



OF OTHER PLANS:
Re-viewing Canberra through the lens of other spaces

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Certificate of Authorship

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Erin Hinton

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Abstract

As a planned city conceived upon utopian ideals, Canberra is a city encumbered by its legacy. What was a project of the future is now an archive of provisional futures. Instead of an ideal city, Canberra is a city completely preoccupied with its plan. This tendency finds expression in the layers of planning that have come to define the city, with each attempting to be more faithful to the ideals of the legacy. Locked in a perpetual struggle for clarity, Canberra is a city confounded by an advancing dichotomy between the plan (the life of the city) and the image of the plan (the ideal city). What is largely missing from the vexed dialectic is a constructive polemic for the production of the future city; a way to see beyond the dominance of the image of the plan to recognise and enable the 'other' potentials of the city. This requires a fundamental re-imagining; a new way of seeing the city that may change the way of thinking about how the city is seen and, in turn, how the city might change.

The posthumous publication of Michel Foucault's influential lecture *Of Other Spaces* detailed his observations on the transformation of public space: from enclosed spaces preoccupied with history and time, to a present condition of infinitely open structures or networks, in which space is "defined by the relations of proximity between points or elements" (1986, p. 22). He categorised spaces into two major types: utopias and heterotopias. Foucault proposed that heterotopias, like utopias, relate to other sites by both representing and at the same time inverting them. Unlike utopias, heterotopias are localised and real. Further developing his notion, Foucault outlined a 'systematic description' comprising six principles for the interpretative analysis of heterotopias as they may exist in any given society at any given time.

This research is focussed on Canberra and is comprised of two parts—exegesis plus project—and applies the way in which Foucault's text develops a distinction between 'other spaces' and utopia. Since the mid-19th century, the illustrated utopia has not only underpinned theories in urban planning but has become encoded in planning principles equating better space with better society. Under the direction of the unachievable ideologies of utopia, the urban plan immediately becomes a utopian diagram: a 'no-place' like the word itself. Foucault's exploration of the link between

heterotopia and utopia makes heterotopia an alternative lens through which to encode the city. Here, the ambiguity and consequent opportunity heterotopia presents is its very appeal. It is a beguiling hypothesis that has provoked a continuing and expanding dialogic affirming its significance.

As distinct from the ideals of utopia, the principles of heterotopia (when applied to Canberra) develop as a product of the spaces of its urban practice and living patterns. This research project asks whether these spaces and patterns may be productive in the development of alternative frameworks for understanding Canberra. And as a form of validation my research project proposes to develop heterotopic projects to see through the utopian ideal that is Canberra.

The research explores four of Foucault's six principles and develops new ways of thinking about Canberra (the exegesis) and these four ways of thinking about Canberra are then applied to develop new ways of seeing Canberra (the project). The new ways of seeing illustrate an 'other' Canberra that has always been there but buried under the layers of utopian toil. There may be more versions of Canberra, but this research shifts the focus of the plan of Canberra from its dependency on the legacy.

Through the lens of 'other spaces', the notion of heterotopia is embraced as a new layer of investigation and representation—more complex than simply mapping city form. In this way the text and project illustrate the convergence between Canberra's urban space and the experience of the city developing and repositioning the total concept of the city. This type of re-imagining generates a view of Canberra as a complex network of deviations, transitions, juxtapositions, illusions, and encounters; so-called man-made places outside of all places. Here the bi-products of the everyday—human activity, connections, and experiences—are used to generate a renewed way of seeing that which is not utopia revealing an 'other' lens/polemic/plan that presents the opportunity to explore and position Canberra from ideal city to city of ideas.

Introduction

CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

I have lived, studied, and worked in Canberra for all 42 years of my life. I am a registered and practicing architect and I teach architecture at the University of Canberra. As an insider plus a professional insider I know a lot about the original plan for Canberra, the legacy of the original plan and the planning of Canberra. Perhaps more than I know about planning, I also know about living in Canberra. As I have developed with and through the city I have come to realise with increasing perplexity that these two things I know do not seem to be compatible. That which I came to know by experience revealed that there was something I didn't know—that 'something is missing' (Bloch & Adorno, 1964). This sense that something is missing has been compounded through my professional practice and through increasing professional involvement in various city/urban planning review panels and projects, in which I have witnessed countless agendas and projects underpinned by Canberra as-it-is or as-it-was. What I witness is a city administration, local (and not-local) practitioners and a civic community compelled by a deep and historically rooted perspective connected both consciously and subconsciously to the city's genesis as utopia, almost wilfully unaware of the possibility that something could be different.

My search for 'something missing' or 'something different' has been one of continued analysis and constant transition. What began as an exploration into the notion of liminal spaces—'the spaces between', evolved through the process of research (and teaching) to involve such affiliated spatial notions as the transitional, the transgressional, the interstitial, the residual, the generic. But none of these seemed to 'fit' and resonate with the Canberra I know well—something was still missing. The research only took the shape it has now when through various plays of fortune I discovered Michel Foucault's concept of 'other spaces', dispensed only once in a beguiling essay, titled *Of Other Spaces* (1986). This transcribed lecture distinguishes between what is utopia and what is not utopia, which he called heterotopia. Because of its striking affinity with Canberra I could see that this distinction had immediate

possibilities for application to my search to find ‘other’ spaces within a conditional utopia.

Through the research presented I will argue that the plan, the planning, and the Griffin Legacy lock Canberra into the pursuit of its utopian origins. But living in Canberra is to experience an ‘other’ Canberra that is not utopia. If an ‘other’ Canberra can be revealed—a not-utopia—what might it be? And can this ‘other’ Canberra talk to the continuous planning of Canberra? I ask this question because the manner of planning of Canberra speaks only to the matter of planning in pursuit of the recovery of its lost ideal. In this research I will use Foucault’s essay, and its subsequent scholarship, as the platform for my search for an ‘other’ Canberra. And through practice I will explore how I might illustrate this ‘other’ city that I find in order to first, talk the language of planning to the planners of Canberra and second, reveal how Canberra (and possibly any city) might be depicted as ‘other’ than property and routes into and around property.

What becomes articulated here is, on one level, folded out of rich personal knowledge and experience (i.e., having been born, raised, educated and in practice in Canberra). My attention in this document vacillates between very personal accounts and more generalised accounts of Canberra’s context. In between, there are other modes that tend towards mixed doses of intimacy and distance hopefully striking a productive balance between the necessary connection to universal truth, evidence, research, and limitations to nuances of specificity conventionally ignored by such generalisations. Given I have lived my entire life and professional career in Canberra I feel qualified to comment on the city and throughout this exegesis I have applied that experience.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I know from my experience that something is missing from the representation of Canberra. Foucault’s essay *Of Other Spaces* distinguishes between what is utopia and what he called heterotopia, so in this research I will use Foucault’s essay, and

significant subsequent and related scholarship, as the platform for my search for an 'other' Canberra. As such my research questions become:

1. If the plan, the planning and the Griffin Legacy lock Canberra into the pursuit of its utopian origins, and living in Canberra is to experience an 'other' Canberra that is not utopia, how can this 'other' Canberra (a not-utopia) be revealed and described?
2. Once described, through my practice as an architect is it possible to illustrate Canberra's 'other' spaces?
3. Because the manner of planning of Canberra speaks only to the matter of planning in pursuit of the recovery of its lost ideal can this 'other' Canberra talk to the continuous planning of Canberra?

RESEARCH METHOD

To explore and reveal an 'other' Canberra, 'other than' that locked in the archive of the planning legacy, required finding ways to do exactly that, so the method became the ways I could find to conduct the research. What makes the research valuable is that it is based on the archive of plans and planning, building on, and not erasing Canberra and its 100 years of what is known as the Griffin Legacy while looking for an 'other' Canberra. Foucault's account *Of Other Spaces* provided a useful way in, establishing a categorisation of two types of spaces—utopia and heterotopia—that seemed perfect for a study of Canberra (and quite possibly very few places other than Canberra). In *Of Other Spaces* Foucault describes six principles of heterotopia all of which could, in theory, be explored within the context of Canberra to see what they reveal as a lens through which to find an 'other' Canberra, a Canberra not dependent on its utopian origins. Four of the six principles proved to be useful for this research, so I focused on those and that is what I have described in this exegesis. The project component illustrated in the exhibition is also based on the same four principles. At the beginning of the research I explored all the principles, but I decided that two principles were not

applicable to Canberra for three reasons. First, Foucault's third principle, spaces with multiple (incompatible) functions, were at one time 'other' but are now commonplace and almost generic in cities. Second, the characteristics of this principle ended up overlapping with the adjacent principles to such an extent as to negate its usefulness as a distinct chapter and project. Third, through my analysis Foucault's first principle, spaces of crisis, took on a very political (not spatial) life that felt at odds with the coherence of the remainder of my thesis. The four principles I have concentrated on have a rhythm and scale that resonate together to build a logical and convincing whole.

Whilst the method for the research is led by theory and the close reading of Foucault's captivating but elusive text, it is also soundly based on the practice of architecture and planning. Hence there is a theory/practice relationship that has enabled me to develop a range of understandings that would simply not have been possible if I had restrained myself to books and writing. The practice of the plan is built on the archive of the plan; it isn't a text, but it does require an explanation—hence the exegesis. Whilst the exhibition and the exegesis are intended to be read in tandem, the practice component is not complimentary; it is there because there are some things that cannot be written but can be illustrated. In this way, practice-based work both grounded and re-distributed my research into multi-modal fields of enquiry. I established a method (from sketching and mapping to writing and reading, a zooming in and out and tracing back and forth innumerable times over) through which theory and practice informed each other in ways that are not linear but rather activated through 'an ensemble of relations' (as aligned with Foucault's concept of the history of knowledge). My thinking occurs through and across these modes and media—presenting modes of research that talk to each other through me.

As indicated above, included in my research methodology was a close reading of Foucault's lecture *Of Other Spaces*—a textual analysis necessitated by the multiple translations and interpretations that have plagued the text's history. As the method undertaken at the beginning of the research project this enabled me to establish a consistent understanding of the text and its various terminologies, through and

despite the varied translations and contestations contained in the text's subsequent scholarship.

EXEGESIS STRUCTURE

This introduction outlines the context and the structure of the research, and the conclusion describes the renewed way of seeing an 'other' Canberra proposed by this thesis. In between, there are two contextual chapters (grounding notions of utopia/heterotopia and contextualising Canberra) followed by a series of four chapters each exploring a single principle of Foucault's concept of heterotopia within the context of Canberra. Each of these four chapters reference and recalibrate the key ideas of the principle—such as function, access, mode of time, perception—through an alignment with Canberra and an arrangement within an emerging narrative of 'otherness'. Their affinities and differences resonate and shift one another about, both within and across chapters. To the extent that Foucault's account of heterotopia was, and remains, somewhat ambiguous and ostensibly, incomplete, the form of my thesis does not adhere to a strict alignment with the structure of his text, but rather ebbs and flows with the emerging narratives of the city of Canberra. In this way, as a process of the research, my thesis omits those principles revealed as less pertinent to the project and has reordered the structure of the Foucault's principles to suit the case study.

Chapter 1 establishes the background of the thesis, introducing the notions of utopia and heterotopia as narratives for the city. It traces the significance of the illustrative utopia and the ideal city from visions of ideal futures to the recognition it is an unachievable goal. Heterotopia is introduced as an alternative, 'other' way of seeing that which is not utopia. Both concepts—utopia and heterotopia—are explored through a comparative framework and this relationship is prevalent throughout the thesis, forming a narrative through which to ground the varied principles of heterotopia within the context of Canberra. The chapter concludes with a proposition: heterotopia is proposed as a way to reveal and describe an 'other' Canberra (a not-utopia).

As already mentioned there are distinctions and nuances in the translation of Foucault's concept from French to English that it is best to clarify at the outset. Since the text was first published in French in 1984 as *Des espaces autres*, there have been three main English translations. The first appeared in 1986 under the title, *Of Other Spaces* (translated by Jay Miskowiec), a second version, *Different spaces* (translated by Robert Hurley), emerged in 1998 and a third, which retained Miskowiec's title (translated by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter), was published in 2008. As indicated by the distinction in titles, the transcript of the lecture has presented some specific challenges for the translator. As is often noted (Johnson, 2006, p. 76) there are particular and subtle difference in the English and French terms space [*espace*] and place [*lieu*]. Through a comparison of the three English texts there emerges a consensus that Foucault (generally) uses 'place' when implying a sense of intimacy or subjectivity, and 'space' in more general or abstract contexts. But it is also noticeable that he can use both terms generally within the same sentence, as well as exchanging the terms 'difference' [*différents*] and 'other' [*autres*] quite freely as in "these different spaces, these other places" [*de ces espaces différents, ces autres lieux*] (Foucault, 1998c, p. 171). However, Foucault favours the word '*emplacement*', which is repeated over 20 times throughout his text. Of note, the first translation by Miskowiec that appeared in *Diacritics* is often singled out for its departure from Foucault's use of the term '*emplacement*'—it is instead converted to 'site' and (confusingly) the English term '*emplacement*' is used to translate '*la localisation*'. In the more recent translations by Hurley, and Dehaene and De Cauter, this difficulty is overcome by retaining the word '*emplacement*' in English. Throughout my exegesis I have used the Miskowiec translation for references and quotes based on the fact that it has been around for the longest period of time, and (as a consequence) a large portion of the supporting literature of the thesis refers to it, and not the more recent translations. However, my understanding and thoughts about Foucault's concept have been formed through a thorough understanding of the textual nuances and discrepancies between all texts.

Chapter 2 introduces the context for the research—Canberra (Australia's National Capital). It provides a critique of the ways in which the presiding legacy of its utopian origins—the ideal plan designed by American architects and urban planners Walter

Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin—has engendered not an ideal city, but rather an image of an ideal city. And note: the word ‘legacy’ is used throughout the exegesis with two distinctions of the word's meanings: 1) inheritance from the Griffins (The Griffin Legacy), and this is capitalised; and 2) as a consequence of the Griffins and all subsequent plans and planning, and this is lowercase. Of significance to the general ideas proposed by this thesis, I argue that Canberra is distinguished by two conditions: a dichotomy between the ‘image of the plan’ and ‘the plan’. For the purpose of the research project ‘the image of the plan’ refers to the ideal city/plan—the layers of plans/representations that have come to define the city, all trying to achieve the unachievable ideals laid down by the Griffins. Where ‘the plan’ refers to the life of the city, that which is directly lived, despite the legacy.

The chapter outlines the intent of the research as it applies to Canberra as case study, proposing the application of Foucault’s principles of heterotopia as an alternative lens through which to see Canberra (i.e., to see through the legacy). Through the reimagining of Foucault’s principles as relevant to the context of Canberra—and to develop ideas around the effect of this new way of seeing on the city (the continuous planning of Canberra)—heterotopia is established as a tool to identify types of ‘other’ spaces.

And whilst more pertinent to the content in the project component of the research (the illustrative mappings of the city), the extent of the city of Canberra has been, in most cases, limited to the area set out in the ACT Government’s City Renewal Precinct¹ (i.e., Canberra city and not the extent of the territory).

Chapter 3 initiates the structure followed in the remaining four chapters of the exegesis—the application of Foucault’s principles of heterotopia to the plan of Canberra and the testing of the specific ideas of each principle as a lens through which to review and reinterpret Canberra as ‘other’. Here, the application of heterotopia is established as a sequential process in which Canberra was analysed and explored

¹ As illustrated in the project component of the research and found at: <https://www.act.gov.au/cityrenewal/about/city-renewal-precinct3#:~:text=The%20authority%20works%20within%20the,Haig%20Park%20and%20West%20Basion.>

through the lens of heterotopia to firstly establish a typology commensurate with the principles of heterotopia thereby revealing an 'other' space of Canberra; and then described through a thorough analysis of the context, contingencies, functions, dichotomies, possibilities, and aggregations of these spaces. The chapter applies Foucault's second principle of heterotopia to Canberra—'other' spaces of transitioning function. Through this principle of heterotopia, the car park is identified as a space that has transitioned (through the implementation of Canberra's various plans) to perform a function central to the city. It facilitates the very movement that makes Canberra urban and presents an infrastructure ubiquitous with the life of the city. In laying the groundwork for the ideas in this chapter (to be explored further in subsequent chapters), I work through a key idea—that the 'other' space of the car and its infrastructures form a continuous network in which the car park module, aggregated at the scale of the city, reveals a Grid. This idea is expanded upon through the select work of Italian Radical groups Archizoom (1972) and Superstudio (Byvanck et al., 2005).

Chapter 4 applies Foucault's fifth principle of heterotopia to Canberra—'other' spaces of isolation and penetration. In this chapter I establish synergies between the notions of isolation/penetration and public/private before mapping out such 'other' spaces in Canberra. I argue that Canberra's landscape, as the device that was originally intended to connect the city (the public space), now divides, constituting an 'other' space of isolation from the city (the private space). Expanding on the ideas of public versus private I contest that the notion of public space is more accurately and productively understood as 'public life'. Also in this chapter I explore the way(s) in which the omnipresent network of the car and its infrastructures have come to replace the Griffins' intent for the landscape in the city (a city designed in concert with the landscape), and in this, constitutes an 'other' space of penetration. Through the other spaces of the landscape and the roadways I make the case that heterotopia precipitates an 'other' way of seeing the landscape—as a derivative landscape formed by all the flows that sustain the city—not a Garden City but a living landscape ecology. One of the key issues identified in the chapter is the ways in which the 'other' spaces as revealed through the principle connect, divide, and subsequently re-territorialise the city in ways distinct from how we see the city now.

Chapter 5 applies Foucault's fourth principle of heterotopia to Canberra—'other' spaces of temporal rupture, which Foucault terms 'heterochronies'. I establish the context of the chapter by positioning Canberra through its duty as the designated Nation's Capital as a symbolic or representational city. This role is played out, or manifests most conspicuously, through its monuments and festivals, which are both sites of spatial as well as temporal 'rupture'. I expand upon Foucault's interests in rupture and discontinuity (of knowledge, space, time) through a comparative study of a selection of his seminal texts, which are then set in an association with Henri Lefebvre's three 'moments of space' (1991). Having established the monument and the festival as 'other' spaces with 'other' modes of time, I map Canberra's museums, memorials, embassies, festivals, and finally the city itself, drawing specifically on the work of Guy Debord to position the commonplace perception of Canberra as a city of monuments to that of a city of the spectacle (1995). The chapter illustrates an 'other' city of spatial and temporal rupture and discontinuity; a symbolic, representational image of a city, simultaneously of infinitely accumulating time and precarious, flowing, and transitory time. Canberra's monuments and festivals present an absolute break from the narratives of the city, revealing an 'other' city that, if only momentarily, converges with the city we know to form a more complete vision of the city.

The project component of the research was an exhibition, the elevations of which are below (Figure 1). These are included to explain the sequencing of the thesis. The drawings both summarise my argument and detail the effect of viewing Canberra through the lens of heterotopia. Each panel relates to one of the chapters of the thesis and through practice illustrates knowledge that this PhD was best depicted rather than described. The final exhibition was planned as a sequence—chapter/illustration after chapter/illustration, and the structure shown below was designed once the location was confirmed.

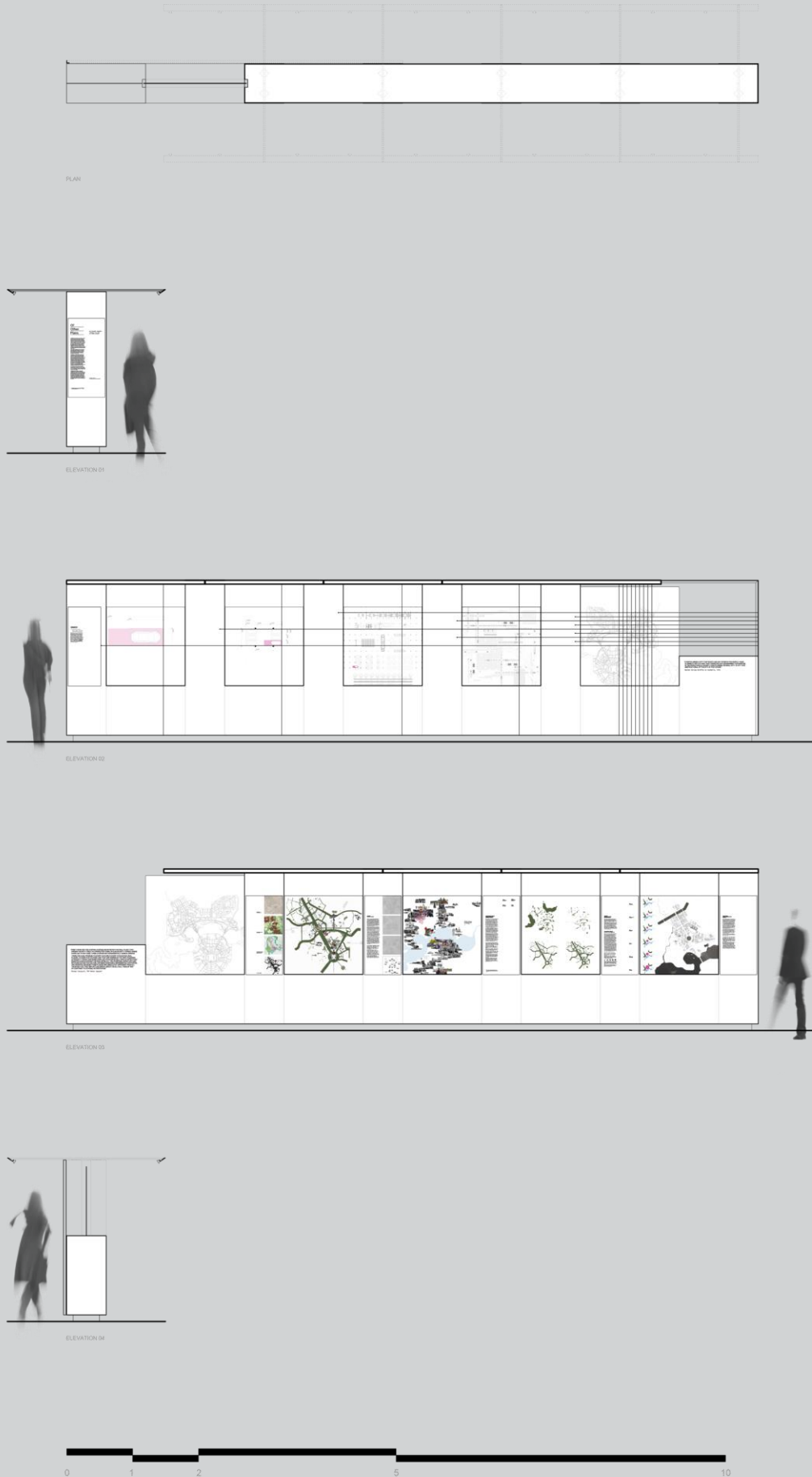
The sequencing takes the viewer through two distinct but symbiotic journeys defined by the faces of the wall—through the evolution of the Grid (this could be applied to any city), and the 'other' ways of seeing Canberra as revealed through heterotopia. Whilst, for clarity, the panels are ordered to align with the thesis—from carpark to roads/parks to monuments/festivals to the Grid—they can indeed be 'read' in any

order... from the city and its constituent parts (or projects) or the projects to the city. The same applies to the two journeys regarding the order. In either case, the information is presented but the fluid order, as conceived, allows for the viewer to compose or unpack and repack their understanding, giving them the opportunity to achieve a different 'way of seeing' the 'other spaces' each time. (see Appendix for Exhibition Catalogue)

Each panel of the exhibition is shown in detail at the beginning of Chapter 6, the chapter that encapsulates the sum of my research that I describe following the drawings.

Figure 1

Exhibition Layout



Chapter 6 applies Foucault's sixth and final principle of heterotopia to Canberra—the relational 'other' spaces of illusion or perfection. This chapter synthesises the argument established in the previous three chapters and through the projects to reveal the Grid to firstly be an 'other' way of seeing Canberra and secondly, to be an 'other' space, an 'other' Canberra, that functions in relation to all the spaces that remain. The Grid is the totality of the city both ideal and otherwise. The chapter explores the way in which the Grid functions as a compensatory plan for Canberra. To compensate, the Grid is explored through a theoretical taxonomy in which the innate characteristics of the Grid are related to the theories of Tim Ingold (lines) (2007) and Manfredo Tafuri (cells) (1969, 1976), and expanded upon through the writing of Rosalind Krauss (1979). With this foundation I proceed to map the various functions of the Grid as relevant to its positioning as an 'other' space—an 'other' Canberra; as a device of location and identification, (dis)order, and finally mediation, presenting the Grid as a myth capable of mediating between the plan and the image of the plan, the real and the virtual, the ideal and the 'other'. The chapter concludes with an account of the proposed effects of the Grid as it relates to Canberra. In positioning the Grid as a mechanism through which we can interpret Canberra to see, reveal and understand the 'other' Canberra it becomes an interpretive framework for understanding the city that is not utopian, symbolic, or representational. As such the Grid is positioned as the real legacy for Canberra.

Chapter 1.

UTOPIA AND HETEROTOPIA: OF OTHER SPACES

First there are the utopias. Utopias are sites with no real place. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case, these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces.

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. (Foucault, 1986, pp. 24–25)

In the last few years, the city has been the subject of renewed scrutiny, with a vast amount of intellectual activity being focussed on the city as the object of the ‘future project’.

According to the United Nations, in 2018 about 55% of the world’s population lived in urban areas (cities) (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN DESA], 2019, p. 9). This represented an historic tilt in human settlement from agrarian to urban, and by the middle of this century it has been reliably predicted that three quarters of the planet’s population will live in cities (Burdett, 2011) and 60% of these will live in slums (UN-Habitat, 2022, p. xv). That corresponds to almost the entire current population of the planet living in urban slums.

The critique of the city, how we see the city, has for several millennia taken the form of a future projection that serves to depict a possible future, and typically, better urban conditions. And the preferred medium to illustrate our thinking has always been ‘the plan’. That the plan is the ideal medium of imagery of cities is still evident today. We cannot shake off its seductive abstractions, and part of the reason is its relationship to conditioning—that original principle of urbanism that linked the social to the spatial (Lefebvre, 1991). When urban planning was more or less codified by

Ildefons Cerdà in the mid-nineteenth century, the ideal social, cultural, and economic setting was thought to be achievable through spatial planning. And that is the same way the countless authors of the thousands of narrative utopias have critiqued their existing urban settings and social climates for the past 500 years—presenting narratives of idealised worlds underpinned by subjective ethos and philosophies that link ideal social conditions to ideal spatial conditions, or what Alexander Tzonis calls the ‘ideal setting’ (Tzonis, 1972).

