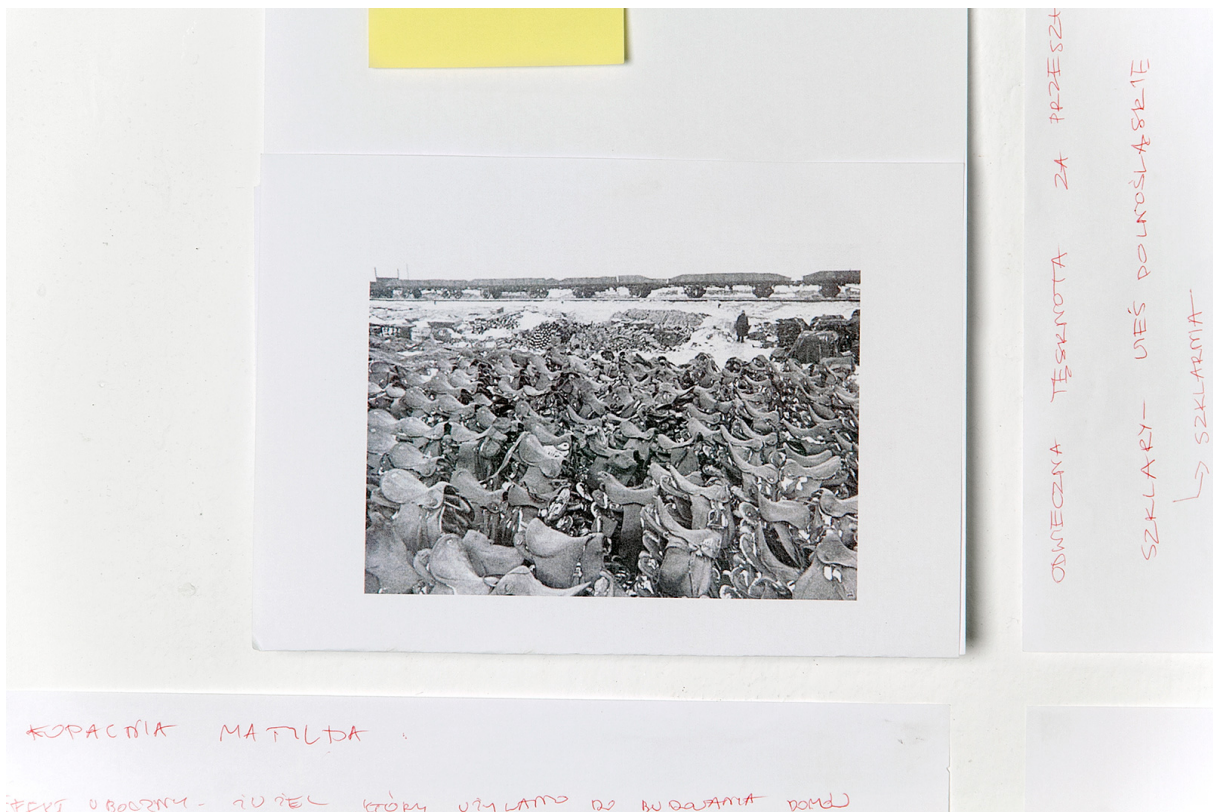
A4TERRITORY: Henry Purcell 'Dido's Lament' (1688)



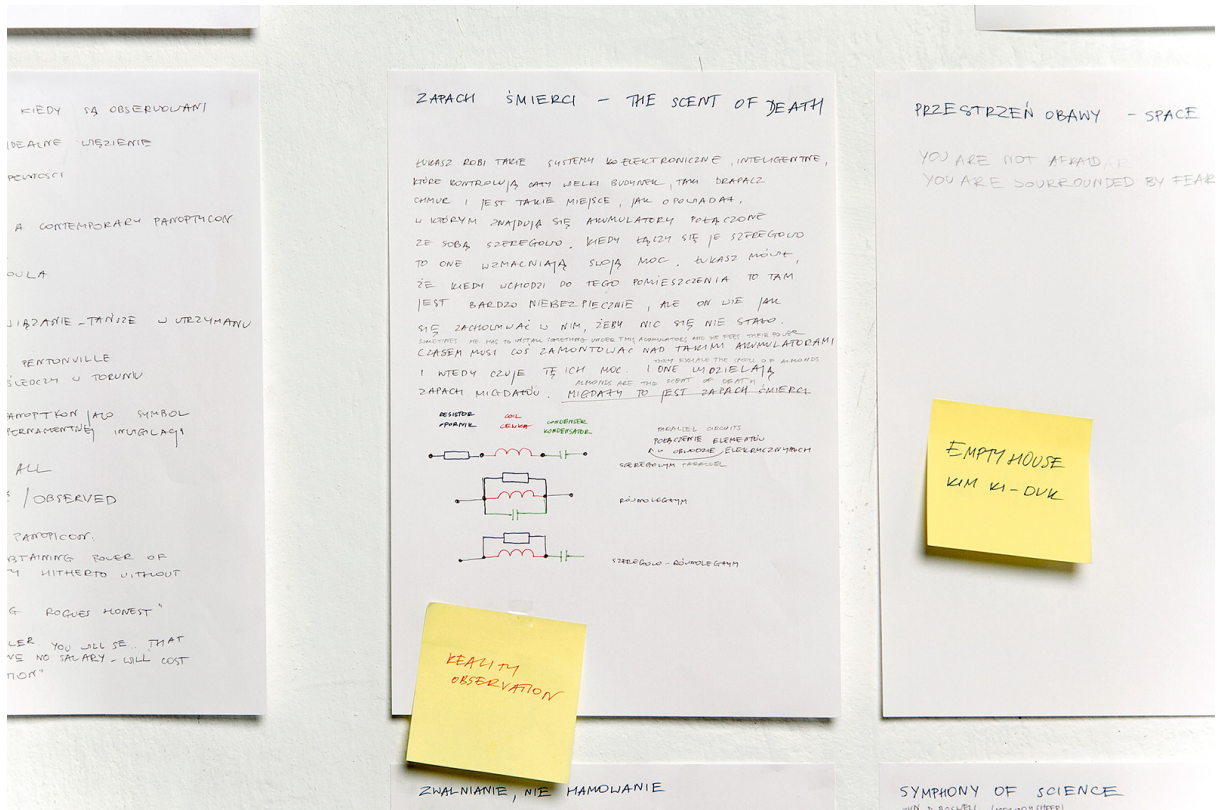
A4TERRITORY: William Blake 'The Ancient of Days' (1794)