Structurally, utopia depicts an ideal society that is elsewhere, in an ideal space in a future time (also mostly ideal). However, this ideal space both controls and is controlled. That is, the utopia governs people by governing space, and as such society is conditioned by space. While the narrative utopia has always been understood to function not as a possible future scenario, but as a critique of the existing social and living conditions, the function of the later illustrative utopia has become highly problematic. By imagining society as a model space where the ‘illustrated plan’ could reveal social and political problems that, aided by descriptive geometry, urban planning then imagined it could solve, resulted in this line of development. What was once an accepted medium to criticise social, political, and cultural conditions, has become an almost universal model for the development of new cities. From Jules Verne’s 1886 vision of man landing on the moon to George Orwell’s 1949 portrayal of societal surveillance systems, “what begins as a fantasy in the imagination of the creator later becomes the present reality of the world” (Maas & The Why Factory, 2009, p. 197).

Since the late-nineteenth century there have been two seismic shifts in the utopia; its idealised world transfigured into science-fiction, and its idealised space grafted onto the urban planning imagination rapidly seducing us into attempts to construct ‘ideal cities’ as utopias. From its inception utopia has almost always been characterised as an island, and when, in the 1960s we first saw the photographic representations of the ‘blue planet’, it was depicted as an island floating in space (Bremner, 2010). This image generated the environmental movements that signalled our stewardship of the planet, and while this global responsibility wasn’t on Thomas More’s radar when he described his island in his 1516 book *Utopia*, it is very plausible that the concept of the island

called utopia is in fact the island we call Earth. If this is the case, then our stewardship has never been more taxed (Jencks, 1981).

Faced by unprecedented crises on a global scale, our faith in the 'invisible hand' of the predictable flows that have previously determine the city has expired. As reflected by Winy Maas and The Why Factory in the paper titled 'We Have Lost Our Leader' we have entered a condition of inertia that has led to the homogenization of life—and our cities:

As if on an assembly line driven by market protocols, city after city around the world has stamped out the same inevitable pattern of urban development: industry out (port, factory, mill), developer in (housing, boardwalk, lifestyle centre). (2009, p. 114)

Where we have previously relied on predictable shifts of markets and flows to tell us what to do, what to design, and where to build, "we have suddenly lost our beacon" (Maas & The Why Factory, 2009, p. 114). We have run out of ideas.

In the wave of mass global change and instability, it is with escalating urgency that we need to re-view the future of the city. But to imagine a new future for our cities, we need new visions; visions emancipated from our dependency on idealised historical precedents to generate the images of these visions.

UTOPIA AND IDEAL CITIES

The English 'idea' and the French *idée*, whose origins lie in the Greek words *idea* and *idein* and the Latin *idea*, "define an intellectual conception or representation" (Eaton, 2002, p. 11). In Platonic philosophy, 'idea' describes that which is seen not through the physical but through the mental eye. It designates a general form, or arrangement—"the externally existing and purely intelligible essence of the sensible things in the ordinary world we inhabit" (Eaton, 2002, p. 11). The noun 'ideal' describes that which is presented as the model of perfection, whereas the adjective 'ideal', from the Latin *idealis*, defines that which exists in the abstract: that which achieves perfection and is

without equal or possible improvement (Eaton, 2002). 'Ideal cities' then, exist in the virtual domain of the mind. They are conceived as ideas but—as an ideal—are often presented as being as close to perfection as possible; deriving their 'reality' from the archetypal *ideas*, they are "but imperfect copies of them" (Eaton, 2002, p. 11).

The term 'Utopia', coined by More, was introduced as a provocative aggregation of the ancient Greek word *topos* ('place') and the prefix 'u'—a contraction of *ou* ('no') signifying 'no place'. From inception, More designed utopia as a place, an island in the distant South Seas. This designation "underwent changes later so that it left space and entered time"—the eighteenth and nineteenth century "transposed the 'wishland' more into the future" (Bloch, 1988/1996, p. 3). Through this evolution, there is a transformation in the *topos* from space to time that designates Utopia its own 'mode of time'; a break with time that is both mundane and eternal (Bloch, 1988/1996).

In the early twentieth century, sociologist Karl Mannheim brought the definitions of ideal and utopia into comparison, drawing a distinction between ideology—signifying those political ideas which are sustained by the system in power—and utopia—those which are in opposition to it. This distinction found immediate parallels in the realm of urban projects, where ideal cities are projected as environments that are novel but undertake to fortify an established power structure (socially 'ideological'), and utopias are projections of novel physical conditions designed to bring about social change (socially 'utopian') (Bloch, 1988/1996). In this way, the word 'ideal' came to define city plans that accept the political *status quo*, while 'utopian' is used for cities that are designed to engender a radically new political position (and often intend to accommodate a society which is either yet unconceived, or in gestation) (Eaton, 2002). As Ernst Bloch writes: "Whatever utopia is, whatever can be imagined as utopia, is the transformation of the totality. Utopia is something completely different" (1988/1996, p. 3). Characteristically, utopian environments—often produced during times of profound social discord—are presented as alternatives to established situations that are perceived as anarchic, or in crisis. Their ambition is collective happiness and harmony achieved through efficient social reorganisation and/or scientific advancement. Exclusive to the ideal domain of the human intellect (and distanced from the city), they are presented as absolute solutions, panacea globally applicable

and indifferent to issues of local context. In this domain, utopia acts to dislocate the city as a place experienced, to the city as an invention. Typically implanted upon the *tabula rasa*, utopias are most usually laid out according to a geometric formula, suggesting humankind's dominance over the natural world. Insular and often bigoted, they are "protected symbolically and physically from pernicious outside influences either by natural barriers, such as stretches of water or mountain ranges, or by man-made fortifications or greenbelts" (Eaton, 2002, p. 17).

Throughout history and across cultures, countless illustrations of the idyllic alternative environments of utopia (freed from the constraints of real context) have provided powerful visions capable of alleviating the drudgery and sufferings of reality—presenting speculative plans or didactic models produced as critiques against the city. More's invention of the word and concept of utopia laid the foundations for a clear and precise structure and function for critical discussion on the future of modern life. But by the middle of the twentieth century, faith in the ideologies of utopianism and ideal-city design was profoundly shaken. Partially realised dreams of unachievable goals (on a global scale) had produced nightmare scenarios. The attempted new urban ideologies "made evident the checkmate to which utopia condemned itself, revealing the secret will to arrive at the brink of destruction implicit in the utopian hypothesis" (Tafuri, 1976, p. 46). Revealing its dystopian face, the utopian model of a 'better future' had failed. The many blueprints, invented by the human intellect, for the best possible city and society had provided no more than immodest spatial models indissociable from the social and political arrangements to which they were believed to correspond: "their production is guided by a long-standing conviction that the physical form of a city can both reflect and condition the workings of a society and the behaviour of its citizens" (Eaton, 2002, p. 11).

Utopia's fundamental concern with the corrective or therapeutic power of built space, and the consequent establishment of unprecedented new social order, acted to reduce the perceived value of the citizen (the city's greatest currency) to the level of a pawn. This subjugation of individuals as 'types' was recognised as early as the end of the nineteenth century—when the debate about utopia widened to include not just social and economic issues but those of a more philosophical disposition about

humanity in general (Chaoy, 2005). Fearing that a transformation of human nature might be the prerequisite for an ideal society, some began to question the desirability of both the means and the ends. This was a reaction against the perceived dangers of standardisation, uniformisation, roboticisation, eugenics and genetic transformation that utopian worlds demanded.

In response, the period after the Second World War, and particularly the 1960s, experienced a reaction against authority and uniformity. Amid the explosion of urban schemes that dated from this period of post-war reconstruction, many remained utopian, attempting to transcend and reverse—at least partially—the dominant trend, and to reinstate the citizen as master of his environment. Others were counter-utopian, condemning the rigidity of the Modern Movement in projects that exaggerated its characteristics in satirical projections of utopia. During this time, the reaction against the modernist credo and the production of ideal cities took many guises, as exemplified in plans such as Constant Nieuwenhuys' *New Babylon* (1969–1974), Yona Friedman's *Spatial City* (1959–1960), Buckminster Fuller's *2-mile geodesic dome* (1960), Archigram's *Plug-In City* (1963–1966), and Rem Koolhaas', Elia Zenghelis', Madelon Vriesendorp's, and Zoe Zenghelis' *Exodus* (1972). Within the exhilarating utopian landscape of the 60s and early 70s, the work of two Italian radical architecture groups, Archizoom and Superstudio, stood out for their ideological rigor (Byvanck et al., 2005). Founded in Italy in 1966, both groups adopted an approach parallel to that found in counter-utopian literature—depicting provocative, exaggerated versions of existing trends, envisioning the nightmare world they believed lurked just around the corner but had not yet come into view. In *No-Stop City* (1970), Archizoom imagined an endless subterranean, artificially lit, monofunctional, multi-layered city from which an infinity of lift shafts provided access to the ground level—a nature reserve protected by a large glass dome. The concept enacted a place where individuals could construct their dwelling through their own free and personal involvement, enabling inhabitants to set up new dwelling typologies likely to engender new ways of association and forms of community. In the *Continuous Monument* (1969), Superstudio projected a world covered by a three-dimensional isotropic grid of identical reflective glass cubic cells. The series of drawings that the group produced for the *Continuous Monument* shows the application of the caricature of the pure

language and the global ambition of Modernism to a wide variety of sites, superimposed upon existing cities or invading virgin areas. Superstudio saw this singular unifying act, unlike many modern utopian schemes, as nurturing—rather than obliterating—the natural world.

For both these groups, as was the case with many such reactionary plans, the ideals originally assumed by the notion of utopia had become obsolete. All utopia now offered was an environment ill-adapted to human needs, activities, and desires—one that had been rendered chronically out-of-date and out-of-touch. This was a dramatic shift in the perception of utopias—from provisional hope to admonitory tale—that brought into the global sphere debate about the value of designed cities/utopias.

In the contemporary context the difficulty of formulating a utopian vision resides in the idea that the utopian society implies a social equilibrium that is both immediate and sustainable, a harmony and stability within society that is collectively assumed. In this way, its condition is static, not dynamic; its form is concrete rather than fluid. But we “human beings are convinced of the idea that, in the universe of nature and of society, what [philosopher Henri] Bergson calls the ‘continuous creation of the unforeseeable new’ is its fundamental driving force” (Goux, 2006, p. 99). The idea of continuous creation and innovation prohibits us from entertaining the idea of a future where such innovation ceases to exist. And yet the urge and indeed, the need to create a future is still there. Contextually, it has become more pronounced as our ability to transform the human environment has expanded. What can no longer be developed with any degree of validity is utopia as a crystallised model. But “utopia continues to lurk within us as a principle and as a process; it is still present in the form of an impulse, a hope, maybe even a drive” (Goux, 2006, p. 99). Rational analysis seems capable, to some degree, of short-circuiting the symbolic function of utopia, of producing something other. This involves the inclusion of the weight and determinations of the totality of a given local space (a real space), as well as the creative dimension of time. In this instance, the function of utopian symbology is “transferred to regulatory notions which ... integrate the imaginary with the real, binding the projected to the given, the local to the global, the latent to the dominant” (Choay, 2005, p. 103). This kind of project sees the city as an adaptive system—a city

that grows through natural systems and processes, through participation by its inhabitants, highlighting the difference between urban planning as a conditioning tool and the urban experience as a set of conditions. Today, more than a century of practice shows that social contradictions cannot be resolved simply by “playing with space” (Solinís, 2006. p. 86).

HETEROTOPIA

In 1986 Michel Foucault’s influential text *Of Other Spaces* was published posthumously. The publication was based on the transcript of a lecture ‘*Des espaces autres*’ that Foucault delivered at the *Cercle d’études architecturales* [Circle of Architectural Studies] in Paris in March 1967. The text detailed Foucault’s observations on the transformation of public space: from enclosed spaces preoccupied with history and time, to a present condition of infinitely open structures or networks, in which space is “defined by the relations of proximity between points or elements” (1986, p. 22). In contrast to the descriptions of the phenomenologists, concerned primarily with ‘internal space’, Foucault focused attention towards his central interest: the space of the outside. For Foucault, the space “in which we live” (1986, p. 22) is composed of sets of relations bound with time. It is the space in which we are “drawn outside ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs” (Foucault, 1986, p. 22). Here Foucault introduces the concept of certain types of space that exist in “relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect” (1986, p. 22). He categorised these spaces into two major types: utopias and heterotopias (*hetero* = ‘another, different’ and *topos* = place). Foucault posited that heterotopias are “probably in every culture, in every civilisation” (1986, p. 24). Like utopias these sites relate to other sites by both representing and at the same time inverting them; unlike utopias, however, they are localised and real. Further developing his notion, Foucault outlined a systematic description for interpretative analysis of heterotopias as they may exist in any given society at any given time. This ‘heterotopology’ introduced six principles used to describe heterotopic space through anthropological and cultural indicators, with each principle citing real spatial typologies. Whilst the examples

provided by Foucault are diverse (from cemeteries to libraries) they all refer in some way to a relational disruption in time and space—with those that embrace temporal discontinuity further defined as ‘heterochronias’. Foucault concludes his heterotopology with the heterotopia *par excellence*—the ship. Foucault’s ship is a space that seems to incorporate all the essential disruptive ingredients of heterotopia both within itself and in relation to other spaces. It is a richly ambivalent vessel with disruptive features that designate it “a placeless place” (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). For Foucault, the ship provides a passage to and through (all) other heterotopias, suggesting a preeminent relation of spaces: the ship not only visits other spaces, but it also reflects and incorporates them.

Of significance to the text is the way in which Foucault develops throughout a distinction between the heterotopology of urbanism and the ideals of utopia. In the introduction to his text, Foucault emphasises that heterotopias are assumed and defined as an “ensemble of relations”; as thoroughly heterogeneous spaces, not bounded by a singular total entity (Foucault, 1986, p. 22). Both ubiquitous and contingent—“they exist in every culture, every civilization” (Foucault, 1986, p. 23)—heterotopias are not separate from society, nor do they suppose an ideal society, but rather, they reveal something about the society in which they reside through their reciprocal association with the life of the city. As real spaces subject to the present and evolving conditions of the city and culture (and therefore the antipode of the unreal—static—spaces of utopia), heterotopias are never absolute nor complete but are, rather, liable to constant reinterpretation and recoding as determined by the conditions of the city and the logic of the society inhabiting it.

Since it entered architectural and urban theory in the late 1960s, Foucault’s concept of heterotopia has served as a source of both inspiration and confusion (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008). The ambiguous, and at times contradictory nature of heterotopia has been criticized as “frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent” (Soja, 1996, p. 162) and “lacking in definition—it is perhaps too encompassing” (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008, p.4). This criticism can, in part, be attributed to Foucault’s initial articulation of the concept, which is presented as “more rumor than codified concept” (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008, p. 4). Whilst the lecture was delivered 1967 and became

available in French from then on, it remained unpublished in English until 1986. Consequently, Foucault's lecture had a life of its own, circulating in notes, and being read and misread innumerable times (Boyer, 2008). Through its opaque, varied and often contradictory accounts, heterotopia was and has remained the subject of considerable interpretation and speculation (Defert, 1997).

Despite the varied criticisms that have plagued Foucault's account of heterotopias, the concept was initially accepted for its parallel with postmodernism's emerging "interest in the spatial composition of contemporary cities and desire to leave behind the abstract spaces of modernism" and ideal cities (Boyer, 2008, p. 53). Fundamentally, Foucault's precepts of heterotopia—heterogeneity, difference, otherness, and alterity—coincided with those of postmodernism, positioning the principles of heterotopia as productive urban determinants in the socio-spatial context of new urban visions. In this way, many of the quintessentially postmodern approaches developed in response to heterotopia have reacted directly to a disenchantment with modern utopias, searching for "viable solutions and alternatives to ward against a contradictory and problematic process of spatial and social homogenization ..." (Sohn, 2008, p. 48). This reactive shift—from planned homogeneity to a desire for social heterogeneity—immediately declared the modern illustrative utopia devoid of its once critical attributes, transformed instead into a model defined by form-searching smoothness i.e., the collation of fragments, and the depletion of those instances of difference that plague the postmodern landscape. The present disenchantment with utopia, it seems, lies in the dissolution of the revolutionary potential of the spatial disciplines and in the attenuation of the transformative qualities of the built as triggers for action (Sohn, 2008). Within a world of fragmentation, advancing homogeneity and the proliferation of 'non-places'² (Augé, 1995), the possibility of most promise—at least in spatial discourse—lies in the unexplored, the exceptional: the 'other'. When viewed through this lens, heterotopia, despite its many uncertainties—and, perhaps, because of its instability—presents a framework for sustaining questions of

² Marc Augé in his book *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* defines 'non-places' as spaces that "cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity" (Augé, 1995, p. 78); citing airports, hotels, and shopping malls amongst key exemplars.

critical urban practice without reliance on prescriptions of form or method. Such a framework embodies the potential to disturb the imaginary coherence of ideal space, providing instead a conditional approach to the production of the city. Set within a critical dialogue with the city, heterotopia offers a further lens of investigation “... because it introduces a third term in situations where strict dichotomies—such as public/ private; urban/rural or local/global—no longer provide viable frameworks for analysis” (Heynen, 2008, p. 312). It gives space to everything that has no place in the conventions of the city; spaces that do not conform to the binary oppositions that predicate the narratives of the (ideal) city (Dehaene & De Cauwer, 2008). However momentarily, heterotopia dissolves, destabilises, and interrupts the conventions of the city. Heterotopias in this way displace the metrics of everyday life with metrics more extensive; designating a set of relations that are not isolated from dominant structures but contest them to offer new possibilities for the plan (Johnson, 2006).

As distinct from the ideals of utopia, heterotopias—which contest forms of anticipatory utopianism—hold no promise or space for liberation, but, with different degrees of relational intensity, develop as the product of the histories of urban practice and living patterns—what has come into being (Johnson, 2006). Furthering this development, heterotopia asks whether these spaces/patterns can be used to re-view the existing urban condition, tracing the quality of lived space to develop a new layer of representation—more complex than simply mapping city form. By way of

explanation of this idea, in a co-authored paper³ (2013) with Craig Bremner I wrote the following:

What emerges is an interesting convergence between the representation of city space, and the representation of the citizen’s *Imaginary* relationship to his or her *Real* conditions of existence; a methodological enrichment in the cognitive mapping process that positions the situational representations of the individual subject within the more vast and properly unrepresentable totality which is the image of the city (Jameson, 1991). The total image in this context emerges as the ‘public imaginary’—a collection of images made in minds by the

³ Hinton & Bremner, *Crafting the imaginary: The deteriorating idea and sentimental plan of the ideal city* (2013), written in the early stages of my research, forms a significant part of this chapter and the ideas explored about Canberra in Chapter 2.

imagination. To reside in minds as a collection, the images have been moderated by experiences or the results of observations and encounters with the city. The public imaginary contains visual indications to how it feels to live in the city and describes the mental space in our relationship with the city. The public imaginary is the sum of representations formed by the mental images of the city and the cognitive map transforms this mental picture from unrepresentable to representable. Therefore, the nature of our relationship to the image—i.e., how we see and reproduce it—forms the basis of how information is interpreted and action is guided. (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, pp. 78–79)

In Jacques Rancière's *The Politics of Aesthetics* he posits the notion of everyday 'aesthetics' as a reconfiguration of the 'sensible experience' of the individual (Rancière, 2004). The 'sensible experience' is defined as a "relation between sense and sense, between a power that provides a sensible datum and a power that makes sense of it" (Rancière, 2010, p. 15), that is, between the images we look at and the sense we make of them. Drawing similarities to the space of the Imaginary (and, indeed, forming part of this Imaginary) the relation between sense and sense implies a relation between what people see, what they hear about what they know, and what they do. It is what he calls "the distribution of the sensible: a relation between ways of doing, ways of seeing, of speaking, thinking and so on" (Rancière, 2010, p. 17). When applied to the urban project—and the everyday aesthetics of the city—we open the 'sensible experience' to the lens of heterotopia as both a way of seeing and making sense, and a method of production (ways of doing). In this way heterotopia advances a compelling convergence between space and the 'imaginary' of urban existence—a development that repositions the perceptions, thoughts, and actions of the individual in the total concept of the continuous project of the city.

HETEROTOPIA AS A FIELD OF ACTION

Foucault's heterotopologies are frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent ... But it is [their] intentional ambiguity that keeps [them] open and inclusive rather than confined and securely bounded by authoritative protocols. (Soja, 1996, p. 162)

The central point that Foucault was making in the establishment of his heterotologies, as Edward Soja points out, was that the assertion of heterotopia (as an alternative envisioning of spatiality) “directly challenges all conventional modes of spatial thinking” (Soja, 1996, p. 163). They are not just “other spaces” to be catalogued into the urban imagination, they are also “other than” the established ways of spatial thought (Soja, 1996). In this way, the influence of heterotopia on all urbanism presents not as a model, but as one of the anecdotes that make up the model.

When operational at full capacity, heterotopias “are meant to detonate, to deconstruct, not to be poured back comfortably in the old containers” (Soja, 1996, p. 76). This intentional disordering and disruption of our current urban paradigms, practices and philosophies is a necessary first step to a new understanding of the city (a new way of seeing the city)—and as such sets out to change our way of thinking about how we see the world, and as a result how we might change the world (Soja, 1996). And it is the concept of change that drives the modern project. In her essay ‘Thoughts Not Our Own: Whatever Happened to Selective Attention?’ Barbara Stafford, using advanced neurological research, puts a case for the way we comprehend, and she concludes by stating that “Seeing, not seeing as, enables knowledge to grow ... By changing the way (we) think about (our) thoughts, (we) can change (our) brains as well as the world” (Stafford, 2009, p. 290). Because we can imagine change, change takes place and up to now our imaginings, powered by increasingly productive technologies, drove the modern project. But because we might now have changed too much, we have reached a point where our imaginings of possible futures can only be reactions to unpredictable conditions. That is, the once infinitely plastic blue planet is exposing its limits. In reaction the modern project is being propelled back onto its political platform where the project of change meant changing behaviour. The net result is an invigorating response to design new possible future scenarios for the city, and this requires new ways to imagine the city, not just as an ongoing real estate opportunity, but as the setting for new ways to be together—creating new conditions for conducting life in staggeringly close margins.

Whilst Foucault’s conceptualisation of heterotopia was never developed in great detail nor formalised into clearly defined methods or programs for action, my thesis seeks to

explore the potential of heterotopia as an 'other' way of seeing through the idealised legacy of Canberra. I utilise Foucault's principles of heterotopia as a vehicle for reinterpretation and selectively apply his methods through a series of projects. Whilst the specifics of each design project are to be developed in parallel with the advancing dialogue of the research generally, the underlying rationale for the projects will remain both consistent and integral. As critiques of the plan, the development of design projects conceived through the lens of heterotopia not only allows for the testing of ideas within a defined framework (the city) but establishes new frameworks for assisting the plan. The application of the conditions of heterotopia to both the material conditions of the city, and the material conditions of public life, brings into focus a renewed link between the two—thus revealing new insights into the conditions of urban life, and through this, the life of the plan.

Chapter 2.

CANBERRA: IDEAL, IDEA, IMAGE

I have planned a city that is not like any other in the world. I have planned it not in a way that I expected any government authorities in the world would accept. I have planned an ideal city—a city that meets my ideal of the city of the future.
Walter Burley Griffin on Canberra, 1912 (Birrell, 1964, p. 189)

Canberra is a city encumbered by two legacies: the Griffin Legacy (the Legacy) and the legacy of 100 years of planning. As a planned city conceived upon utopian ideals the impulses that informed the design of the national capital remain, in many ways, unresolved. The foundation upon which the plan for the city was designed was premised on an ideal that, in the contemporary context, has rendered the idea of the plan and the reality of the plan two distinct concepts. Driven by the proliferation of unachievable images, what was a project of the future is now merely an archive of provisional futures.

CANBERRA: IDEAL

In 1911, the Australian government launched an international competition to find a design for its new national capital. In May 1912, the entry from American architects Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahoney Griffin was announced as the winner.

From the 137 competition entries submitted from across the world, two broad tendencies are observable: one which “seeks to recreate the old world in the new, and another purely utopian model which seeks to remove altogether the memory-traces of any pre-existing city” (Duggan, 1998 p. 84). Modernity’s drive to effect a homogenous environment is evident in examples of both tendencies, accomplished either through total eradication or through totalitarian adherence to an unvarying historical paradigm (Duggan, 1998).

Arguably more aligned with the latter of the tendencies, the Griffins' plan for Canberra was nonetheless unusual among the entries in that it referred directly to local geographical features of the site—drawing upon the City Beautiful and Garden City movements prevalent at the time. The most conspicuous features of these movements are displayed in the Griffins' expression of “classical axial formalism and the use of geometric patterns as the basis of the street system” (Fischer, 1989, p. 162) in which avenues and parkways radiate from each of Canberra's centres and sub-centres. Isolating governmental, municipal, and local market functions as the most significant operations of the capital, the Griffins allocated these functions to three urban centres connected by three main avenues to form an equilateral triangle: Government Centre, Municipal Centre, and Market Centre. Setting the plan “into a close relationship with the topography of the site” (Fischer, 1989, p. 162), the Griffins located the corners of the triangle in such a way as to coincide with three hills protruding into the flood plain of the river flowing through the main city area. The river would later be dammed (1964) to form a chain of lakes that defined the public engagement with the city centre. (Fischer, 1989).

The Griffins' plan has often been praised for its attentiveness to the lie of the land—in Christopher Vernon's analysis, in contrast to the other plans for the city, he noted that the Griffins' plan “appropriated the physical site itself as the new nation's primal monument” (Vernon, 1988, p. 91). Significantly however, the Griffins' remarkable understanding of the topography of Canberra was obtained not from a tangible experience of the place, but from the contour plans, watercolour drawings and site model provided with the competition brief: “ironically, then, the conception of the Griffins' ecopoetic design was dependent upon conventions of land surveying and picturesque representation which are intimately bound up with the objectification and commodification of the earth in modernity” (Rigby, 2006, pp. 163–164). In reality, the Griffins' celebrated topographical awareness makes use of signified landscape features as “coordinates for an urban style which has little room for the intimate aspects of the country around it” (Duggan, 1998, p. 84). The relationship of Canberra to its physical environment “is strictly symbolic ... it did not (and could not) deal with the way the city's projected life might engage with the surrounding landscape” (Duggan, 1998, p. 84). In this way, “Griffin, was unable, in the final resort, to reconcile its baroque form,

signifying autocratic power, with the democratic intent; thus his Canberra is an uneasy, and in places, disturbing union of two distinct orders of thought..." (Phillip Drew in Rigby, 2006, p. 175).

Detailed elaboration of this conundrum was discussed in my *Crafting the imaginary*:

This tension sets the foundation upon which the plan for the city was designed as premised on two ideological assumptions, "The first was that a vigorous Australian national identity existed ... and that it could be symbolised in the layout of a capital city. The second was that city planning could create a better and healthier society" (Taylor, 2005, p. 38).

The first assumption embodies a sensitivity to the landscape that was based not on the realities of lived experience or cultural condition, but on picturesque representations, which were, by nature, bound up in objectification and idiosyncratic interpretation (Rigby, 2006). Although the Griffins' city layout follows the contours of the topography, the notion of the 'bush' in the 'bush capital' is ultimately demoted in favour of a "quasi-spiritualist geometrical arrangement of circles and triangles" (Smith, 2008, p. 80).

The second, and perhaps more prominent ideal, that of the creation of urban environments to engender new forms of community life, seems equally as misguided in its contradictory notions. As Ruth Eaton notes:

...the spatial models that are projected are indissociable from the social arrangements to which they are believed to correspond. Their production is guided by a long-standing conviction that the physical form of a city can both reflect and condition the workings of a society and the behaviour of its citizens. (Eaton, 2002, p. 11)

Inspired by Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement, the Griffins' design for Canberra endeavoured to create spaces that would promote the development of harmonious communities (Smith, 2008, p. 81). This type of 'architectonic utopianism', however, brings with it questions of "whether architecture and design in itself can be expected to effect socio-political change" (Rigby, 2006, p. 175) where the rigidity of the utopian plan promotes a conceptual authoritarianism at odds with the diversity of human activity that it is supposedly designed to engender (i.e., an ideal community stripped of its communitarian idealism) (Smith, 2008).

In creating a plan for the city driven by the ideological forces of 'utopia', the Griffins, inspired by the new century's transcendentalism, inadvertently set the plan up to fail. Under the direction of unachievable ideologies, the plan immediately became a utopian diagram—a non-place (as may be suggested by the term itself—again, the ancient Greek *topos* = 'place', and the prefix *u* = 'not'); resulting in a model that could, in theory, be placed anywhere, but was, in practice, nowhere (Duggan, 1998). (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, pp. 80–81)

It is important to understand that another dimension of the Griffin Legacy is not necessarily the shape of Canberra (an illustrative utopia which was only partially realised), but the plan as residue of a pervasive narrative utopia; a 'utopian impulse' as first diagnosed by Ernest Bloch (1959/1995). This impulse, or what Fredric Jameson termed the 'desire called utopia' (Jameson, 2004) is understood not by reference to the image or shape of an ideal plan or society, but by reference to the desire to itself. In this way, desire takes on a form that is not oriented towards achievement or satisfaction, but towards the maintenance of a constant tension—the desire to desire:

When (if) utopian dreams are realized, the dreams themselves assume a peculiar character of sobriety, and beyond that, of boredom. The fulfilment of the wish takes something away from the substance of the wish. (Bloch, 1988/1996, p. 1)

In the case of Canberra, the 'desire called utopia' might be understood as the desire to always have a utopia to build: the desire for an Ideal City to remain always on the horizon (or on the drawing board). In this way, the Griffins' Legacy contains the seeds of its own failure; utopias cannot by definition succeed, not only because they are effectively a no-place (a myth/satire) but because their success would silence the desire for utopia (Smith, 2008). This practice acts to freeze the city between the past and the future—in the eternal form of the continuous present. Canberra is addicted to the ideals initially coded by the Griffins' plan, and this absolute devotion to their legacy produces more and more images of a future Canberra based on the heroic equation of idealised spatial conditions producing ideal social conditions. In this tradition—from the 1920s onwards (the year of Griffin's resignation and departure)—the design history of Canberra became that of the pursuit of the utopian impulse. A pursuit Karl Friedhelm Fischer would describe as "a continuing search for something that could fill the gap in philosophical, functional and architectural terms" (1989, p. 168). Faced with

a plan devastated by post-war economic crisis, military spirit, administrative misarrangements, and increasingly technocratic agendas (Fischer, 1989), and only the residue of an ideal—what consequent planners have consciously set out to achieve is to bring planning ideals to perfection. Varying over time, and with changing emphasis, whatever tasks the planners focused on, their ambition—be it a conscious process or not—was always in the service of the ‘desire called utopia’.

Whilst cyclical waves of urban and anti-urban sentiment have periodically left their traces on Canberra’s development plans since the city was conceived, it has arguably been the ‘Y-Plan’ that has most characterised Canberra as the ‘designed city’ we know today.

When the planners of the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC)⁴ took up their work in 1958, Australians had no experience with the urban development task of the order of magnitude that was lying ahead of them (between 1958 and 1964 the population of Canberra doubled). Consequently, they turned to the planning formulas that had been developed for the New Towns of the British mother country and for American suburbia, where the reign of bungalows and automobiles more closely resembled the Australian situation than the British example. It was, in particular, the special concern for transport planning dominating Western Town Planning in the late 1950s and 1960s, which was found to be well-suited for the urban development task confronting Canberra's planners in the 1960s (Fischer, 1989).

The overriding concern for traffic during these years and the assumption of having to provide for unlimited urban growth (in the wake of the post-war boom) had clear global effects on what was widely considered the preferred urban form. It meant the immediate rejection of the radial-concentric urban form, which was considered a form having only limited growth potential, in favour of more efficient and effective forms. In Canberra, the search was “directed towards finding an urban form where the central areas would not be at the centre of greatest traffic demand” (Harrison, 1968, p. 630).

⁴ The city planning organisation implemented by Robert Menzies as a reaction to a renewed economic and political interest in the National Capital as the new symbol of Australian politics. The designated role of the NCDC was “To Plan, Develop and construct Canberra as Australia's National Capital” (National Capital Authority [NCA], n.d.).

Adopting the formal qualities of the linear urban patterns prevalent at the time, the amended plan for Canberra (published by the NCDC in 1967) became known as the 'Y-Plan'. Formally titled the 'General Growth Strategy', the proposal "aimed at decentralizing urban development rather than consolidating the central urban area" (Stewart, 2008, p. 421). At its foundation, the Y-Plan outlined an expansive linear urban corridor divided into two arms of self-contained 'New Towns' of the order of 80,000 to (theoretically) 175,000 inhabitants (Fischer, 1985, p. 297). The New Towns (identified as Woden, Belconnen, and Tuggeranong) consisted of bungalow suburbia fitted into the frame of an all-encompassing central place hierarchy, connected by a public transport spine and peripheral freeways. Because of the high degree of functional decentralisation, or self-containment, of the Y-Plan, the city centre would no longer be allowed to grow to the size of a typical central business district, but only to that of a slightly larger-than-average district centre. Within this framework transportation planning determined the form and legibility of the city—with urban corridors (parkways), and the open spaces between towns envisaged to become "as impressive to the motorist as they are to the onlooker from the hill tops" (Fischer, 1989, p. 182). In this way, the city was redesigned for the motor car, and Canberra developed from an auto-reliant city into an utterly auto-dependent city. With this new expressway culture, the functions of the car became the primary planning aspiration guiding the cities development. Through the movement of the car Canberra became a monoculture of auto-mobility: "When the road (the link between functions) takes over as the generator of urban design it reduces other aspects of city life ..." (Duggan, 1998, p. 88).

Through the influence of the seminal Y-Plan and the subsequent plans that have produced the city, Canberra has certainly not become the ideal city of the Griffins' plan. The city is a projection of the values, ways of thinking and practices of its multiple plans—beginning with the Griffins. Instead of producing the ideal city, the 'desire called utopia' has driven the Australian capital city planners to (re)produce the future city through totalitarian adherence to an unvarying historical paradigm (the ideal city); a "barely audible message from a future that may never come into being" (Jameson, 2004, p. 54).

As Bremner and I wrote:

What was a visionary project has become a city of the nation's past; a failed exemplar of the egalitarian ideals of the nation it is supposed to represent (Smith, 2008), but does no more than an archive in an illegible and ever-deteriorating narrative/image of the city. Far from the ideal society promised by the premise of the plan—the proud and loyal citizens of Canberra find themselves existing in a living museum, a city that did not (and could not) deal with the way the projected life might engage with the plan and the surrounding landscape:

On the floor of a tranquil valley, almost encircled by the blue wall of the Australian Alps, across the brown and silver paddocks watered by the Molonglo, architects with compass and set square had laid down the design for a city. It was to be the perfect modern capital, rootless, blameless, minutely regulated, of a partyless unsectarian beauty ... it was a shame that human beings should live there at all. (Eldershaw, 1947, p. 94) (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, p. 81)

CANBERRA: IDEA

The history of the plan of the city presents a rational paradigm defined by grand ideals of power and social transformation. From historical agendas of flourishing agriculture, military proficiency, and spiritual authority to modern ideals of movement, sanitation, and aesthetics, the utopian image of the city was long celebrated as an embodiment of an ideal future plan (Solinis, 2006). It was within this context that the Griffins furnished their plan for Canberra.

In contrast to this historic trajectory of plan-derived-from-city, Canberra was a plan long before it was lived in as the city we now know i.e., before it prescribed the reality of Canberra. Therefore, Canberra is a provision of its plan, but it is not simply the plan that is the Griffins' legacy, it is the enduring notion of the ideal city. The ideal produced the plan that produced the idea of Canberra. In this way Canberra is a city of two distinct conditions: the City and the Image(s) of the City (the plan). Each has had an

influence on how Canberra has been developed and lived in. But living in Canberra does not shape the plan (as we progress).

The inevitable dissolution of the collective faith in the ideals of the Modern Movement, and the consequent rise of a pluralist society, brought with it criticism of the rigidity of the contractual promises of the utopian city embodied in the modern plan. Plus, all of the increasingly rich global data on cities, populations, ecologies, economies, and other flows, reflect the discovery of limits of the idea of the city; spatial and social; imaginary and contractual; *telos* (end) and *topos* (place) (Bauman, 2003).

From *Crafting the imaginary*:

The linear design formula encoded by the Bauhaus that set-in-motion IDEA producing OBJECT-TYPE producing IMITATION (de Duve, 1994) (or the *telos* of planning), in which a single public interest was assumed, generated, and propagated, was censured as reductionist and oversimplified, and denounced as lacking in “the complexity of life” (Calinescu, 1987, p. 282). What subsequently emerged was a pluralist, desire-based production formula, in which the value of homogenous objectives (ideal conditions) and innovation was superseded by an overwhelming interest in the generation of heterogeneous projects (conditional ideals). This shift away from strict adherence to a collective interest acted to dislocate the encoded design method from any notion of IDEA, and instead generated a circular dialogic between the OBJECT-TYPE and its IMITATION from which the originating IDEA was absented then, eventually, not even necessary. (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, pp. 75–76)

Furthering the dialogic, technological advances that stimulated the seductiveness of the plan as the master-idea of the city further alienated the notion of IDEA from the basic design formula. In the acknowledgement of the plan of the city as a readily reproducible object, the future of the city became a planning artefact that did not need to originate from an idea nor generate ideas, but instead “regressed into an image of the image of the project” (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, p. 76). The act of planning became little more than mediations on times past and sentimental visions of an ideal future in which the “process of coding and decoding that was once perceived

as real was exposed as a filter that eliminated aspects of reality as quickly as it invented others” (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, p. 76). In this way, the digital itself (driven by its essence, constraints, and design) both determined and created the dimensions of both the material condition and the resulting social condition. Ideal spatial conditions were equated with ideal social conditions, and rather than a plan of the city as a projection of the public imaginary, the image of the plan conditioned the city. Now devoid of the IDEA, what had originated as an image of the real world (a concept in itself misguided by the assumption that the reproduced image is real or absolute) was rapidly reduced to an endless cycle of imitation (Hinton & Bremner, 2013).

In the case of Canberra this cycle of imitation was initiated by the Griffins’ imitation of the ideal, that they turned into the idea for the Capital and for which they drew their plan. As previously explained, the idea of Canberra imitated the narrative utopia (minus the satire), and the plan imitated the emerging proposals for revisions to the city; ideas for plans that are still being reproduced today.

CANBERRA: IMAGE

Throughout much of history before a city was planned it was lived in. And then to imagine the city as the aggregate of its lived experiences, the imaginary, it had to be mapped. Almost instantly the map and plan became synonyms: to show the way became the way to show. Eventually, the plan made the city a provision of the plan. Clearly, the plan and the city are not the same and while the plan maps a city, the experience of the city doesn’t require a plan, although it might require a map (Hinton & Bremner, 2013).

The reality of urbanism is premised upon the plan as a reproduction, distanced from reality by its instruments, and by self-definition can only be a misrepresentation of the city. Responsible for these misrepresentations is the reductionism that manifests in the image of the plan. In Henri Lefebvre’s terms ‘social space’ has been reduced to ‘mental space’ through ‘scientific’ methods which “are themselves veils for ideology” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 106). The architect’s processes of coding and decoding through

drawing appear transparent but, in reality, act as filters, “eliminating some aspects of the site as they invent others” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 191). In William James’s terms maps and plans concern themselves with “domains of meaning” which are often contradictory, but which may be “attended to one at a time as the *real*” although with each shift of attention “the reality lapses with the attention” (James cited in Stewart, 1989, p. 15). “For the builder of ‘model cities’ [...] indulges a nostalgic desire to control every aspect of production”; a desire to exercise something akin to ‘craft’ “rather than simply perform, as alienated labourer, a task on a production line” (Duggan, 1998, p. 87). In the case of the architect, Laurie Duggan predicts, this nostalgia may result in an attempt to reclaim the model city of a previous era or, at least, produce a contemporary city—even a city of the future—from a set of unexamined concepts which would in practice, “bind a society even more tightly to the real or imaginary past” (Duggan, 1998, p. 87). In this way, the disengagement of the image of the plan from any notion of context has serialised the plan into an image of inescapably distended perspectives in which the project of urbanism—of being together—appears to have been lost. As noted in *Crafting the imaginary*:

In this way, the influence of the image of the plan has served to depose the linear causal program that once existed between plan and public, and in its place has initiated a type of nostalgia—as an attempt to imagine the city by preservation of images from previous eras while projecting possible futures. Here we are asked to see the city ‘as if’—as the projection of a set of images (Canberra)—in contrast to ‘as it was’ (farmland), or ‘as it is’. This practice binds society even more tightly to a reactionary past being laid out in the continuous present (again the Griffins’ idea of the ideal). Thus, the urban context, and indeed the image of the plan, emerges as a concept driven by temporal rather than spatial dimensions.

It is easy to see what happens over time in the city but not so easy to see what happens over time to the plan. The project of the plan to abstract a possible future for the city is also evidence of its temporal persuasiveness over its spatial authority. As an abstraction of the city the material of the plan is constantly being reworked, revised, and repaired to the point where the plan illustrates a mastery of the city that it hopes the future will validate. But it is the temporal and not the spatial that determines the life of the plan—its constant revision is caused by the steadily deteriorating image of what was the real city at one point in time. (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, p. 74)

Urban theorist Kevin Lynch maintains that from the point-of-view of the public, we see the image of the plan form “the generalised mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual” (1960, p. 1). The image is the result of both immediate sensation and of the memory of experience. “Every citizen has had long associations with some part of his city, and his image is soaked in memories and meaning” ... “and the image is a composition of them all” (Lynch, 1960, p. 1). Rather than locate us in a continuous past the image of the plan reinvigorates the analysis of representation—the cognitive map—but in a more complex way than through the mapping of city form (Lynch, 1960). What emerges instead is a compelling convergence between the representation of city space, and the “representation of the citizen’s *Imaginary* relationship to his or her *Real* conditions of existence” (Lynch, 1960, p. 119). This methodological advancement of the cognitive mapping process locates the situational representations of the autonomous subject within the wider and properly unrepresentable (or misrepresented) totality, which is the image of the city (Hinton & Bremner, 2013). Our relationship to this image—i.e., how we see and then reproduce the image—is used to interpret information and to guide action. In philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s dictum: “The images we make of the world change our perception of the world and thus change our sense of reality of it” (2010, p. 19). In this way, the image sensitises itself, and in parallel, the plan repairs itself. Canberra is an unusual example of the way in which perceptions are conditioned. In its case the imaginary is conditioned by the infamy of the plan and fiction of the ideal. These collapse past (as was) and future (as if) into the continuous present (as is), and condition how the city is seen (as is) and sees itself (is as).

It is interesting to consider that, as the Nation’s Capital, Canberra’s constructed imaginary finds expression not just at the scale of the city, but at the scale of the nation. The inherent responsibilities of the official centre of Australia position the life of the city as a national interest, in which the city is valued not as the product of lived experiences, but as a standard (to be upheld). Always under the (presumed) watchful eye of the nation, the city (self-consciously) develops its image through the tendencies of the panoptic principle—making permanent the images of an ideal city populated by an ideal society. In this context, what is known (perceived) about Canberra becomes

largely vicarious and impressionistic; “built on a collection of heavily mediated images passing, almost by default, for the real thing” (Scott & Soja, 1996, p. 427).

CANBERRA: CASE STUDY

Canberra, by the Griffins’ own statement, was designed as an ideal city. Since then, Canberra has evolved from and through a utopian impulse. Now, instead of an ideal city, Canberra is a city preoccupied with its plan. This propensity finds expression in the layers of plans that define the city, each remaining loyal to the ideals of a modernist utopia that produced them, “with little evidence of the aleatory compulsions that truly shape cities—the piecemeal planning, retrospective policy, and ad hoc adjustments that shape from within” (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, p. 81). Canberra is continuously being invented and transformed. Testament to this are the numerous plans/masterplans/strategies that attempt to define the city; from the transcendental origins of the Y-Plan, the return to the ideal city outlined in the dutiful 2004 NCA *The Griffin Legacy* and now the Australian Government’s 2021—2023 *National Capital Plan*. In addition to these plans, the bid to heritage list Canberra is an endeavour, which, through a conditioned loyalty to the ideal, attempts to preserve and restore the utopian image. In a proposal that would have permanently stopped the non-stop project of the city (the continuous planning that sustains the city), the Australian Federal Government’s bid for a National Heritage Listing for Canberra, formally launched in 2009 and again in 2012, proposed strategies suggestive of an effective paralysis of substantial areas of Canberra’s planning and layout. The public information paper notably omits any discussion relevant to the progressive cultural and/or temporal tendencies that define cities—essentially promoting community investment in a strategy for places (spaces) akin to that of artefacts in a museum. This absence of anthropological enquiry suggests that the proposed heritage bid is driven by an understanding of Canberra as utopia, and not the city ‘as-is’. Positioned correctly, the plan of the city is provisional not provincial, and as such, is not a heritage site.

While Canberra can no longer be projected in faithful reproductions of the conditions resembling utopia, the Legacy that produced the city continues to regulate both

internal processes, and external perceptions. But the legacy of the Legacy now divides Canberra—forging a dialectic of contradictory convictions. Those faithful to the Legacy indiscriminately affirm the enduring relevance of its ideals, while those perplexed ‘others’ interrogate the ability of the (now derivative) legacy to meet the challenges of the actual city. Such a conundrum leaves the inquirer questioning the alternatives, searching beyond the legacy for new perceptions driven by something (anything) ‘other’.

In his lecture *Of Other Spaces*, Foucault references two spatial typologies defined by sets of relations that are distinctly ‘other’: utopia and heterotopia. Canberra’s utopic inception brings the city into perfect synergy with Foucault’s theoretical propositions and establishes an interesting dialogue between the conditions of utopia and the conditions of heterotopia—thus validating Canberra as case-study. The introduction of Canberra as a contextual canvas will act as a catalyst through which the conditions of utopia and heterotopia may be brought into tension (reviewing the site not as ‘non-space’, but as ‘other’ space). The introduction of localised and real parameters additionally serves to concentrate the research dialectic, thus allowing for the testing of ideas within the context of a defined city and generating a two-way dialogue between the design for a city and the means to manufacture that city.

Rather than a single comprehensive image for the total environment (the ideal plan for Canberra), the principles of heterotopia allows us to see the city through illustrations and concepts that overlap and are interrelated—the mapping of structures, systems and arrangements, as much as space or place. It is through these illustrations, both as individual and summative projects, that a new lens through we can re-view Canberra will be established: “Our preoccupation here with the parts rather than whole is a necessary feature of an investigation in its preliminary stages. After successful differentiation and understanding of parts, a study can move on to consideration of a total system” (Lynch, 1960, p. 143).

As diagrams of the processes of the lived city, the case study will not determine or prescribe a plan but will instead serve as a “background for transformations that follow a social rather than a spatial logic” (Heynen, 2008, p. 315), informing future decisions

about the design of the city. Within this framework, space is seen as a neutral receptor and reflector of social-cultural patterns and processes. The features of space itself are not seen as decisive (as in the ideal city), but emphasis is placed on the influence of the social and cultural mechanisms of the plan (the life of the plan). These mechanisms, in turn, produce varying effects with spatial repercussions that can be registered. In this way, the propositions developed here are not universal, they are not causal, they do not attempt to reveal a meaning out there, and they don't depend on external or universal truth for its findings. Liberated from prescriptions of plan, planning or ideal, the process can open itself to information flows from 'what is'—allowing us to review the plan and our actions within the revealed context of Canberra.

The future project of Canberra requires more than mild methodological iteration (derivatives of an ideal project), it requires a change in perception. Rather than a product of political imperative or utopian ideal, Canberra may be investigated through the lens of non-hegemonic 'otherness'. This type of re-imagining may allow us to re-view the city as a complex network of deviations, transitions, juxtapositions, illusions, and encounters as indicated by Foucault's theories of Heterotopias—"man-made places ... outside of all places" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25).

Chapter 3.

THE CAR PARK: SPACE OF TRANSITIONING FUNCTION

A society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion; for each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another.
(Foucault, 1986, p. 23)

Canberra's plan, as endowed by the Griffins, was conceived as a regulated geometry of urban and 'landscape' elements premised upon a topographical artifice only visible (in plan) from the contour lines of the site map. Canberra's agri/urban boundaries, and exaggerated topographical features, determined the form of the city and its relationship to landscape, arresting its scope and scale as a rural island. But once it became the National Capital, the constant attention of the Griffins' ideal city as demanded by the plan caused the Capital to ignore its real condition, and almost instantly 're-view' its conditional origins in the pursuit of growth, producing the Y-Plan (the 1967 *General Growth Strategy*) with its branches to the northeast and northwest and its long tail of New Towns to the south. Under the premise of the Y-Plan, Canberra grew as a fragmented and decentred city, a stretched fabric of "low-density suburban communities extending through an irregular terrain of mountains and valleys" (Caldeira, 2000, p. 301). Tying the fabric of the city together and giving it its unusual elasticity was a decisive highway system; a series of parkways visibly focussed on the centre node but spinally tapping a multiplicity of increasingly outlying centres and peripheries (Caldeira, 2000).

The vision originally depicted by the Griffins never could have predicted the impact of the Y-Plan on the city; the utopian ideals for the city vanished at the hands of the car and its collateral inventions. Mandating a sprawl of dispersed and thinly viable town centres, the Y-Plan siphoned the life from the centre, initiating a suburban drain that would leave the centre no more than a residual city; a city turned inside out, or the city 'without' in the double sense of the expanding outer city as well as the inner city that no longer is. Characterising post war planning's submission to the professed logic of

autonomous transportation, and often described derisively as “several remote suburbs in search of a city” (Smith, 2008, p. 85), the multi-centred model of the Y-Plan produced a city completely dependent on the car. This dependence on the car is not a unique condition for cities—nor for ideal cities. The ideal cities designed by prescient architects such as Le Corbusier, Ludvig Hilberseimer, and Frank Lloyd Wright all called for the destruction of existing urban creation and projected a world dominated by the automobile (Eaton, 2002). But, for Canberra—an effectively realised designed city with an enduring legacy—the absolute pervasion of the car has a unique effect on the city.

This chapter will illustrate how Foucault’s second principle of heterotopia (the transition of functions), when applied to the history of the planning of Canberra, reveals that the car has evolved to “function in a very different fashion” (Foucault, 1986, p. 23) from that first envisaged by the Griffins (from subordinate to dominant). Where Foucault’s example of the cemetery has transitioned from the centre of the city to its periphery, the car has transitioned from the periphery of the city to the centre. In this way the car and its infrastructures have come to constitute an ‘other’ Canberra: a city of alternative/altered function.

THE CAR (AS CONTEXT)

In Canberra, the dominant experience of the city is predicated on movement. Analogous to the freeway system described by Reyner Banham in *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* auto-mobility in Canberra forms “a single comprehensible place, a coherent state of mind, a complete way of life” (1971, p. 195). For Canberra, the primary role of the urban plane is to accommodate necessary movement, fundamentally the car: “highways are a superior version of boulevards and plazas” (Koolhaas, 1995, p. 1251). In this way, the network of auto-mobility defines both the urban form and character of Canberra with the rest of the discernible city presenting as a thin spread of development. As Banham wrote “The city will never be fully understood by those who cannot move fluently through its diffuse urban texture, cannot flow with its unprecedented life. I learned to drive in order to read [the city] ...” (Richard Austin Smith cited in Banham, 1971, p. 5).

Decentralised and de-identified, Canberra's very existence is contingent on the car; a city exemplary of Rem Koolhaas' claims on the premise of urbanity as "ultimately nothing more than people circulating" (Koolhaas, 1995, p. 29). In this way, the circulation of cars from the suburbs defines the city of Canberra, and thus makes it urban, enabling the activation of the city through the cyclic shifting of the population and the functioning (and non-functioning) of the associated infrastructures. As a modality of the circulation that sustains the city, movement in Canberra is destination-oriented; a physical and temporal condition that conditions the life of the city as tied to specific locations at specific times. Once a moment of rest along a path of movement place in Canberra is reconfigured as the "nexus within which all life, growth and activity are *contained*" (Rigby, 2006, p. 172). Between the places of the city, so conceived, there are only uninhabited connections. In this model, traffic supersedes the citizen to become the most comprehensive link of communication between the city and its life; and circulation becomes the objective scheme and diagram of the general functioning of the city.