A4TERRITORY: Shun'ya Itô *Female Prisoner #701: Scorpion* (1972)



A4TERRITORY: The saddles, Stalingrad 1943



A4TERRITORY: The scent of death



A4TERRITORY: Suns collection





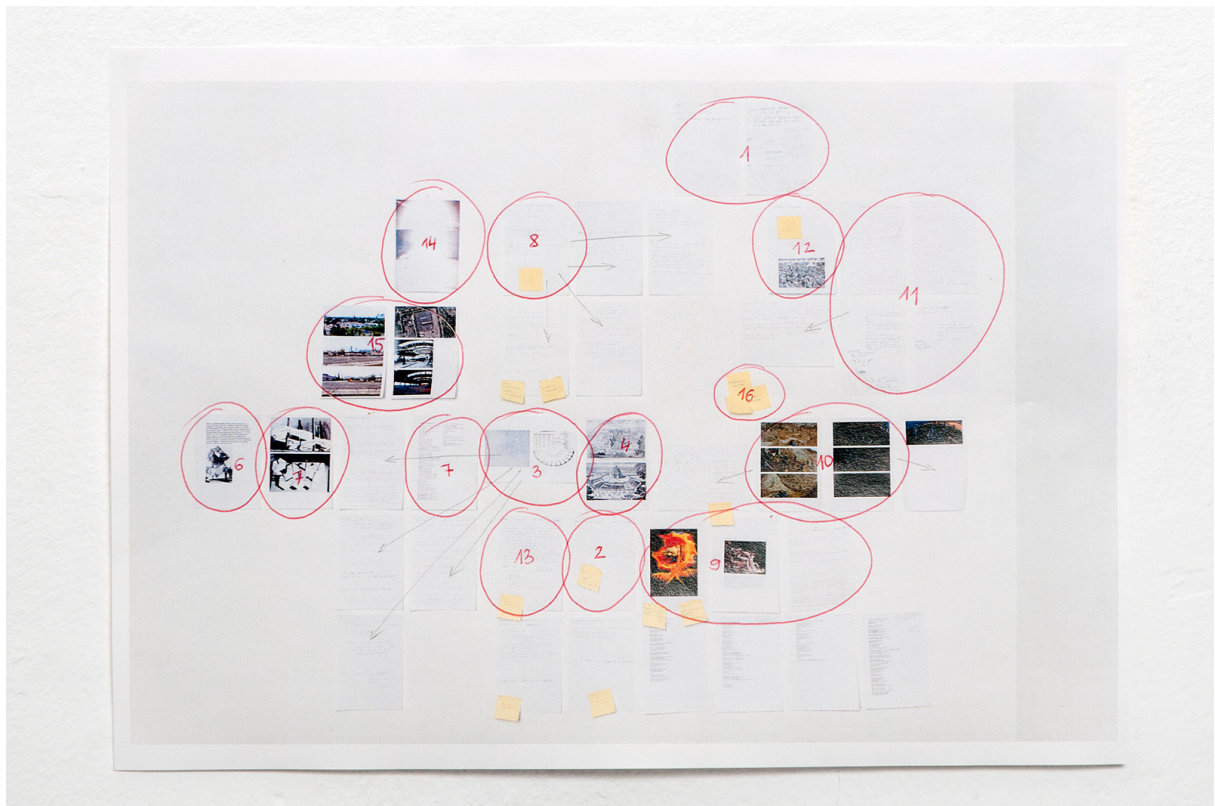
*A4TERRITORY*: A bus depot, Warsaw, Redutowa street



*A4TERRITORY*: An empty central point



A4TERRITORY: Rozpierdolić struktury



A4TERRITORY: The map