For Canberra, the lines of circulation that bind the city not only connect, but they also divide, segregating the surface of the city into territorial blocks. In this way, the infrastructures of the car—the roads and highways so paramount to the function of the city—are also the city's greatest impediments, creating boundaries that serve to inhibit movement rather than facilitate it. The flows of transport as determined by the plan divide the city both in real phenomenological terms and in the experience of the city. Anthropologist Tim Ingold describes private transport as the principal action that sustains the city: as "... not so much a development *along* a way of life as a carrying *across*, from location to location ... in such a way as to leave the basic nature of the traveller unaffected" (2007, p. 79). Not life in the city, but a life lived across/over the city. For the driver every destination is both a terminus (a moment of completion) and a "re-entry into a world from which they have been temporarily exiled whilst in transit" (Ingold, 2007, p. 80). Absent from this experience of Canberra is any notion of a continual responsiveness to the perceptual monitoring of the environment so revealed (a visceral encounter with the city). The pre-programmed environment of the car and predetermined orientation of travel (now further enforced by GPS technology)

supersedes any need for the traveller to watch, listen and feel—to alert their being to the cues that prompt adjustment to their bearings. As a modality of movement, transport numbs the sense and all gestures of motion. For the traveller, strapped to the seat of their own private computer, “travel is no longer an experience of movement in which action and perception are intimately coupled, but has become one of enforced immobility and sensory deprivation” (Ingold, 2007, p. 106) just as Marc Augé observed earlier when he wrote:

... this is a moving private capsule, in which the sensing of the public world is impoverished. The speed at which the car must be driven constrains the driver to always keep moving. Dwelling at speed, drivers lose the ability to perceive local detail, to talk to strangers, to learn of local ways of life, to stop and sense the particularity of place. The sights, sounds, tastes, temperatures, and smells of public spaces are reduced to the two-dimensional view through the car windscreen. (Augé, 1995, p. 63)

The traveller, cocooned in their car, undertakes a journey not for its own sake, or for the experience it might afford, but for the singular purpose of witnessing the sites to be seen at the destination. Only upon arrival at the destination, and when the car comes to a stop, does the traveller begin to move. Thus, for the transported traveller, the destination is the only site of activity. In between sites the traveller “barely skims the surface of the city, if not skipping it entirely, leaving no trace of having passed by or even any recollection of the journey” (Ingold, 2007, p. 81). The traveller who departs from one location and arrives at another is, in-between, nowhere at all. In this way the car presupposes what Foucault describes as “a place without a place” (1986, p. 25).

In the conclusion to his lecture *Of Other Spaces*, Foucault nominates the ship as the heterotopia *par excellence*; a “floating piece of space” (1986, p. 27) that incorporates all the principles of heterotopia, both within itself and in relation to other spaces. For Foucault, the ship “provides a passage to and through other heterotopias ... forming relationships both within the site, and between sites” (Johnson, 2006, p. 80). As a purely relational phenomenon, the ship not only attends other spaces, but it also reflects and incorporates them. In this way, Foucault posits the ship as an ambivalent vessel: “a place without a place” (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). In a parallel way, as a shuttle

between all the spaces of the city, but in such a way as to activate or invent the relations it designates, the car—as an urban analogy for the ship—is undoubtedly heterotopic.

It is worth noting here that there are some compelling affinities between Foucault's description of the heterotopia *par excellence* (the ship) and his earlier description of the ship of fools in the *History of Madness* (2006). For Foucault, the ship of fools, which contains the 'passenger *par excellence*', is a reference to the ships that existed during the Renaissance to convey madmen from harbour to harbour. Throughout the text Foucault examines the rationale for this curious "means of dispersing the insane" (Johnson, 2006, p. 80) and concludes that it is "not merely for security or social utility" (Johnson, 2006, p. 80) but involves ritual at the foundation of its functional purpose of removing them from cities (Foucault, 2006). Through Foucault's descriptions, the madmen's voyage is conveyed as profoundly ambiguous, both "rigorous division and absolute passage", both "real and imaginary" (2006, p. 11). The space of the ship itself is described as a "prison" and an "entrance", a play of interior and exterior: "a prisoner in the midst of the ultimate freedom, on the most open road of all, chained solidly to the infinite crossroads" (Foucault, 2006, p. 11). The text throughout provides a profusion of rich metaphors, mapping out both the relational position of madness in society, and the contingent, ambiguous, and unsettling space within which madness resides. In the space of the ship, "the passenger is positioned on the inside of the outside, or vice versa" (Foucault, 1998a, p. 185); within an existential limbo—a "place without a place" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25).

In Canberra, Foucault's notion of madness manifests not in the mind of the transported passenger, but in the autocratic pervasion and totalising effect of the car. In what is the constitutional ritual of the city, the citizen in their motorcar submits to the fixed movements and migrations that converge to create the continual current that sustains the city. Outside the city centre, residential zones isolated from the city become home to thousands of virtual immigrants each day, migrating from suburbia to the city and back; nomadism is a permanent condition in Canberra. As the bearer of the life of the city, the car is, in the trope of Greek mythology, the boat rowed by Hades: the shuttle between life and death. As such, the car resembles not only

Foucault's ship, but that in which Hades rowed people across the river Styx to the Underworld, which is an otherworld where souls go after death (and therefore after life). The urban cycle of bringing life into the city centre and leaving the suburbs dead, then returning to resurrect the suburb leaving the lifeless corpse of the city, positions the car as the broker between life and death, and life after death, and death after life. Within this scenario, the city's car parking structures (the temporary resting place of the car) come to constitute the most pivotal moment in the material and immaterial life cycles of the city. As the urban moorings that mediate between the life and death of the city, these infrastructures—aggregated at the scale of the city to form an isotropic grid—emerge as central to the city's very existence.

THE CAR PARK (CITY)

As Canberra's dependence on the car has burgeoned, so too has the spread of the car's infrastructures across, above and beneath the surface of the city. The transition of the function of these infrastructures within the city designates them as heterotopic; as an urban space/typology 'other than' originally intended. Contingent on the synchronies of the society that precipitates its prevalence, the infrastructures of the car park exist in constant flux. In Canberra, this flux has manifested in the historical-social transition of the car park. From its inception as urban outlier to its gradual pervasion as the delineation of the city, the infrastructure of the car park is now ubiquitous with the life of the city.

In Canberra, the ground space is quite literally reckoned by the car park: a 2.4m x 5.4m module that has transformed our understanding of space. As a spatial construct that exists in relation to all the other spaces of the city, but in such a way as to invert the standing perception of these relations, the physical manifestation of the car park module (i.e., the car parking structures that permeate the city) are counter sites, outside of all places, and therefore heterotopic. Taken to its extreme consequences, the form of the car park "establish[es] an unlimited constructed depth, a potentially endless form" (Capdevila, 2013, p. 131). In this way, the car park forms an urban system that not only facilitates a variety of functions but, ultimately, the entire city.

Coextensive and potentially infinite, it becomes the city. Characterised by the uncompromising omnipresence of its car parking structures, Canberra is not only a City of Cars, but perhaps more accurately, a City of Car Parks.

In Canberra, the standard unit-of-measurement for the city is the individual seated in their car. In this way, the productive powers of the city centre on the anatomies of the car rather than on more human alternatives. This standard of measurement is standard for all the spaces of the city, applying equally to empty space as occupied, built form as void. In this way, the car park is the building block that ‘cellularises’ (Tafuri) the production program of the car to produce the formula for the gridded horizontal city. All order and all growth in Canberra are determined by the module of the car. The module itself figures as a node in a network of identical moorings; an environment built as an assembly of connected elements, predetermined in dimension, form, and possible configuration (Ingold, 2007). Canberra then, is a city conceived by accumulation: a single module identifies a car park, 2 modules = a room, 10 modules = a house, 1000 modules = a monument, 10,000 modules = a park, 100,000,000 modules = a city. The typology of the city as an accumulative development depends solely on the percentage of area covered, analogous to distinctions between street, suburb, town centre or city. When viewed in this way, the potentialities of Canberra’s stretched borders generate a kind of typological indifference prone to stasis. Here, the modules of the city are never renewed (they are left preserved or die), but rather accumulated—expanding the borders of the city and resulting in the reduction of the role of the old centre, to that of a museum (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5).

What is curious about the “locomotive public realm” (Koolhaas, 1994, p. 1251) is that whilst it is both regular and modular, it is not measured in dimensions. In Canberra, speed becomes the defining temporal logic of the city. In this way, the car and its infrastructures change the scale of the city. The same stretch of the city can provide a number of diverse experiences:

... it can last five minutes or forty; it can be shared with almost nobody, or with the entire population; it can yield the absolute pleasure of pure, unadulterated

speed—at which point the sensation of the City may even become intense or at least acquire density—or utterly claustrophobic moments of stoppage—at which point the thinness of the City is most noticeable. (Koolhaas, 1994, p. 1251)

In the accumulative model of the city, the modular network of the car is characterised by a grid; a representation that whilst materially present is better understood as a visual metaphor for the absolute reality of the city. As an idea central to the research, the notion of 'the Grid' is important enough to have its own chapter and is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. But my argument for that concept is dependent on the explication of the car park that follows here. Within the parameters of this programmed and isotropic network, the prevailing infrastructures of the car—the car parking structures—manifest as rational and regular edifices where all the required components are balanced with the same degree of freedom and the same services, organised and distributed in a homogenous way. The perimeters of these interconnected structures are determined only by criterion (demand and regulation), without ever forming a cohesive plan upon which optimal conditions between structure and nature (the city and its environs) are produced: "The outer perimeter of the whole is not identified or represented; we do not care about its shape since it will be determined by the result of certain quantitative ratios" (Archizoom, 1972, p. 11). Through the innate pervasion of the network, the infrastructures of the car take possession of the territory, embedding a rigid and unitary organisation of functions within the spaces of the city. For Pablo Martínez Capdevila it is an "open" and undifferentiated urbanism "unconcerned about urban form" (2013, p. 132) producing a model that connects all the fragmented plans/monuments/projects of the city. This alternative form of urbanism advances toward an "absolute territorial integration" (Capdevila, 2013, p. 132) that transcends the city-bush division and the "traditional concentric arrangement of functions" (Capdevila, 2013, p. 132) to respond to the new demands of the car. With the end of the opposing conditions that define the traditional city, both city and architecture cease to have representational roles, leaving the representations of the car park as the arbiter of the character of the city. Understood in this way Canberra emerges as a city with itineraries divergent from the legacy or the national agendas that have defined it; a city whose reality has resulted not from the impossible pursuit of utopic visions, but rather, through the inherent

aggregations of its inhabitants operating on the principle that the parking lot dictates the urban planning of the city.

Through the aggregation of its car parks Canberra is driven by the systems that sustain it. Its patterns of living produce a city conditioned by the actions of its inhabitants rather than a city conditioning them. In this way, the 'other space' of the car park comes to constitute what I argue is Canberra's most authentic response to being a city, presenting a new layer of representation, and thus, a new way of seeing the city. The Griffins had planned a utopia; the Grid reveals a critical utopia, or as Foucault identifies, an 'other space', a heterotopia.

In 1969 the protagonists of the Italian Radical Design Movement, Archizoom Associati, presented their seminal project No-Stop City. Framed as a model for total global urbanisation No-Stop City was published for the first time in *Casabella* magazine under the title: 'City, assembly line of social issues, ideology and theory of the metropolis' (Archizoom Associati, 1970). Intended as a polemic against the certainties of the Modern Movement and the prevailing culture of consumerism, No-Stop City was introduced as a critical utopia in which the "endless city" would action the "dissolution of architecture within the metropolis" (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 153). Depicted as an infinitely extending grid, Archizoom's proposal was organised according to the infrastructural logic of the factory or the supermarket, through which "the city was seen as one large interior, a single space, air-conditioned and artificially lit" (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 152).

Characterising a critical shift in the production methodologies of the city, No-Stop City offers a model for an immaterial city without quality, a city dedicated only to the continuous urban flow of information, technical networks, and services; where the architecture of the city disappears into an "urban semiosphere" (Branzi, 2006, p. 9), free of all symbolic value. In the same year (1969), Superstudio, another central group in the Radical Design Movement, proposed 'Il Monumento Continuo' (the Continuous Monument) (Superstudio, 1969); a manifesto-like project proposing a gridded superstructure wrapping the planet. Similarly conceived as a model of global urbanisation, Superstudio's three-dimensional grid "pervades the Earth's surface,

negotiating megalopolises, mountains, and oceans” (Superstudio, 1972, p. 2).

Developed through a series of provocative drawings, photomontages and storyboards, the project depicts architecture reduced to a state of absolute neutrality. In consuming everything as it traverses, “transcending all notions of scale and location, and reducing the planet to a unitary and infrastructural landscape” (Superstudio, 1972, p. 2), the Continuous Monument offers “an unchanging and unalterable image, with neither beginning nor end” (Superstudio, 1972, p. 2).

Aligned with the homogenous cities presented by Archizoom and Superstudio, the industrialism of the car park—aggregated to the scale of the city—becomes a continuous structure. In this scenario, all the previous plans and agendas for the city that have confounded it are transferred to the car and its infrastructure as the agents that sustain the city. The city absorbs, therefore, any quality or attributes other than the pure extension of the system that sustains it:

By introducing the principle of artificial lighting and ventilation on an urban scale, the No-Stop City ... became a continuous structure, devoid of gaps, and therefore of architectural images. By the installation of a regular grid of lifts, the great levels, theoretically infinite, whose boundaries were of no interest whatsoever, could be laid out freely in accordance with differences in function or new forms of social aggregation. (Branzi, 1986, p. 70)

Freed from its legacy, the morphology of Canberra becomes an open infrastructural continuum; skinless and conditional: a “furnished parking lot from which all antecedent types have vanished, permitting the spontaneous shaping of the environment” (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 155). Central to the un-designing of the designed city of Canberra, the car park emerges as an instrument of urban emancipation: “The City frees us with its blankness, its featurelessness, allowing us to be anyone anywhere” (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 177). The suspension of the notion of design or ideal creates an empty field in which such (human) things as the need to act, mould, transform, conserve, and modify are effected, thereby enabling alternative methods to produce the (authentic) city. In this way, the car park becomes the specimen model of the future of Canberra: an “optimal urban structure, potentially limitless, where human functions are arranged spontaneously in a free

field, made uniform by a system of micro-acclimatisation” (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 178), spatial regulation, and a no-stop function. “Inside it there exist no hierarchies nor spatial figurations of a typological disposition” (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 178). Like No-Stop City, the city so constituted by its car parks is defined by the unvarying elements maintained throughout its evolution (columns and slabs, lighting and ventilation, service risers). Repeated module after module, these few elements constitute the minimum common set for the accommodation of the maximum number of essential functions. In this equation, the language of the quantitative replaces qualitative, changing our understanding of the city, and becoming a new means of approach to the undifferentiated production of the city. The candour and efficiency with which this operation is effected reflects a profound change in the nature of the urban reality of Canberra. Through the accumulation of its car parking infrastructures, Canberra is transformed from a specific place defined by opposition to another place: i.e., the city in relation to the rural landscape, to a condition: a contracted world interconnected and sustained through the singular and consistent system of flows, “the metropolis ceases to be a ‘place’, to become a ‘condition’” (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 158).

The reality of the city that arises from this condition is, by no means, conventional. The great parody of its operation is that as the conditions of the car park expand, they not only absorb the architecture of the city, but simultaneously lose the defining characteristics of their own finitude and heterogeneity. Devoid of distinct compositions, relations, representative and iconographic capacity, and typological and functional distinction, the car parks come to embody a generic habitat—not of transitioning function, but with no precise function, location, or form. In occupying everything homogeneously, the car park eliminates the architecture of the city, manifesting instead, a continuous interior: “If the system occupies everything, everything is interior to the system, and nothing is external to it. A project without limits and without outside for a system without limits and without outside” (Capdevila, 2013, p. 132).

In Canberra, the possibilities of the city as a ‘continuous interior’—a city without limits and without outside—prompt a complete re-viewing of the definitions of the city,

enabling a reorganisation of the traditional operations of the city to permit an ‘other’ relationship between interior/exterior, city/landscape, territory/nation. As an arbiter of space—interior to the city, and therefore subject only to the actions of its agents—the continuous interior supplants the opposing national and ideological agendas that have plagued the production of the city, dictating new rules and procedures, assigning new roles and positions, regulating new behaviours, and producing new hierarchies. Manifesting a unitary and reliable formula for the city, the homogeneity of the continuous city (for perhaps the first time) provides Canberra with both a comprehensive ecology and a common understanding of the city; a defined present and future through which to perceive and thus, produce the life of the city:

[It is] ... a future in which the city is created with a single act, from a single design capable of clarifying once and for all the motives which have induced man to build... [car parks and] motorways—are the tangible signs of our understanding of the earth. (Lang et al., 2003, p. 122)

The continuous infrastructures of the car generate a new level of public accessibility to the city, presupposing a democratic⁵ city. As a unitary model for the city, the car park provides an environment with equal access to the same module, for the same functions. The car park and its infrastructures become the new (and continuous) monument to the Nation. The car parks signify new national ideologies of efficiency, transparency, and equality that are coincidentally the three criteria for a National Capital as outlined by Paul Reid in his book *Canberra Following Griffin* (2002).⁶ Through its distinctions and adjacencies, Foucault’s second principle of heterotopia (the transition of functions) allows us to identify the continuous network of the car park as an ‘other’ layer of representation for Canberra. As a typology that has

⁵ Throughout the thesis the term ‘democratic’ has been used to align with the definition used by the Griffins in reference to the City Beautiful and Garden City movements i.e., to denote ‘equal access to the city’.

⁶ What is curious about this symbolic reassertion, is that even as a developing phenomenon, the emergent conspicuousness of the car park is managed with the same self-consciousness with which Canberra mediates the rest of the discernible city (as can be evidenced by the desolate character of the Parliamentary Zone). Despite its undeniable ubiquity and pre-eminence (or perhaps, on account of), Canberra now routinely submerges its car parks. Now relegated to the sub-terranean the evolution of the car park mirrors a destiny similar to that of Foucault’s heterotopia of the cemetery: “The cemeteries then came to constitute, no longer the sacred and immortal heart of the city, but the other city, where each family possesses its dark resting place” (Foucault, 1986, p. 23).

transitioned its function according to the mores of society, the heterotopia of the car park realises a new purpose for the city's omnipresent infrastructures. The continuous network—the Grid—formed by the car and its associated infrastructures indissolubly connects the users of the city to both the city and to each other, forming new relationships and affinities outside those circumscribed by the legacy. The reality that heterotopia reveals then, is not a separation from society, but rather a reviewed lens through which to perceive space free from the city's existing strictures. The heterotopia of the car/car park does not represent an alternative to present-day reality but rather represents present-day reality at a new level of critical consciousness, enabling us to see—with perhaps a new clarity—the city as an accessible and dynamic network of movements and connections.

Chapter 4.

THE PARK: SPACE OF ISOLATION AND PENETRATION

Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures. (Foucault, 1986, p. 25)

Foucault's fifth principle of heterotopias presupposes a system that simultaneously effects practices of inclusion and exclusion, positioning them as 'other' within the realm of freely accessible public space. For the heterotopic site, entry and exit are regulated in many ways: through rituals of initiation or affiliation, but also through more subtle enactments, such as the illusions of freedom and openness that mask closure and segregation (Soja, 1996). Through such forms of spatial regulation:

...the heterotopia takes on the qualities of human territoriality, with its conscious and subconscious surveillance of presence and absence, entry and exit; its demarcation of behaviours and boundaries; its protective yet selectively enabling definition of what is the inside and the outside and who may partake of the inherent pleasures. (Soja, 1996, p. 160)

According to Michiel Dehaene and Lieven De Cauter heterotopias are "particularly exclusive" and necessarily belong to the "inclusive character of the *polis*", the ancient city-state where the good life is enacted through an equilibrium between *oikos* (the private place of the household) and *agora* (the public place of assembly) (2008, p. 4). The inherent territorial quality of the heterotopia causes the "erosion of the distinction between the constitutive terms of the polis" that manifests in the privatisation of the city (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008, p. 4). In this scenario, the long-held view of a universal and egalitarian public sphere is contested by the increasing profusion of public spaces that are public only for the social groups that appropriate (or misappropriate) them—"deviant groups who re-code these other spaces with their own informal and often invisible meanings, rules and times" (Cenzatti, 2008, p. 77). In

the context of urban discourse, the rise of the term 'governance' as a replacement for 'government' is a symptom of the crisis resultant of the privatisation of the city, and management is its apologetics. Although not mentioned explicitly in *Of Other Spaces*, implicit in the heterotopian principle of inclusion and exclusion are the notions of power and control or what Foucault would later describe as "disciplinary technologies" (Foucault, 1977, p. 141) that "operate through the social control of space, time, and otherness to produce a certain kind of normalisation" (Soja, 1996, p. 160): that is, a new social order. In utopian thought Zygmunt Bauman argues that the notion of social order is both pertinent and exaggerated, and societal order—the good order—meant "a life lived in good society", while good society translates in turn "as the population inhabiting a territory plotted and mapped, and then projected upon the physical space, by the wise and benevolent powers of a good state" (Bauman, 2003, p. 14), that is, the rulers of the *topos*. The prevailing purpose was the generation of a spatial arrangement in which there would be "a right and proper place for everyone for whom a right and proper place had been planned" (Bauman, 2003, p. 14). In the design of the anticipatory plans of utopia, the establishment of a good order was, invariably, an exercise of inclusion and exclusion. Once the right places had been designated to everyone inside, and once those for whom no place was designated had been removed from the city, no further exercises of inclusion or exclusion would be required (Bauman, 2003). Whilst the representational role(s) of the city are further explored in Chapter 5 (through Canberra's monuments and spectacles), what is relevant to this principle of heterotopia is the way in which the contested rights to the city and their consequent representations, create contested access(es) to the city provoking a complex system of (material and immaterial) borders, thresholds, and controls to be negotiated.

CANBERRA'S LANDSCAPE

In the traditions of the City Beautiful and Garden City urban planning movements, the Griffins' design for Canberra depicted a 'city in the landscape' in which the landscape was designated as integral to both the setting and the coherence of the city. Envisaged as a "low density, green city of tree-lined streets, parks, parkways, playgrounds and

gardens” (Freestone, 1986, p. 4), the planning of the landscape as a democratic device was decisive:

[the buildings] ... should all be surrounded by grass and trees and shrubs ... to make the inhabitants feel the open spaces are for public use. [The park is not] ... a sort of magnified garden with flower beds and many paths ... but a liberal space of ground well grassed in the open and abundantly supplied with trees, where one can walk at will, families can picnic, and cattle and sheep can graze. (Sulman, 1910, p. 606)

In the wake of the Y-Plan’s ambitions for a decentralised and mobile city, the landscape of Canberra was re-designed to precipitate a public space that penetrated the city, isolating what were known as its villages. Subordinated however, to the network of the territorial linkages and urban exchanges enacted by the Y-Plan’s satellite villages, the continuous sequence of the landscape—once envisaged as the fabric that bound the city—became a network that does not connect, but rather divides, creating a fragmented network of landscaped urban ‘voids’. Originally designated as the primary setting for the public life of the city, the bush in the Bush Capital now serves as a picturesque representation. The landscape in Canberra then comes to constitute a mechanism that dislocates the perception of the city from the experience of the city disrupting the set of relations linking what people see with what they do. Instead of uniting the city through assembly and exchange Canberra’s landscape severs the links that encourage living together. The landscape functions as a fantasy in which the parks, sizable expanses of green space, are preserved to maintain both the illusion of the Garden City, and the contingent value and validity of the Bush Capital.

The artifice of the Bush Capital resides in the reality that city’s landscape is no more natural, and no less consumable than the industrialised city. If capital dictates that the rest of the built world is valuable because it can be developed for public consumption—including the spectatorship of the city—then the landscape is the only natural resource that is valuable precisely because it appears undeveloped. Through the erosion of the public spaces of the city by practices now private, the landscape becomes commodified. Not immune from the territorial frictions that effect the rest of

the industrialised world, Canberra's landscape and garden parks have become spaces of contested ritual routines, assets that must be rented (e.g., markets, festivals, bootcamps, playgroups, outdoor cinema and theatre, activities of wellness and wellbeing). In this way, Canberra's landscape engenders a local version of the global rentier state, enacting a city in which the "freely accessible" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26) realm of the social or the public has been replaced with the autonomy, unaccountability, and autocracy of the rentier. As a function of its condition, the landscape of Canberra is regulated by "a system of opening and closing that both isolates it and makes it penetrable" necessitating the emergence of codes that regulate access, and "to access them one must have certain permissions and perform certain gestures" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). This presents a significant shift in both the use of the city's landscape, and the implicit borders, edges, territories, and thresholds once defined by its material properties. Whilst Canberra's urban green spaces appear to be pure and simple landscapes, they hide curious territorial exclusions and (re)negotiations. Everyone can enter these heterotopic sites, but in fact that is only an illusion—"we think we enter where we are, by the very fact that we enter, excluded" (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). In a city that esteems its landscape as the antithesis of 'other,' this perceptual and experiential disconnection with the life of the city repositions the landscape in Canberra as unmistakably 'other'; as places "outside of all places" (Foucault, 1986, p. 23).

EMERGENT PUBLIC SPACE LIFE

The global evolution of public space reveals the following common tendencies: the increasing privatisation of spaces that were once more clearly public; the increasing surveillance of public spaces and regulation of access to them; and the increasing prevalence of curated or theme park design approaches that disassociate place with local history, context, and geography (Sheller & Urry, 2003). In present times and throughout our cities, public life occurs in privatised environments as well as public space, suggesting a conflation of the ideas of public and private, and the subsequent redistribution of the boundaries. The emergent conditions of the public spaces resultant from these (de)regulated environments are "re-conditioning the tenets of

public life through the separation, segregation, and re-organisation of its constitutional uses and users” (Weintraub, 1997, p. 24).

Within various disciplines contributing to contemporary urban thought, sociologists Mimi Sheller and John Urry write that there remains a tendency towards the geographical classifications of the city into “‘spheres’ or ‘spaces’, concepts that are often static and ‘regional’ in character”, such as, “the prevailing notion of the distinction between the ‘spheres’ of public and private” (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 108). These static conceptions and spatial models of the city and its society do not attend to how people move—or desire to move—between public and private domains, and therefore overlook the expanding fluidity of where (or when) moments of public and private occur. In this way, the characteristic models through which public/private distinctions are presently defined in the city, and the consequent concerns with the blurring of boundaries between the public and the private, “fail to capture the multiple mobile relationships between them, relationships that involve the complex and fluid hybridization of public-and-private life” (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 108). It is through an anthropology of urban mobilities—an examination of the flows and networks that enable mobility between, through and across publics and privates—that we can better understand the dynamics and intersections between the boundaries of public and private life. These mobilities are both physical, in the form of people, objects and hybrids of people-in-machines, and informational, in the form of flows of information via data, telecommunications and images (it is the information revolution that has embedded notions of publicity into the once-private interior spaces of the home and the self). Rather than a straightforward colonisation of the public sphere by private interests, what has evolved is a more complex de-territorialisation of private-in-public and public-in-private, each constantly shifting and manifesting in more fluid ways within less anchored spaces (Sheller & Urry, 2003).

In this way, the fluidity of urban mobility holds the potential to disrupt the current tenets of public space and to refocus attention to the processes associated with the public life of the city, thereby emancipating the notion of public from practices of regulation or illusion:

Public space ... is not only the space where the right to the city is struggled over; it is where it is implemented and represented. It is where utopia is both given spatial form and given life too. Utopia is impossible, but the ongoing struggle towards it is not. (Mitchell, 2003, p. 235)

This suggests that as a manifestation of the public life of the city, public space is neither static place nor object, nor plan, but rather, the struggle to create public space. This shift from the notion of public space as a provision of the plan to public space that is 'other' suggests that there is no material public space, there is, Foucault writes, only public life:

I do not think that there is anything that is functionally—by its very nature—absolutely liberating. Liberty is a practice ... [If] one were to find a place, and perhaps there are some, where liberty is effectively exercised, one would find that this is not owing to the order of the objects, but, once again, owing to the practice of liberty ... [It] is somewhat arbitrary to try to disassociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand. Each can only be understood through the other. (Foucault, 1984, pp. 245–246)

Through its ambiguities and contingencies, the notion of heterotopia instigates “a more dynamic conceptualization of the fluidities that have increasingly hybridized the public and private” (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 113). Recognising the relationships between the practices of the city and the space between the established public and private spheres is fundamental to a broader notion of public: those 'other' points at which the city becomes public. Interestingly, this realignment proposes a significant shift in Foucault's original description of heterotopias of inclusion and exclusion. Whereas regulated access to otherwise freely accessible public space was once considered by Foucault as 'other', in our current condition of increasingly privatised and ubiquitously regulated public space it is the production of freely accessible space (the generation of public spaces/practices liberated from territorial rights and permissions) that is now, 'other'.

If we are to recognise public space as a development constituted by the life of the city then, in Canberra, the prevailing practice that brings life to the city, I have argued, is

circulation. The operational mechanism of this circulation is the car that brings with it a complex network of manufactured objects, individual autonomy, and spatial 'otherness'. Subservient to its own infrastructures of mobility, Canberra is contingent on the movement that sustains it. In this way, the city exemplifies what architectural critic Reyner Banham described as 'Autopia' (and not a utopia); a city in which "the freeway system in its totality is a single comprehensible place, a coherent state of mind, and a complete way of life" (1971, p. 195). Within this mobile totality of the city, the car emerges as a hybrid assemblage—not simply an autonomous object—but simultaneously of machine, roads, buildings, landscape, signs, a culture of auto-mobility (Sheller & Urry, 2008). In Canberra, a city now characterised by its highways and parkways, avenues and overpasses, intersections, and roundabouts, the car generates a new architectonic for the city: a network of infrastructures embedded with ways of mobility that disrupt the static time-space of the city establishing an 'other' space. This 'other' space assimilates the life of the city into a single spatial continuum, disrupting in turn the city's distinctions between private and public. In this way, the function of Canberra's landscape *as per* the intention of the plan (the Legacy) is now the accident of the road networks. As the transition point between city and landscape—the breaking points where the private and public blend and swap their traditional functions—the network reconfigures historical, political, and spatial combinations of de- and re-territorialisations. This engenders a new material world of hybridities and fluidities that are simultaneously both private (the private motor car) and public (the public roads network). Through the practices that constitute it, the road network represents an infrastructural space that makes it possible for city and landscape to connect and determines the ways they do so, regulating the transitions between them and redefining the overlapping territory (Avanessian, 2017, para. 2).

In this space heterotopia emerges as a framework to see the road network not as motorways but as a re-configuration of what was the concept of the landscape/park—not parks but parkways. These parkways coerce, reveal, and unfold a new and entirely 'other' public network of interconnected, contingent, and freely accessible space within which hybrids of humans-in-machines, pedestrians, cyclists, and public transport users are mobilised. Through this reconfiguration of the mobile networks of the city as relational to and contingent on the practices that sustain the city, the car

and its infrastructures dissolve the established territorialities of the regulated landscape of the city to establish a “fluid relation between place, space and the mobility of people and objects” (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 115). In this way, the city’s auto-mobilities fundamentally reconfigure the geography of the public space of Canberra, revealing a new way to understand the plan—with reconfigured borders, territories, connections, configurations—that redefine a new public life for the city.

THE CITY AS A DERIVATIVE LANDSCAPE

Throughout contemporary critiques of the city there exists a prevalent consensus that—“for too long—urban transport has been theorized and planned as if it were a free-standing system disconnected from the other technologies and socialities of the city” (Sheller and Urry, 2008, p. 751). In his article ‘Landscape City: Infrastructure, Natural Systems and City-Making’, landscape architect James Corner argues that the burgeoning function and increasing complexities of our contemporary cities now demand a more integrated response to the emergent notions of urbanity. Expanding on his ideas, Corner suggests that in line with the heterogeneities of our culture, any response to the future project of the city will necessarily include the interweaving of mobility as a fundamental component of urban infrastructure—generating not merely an urban framework, but a material and immaterial urban ecology. As fundamental to this ecology, Corner notes that the ongoing planning and design of our cities will require the reconciling of the technical and social systems of flows that now sustain the city with the physical infrastructures of the city, evolving urban infrastructures, networks, and models of participation all at the same time. In this way, the city will need to be perceived (re-viewed) and advanced holistically—conceived and constructed as a total and living ‘landscape’ city (a new typology of urban landscape); “an integrated hard and soft weft, an absorptive and facilitative tissue, a porous fabric both yielding and protecting, adapting and evolving in time.” (Corner, 2020 p. 93). For Corner, this is less a city of objects and more a city of “movement, flow, exchange, and evolving potential” (2020, p. 92); a city underpinned by a type of ecological thinking that reconfigures 20th century zoning regulations and separation, to hybridise nature, infrastructure, and culture. According to Corner, entire cities are currently becoming

more like landscapes; “landscape derivatives” that are not the pastoral landscapes of our traditions, but “a technological landscape of grids, infrastructures, matrices, webs and working ecologies, all intensely compacted into complex dynamic systems” (2020, p. 90); that are being shaped/designed to be more holistic, resilient, and engaged. As derivatives of the variable asset of the landscape, these cities do not look like landscapes, neither in appearance nor material morphology, but they do work like landscapes; “their processes, dynamics, interactions and cycles are not unlike landscape ecosystems—layered, temporal and inter-relational” (Corner, 2020, p. 90). The ecosystems represent a living, working, and evolving system. This spatio-temporal perspective underlies the idea of the ‘Landscape City’, as an ‘other’ way of seeing and acting in the urban field that reappropriates the landscape as a system of time-based interactions and not a structure of static spaces (Corner, 2020).

For Canberra this shift to the idea of the Landscape City and not the ideal Garden City of the Legacy signals an acknowledgement of the differentiation between two kinds of urban landscape. First, the overt green tissue of parks, reserves, waterways, squares, gardens, pathways, and public spaces that have formed the projected identity of Canberra. Second, the urban fabric itself—“the matrix-like operating system and the composite frameworks of networks, grids, blocks, interfaces, edges, corridors, passages” (Corner, 2020, p. 91) that facilitate the movements, flows, interactions, and exchanges that sustain the city. As such, as heterotopian, both the arcadian landscape of the Griffins’ Legacy and the road network are ‘other spaces’ and as such, become open to new characteristics, values, abstractions, relations, and possibilities. In this way, the historic ideal of the Garden City is augmented by a way of thinking and a process that captures the patterns of living of the city as integral to the landscape of the city and therefore foundational to the shaping of the public space of Canberra. In this situation, the derivative urban landscape is contingent on three factors: the public life of the city; the infrastructures of the city; and the technical flows of the city to produce public spaces that are an intermediate territory between the plan and the images of the plan—creating micro-ecologies (new conditions for landscape) and not micro-spheres (regulated urban conditions).

For inhabitants of Canberra, these micro-ecologies are not the stuff of design, fantasy, or legacy. They do not consist of a bounded or regulated territory but of an interconnected 'meshwork'; as Tim Ingold explains:

[In] ... this meshwork of interwoven lines, there are no insides or outsides, only openings and ways through. And its subject of inquiry must consist not of the relations between organisms and their external environments but of the relations along their severally enmeshed ways of life... [Here] ... the inhabitant is ... one who participates from within in the very process of the world's continual coming into being and who, in laying a trail of life, contributes to its weave and texture. (Ingold, 2007, p. 83)

In this way, the meshwork comes to constitute a porous, limitless, and contingent grid that interweaves organic conceptions of space to support and facilitate the growth of the landscape city. Within this framework, the Landscape City emerges as an open space system: a contiguous fabric that allows for the continuity of urban systems and flows while assuming varied dimensions, scales, and formats as conducive to the metamorphoses of the city. Through the meshwork, the city becomes a continuous landscape—the “fabric that joins all the elements ... sensitively within a carpet” (Griffin, 1911–1912, p. 6)—as was the Griffins’ intent for the landscape of Canberra. But, distinct from the ideals of the Griffins’ plan, the meshwork does not promote the virtues of physical space as central to an ideal society, but rather mobilises the thoughts and actions of society as central to the idea of the city. In this way, through heterotopia as an ‘other’ way of seeing Canberra’s landscape the notion of landscape in Canberra comes to embody the ecology of the city, and a metaphorical way of thinking about the development of the city. As the antithesis to the ideal plan, this shift from Garden City to meshwork is a method of inclusion that relieves the city from the effects of the Legacy. This kind of thinking provokes a different understanding of the city—an ‘other’ city advanced through the recognition that the life of the city as constituted by the total ecology of the city is not a condition that can be regulated or controlled, but rather evolves. As heterotopian the networks, flows, infrastructures, and processes that emerge outside of legacy act to reconfigure Canberra’s landscape from a regulated and contested space that divides the city, to a responsive meshwork that consolidates and connects the city.

In this way, the notion of heterotopia recalibrates the classical typologies that have traditionally delineated the city, redefining public and private with a more fluid and mobile definition that generates more fluid and mobile boundaries, borders, and thresholds. Through the principles of heterotopia, the city is regulated by a “system of opening and closing” (Foucault, 1984, p. 25); a continuum in which narratives of inclusion or exclusion become inscribed in the daily negotiations of the city. This perceptual shift reveals both ‘other’ and ‘in-between’. It is a distinct spatial model and a liminal process of the continual transitioning of the public spaces of the city that transfigures the process through which the citizens practice their rights to, and their rites within, the city. When applied to Canberra’s public spaces (which we have now seen are not the parks but the parkways) this reveals an ‘other’ condition—a total and living landscape ecology of movement, flow, exchange, thresholds, transitions, and encounters that enable new relationships and assemblies for the city. Distinct from the tightly planned and regulated spaces that have come to define the city, the idea of heterotopia enables the reconfiguration and remapping of the boundaries of the city. It redefines public space and public life to help identify places and processes of otherness (marginal spaces) on the inside of a (privatised) public life.

Chapter 5.

THE MONUMENT AND THE SPECTACLE: SPACES OF TEMPORAL RUPTURE

Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time ... The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time.

First of all, there are heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time, for example museums and libraries.

Opposite these heterotopias that are linked to the accumulation of time, there are those linked, on the contrary, to time in its most flowing, transitory, precarious aspect, to time in the mode of the festival. These heterotopias are not oriented toward the eternal, they are rather absolutely temporal ...
(Foucault, 1986, p. 25)

In defining those heterotopias typically linked to 'slices in time', Foucault accordingly terms them—"for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). According to Foucault, the operation at the intersection of space and time allows the heterotopia to "function at full capacity" based on an ability to arrive at an "absolute break" with traditional experiences of temporality (Foucault, 1986, p. 25), i.e., a relational disruption in time and space. In the contemporary city an increasing number of specialised sites—such as museums and memorials—are designed to record the passing of time effecting those heterochronies at which both space and time intersect and infinitely accumulate. In opposition to these heterotopias there are those more "flowing, transitory, precarious" spaces of time associated with the city as a space of events and experiences. In a foresighting of a more 'Disneyfied' world, Foucault's fourth principle anticipates both modes of space and time increasingly converging in compressed, packaged, 'invented' environments that, at the same time, abolish and preserve time and culture; that appear somehow, to be simultaneously temporary and permanent (Soja, 1996). And Canberra has come to function somewhat in this manner.

As the designated Nation's Capital, Canberra is a city defined by its national role to engender and assert a collective national identity. In line with its civic purpose, the

urban landscape of the city is endowed with “the massive proliferation of public ‘statuary’” (both physical and ritual) that duly “accompanies nation-building projects” (Johnson, 2004, p. 316). As a city subordinate to its national duty (to archive, to memorialise, to mark, to accumulate, to appropriate), Canberra is not only occupied by overt “architectural mutations, utopian fragments, and irrational phenomena” (Koolhaas, 1994, p. 9) as presented through its monuments and festivals but remains regulated by ambiguous layers of curated images and plans that provide alternative representations of the city; presenting a city in the multiple and simultaneous modes of accumulating and flowing time.

As manifestations of public display and their attendant ceremonials, Canberra’s monuments and festivals exemplify what urban historian M. Christine Boyer refers to as “rhetorical *topoi* ... those civic compositions that represent our national heritage and our public responsibilities and, in doing so, assume that the urban landscape itself is the emblematic embodiment of culture and memory” (1994, p. 321). In this way, Canberra is a ‘rhetorical’ Capital; its claims to ‘Capital’ reside in the images disseminated as ‘the emblematic embodiment’ of the Nation’s culture and memory—and its monuments, national institutions and public events are its disseminations. What is known about Canberra is largely vicarious and impressionistic; built on a collection of heavily mediated images passing, almost by default, for the real thing. To the consumer of these images (the nation that they sustain), the city is a simulation played out in an asynchronous mode of time (90% of visitors to Canberra’s national institutions are virtual⁷). Canberra is the appearance of a city in which the authentic city lies somewhere beyond the image of the city.

As both National Capital and autonomous Territory, Canberra is a city fractured by competing agendas and ambitions and their associated spatial and temporal distinctions. The national imperatives that propel the city give rise to radical modifications and breaks to the experiences, culture, and memory of the substantive city. In its place a rhetoric or mythical city is perpetuated through its sites and rituals of extra-local memory; curated urban environments that, at the same time, preserve and

⁷ This estimate is based on personal discussions with the Directors/Managers of ‘Public Programs’ for National Museum of Australia, National Gallery of Australia, and Australian War Memorial.

abolish time and culture. Canberra is simultaneously a City of Monuments and a City of Spectacles.

OF 'OTHER' MODES OF TIME AND SPACE

While monuments and spectacles are spatial they are primarily temporal. The notion of time as a concept inextricably linked with the idea of space has been consistent throughout much of Foucault's work. For Foucault, the question of time and the tenets that have defined it has constituted both a matrix of his work, and a problem from which it arose. In his seminal treatise, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) Foucault notably rejects the traditional historian's tendency to read history as a progressive and linear accumulation of moments that culminate in a final *telos* of meaning.

Throughout, Foucault instead posits the idea of history as traversed by jumps that make any causal or continuous explanation of events impossible, arguing for a reconstitution of history defined by "phenomena of rupture, of discontinuity"... "The problem", Foucault argues, "is no longer one of tradition, of tracing a line, but one of division, of limits" (1972, p. 5). Rather than considerations of a monolithic version of a given period, Foucault notes that we must instead recognise that any given period reveals:

...several pasts, several forms of connexion, several hierarchies of importance, several networks of determination, several teleologies: thus historical descriptions are necessarily ordered by the present state of knowledge, they increase with every transformation and never cease, in turn, to break with themselves. (1972, p. 5)

Through his conception of time regulated by the discontinuities and subsequent potentialities of observed phenomena, Foucault describes a disruption to the traditional linear order of time. He reconceives time as:

...composed of multiple strata flowing according to distinct chronologies; time as successive, discontinuous, and rather immobile blocks; time as a succession of discrete, irruptive and contingent events; time as entangled spiral processes;

time as slow drifts interrupted by sudden breaks; and time as a series of vertical surges. (Michon, 2002, p. 165)

Significantly, throughout his speculations Foucault does not advocate a definitive theory of time but rather a method of “local and non-explicit theories” adapted to the specifics of the object/type in question; “as much as being, time could not be but interpreted and subjected to a multiplicity of perspectives” (Michon, 2002, p. 170) and used and specified each time accordingly.

Foucault’s *The Order of Things* (1970) furthers his ideas on temporal discontinuity by outlining his thoughts on the historical flows of knowledge with varied discontinuous temporal models associated with successive ‘epistemes’. For Foucault, the history of human knowledge is neither linear nor cumulative. It does not illustrate progress, but rather traces a series of periods consisting of regulating notions of discourse and dissemination. In the absence of any continuity of knowledge, it is necessary, in order to understand the meaning of subjects of knowledge, “not to reduce them to the so-called identity of their anthropological conditions of possibility, but to replace them in the general epistemic system, present in the various disciplines, which constituted the historical *a priori* of the period in which they were used” (Foucault, 1970, p. 127). In this way Foucault defines the history of knowledge as a process in which epochs appear and disappear abruptly leaving room for new forms of knowledge in which the episteme is divided into blocks distinguished by sudden ruptures. Foucault does not address the history of knowledge (and its devices of time) in terms of continuity but of discontinuity, favouring notions of rupture to those of evolution (Michon, 2002).

The same considerations of discontinuity and rupture that Foucault applies to time are valid for the brief history of space with which he opens *Of Other Spaces*. In his periodisation of space, Foucault begins with the hierarchical “space of emplacement” of the Middle Ages; then proceeds to the space of movement and localisation of the Renaissance; and ends with modern space, which is “defined by relations of proximity between points or elements” (Foucault, 1986, pp. 22–23). As a historical account of the evolution of ‘other spaces’, Foucault’s alignment with his contemporary Henri Lefebvre’s work on the production of space is both apparent and unavoidable

(Cenzatti, 2008). Whilst Lefebvre does not propose a historical periodisation of space, he does define space as three coexistent “moments” that are produced in relation to each other (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 40): 1) ‘spatial practice’—the process of production of physical spaces; 2) ‘representation of space’—the organization of our knowledge of space, such as images and plans; and 3) ‘spaces of representation’—the space that is directly lived and transformed by inhabiting it (Cenzatti, 2008).

Whilst affinities clearly exist between each of Foucault’s three phases and Lefebvre’s three moments, it is Lefebvre’s third moment of space that, by converging with Foucault’s modern space of ‘relations’, is particularly relevant to the defining narratives of the ‘other spaces’ of the monument and the festival. While the monument and the festival illustrate the ways in which the temporal and the spatial converge to affect the city, an urban example that is both the site of the festival and the monument is a city square. Here, the physical space that defines the square does not alter when it is occupied, yet the social relations occurring in the varied instances of its occupation produce different lived moments—different spaces of representation, and different modes of time. As a bi-product of its permanence, the characteristics of the physical space of the square give shape to and impose limits on the kinds of occupations that can be enacted there (Cenzatti, 2008). Conversely, spaces of representation, however temporary, leave their traces on the sites of their occupation—the square—altering both the physical and perceptual dimensions of the site. Countless ephemeral ‘spaces of representation’ then form permanences that create Foucault’s space of ‘relations’. Foucault’s fourth principle of heterotopia—spaces of temporal rupture—makes explicit the temporal contingencies that these ‘other spaces’ of representation and relation embody thereby augmenting Lefebvre’s notion of spatial practice with temporal/historical implications (the recoding of the spatial narratives of the city). Without the relations and appropriations engendered by heterotopia, the city is just a trace of the lived space that it contained, still contains, and/or will contain (an *a priori* trace) (Lefebvre, 1991). In this way the temporal capacities of heterotopia advance the notion of the production of the city. The critical lens that Lefebvre introduced through his concept of space lies in the recognition that space is not an inert support of social action but participates in the social action itself.

Heterotopia goes further, by making explicit how the simultaneities of permanence and transience effect the production (and consciousness) of the city.

CANBERRA AS A CITY OF MONUMENTS

The Architecture of the City, Aldo Rossi's seminal text, delivers his thoughts on the evolutionary processes of the city through the concept of permanence. According to Rossi there are two main types of permanence in the city—housing and monuments. Rossi contextualises the two types of permanence through a dialectic framework, highlighting not only distinct functions, but distinct effects on the city. Whilst both types are defined as primary elements of urban function, the monument is dichotomised as an element of symbolic function; a function related to time, not use (Rossi, 1982). The time of the monument collapses chronological time—the time of events, of experience, of place—“into a set of key symbolic dates and events and their public ritualization” (Johnson, 2004, p. 323). The ‘other’ spaces that constitute Canberra as a City of Monuments—the museums, memorials, and archives—can be seen to subvert the city, displacing time and place in the city for another reality, a reproduction based on memory. Through this practice, the sites of the monument become the landmarks of a remembered geography and history—the process by which the city maps myths about itself and the world onto a specific time and place. This mapping process “becomes part of the ongoing project of the city, establishing identities, symbolically coded in public monuments” and their attendant ceremonies (Johnson, 2004. p. 323). But much like a museum, a space where the objects are first decontextualised then recontextualised in another place and time, the city becomes symbolic only. It is a place in which the object and objective have lost their destination. The development of extra-local memories, as a concept distinct from the development of the vernacular culture, is intrinsic to the mobilisation of the city's symbolic National Identity (a function of the Capital). Infinitely accumulated through time but removed from the city and therefore unable to fulfil aspirations associated with the production of the city, these memories coalesce and expand to constitute the city, effectively archiving the city. These same memories are curated and constructed images of an ideal city planned and designed to be broadcast to a national audience. In this way

Canberra emerges as more national marketing campaign than city; a long-running advertisement in which the museums, the memorials, the archives, the embassies, and the buildings of governance are the props, and a curated National Identity is the product. Through the constant and pervasive dissemination of these images, the city becomes a 'Wonderland': a regulated space with a thematic identity that recycles, converts, and fabricates memories and supportive iconographies of an idealised past. In this national theme park Canberra's monument *par excellence*—the Australian Parliament House (a title that ironically embodies both of Rossi's notions of permanence)—serves as the central attraction. It is the monument that regulates Canberra because the height of the top of the flag dictates the maximum height for the rest of the city (the sacrosanct RL 617 as outlined in the National Capital Plan) (Australian Government, 2021).

Against the backdrop of the city's national monuments, it is ostensibly the embassies that produce the most interesting and most curious of all the representations of the city. Here, the 110 diplomatic missions that populate the city create something of an architectural spectacle—a Disneyfied world of costumed maquettes. In a somewhat discordant re-enactment of the world (a display of 'other-worldliness'), it is through the embassies that all the world's cultures are presented together and made available for the vicarious experience of the tourist/visitor. One can sample the food, observe the people, hear the language, and sense the culture from other worlds in other times without leaving Canberra. In this way, the embassies define a completely new relationship between site, program, and form for the city. The site is now a miniature country, the program its ideology, and its form the arrangement of a foreign time and physical reality. As an object-type significant to the identity of the city, the sum of the embassies in combination blurs the city's sense of time and space: periods and places that were once sequential have become simultaneous. This spatial and temporal enrichment represents a kind of retroactive utopia, that is, the production of places as a re-enactment (a second chance) for the past but perfected in a new time and space. In this context, each of these artificial sites is treated as a virgin site—as if others did not exist—establishing an isolated and intensely autonomous site for each country. Existing as cultural fortresses—fenced, fortified, and secured—Canberra's embassies

form an 'other' space (of both temporal rupture and isolation) where the global battle for borders takes place in the microcosm of the city.

The singular exception to this—and to the misrepresentations that pervade and promote the city—is the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. Since the 1970s, the presence of the distinctive Tent Embassy in front of Old Parliament House (the superseded heart of the city that is now the Museum of Australian Democracy) has meant that “no Canberran could be entirely blind to Indigenous political concerns” (Rigby, 2006, p. 176). As the antithesis to the tightly regulated spaces of the city, the Tent Embassy is always open (both literally and politically). As an unguarded and unregulated space, the archetype of the camp might be used as a paradigm more emblematic of the purpose of the Tent Embassy than that of the monument. It thereby delineates a space emancipated from the rites, rituals and regulations that govern the monument. As a spatial paradigm, the camp embodies a life and history both before and after the city. Before the city the camp figures as the precursor to settlement. After the city the camp marks the space where the city and society are suspended. Through its autonomy, the camp generates a space that is extra-territorial to the codes that govern the city, a space outside of the images that illustrate the city, a space where illusion of the city is suspended. In the context of the Capital, the Tent Embassy marks the disintegration of space into a state of exception—presenting another 'other' space (with an 'other' mode of time) that acts to both expose and subvert the dominant precepts of the city (as was the intent of the festival known as *'carnivale'*).

The Tent Embassy illustrates how Canberra fights an identity crisis—a schizophrenia induced by the competing identities of the reality of the city and the representations required by the Capital as a symbolic city. In the battle for sovereignty, the demands of the Nation emerge as both more influential than the desires of the people living in Canberra and more oppressive in order to maintain the national identity; “the more compelling the representation, the more it imprisons, the more it resists revision, interpretation, renewal, contradiction” (Koolhaas, 1995, p. 1262). As the (mis)representational sphere of the city expands, the character and the validity of the substantive city becomes more and more diluted. The symbolic city denies the

substantive city its legitimacy; the persistence of the illusion of the city subordinates the inhabitants of the substantive city. As political scientist Murray Edelman writes:

Especially subtle, powerful, and common are buildings that reinforce a belief that people's ties to a heroic past or a promising future are their important identities: that the immediate effects of their actions are trivial compared to their historic mission. (1995, p. 83)

In this scenario, the nation's reliance on the symbolic city as the core of value and meaning is doubly destructive. Not only does the expanding volume of dependencies dilute the validity of the substantive city, but the significance of the representations creates a situation in which the representations must be constantly maintained (the 'historic mission'). In this way, the city "paradoxically has to be, at the same time, the most old and the most new, the most fixed and the most dynamic; it has to undergo intense and constant adaptation, which is then compromised and complicated by the fact that it has to be an unacknowledged transformation, invisible to the naked eye" (Koolhaas, 1995, p. 1249). Through its perceived duty and commitment to the nation Canberra's identity has become both fixed and overdetermined. Canberra can only ever be more Canberra. As a result, Canberra is a city that does not evolve through that which happens, but rather revolves through that which is repeated, precipitating a city in the mode of cyclical time. The cyclical time of the city suppresses history within history itself producing a time of eternity, in which time enters and abolishes itself "and by means of the time that passes we enter into the eternity which does not pass" (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 137). For Canberra, the infinite accumulation of time into a cyclical mode of time, locks the city in a perpetual present. Canberra is a city that continually resets: night falls, parliament sits, trams are scheduled, events reoccur, the past is memorialised; night falls, parliament sits, trams are scheduled, events reoccur, *ad infinitum*.

Canberra is also a city that is contingent on representations that provoke an increasingly inseparable relationship between the "politically charged monuments that constitute the city, and the media campaigns constructed to control and/or subvert their interpretation" (Vale, 1999, p. 391). The coalescence of media, monument, and identity—the mediated monument—"shapes public interpretation in ways that

legitimate the uses (and abuses) of history in service of a desired package of identities” (Vale, 1999, p. 397). This process of city-imaging (or nation-imaging) thus utilises the construction of embellished narratives of an idealised heritage to service an ideal future, thereby ensuring the continued fabrication (and not production) of the city.

Significant to this notion of the fabricated image of the city is the contemporary evolution of media. Our digital devices are now archives, we record everything on a massive scale. Once the purview of the custodians of the city, the control of the space and time of the city is now a social affair. In an image-saturated and image-impelled world perpetuated by increasingly plural societies, the superseded administration—now forced to contend with a diffusion of control over the images of the city—fortify their dependence on official sorts of civic monuments to demonstrate their ongoing control of the story. In Canberra, this reaction against the collective dematerialised production of the city has manifested in the intensified call for preservation and conservation. It is an impetus to restore and preserve the utopian image exemplified by the efforts to heritage list the city. In 2009 (and again in June 2012), the Australian Federal Government published a report detailing their bid to have Canberra included on the National Heritage List (Australian Heritage Council 2012). The bid, to be assessed by the National Heritage Council, proposed management strategies suggestive of an effective paralysis of substantial areas of Canberra’s planning and layout, primarily streets and parks. The public information paper released by the Australian Federal Government notably omits any discussion relevant to the progressive cultural and/or temporal tendencies that define cities. In contrast it essentially promotes investment in a strategy for places (spaces) akin to that of artefacts in a museum—precious objects that one may view but may not touch. This absence of anthropological enquiry suggests that the proposed heritage bid was driven by an understanding of Canberra as utopia, a city to be seen, and not the city as seen. This impetus towards conservation locates the city firmly in the realm of satire: “Canberra as ... an outstanding national outdoor museum” (Freestone et al., 2010, p. 274) —the City, not of Monuments, but as Monument.

CANBERRA AS A CITY OF THE SPECTACLE

And without doubt our epoch ... prefers the image to the thing, copy to the original the representation to the reality, appearance to being ... (Feuerbach cited in Debord, 1967/1995, p. 7)

In his eminent and enduringly provocative work, *La société du spectacle* (*The Society of the Spectacle*), French philosopher Guy Debord develops the notion of the spectacle through a polemic against the pervasions of consumer culture. In delivering his prescient indictment, Debord clarifies that “The spectacle is not a collection of images but a social relation among people, mediated by images” (1967/1995, p. 9), thereby contextualising the spectacle as an autocratic influence over human interactions, relationships, and behaviours. In a world now over-saturated by images, Debord foreshadowed the dominance of the image not only as dictatorial of our personal beliefs, values, desires, and aspirations, but of our collective associations, contingencies, and disassociations; positioning the image as the anthropological lens that frames the world for us. Through all its distinct manifestations—as information or propaganda, advertisement or the consumption of experience—the spectacle, as Debord predicted, “is the [omni]present model of socially dominant life” (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 9).

As the nation’s capital Canberra must prioritise its image as the Nation’s Capital above all other concerns. From its ideal, utopian origins to the production of its national identity, Canberra is a city defined and disseminated by the images that precede it. Everything that should be directly lived in Canberra exists (more cogently) in the realm of the mediated image. To the extent that Canberra’s very existence and primary purpose exemplifies the founding premise of the spectacle, in which Debord’s “social relation among people, [is] mediated by images” (1967/1995, p. 9), for Canberra the spectacle—as a phenomenon that fundamentally shapes the space, time, and social relations of the city—is “simultaneously the result and the project of the existing mode of production” (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 9). As the primary device of the currency of the city (the ‘Capital’ as capital), the spectacle is a self-perpetuating model of production that subjugates both the city and its society; a currency developed for itself through its cyclical production and the consumption implied by that production. Through its

ubiquity, the spectacle commodifies the city to such a degree of accumulation that the city itself becomes an image—a fantasy in which the notion of “being is replaced by *having* and having is replaced by *appearing*” (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 12). To be Canberra, Canberra has to appear as the Nation’s Capital. To this end, Canberra’s symbolic architectures and monuments and socio-cultural ceremonies and festivals are mobilised and framed to imbue the city with all that is required of the nation’s designated capital. As such they constitute the spectacle which is Canberra as a hyperbolic city lived in a flowing, transitory, and precarious space and time that exists in contrast to the daily urban practice of the city. As the antithesis of the permanences appropriated by the city’s monuments, the spectacle is the inversion of life and place. It is a curated world. In this way, the spectacle generates its own instruments, procedures, and infrastructures, designing an ideal world and thereby maintaining the traditions of Canberra’s origins.

As an affective motivator of designed social behaviour, the spectacle reveals a tendency to administer perspectives of the world through its specialised mediations i.e., one no longer sees anything but it. When the real world is replaced by images (myth or fantasy), images become reality—blurring the distinctions between our understanding of the real and reality itself—thereby affecting all the constructs of urban life. Through its pervasion and persuasiveness, “the spectacle presents itself simultaneously as space and society” (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 8), collapsing precepts of space, time, and social relation to provide the illusion of universal connectivity. Here, the capitalist production of the image (the commoditisation and spectacularisation of the city) is established as an instrument of amalgamation, fusing the relations between the state and the nation, and asserting a city bound by the singular and uncontested aspiration of its designation (as steward of the nation’s identity—Canberra parades what it means to be Australian). This curated affinity—the urban imaginary of the nation— “is at the same time an extensive and intensive process of banalization” (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 91). For the inhabitants of the lived-in city of Canberra, the spectacle accomplishes nothing other than generalised separation anxiety. The mediated self-destruction of the city and its fabricated re-composition into the commodity of the spectacle produces the illusory representations of a city not-lived. For those local spectators (the residents living in the image), the spectacle—“taken in

the limited sense of ‘means of mass communication’” (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 15)—invades their society, administering a kind of disciplinary model in which all public contact can only occur through the intermediary of its mediations (as was the premise of the utopian model of the ideal society). Communication in this sense is unilateral: it is the opposite of dialogue; it is an uninterrupted monologue. For Canberra, the spectacle becomes the principle means of communication for the city; a one-way world in which the isolation of the population is manifested as an effective means to regulate the city. The paradox of Canberra’s ideal society, provoked by the spectacle, is that it is neither ideal nor society, but rather a curated culture of individuals isolated together. As a city dominated by the totalising effect of the spectacle, Canberra might be an event or performance but may not be a city (Koolhaas, 1994).

The spectacle in Canberra is the modern reconstruction of the illusion of the plan; an ideal world perpetuated through idealised images but with additional temporal, spatial, and social ramifications as incited by the particulars of the mediated images dissemination. Unlike the plan, the spectacle cannot be abstractly contrasted to the actual social activity that promulgates it:

The spectacle which inverts the real is in fact produced. At the same time [the city’s] lived reality is materially invaded by the contemplation of the spectacle, and it takes up the spectacular order within itself, giving it a positive adhesion. (Debord, 1967/1995, p. 10)

In Canberra, the spectacles’ operational tendencies at the intersection of the temporal, spatial, and social is produced most conspicuously in the activities of the festival of those “utterly transitory or fleeting constructions: marvellous empty emplacements (sites) on the outskirts of cities that fill up once or twice a year with booths, stalls, unusual objects, wrestlers, snake ladies, and fortune tellers” (Foucault, 1986, p. 28). In this way, Canberra emerges as a city of illusions in which the spectacle is its currency, and the festivals are its general manifestation.

Philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin’s *Rabelias and His World* reveals “the ‘carnavalesque’ as a way in which the mocking of authority inverted civil and ecclesiastical traditions through the celebration of idleness, dissipation, and debauchery” (1968, p. 218).

During the festivities of the carnival Bakhtin asserts that there is “a momentary disruption of hierarchical distinctions and barriers, norms and customs, rites of inclusion and exclusion, official ordering of time and space, and all forms of social, political and cultural coercion” (1968, p. 218). For the brief period of the carnival established order is superseded by a space of freedom from within which “the self dissolves into a collective spirit” (Johnson, 2006, p. 83). Through the suspension of regulations and doctrines, the city becomes “an open field of social innovation”, provoking rituals of resistance and providing a space/time that frees society from the “disciplinary micro-powers” through which they are governed (Johnson, 2006, p. 83).

Contrary to the carnival as a device of social emancipation (as characterised by Bakhtin), in Canberra the festival is a curated and mediated performance: a campaign tempered through the socio-cultural controls of the spectacle. Rather than displays or acts of ambivalence and multivocality—of the departures that enable the momentary re-conception of urban space—the national festivals of the Capital present a “sanitized version of the city” (Johansson & Kociatkiewicz, 2011, p. 403). The festival is the picture of an orderly, healthy city prepared well in advance of the festival. It is the result of careful planning by a city administration seeking to regulate the images and identity of the city (Johansson & Kociatkiewicz, 2011). As a manifestation of The City of the Spectacle, Canberra’s festivals present as more show than celebration: perfectly timed and deployed montages in which flowers bloom on cue, all the corners of the world are brought together in displays of music and dance, national icons are illuminated by stunning projections, and decorative balloons adorn the sky⁸ (which offer the only vantage point from where the true ‘ideal city’ of the Legacy is discernible).

As ordered constructs Canberra’s festivals are positioned in the political heart of the city. The National Area (defined by the central Parliamentary Triangle) forms the designated backdrop for the city’s most significant national monuments and festivals. Whilst constituting the representational centrepiece for national spectacle the functional content of the Triangle is, however, only a fraction of that envisaged in the

⁸ Floriade (est. 1988); National Multicultural Festival (est. 1981); Enlighten Festival (est. 2011); and Canberra Balloon Spectacular (est. 1986).

Griffins' plan (Fischer, 1989). As a consequence of the ordering and re-ordering, separating, and segmenting prompted by the layers of plans and planning that have produced the city, the National Area has developed as a disconnected urban landscape defined by a series of voids between its functional zones of activity. Instead of the dynamic heart of the city, the National Area presents as a vast area of lawn with iconic buildings—the city's national monuments—scattered across it; “a graveyard where departed spirits await the resurrection of national pride” (Australia. Parliament. Senate., 1955, p. 54). In a great irony of the plan, as revealed through the relationships illustrated by the heterotopic view (i.e., the mapping of the city's monuments and festivals across time), these landscaped voids, legitimised through their designation as sites of the festival, are reinvigorated as productive sites of the city. The un-planned voids become planned revelry—deployed according to an annualised schedule. When the festivals spring to life they exhibit a transitory ‘half-city’, revealing sites that acts to complete the plan (if only momentarily). In this way, the landscape that *appears* empty—the landscape that isolates and separates the city—presents an ‘other’ Canberra, an inversion of the ‘residual’ and transitory spaces of the city that become integral to the plan of the city i.e., not voids, but latent sites, reserved and maintained for the time of the year when they will emerge to consolidate the city.

Through their subversive potentials (i.e., discontinuity and rupture), the festivals and their contingent sites present an urbanistic revolution (albeit in instalments) for Canberra; an alternative and compensatory urbanism advanced through the cyclical demonstration of curated worlds, removed in time and space (and territorial ambition), and therefore insulated against the corrosion of reality (Koolhaas, 1994). Precipitated by their departure from the temporal and spatial conventions that regulate the substantive spaces of the city, the festivals present as a mechanism for a re-viewing of the city i.e., “not as a singular abstract reality but as the site where multiple realities and temporalities collide” (Crang, 2001, p. 189). In this way, the potential for the production of the city is advanced not through image or legacy, but through an appropriated spatial practice: “a *becoming*, engendered by the circulation, combination and recombination of people and things” (Crang, 2001, p. 190). For Canberra, the repositioning of the social practices of the city (and not the representations of the city) positions the festival as an ‘other’ space. As Foucault's fifth

principle outlines, the festival is the “most flowing, transitory, precarious aspect [of time] ... they are absolutely temporal” (1986, p. 25). In line with this, the festival exits the utopian plan and enters the heterotopian space. Through the disruption of the spatial and temporal routines of the everyday incited by the festival, the ‘other’ spaces of the festival deregulate the city—subverting its dominant patterns, inviting the participation of new social actors, provoking new themes and activities, changing established practices and behaviours, and decontextualising prevailing representations to allow for the inclusion of discordant meanings and interpretations that narrate different, ‘other’ stories for the city.

As neither device of the plan or of the spectacle, the festival as a heterotopic phenomenon emerges as a kind of emancipatory ‘experience-scape’: an interactive space and time effected by the spontaneous activities and interactions of the city and its networked societies. Through this lens, the festival changes the regulated and fragmented space of the spectacular into the transitory and flowing space of the unexpected. Liberated from the structures of ideal, image, or plan, the festival as a spatial practice (i.e., of the coming-into-being), redefines the notion of the spectacle in Canberra shifting its authority from administrator of representations to provocateur for the authentic (from *appearing* into *being*—the reverse of Debord’s claims). Through the deterioration of the absolute control of the spectacular, Canberra’s national designation (the City of Monuments / City of the Spectacle) is reconfigured as an opportunity that does not freeze the city in circular space-time, but rather ruptures the curated and ideal images of the city—as spatial and temporal constructs—to allow for a new way of seeing the city. Here, the tensions of competing space and time of history, memory, and identity that have acted to paralyse the city are reconciled and consolidated through Foucault’s heterochronies. The proliferation of a new space-time that isn’t binary (i.e., planned or unplanned—as are the predominant dichotomies in Canberra), enables the evolution of a future city through the recognition of the layers of change that shape a city (Maas, 2009); a city changed through the recognition that the future of the past will allow the city its rightful future history.

Chapter 6.

PRACTICE-BASED WORKS

The decision to use my architectural practice as an essential part of my research is because some knowledge of how I think and act - my practice - has to be conveyed by demonstration (in this case renderings of four of the six principles for heterotopia - defined by Foucault - applied to Canberra). The theory that informs the renderings is detailed in the previous chapters and what I have illustrated below cannot be fully conveyed in any form other than these renderings.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GRID[DED CITY]

... the smallest spatial cell planning entire cities.

Le Corbusier, "Precisions: On the present state of architecture and city planning"

From the car space to the structural module of the parking bay to the layout of spaces for living to the framework for the life of the city—the standard unit-of-measurement for the city has become the individual seated in their car. This standard of measurement is standard for all the spaces of the city, applying equally to empty space as occupied, to built form as void. In this way, the car park is “not only the prime element of the continuous production line that concludes with the city, it is also the element that determines the dynamics of the aggregations” that form the city (Tafari). All order and all growth are determined by the module of the car. As an assembly of connected elements the module predetermines in dimension, form, and possible configuration the accumulated city: a single module identifies a car park, 2 modules = a room, 10 modules = a house, 1000 modules = a monument, 10,000 modules = a park, 100,000,000 modules = a city. Hence the plan is designed by the Grid and through the emergence of the Grid, the form of the car dictates the form of the living city.

Figure 2

A Single Module: The Car Park

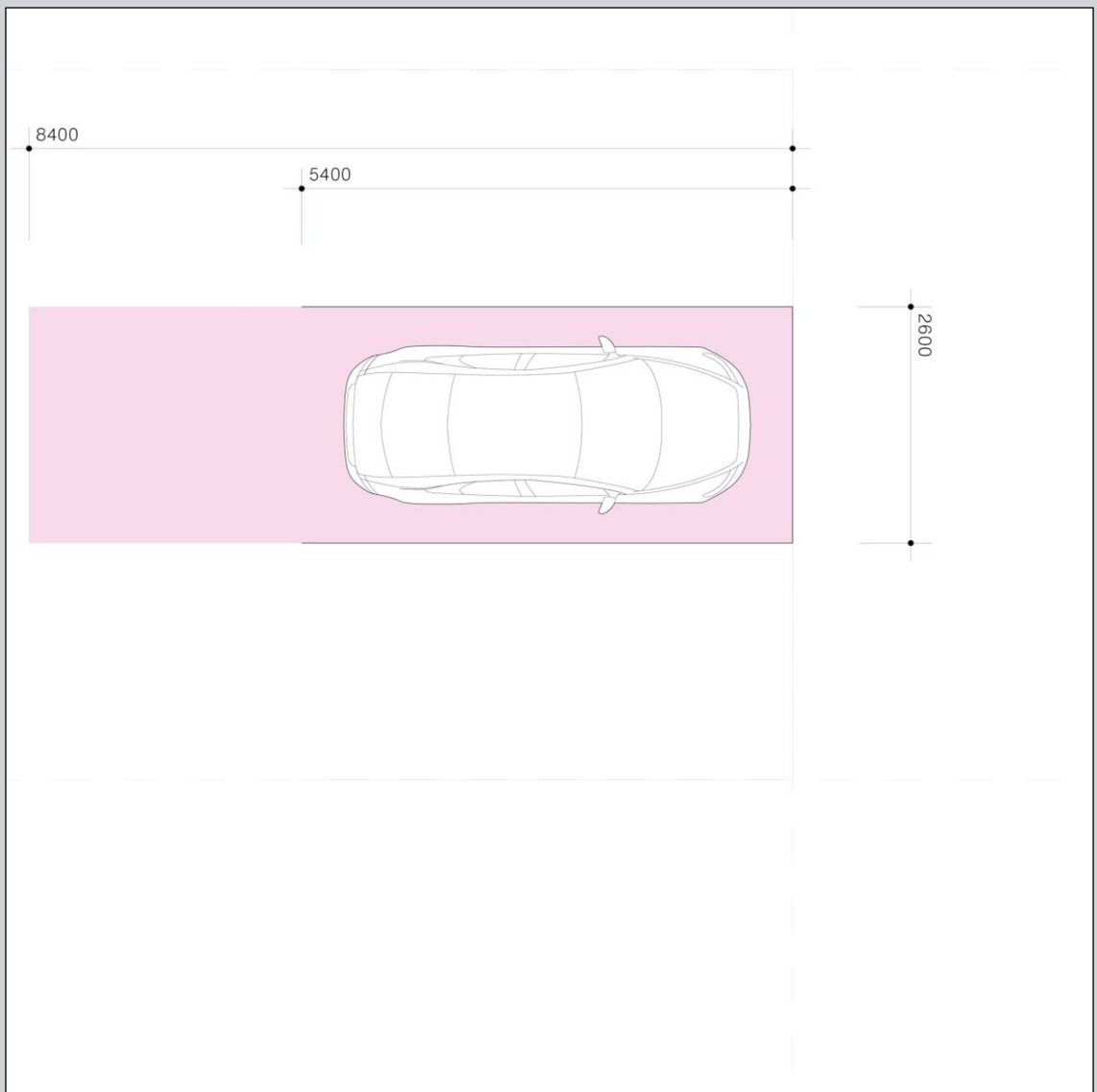


Figure 3

The Structural Module: The Grid

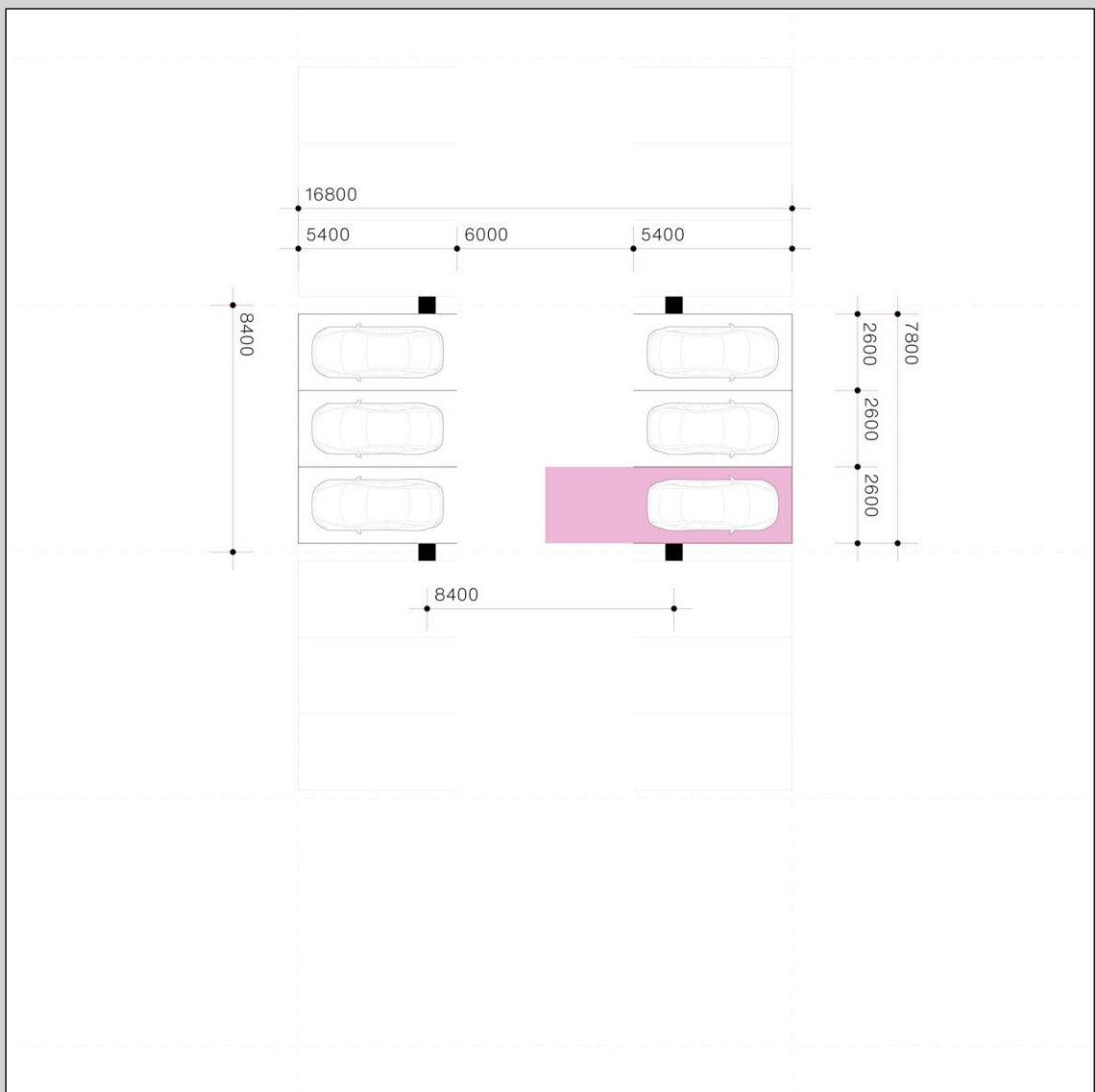


Figure 4

The Aggregations of the City

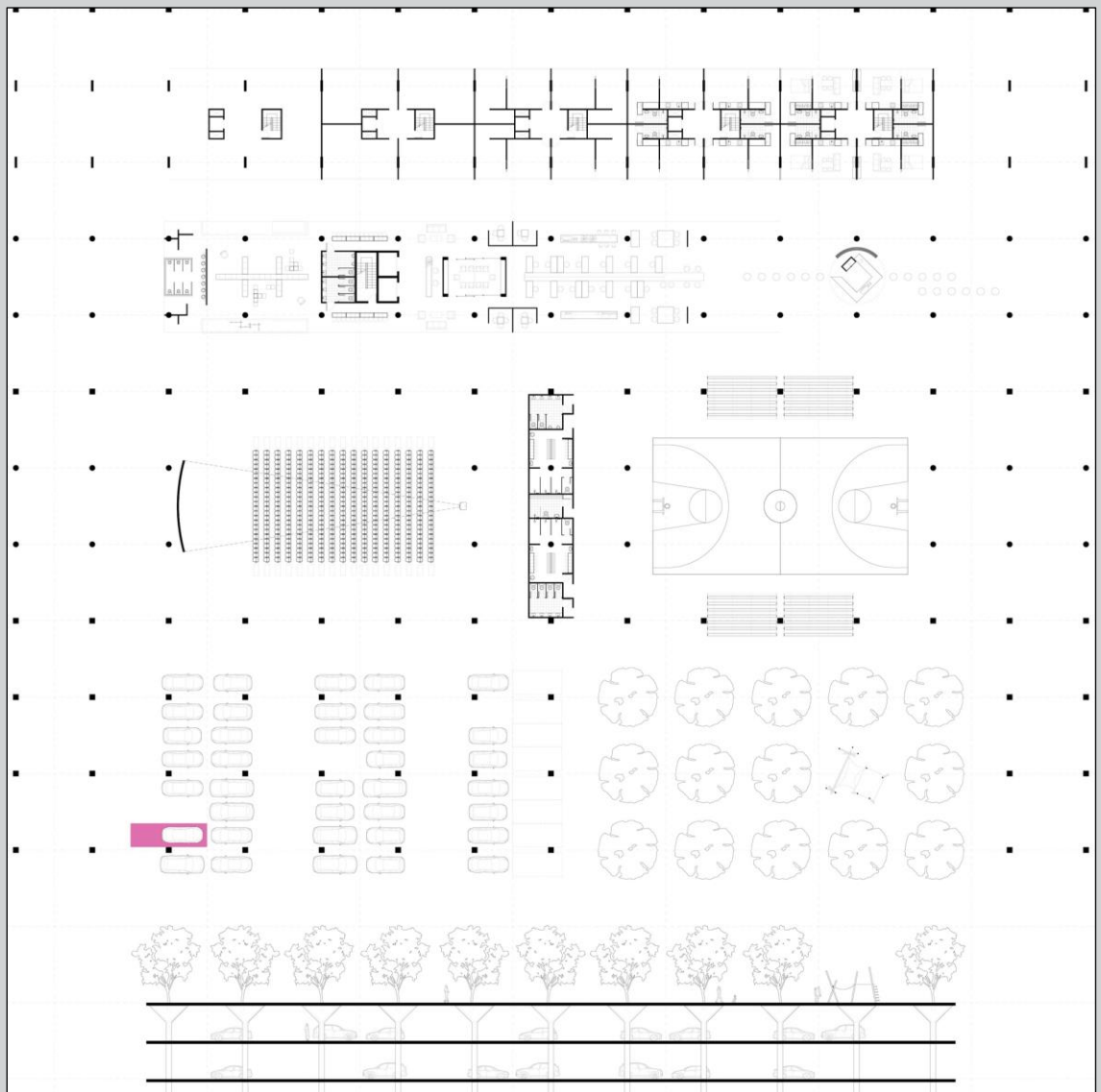
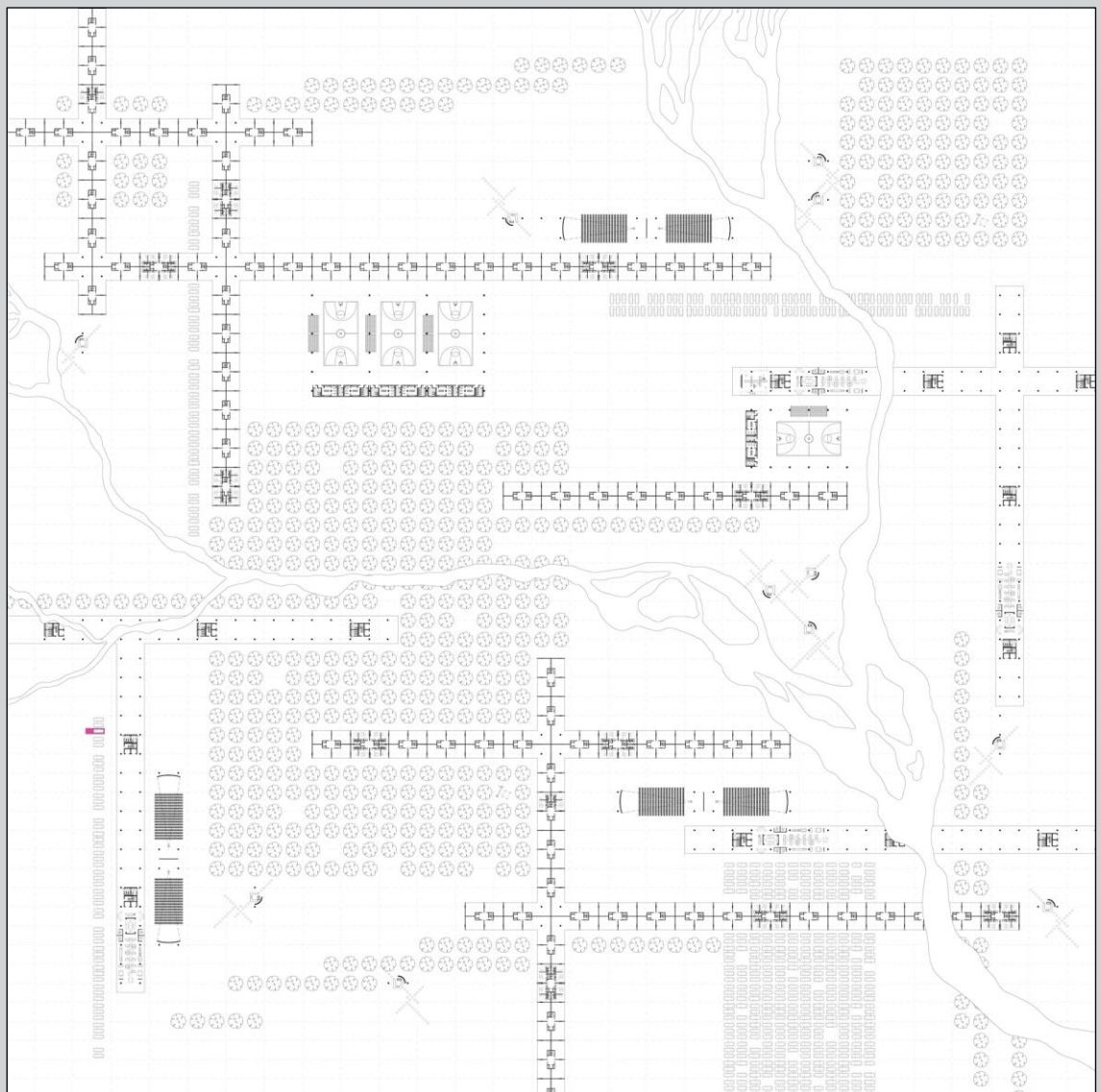


Figure 5

The Accumulated Grid[ded City]



THE CAR PARK: SPACE OF TRANSITIONING FUNCTION

This project (Figure 6) maps the cars/car parks physical and temporal pervasion across Central Canberra.

The chronological city mappings are based on Motor Vehicle Census (Australia) data augmented by the spatial provisions of the car i.e., 12.96m²/unit. The calculated areas are applied to the plan of the city (centred on City Hill) to illustrate the increasing dominance of the car over the plan.

'The Car Park City' maps current car spaces within the City Renewal Authority's designated City Precinct (outline shown dashed). Car parking information has been obtained from individual building plans (where available) and manual on-site counts (where plans were not available). The car parks have been mapped homogenously to highlight the continuous (and undifferentiated) nature of the infrastructure (across the city). The areas of light grey hatching highlight moments of density/intensity, connection and territorialisation as revealed by the continuous infrastructures of the car park.

Figure 6

The Car Park City

**1955 FIRST MOTOR
VEHICLE CENSUS**

**1976 Y-PLAN (NEW
TOWNS) DEVELOPMENT**

**1985 METROPOLITAN
POLICY PLAN**

2004 THE GRIFFIN LEGACY

**2021 CURRENT MOTOR
VEHICLE CENSUS**

**2055 PROJECTION (100
YEARS)**



THE PARK: SPACE OF ISOLATION AND PENETRATION and THE PARKWAY: SPACE OF EMERGENT PUBLIC SPACE LIFE

This project (Figure 7) maps perceived and actual publicness of space across Central Canberra.

Figure 7A maps perceived public green space through available civic plans augmented by Google Maps data.

Figure 7B maps accessibility of perceived public green space based on parameters of ownership (private v public), physical barrier (fenced or otherwise isolated) and activity/usage (i.e., organised activity v spontaneous/organic activity).

Figure 7C maps the publicness of the road network based on raw traffic flow data (Infrastructure Australia, 2021). The width of the road is commensurate with the average weekday traffic flow: the wider the road the higher the traffic density.

Figure 7D combines accessible public green space (from approx. 25%+) with the public road network to reveal a freely accessible public space landscape for the city.

FIGURE 7A: PERCEIVED PUBLIC GREEN SPACE

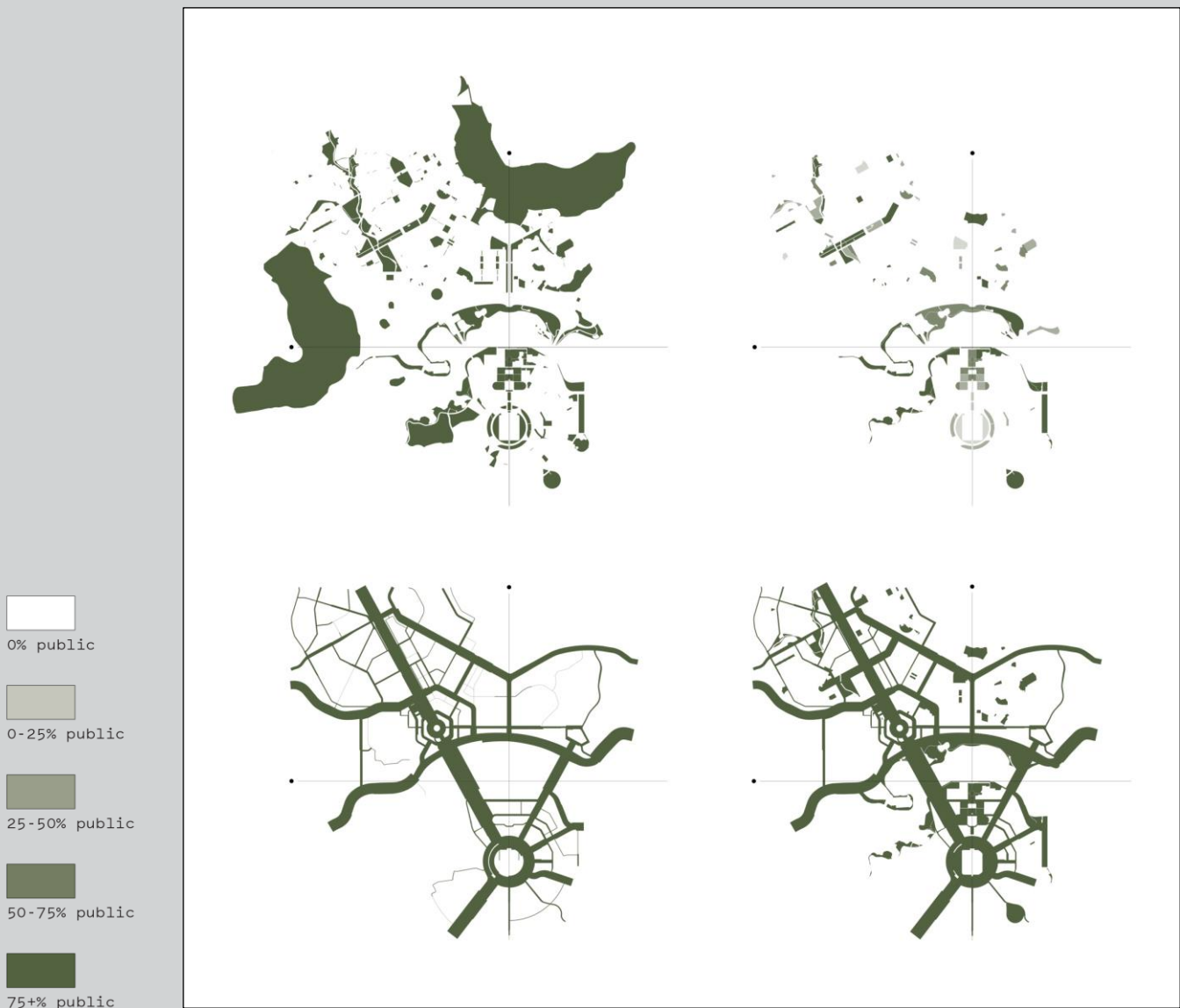
FIGURE 7B: ACCESSIBILITY OF PERCEIVED PUBLIC GREEN SPACE

FIGURE 7C: PUBLICNESS OF ROAD NETWORK

FIGURE 7D: NEW PUBLIC LANDSCAPE

Figure 7

Public Space



THE MONUMENT AND THE SPECTACLE: SPACES OF TEMPORAL RUPTURE

This project (Figure 8) augments the Grid (as established by the car parks) with a temporal dimension. Through parametric modelling the Grid is warped by the temporal parameters of the monuments and festivals as cited in the National Area (defined by the Parliamentary Triangle).

Monuments: time in the infinitely accumulating mode of the monument forms depressions in the Grid. The older, more established the monument or memorial, the more significant the depression.

Festivals: time in the flowing, transitory, and precarious mode of the festival distends the Grid. The longer the duration of the festival, the more pronounced the projection.

The combined concave and convex surfaces imbue the Grid with topographic characteristics where history and memory plus festivity combine to illustrate the potentials of a new (temporal) landscape for the city.

Representing the Capital through its two most popular attractions—monuments and festivals—this temporal mapping illustrates nationally significant monuments, memorials and festivals across Central Canberra presenting the city as an image of the images that it projects—a Mediated City.

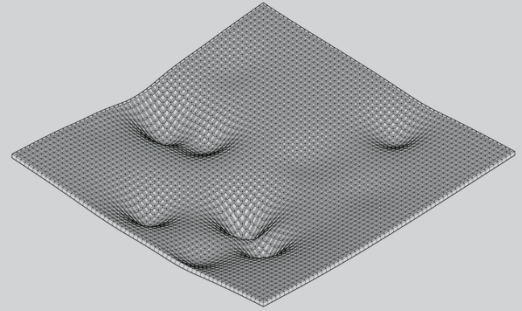
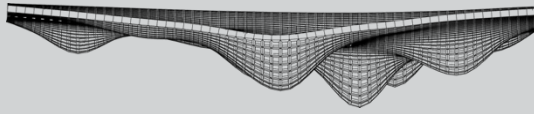
Depicted through curated images of national remembrance and city-branding carnivals the incompatible modes of time of the monuments versus festivals coalesce into a single framework of time to express an experiential image of the city. The image of the city as media engenders the collective dematerialised production of the city.

Figure 8

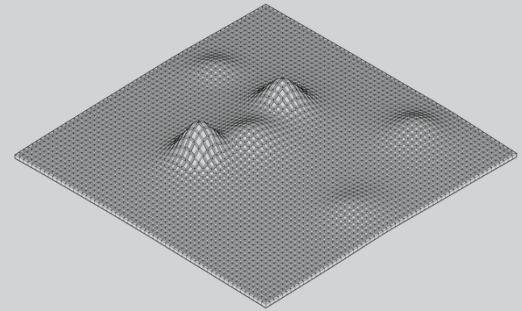
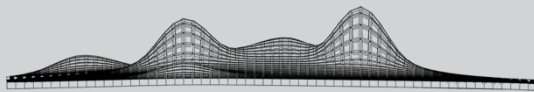
The Temporal [Mediated] City



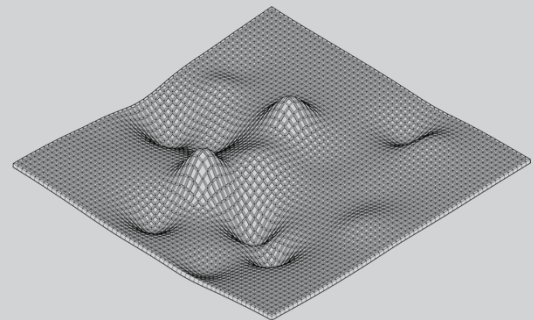
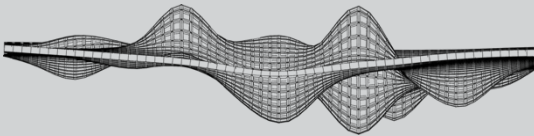
MONUMENTS



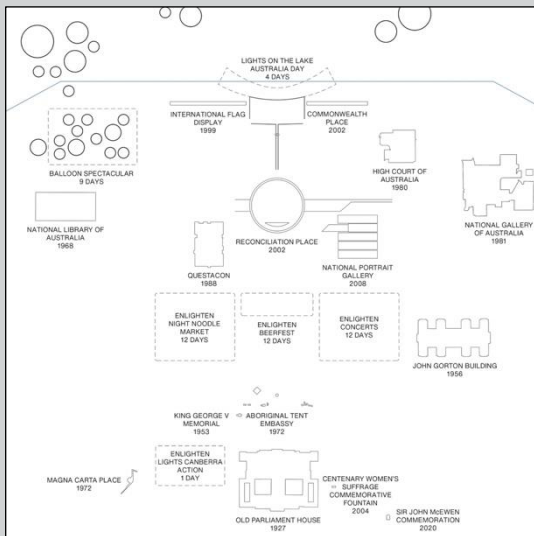
FESTIVALS



MONUMENTS AND FESTIVALS COMPOSITE



NATIONAL AREA



THE GRID: SPACE OF ILLUSION

This project (Figure 9) brings the heterotopic projects of the car and its infrastructures, the parks and roads networks, and the monuments and festivals into a synergetic relationship—renegotiating their associations, juxtapositions, adjacencies, dependencies, and contestations to produce “other” ways to see the city.

This “other” illustration of the city reconceives the long-held conventions of the plan (scale/dimensions, location, and representation) to produce a new way of seeing, an “other” plan for an “other” Canberra.

As developed through the project of the car parks, the plan is mediated by the Grid—represented here as a visible (albeit virtual) product of the plan that connects not only ‘other’ spaces, but all the spaces that remain.

The Grid is additionally related to the prevailing images of the plan of the city, thereby mediating—for perhaps the first time—between the plan (the living city) and the image of the plan (the ideal city).

Figure 9

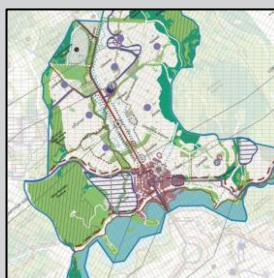
An 'Other' Plan for Canberra



GRIFFIN'S PLAN FOR CANBERRA (1918)



GENERAL GROWTH STRATEGY: Y-PLAN (1970)



THE TERRITORY PLAN: INNER NORTH AND CITY DISTRICT STRATEGY PLAN (2023)



AN 'OTHER' CANBERRA

THE GRID: SPACE OF ILLUSION

This function [of heterotopias] unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory. Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled. This latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation. (Foucault, 1986, p. 26)

The sixth and last principle of Foucault's heterotopias is that they have a "function in relation to all the space that remains" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26)—that for the purposes of this research is the city of Canberra.

The role of this principle of heterotopia plays "on the level of the general organization of terrestrial space". Designed to be a perfect other place: marvellous, absolute, "regulated at every turn—the [city] is laid out according to a rigorous plan" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). In Canberra's case the rigorous plan is also the "messy, ill constructed, and jumbled" space of the city that slips through the net of the legacy. This chapter will discuss how that which is not the lost utopia of the original design can be seen as an 'other' Canberra "a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged." In Canberra's case this becomes a Grid. The research will also explain how the Grid comes into being and illustrate how it operates as a "heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26).

Distinct from the ideals of the Griffins' plan for Canberra, heterotopia does not presuppose an ideal city. As a way of seeing, heterotopia simultaneously "represents, contests and inverts all of the real sites" (Foucault, 1986, p. 24) within the city revealing an 'other' city. Its lens brings into focus the illusion and the invisible in the liminal spaces between the conditional utopia and the conditions of heterotopia, thereby providing a new way of seeing the plan as the fundamental sign of urban culture. "The emotional and processual happenings, encounters, movements, and transitions of everyday life" (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, p. 73) expose all that has been planned and all the images of the plans of Canberra until now as still more illusory.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GRID [the Compensatory Plan]

As a plan for a future Capital, the Griffins' plan for Canberra could not illustrate the future life of the city. Founded on utopian ideals, the Griffin Legacy has left the people who now live in Canberra preoccupied with the plan to achieve the ideal, locked in a perpetual struggle to legitimise the original plan, and not comfortable with the ways in which they live. These contradictory aims have produced the "messy, ill constructed, and jumbled" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26) space of the city as-found. Made visible through the principles of heterotopia as applied to Canberra, the Grid can be seen as a working diagram distinct from the speculative utopian plans that produced the city. Generated out of the car park module discussed in Chapter 3, the Grid is not utopian—it has not been superimposed ('super' above, over + 'impose' to lay, put place; apply authoritatively) on to the topography, but rather, the Grid is subversive (*sub* from below + *vertere* to bend/convert/transform)—exposed from below revealing a new way to see the city. The Grid emerges as a counter-site—a heterotopia formed in the very foundations of the planned space; a space with a "function in relation to all the space that remains" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). As a heterotopia, the parameters of the Grid are commensurate with the priorities of the culture and the place, and its contingent character ensures its capacity to express the life of the city. By relieving the structures of the legacy, the Grid reveals opportunities to create a renewed relationship with the city and its plan. In this way the Grid emerges as a compensatory plan for Canberra; therefore, if there could be an ideal plan for city it might be the Grid.

THE TAXONOMY OF THE GRID

In order to understand the function and effect of the Grid it is helpful to establish a definition of the Grid—a brief taxonomy—outlining the characteristics of the Grid and its relevance to understanding the 'other' space that is Canberra. It is important to note here that as a diagram of the car's dominance over the plan, Canberra's Grid is not of real phenomenological presence, but is rather conceptual and metaphysical.

The lines of its Euclidean geometry, in the words of Jean-Francois Billeter, “has neither body nor colour nor texture, nor any other tangible quality: its nature is abstract, conceptual, rational” (Billeter cited in Ingold, 2007, p. 50). Infinitely thin and projected from beyond the plane of the sites natural surface, it is a ‘ghost’ of lines—a world *as if*. (Ingold, 2007). In this way, the Grid, as a heterotopian construct of the plan, has no physical counterpart in the world beyond the phenomenon of perception.

As a universal concept, the Grid is commonly understood as a series of horizontal and vertical lines that interact to form a network. In his book *Lines*, Tim Ingold identifies two major classes of these lines, each imbued with distinct qualities: “threads”, defined as “a filament of some kind, which may be entangled with other threads or suspended between points in three-dimensional space” and “traces...any enduring mark left in or on a solid surface by a continuous movement” (2007, pp. 42–43). As a metaphysical manifestation of the plan, and therefore as an assemblage extrinsic to the plan (i.e., its erasure would still leave the plan intact), the lines of the Grid can be classified as threads, thereby providing an open yet altogether interdependent framework through which to re-view the plan. In this way, the Grid emerges as both more than and less than a sum of its individual parts. It is more because it has emergent properties that can come only from its internal and external associations. It is less because all its associations are contingent. As a taxonomy of assemblage, the Grid is not a network, but a meshwork. Whilst originally interpreted as an open-work surface of entwined threads, through its metaphorical augmentation of the realms of modern transport and communication the definition of the net has changed. As Ingold argues, “We are now more inclined to think of it as a complex of interconnected points than of interwoven lines” (2007, p. 82). Here, the term meshwork, borrowed from philosopher Henri Lefebvre, can be used to describe “an environment that is more ‘archi-textural’ than architectural” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 117–118). Rather than a network that designates a series of intersecting routes that connect dots (sites of activity), the lines of a meshwork define interwoven trails “*along* which life is lived”. Or as Ingold writes “It is in the entanglement of lines, not in the connecting of points, that the mesh is constituted” (2007, p. 83). The meshwork becomes the constitutional framework through which we inhabit the earth. The inhabitant does not merely occupy a place in a world that has been planned in advance, but rather, participates

from within the very process of the world's continual coming into being and who, "in laying a trail of life, contributes to its weave and texture" (Ingold, 2007, p. 83). Further to this meshwork of lines, the Grid embodies a second perceptual materiality, that of a composition of cells aggregated to form a continuous whole. In Canberra, the cell of the carpark module, repeated along its axes forms the foundation of the Grid: "the smallest spatial cell" (12.96m²) "planning entire cities" (Le Corbusier, 1991, p. 177).

As a projection of the diagrammatic parameters of the car detailed in Chapter 3, the Grid is fundamentally two-dimensional. However, as explored in the exhibition component of the research, there are moments when the Grid is distorted by the events described in Chapter 5. As a phantom projection across an altered spatial-temporal continuum, the Grid responds to the (temporal) conditions of the city, altering its archetypal form (slackening and tightening) beyond that of fixed or Euclidean position. In addition to this, any third or fourth dimension of the Grid exist only in relation to the spaces/places (sites) of the city with which the Grid intersects. It is important to note the Grid's adaptability as a set of dimensions that are infinitely scalable to variants of its own cell/module. It is relational and contingent ensuring its continued relevance.

In her influential essay 'Grids', art historian Rosalind Krauss states "Because of its bivalent structure ... the grid is fully, even cheerfully, schizophrenic" (1979, p. 60). The grid indicates either a "centrifugal or centripetal" reading of the subject matter to which it relates and extends in all directions to infinity; it is isotropic. In the centrifugal reading of the grid, any boundaries imposed are arbitrary. In this way, the given artefact/object—in this case the plan—is a fragment cropped from an infinitely larger fabric. The grid extends from the plan outwards, compelling us to acknowledge a world beyond-the-frame. Beyond-the-frame grids penetrate, presupposing a system of opening infinitely to the world (Krauss, 1979). The centripetal reading of the grid extends from the outer edges of the plan inward, where "the grid is a re-presentation of everything that separates the [plan] from the world" (Krauss, 1979, p. 6) and in so doing, is fundamentally 'other'. The grid maps the space inside the plan onto itself; it is a mode of repetition, of iteration. Within-the-frame grids isolate, creating a hermetic environment with an end purpose unto itself.

When viewed through the principles of heterotopia, the Grid is a representation of a total image of the plan composed of overlapping and interrelated images. Whilst the perceptual limits to the Grid are imposed by the pervasiveness of the car, the very nature of the Grid, as a theoretical construct, presupposes continuity: an infinite city. In this way, the possibility of the Grid is both centrifugal and centripetal (local and global) and it materialises the subject matter whilst connecting to the world presenting an alternative to how the city sees itself.

A taxonomy of the Grid would not be complete without recognition of the prevalence of the Grid in the digital realm. In many ways, the potential of the Grid as an effective mechanism for the production of the city is most influential here. Because the developing urban condition is now ubiquitous with the digital, the plan now exists in the virtual world before the physical. Both the design and continuous repair of the plan and the management of flows of information relevant to the life of the city are played out in the virtual world before the physical and this is a process which occurs at a 1:1 scale. Synonymous with the network, and network space, the Grid is emblematic of the digital's own essence, constraints, and design. As a virtual artefact of the plan the primary manifestation of the Grid is digital. This enhancement reveals another 'other' — "an unreal virtual space that opens behind the surface" of the notional space of the machine (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). The virtual Grid aligns with Foucault's account of the mirror:

... between utopias and these quite other sites, these heterotopias, there might be a sort of mixed, joint experience, which would be the mirror ... [a] virtual space that opens up behind the surface. The mirror functions as a heterotopia in this respect: it makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there. (Foucault, 1986, p. 25)

The Grid's application straddles not only the virtual and the real, but also the ideal revealing an 'other' Canberra that originated with the ideal, then suspended in a web of virtual plans and finally lived in the real. This positions the Grid at the intersection of infinite possibilities. As neither an instrument of normalisation, nor a site of resistance,

it mediates between the plan and the image of the plan. Not architecture, neither interior/exterior, nor solid/void, the Grid compensates for Canberra's preoccupation with the image of its plan.

THE FUNCTION OF THE GRID

The last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. (Foucault 1986, p. 26)

The Grid Locates and Identifies an 'Other' Canberra

As has been established the function for exploring Canberra as heterotopia is an alternative to the decades of planning Canberra as utopia. For Foucault there are utopias and heterotopias and, almost uniquely, Canberra is both, but the 'other spaces' of Canberra have not been seen as fundamental to understanding life in the plan. In Canberra it is the Grid that locates and identifies that which is not utopian and therefore 'other' and heterotopian.

Grids are both material and conceptual structures. Materially, grids are lines in space that by their very existence create points, lines, planes, and fields. The Grid is a diagram of "the modern concept of place and being-in-one's place" (Seigart, 2015, p. 97). The Grid demarcates space and designates place. The Cartesian Grid not only indicates space and all its associations but also locates place and all its objects. Conceptually, grids link these different topologies dealing equally as efficiently with the real as the virtual, the occupied as the empty. Within the Grid's network, an object/place's location is critical to its interaction and participation in a whole. In this way, location is not merely about making real, but making relevant. Locating, then, becomes a crucial operation by which the Grid defines the project of the city. Under the fabric of the Grid, everything in the city has a place, and everything is connected. Under the fabric of Canberra's legacy everything has a place but very little is connected.

Instead of warp and weft the Grid can be viewed as multiplied squares; 'cells' in a homogenous pattern of repetition. In considering the Grid as the sum of a single cell repeated along its axes (in Canberra, this is the car park module), the notion of site and relations between sites implies that the Grid is more than an open structure or framework. Here, much like planned city blocks, the Grid is simultaneously "plan, register and cadaster" (Siegert, 2015, p. 107). As Manfredo Tafuri wrote of the cell: "From the standardised cell to the single block, and finally to the city: each 'piece' in the line is fully resolved and tends to disappear or, better yet, to dissolve formally in the assembly" (Tafuri, 1969, p. 21). Through the cell the Grid emerges as a process of assembly and reassembly, its aggregations shifting and coalescing to form the continuous whole that is the city. To validate his observation on the cell, Tafuri cites an early work by architect and urban planner Ludwig Hilberseimer:

The architecture of the city depends essentially on the solution given to two factors: the elementary cell and the urban organism as a whole. The single room, as the constitutive element of the dwelling, will determine its appearance, and since the dwellings in turn form blocks, the room will become a factor in the urban configuration, representing the plan's true goal. Reciprocally, the planimetric structure of the city will have a substantial influence on the design of the habitation and the room. (Hilberseimer cited in Tafuri, 1976, p. 104)

In this way, the cell is "not only the prime element of the continuous production line that concludes with the city, it is also the element that determines the dynamics of the aggregations" that form the city (Tafuri, 1976, p. 105). The typology of the cell determines the planning agendas of the urban whole. In the structure of the Grid all spaces are classified as either occupied or empty. The Grid creates a structure that appropriates all space and place, where "nothing is left untouched, no space remains masterless, nothing is allowed to fall off the grid" (Moro, 2020, para. 29). Therefore, there can be no 'non-place', no utopia. Foucault notes that our understanding of space today is grounded in the notion of site, and the relations between these sites: "The site is defined by relations of proximity between points or elements; formally, we can describe these relations as series, trees, or grids" (Foucault, 1986, p. 23). Highlighting the relational nature and capabilities of the Grid, Foucault furthers his explanation of heterotopic space:

... we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another. Of course one might attempt to describe these different sites by looking for the set of relations by which a given site can be defined. (Foucault, 1986, p. 24)

In this way, the Grid realigns the understanding of the heterotopic location, not as related to “an order of things in which each and every object is located in a fixed place where it can be found” (Siegert, 2015, p. 97), but rather as a set of relations between things. The Grid both locates and through the set of relations it generates defines: “One could describe [the sites], via the cluster of relations that allows them to be defined ...” (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Identity becomes a function of being in a particular place and the Grid is the primary mechanism for the identification of the ‘other’ spaces of Canberra.

The ontological effect of the Grid is to locate and to define, to create place be it empty or occupied. Through the lens of heterotopia, this is a relational process that applies not only to the traditional concepts of the material city, but also to the location of the individual to one’s place within society. The concept of place and of ‘being in one’s place’ is therefore bound to the notion of order. It is impossible to conceive of this re-viewed concept of order without a new conception of place (Siegert, 2015). Through the heterotopic lens, this new understanding of place contests the traditional understanding of places of the city. It presents a typology in which “the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted” (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Not a space of order, then, but of disorder.

The Grid (dis)Orders

In her analyses of the grid, Krauss is decisive in her characterisations of the grid as a mechanism of absolute and uncompromising order. Describing the grid as a structure “emblematic of the modernist ambition ... stringent and manifest” (1979, p. 50), Krauss presents the grid as a representation of “modernisms will to silence ... its hostility to narrative and discourse” (1979, p. 50). Accordingly, no other form in modern aesthetic production has sustained itself so relentlessly while being so impervious to change: “development is precisely what the grid resists” (Krauss, 1979, p. 50).

As a mechanism of the plan, the Grid heralds the autonomy of the city, “Flattened, geometricized, and ordered, it is antinatural, antimimetic, antireal” (Krauss, 1979, p. 50). In the flatness that results from its material structure the Grid crowds out the dimensions of the real and replaces them with the lateral and continuous spread of its surface. Through the relentless regularity of its organisation, the Grid is not the result of imitation (the production method of utopias), but of “aesthetic decree” (Krauss, 1979, p. 50). Whilst the processes of the Grid manifest symptoms of utopian invention, the order of the Grid is contrary to the order of utopia. As fundamentally unreal constructs, utopias present visions of a closely monitored and administered world; a designed world, in which prediction and planning avert any play of chances (Bauman, 2003). The premise of the Grid, as both a conceptual and a material structure, is rather more self-assured. Presenting as a steady and consistent mechanism of anticipated causes and effects, the Grid is the predictable end-product “of the skilful deployment of both the plasticity of the world and the freedom to remould the conditions of the city” (Bauman, 2003, p. 16); thereby invalidating the need for prediction or planning.

With a shift away from models for design, to the development at an abstract level of “the coordinates and dimensions of design” (Tafuri, 1976, p. 106), the “blankness and featurelessness” (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 177) of the Grid supposes a programmatic model of ‘anti-design’, which was a hallmark of the protests mounted against architecture as social engineering in the 1960s and 1970s. But unlike the dystopian proposals of Archizoom and Superstudio and others, the possibility of anti-design within the conditioning utopia of Canberra presents an alternative model, an

'other' model, through which to see the city. In a city captured by the design of its original plan, the possibilities of anti-design gives cause to reconsider the perceptive and productive capacity of the relations between the process of design (the image of the plan) and the plan (the city), as rendered visible through the lens of heterotopia. As a result, the Grid is not only a tool of representation and location, but also as a tool of production and identity, allowing for the plan of the city to be reflective of the life of the city. As suggested by geographer Kenneth Olwig, "the process accomplished through the act of inhabitation is *topian*"—an affixation (*topos* = place) that recognises "that human beings, as creatures of history, consciously and unconsciously create places", embedding them with character and meaning (2002, pp. 52–53). The Grid provokes "a field of action" (Ingold, 2007, p. 164) that the legacy cannot capture. By applying the principles of heterotopia this research shows that an 'other' Canberra can be rendered.

When viewed through the precepts of heterotopia, the Grid is reconstrued from a mechanism of the plan to a product of it. The Grid is not absolute, it is relational—its very existence relying on its adjacencies, dependencies, and contestations. Through these contingencies the Grid presents as a conceptual speculation—a terrestrial parallel that, unlike its counterparts, does not plan the city but can map its spaces. In this conceptual transfer the qualities of the Grid are mapped onto the aesthetic dimensions of the same surface (the image of the plan) "And these two planes—the conceptual and the aesthetic—are demonstrated to be the same plane: co-dependent and, through the relations of the grid, coordinate" (Krauss, 1979, p. 52). Considered in this way, the Grid is not an act of total order, but rather of disorder. In declaring the spaces it creates (the city) as conditional, it exposes all the real spaces of the conditioned city (Canberra) as an illusion of utopian ideals that created them. Through the medium of the Grid, we can see—more clearly than before—the estrangement between the plan (where life is lived) and the image of the plan (what we are told). As a lens that is not material or immaterial, but rather critical, the Grid provides us with a means of navigating and mediating this rift.

The Grid Mediates

In his recollections of the history of space (as outlined in *Of Other Spaces*) Foucault emphasises a distinction between the sacred and the secular, highlighting economies of knowledge (starting with Galileo) as transformative of our understanding of space:

One could say, by way of retracing this history of space very roughly, that in the Middle Ages there was a hierarchic ensemble of places: sacred places and profane places: protected places and open, exposed places: urban places and rural places (all these concern the real life of men). It was this complete hierarchy, this opposition, this intersection of places that constituted what could very roughly be called medieval space: the space of emplacement.

This space of emplacement was opened up by Galileo. For the real scandal of Galileo's work lay not so much in his discovery, or rediscovery, that the earth revolved around the sun, but in his constitution of an infinite, and infinitely open space. In such a space the place of the Middle Ages turned out to be dissolved, as it were; a thing's place was no longer anything but a point in its movement, just as the stability of a thing was only its movement indefinitely slowed down. In other words, starting with Galileo and the seventeenth century, extension was substituted for localization. (Foucault, 1986, pp. 22–23)

Contrary to this view of the secular as an unavoidable and complete transformation of the sacred, Krauss—while noting a distinction—posits a more transactional relationship between the sacred and the secular, repositioning the drama of their contentions as a modern concept:

That drama, which took many forms, was staged in many places. One of them was a courtroom, where early in this century, science did battle with God, and, reversing all earlier precedents, won. [...] Given the absolute rift that had opened between the sacred and the secular, the modern artist was obviously faced with the necessity to choose between one mode of expression and the other. (Krauss, 1979, p. 54)

In Canberra, the rift between the sacred and the secular exists in the disconnection between the stated and actual intentions of the plan; between the image of the plan and the plan: between the utopian legacy (the sacred) and real life (the secular). The effects of this drama have played out in the multiple plans that have come to define

the city, the self-consciousness with which the city delivers these plans and, forced on the citizens of Canberra, the necessity to choose one plan over another.

The distinct power of the Grid, as evidenced by its longevity in the space of the city, is its power to administer the rifts that afflict the city: to mask and to reveal them at one and the same time—to offer a “simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live” (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). In the project of the city of Canberra, the Grid serves not only as lens but also as myth. For like all myths, it deals with ambiguity or contradiction not by resolving the ambiguity or dissolving the contradiction, but by concealing them so that they appear (but only appear) to go away (Krauss, 1979). In the traditions of utopia, it is a means of symbolically resolving unthinkable or unmanageable contradictions by enclosing them in the thin structure of a narrative: “those who are not able to construct a city take refuge in myth” (Branzi & Archizoom Associati, 2006, p. 148). The Grid’s mythic power, then, is that it enables us to think that we are dealing with the material fabric of the city, whilst it simultaneously provides us with a release into belief, or perhaps, illusion (Krauss, 1979).

In relation to Canberra, the Grid—as myth—is compounded by its heterotopic origins. Suspended between the plan and the image of the plan, the Grid’s very existence is contingent on mediation albeit as a contestation, a neutralisation, or an invention. In this context, the function of the myth is to allow multiple views “to be held in paralogical suspension” (Krauss, 1979, p. 55) providing a conceptual space where many possible ways of knowing are brought together without attempting to reconcile them. Operating in the sphere of the representational (what we see), the Grid mediates the oppositions between the Legacy, the subsequent layers of plans and planning, and the curated representations that define the city: suspending the image between the visible and the invisible.

Today, more broadly, we see the rift between the real and the virtual open up to the domain of the digital, namely the rising pre-eminence of networks over the built fabric of the city. It is not architectural space that dominates our lives today, as Manuel Castells points out, but rather, “The Space of Flows”, new forms of spatial arrangements organised and channelled by a “new technological paradigm; a new

‘type’ of space” (1989, p. 146). The boundless, formless, and immaterial shadow world of what sociologist Ulrich Beck calls ‘second modernity’ (2010). It is through (and in) digital media that we “*grasp earth* as an object for cognitive, practical, and affective relations” (we can assume ‘grasp earth’ to be taken as both a means of understanding and commanding) (Moro, 2020, para. 5). As a primary mechanism of digital media, grids make equivalent real space and virtual models, further enabling the digital’s “conceptual and material control over the planet itself” (Moro, 2020, para. 6). In this way, the Grid is central to the project of the city.

In his book *Cultural Techniques: Grids, Filters, Doors, and Other Articulations of the Real*, media theorist Bernard Siegert “dissolves the concept of media into a network of operations, that reproduce, process, and reflect the distinctions that are fundamental for a given culture” (2015, p. vi). Positioning the grid as a cultural technique, Siegert notes that it has a mediative function: an operation at the intersections of vision, computation, and subjectivity:

First, it is an imaging technology that by means of a given algorithm enables us to project a three-dimensional world onto a two-dimensional plane. [...] Second, the grid is a general diagrammatic procedure that uses specific addresses to store data that can be implemented in the real as well as in the symbolic. [...] Third, the grid serves to constitute a world of objects imagined by a subject. (Siegert, 2015, p. 98)

Through the mechanisms of the Grid, space becomes storage (and vice-versa). The merging of place with data—in which everything is assigned its own place—designates the Grid, “at one and the same time topographic *loci* where people live and memorial *loci* in a storage medium” (Siegert, 2015, p. 108). Through the medium of the Grid, the city becomes “both physical space and technological memory” (Siegert, 2015, p. 108). However, a digital address does not necessarily need to correspond to a location in the physical world. Digital networks produce grids with addresses that can correlate in ways topologically distinct from those in real-world space (Moro, 2020). Consequently, we can see that the digital Grid is not simply a representation of real-world phenomena, but rather constitutes worlds of relations in and of itself. Driven by the digitals’ superior (and ever-expanding) capacity to synthesise, the Grid “collapses

individual virtual worlds into shared probability fields, defining relationships otherwise impossible in physical space” (Moro, 2020, para. 30). When aggregated, this information density exceeds that of the planet itself, “enabling us to understand the models [the city] at higher resolutions than we could ever blanket the planet with sensors” (Moro, 2020, para. 30). In this sense, we know more about these virtual worlds than we do about the material planet.

In Canberra—and in relationship to the plan—the effect of the digital on the city is decisive. As Bremner and I wrote in *Crafting the imaginary*:

In the case of the developing urban condition, the ubiquity of the digital initially acted to transform the ‘idea’ into an image of itself, reducing urban visions and ideals to a reflection of the digital’s own essence, constraints, and design. In this way, the digital itself both determined and created the dimensions of the static environment and the resulting social condition. In another (perhaps more sinister way), the reproductive capabilities of the digital acted to transform the plan into a diluted representation or deteriorating image of itself, with each consecutive reproduction generating an increasingly extraneous derivative of the original. In this sense, the deterioration of the image was active not only in the digital sphere, but also in the physical, with each reproduced artefact—plan and city—‘deteriorating from the moment its physical form became tangible’ (Antin, 1966. Smith, 2011, p. 7)—creating an image of an image of the plan. What was once a project that engaged visionary ideals and the pursuit of ideal vistas, now involved the constant repair of the deteriorating image of the city. (Hinton & Bremner, 2013, p. 77)

Under the fabric of the Grid, the world itself becomes available to analysis, division, manipulation, and synthesis, producing new ways of perceiving and interpreting the world, and simultaneously bringing about a change in the role of the plan (Moro, 2020). In the transactional and interactive processes of the digital, the production of relevant insight requires an ongoing dialogue between the real world and its virtual models (the image of the plan). It is the Grid that is best positioned to mediate this dialogue.

THE EFFECT OF THE GRID [an 'other' lens on the legacy]

Canberra is a city divided by its legacy (and its Legacy). Instead of a visionary city, Canberra is a city caught in a vexed dialectic between the image of the plan and the reality of the plan. Distinct from the life of the city, the image of the plan has become a revolving door of ideal plans driven by utopian impulses and is no more than an illusion; a misrepresentation that cannot participate in the project of the city. As Tafuri explains “... the *ideology of the plan* is swept away by the *reality of the plan* the moment the plan came down from utopia and became an operant mechanism” (1969, p. 28). Distinct from the visions of utopia, heterotopia provides a lens through which to review the plan and in the case of Canberra reveals a Grid. Through this lens, I have established that the module of the car underpins the life of the city, generating new ways in which people gather and therefore ‘the places’ of the city: a single module identifies a car park, 2 modules = a room, 10 modules = a house, 1000 modules = a monument, 10,000 modules = a park, 100,000,000 modules = a city. Heterotopic in origin and disposition, the Grid reflects back to the city an ‘other’ city, “another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled” (Foucault 1986, p. 26). In this ‘other city’, the tissue of the Grid is neither prophetic nor planned, but rather a product of what has come into being. Through its very existence, the Grid further exposes the dominance of the car, asserting the superiority of its infrastructures over reality and legacy. Through the medium of the Grid, the city is free to pursue a new project; a project that ideal plans could not envision and that is the creation of new relationships.

In ‘*Architettura Radicale*’—a polemic against the technocratic production of modern cities—Andrea Branzi contests that “the [city] of the future would not emerge from an abstract act of design but from a different form of us”. For the city to have a future, “it had to work on a continuum of the present [what is], refraining from making strategic projections into the future” (Branzi, 1974, p. 54). This form of design conception, focussed on the environments, behaviours, and affects generated by the city, rather than by the objects, buildings, and neighbourhoods of the city, redefines the relations between objects and citizens. The Grid presents a counter-model, a non-figurative ‘antidote’ that veers away from figurative utopias to properly situate the individual as

central to the project of Canberra. The Grid exposes the illusion of the ideal city liberating its citizens from the repressive systems that the ideal bestows. The ostensibly dystopian aims of the gridded plans of the Radical Design Movement (specifically Superstudio's "*Supersuperficie*" and Archizoom's No-Stop City) were designed as robust devices intended to "increase the consumers' ability to *design* their own behaviours in an anti-ceremonial (anti-hierarchical) relationship with the environment" (Quesada, 2011, p. 32). In contrast to their aims in my research project the Grid is a lens, a relational and transmissive device, through which we may re-view the city. It is not "a model of a reality which can be given concrete form" (Superstudio, 1972, p. 2), but rather, the rendering visible of a critical framework of an 'other' Canberra. The Grid is free from the material constraints of plan or planning and any associations with historical criticisms of the grid.

The Grid provides a mechanism of liberation from the conventional methods of design that have shaped cities. In Canberra, this is the legacy: the utopian impulse cultivated by the Griffins and from which all future planning decisions have been formed. Through the lens of heterotopia, the city is freed from the constraints of its utopian identity. The Grid breaks the cycle of dependency: presuming nothing more than reflections of present need and ability. It is a device untroubled by history (and needs no maintenance or preservation). It will never age or become outdated because it is both purely relational and entirely contingent. The Grid is equally exciting or unexciting. It is everywhere. The "great originality" of the Grid "is its ability to abandon what doesn't work—what has outlived its use"—to denounce idealism in favour of realism, and to mobilise whatever grows from this (Koolhaas, 1995, p. 1252). In this sense, through absolute adherence to the now, the Grid accommodates both the historical and the futuristic, absorbing any contradiction, conflict, or inconsistency into the continuum of its existence. In fact, the Grid is the spatial manifestation of these contestations. The Grid presents an unburdened medium for the testing of alternative ways to re-view Canberra. It refers to a form of experience, a way of seeing and a mechanism of interpretation. In Canberra this is an entirely novel possibility. Extricated from any historical or conceptual allegiances, the Grid presents the possibility to declare "the poetic dimension of the most insignificant everyday acts, to award meaning to the most apparently trivial human actions, and the possibility of

spontaneity and individual agency” (Quesada, 2011, p. 31). In this way, the Grid re-designs the city plan, revealing new meaning through its networks, proximities, juxtapositions, connections, and relationships. Life through the lens of the Grid does not presuppose a definitive formula for the future, but an exercise in momentary liberation, an ephemeral act of freedom; a revaluing of the everydayness that “appears in the interstices of the grid” (Quesada, 2011, p. 35). The Grid is an ‘other space’ of Canberra that has always been there and will always remain there, but until conducting this research it has not been visible. The ‘other’ Canberra afforded by the Grid offers other experiences of Canberra and these experiences may reshape the future. The Grid “suggests that one’s emotional responses to the world are typically determined by how one sees the world. And how one sees the world—our beliefs and the desires they inform—is central to how one shapes the world” (Jefferson, 1983, p. 526).

Canberra’s Grid, as revealed through heterotopia, is a cumulative project. It is a collection of the images in the form of perceptions, histories, and dreams of the city that, underpinned by the precepts of Foucault’s heterotopologies, overlap and interrelate to structure a whole making visible an ‘other’ plan for the city. Through the Grid all the spaces of the city are connected to reveal an ‘other’ Canberra enabling, for perhaps the first time, an authentic here-and-now. And it is only through an understanding of the here-and-now that we can in any way (re)imagine a history and future of the city. For Canberra, the Grid constitutes the real legacy.

Conclusion

In my Introduction to this exegesis I explained that I consider myself to be an insider plus a professional insider when it comes to my history and relationship with Canberra. This has enabled me to bring significant knowledge of the background and insight into the foreground of the city. But between these two positions and the conditions I have experienced I identified that something is missing—something 'other'. This thesis, *Of Other Plans*, is the search for and description and illustration of the something that I sensed was missing; the something 'other'. The plan, the planning and the Griffin Legacy have locked Canberra into an implausible pursuit of its utopian origins. But living in Canberra is to experience an 'other' Canberra that is not utopia. Throughout the research I have applied the principles outlined in Foucault's essay, *Of Other Spaces*, and its subsequent scholarship, as the platform for my search for an 'other' Canberra. Foucault's ideas on utopia and heterotopia gave me a way to try to identify what is missing and raised the three questions I identified as my research questions. In the body of my exegesis I explored four of Foucault's six principles of heterotopia in detail and described what I understand from my exploration of the four principles as applied to the city of Canberra. In the exhibition component of my research I used the language of planning but, informed by Foucault's principles, attempted to erase the utopian impulse and apply the visuals of heterotopia.

The first research question I asked was: If the plan, the planning and the Griffin Legacy lock Canberra into the pursuit of its utopian origins, and living in Canberra is to experience an 'other' Canberra that is not utopia, how can this 'other' Canberra (a not-utopia) be revealed and described?

In answering this question the relationship between heterotopia and the conditional utopia of Canberra was clarified; establishing heterotopia as an alternative and still valid lens through which to see through the Legacy of the Griffins' ideal city. The reimagining of Foucault's idea and principles as relevant to the context and lived experience of Canberra enabled me to propose a framework through which to first, identify and then describe 'other' typologies of place in Canberra.

In Chapter 3, the car and the car parks are identified as 'other' spaces of transitioned function. Through the aggregations of its patterns and the ways in which we use the city, the car park forms a continuous network becoming a Grid. Precipitated by their ubiquity with the city, the car parks generate an alternative way of seeing the life of the city that then redefines the plan; contesting perceived borders, boundaries, thresholds, and regulations that currently govern the city to reveal other architectures, continuities and discontinuities, territories, movements, patterns, and temporal frameworks. What is revealed is not the monumental architecture reflecting the prevailing images of the city, neither the connections and disconnections, nor the parameters both territorial and idealised as designated by planning, but instead the city superseding both image and plan. Through a 'coming into being' that results from the life of the city as produced by the car and not the plan, the continuous infrastructures of the car and the car parks present a utilitarian and inherently more authentic network of architectures (columns/slab/services) and flows (movement/pause). This 'coming into being' redefines the city's existing conventions of function, inside and outside, occupied and unoccupied, built form and landscape, and rhythms of night and day. It makes evident a way of seeing and navigating within and through the city, that is distinct from the ideal of the plan.

Within this emergent network and Grid two realities are reimagined. As explored in Chapter 4, Canberra's landscape—its parks/gardens/green fabric intended as the connective tissue and setting for the city as per the Griffins' plan—is now an 'other' space of isolation and exclusion; an 'openness' that masks closure and segregation. In Chapter 3, the road network, which was not part of the Griffins' plan, is now an 'other' space of penetration and inclusion. It has become the connective network that fulfils the public, social, democratic, and liberal intent of the landscape in the Griffins' plan. Through heterotopia, Canberra's reconfigured public spaces and networks become contingent on the movements, shifts and intersections of these 'other' spaces, forming not only an 'other' plan, but an 'other' ecology for the city. This 'other' public life is an expanded and holistic understanding of the landscape; a 'derivative landscape' of interconnected tissue, movement, systems, and flows regulated by the continuous meshwork of the Grid as revealed through the car and its infrastructures.

The network and Grid are augmented by a temporal dimension as revealed through the 'other' spaces of Canberra's monuments and festivals. As established in Chapter 5, heterotopia reveals 'other' temporal modes for the city that is not utopia i.e., the continuous present. Through cyclical evolutions contrary modes of time are shown to exist at the intersections of the infinitely accumulating time of the museum and monument in contrast with the precarious and flowing time of the festival. These opposing time frames reveal Canberra, for perhaps the first time, as a complete city. When the entire city is brought into a simultaneous view, as illustrated in the project component of the research, the voids and gaps no longer exist, simultaneously exposing an 'other' city complete with its history, its spaces, its events, and its images.

What is revealed in Chapter 6 concludes with the Grid—an aggregation of the spaces forming the image of an 'other' Canberra. The Grid uncovers a geometry and order 'other' than the protected Legacy and releases an 'other' set of relationships and relations to space, city, landscape, and community. The Grid mediates the legacies, plans, and images that have both compounded and confounded the city. The Grid is a product of the spaces of Canberra's urban practices that sustain the city. It does not redesign or even reconfigure the city. Rather it re-views the city unearthing an 'other' way to reveal, an 'other' way to see and therefore an 'other' Canberra.

From my close reading of Foucault's text, my experiential knowledge of Canberra, and my projections of a heterotopian Canberra, I have demonstrated that it is possible to reveal and describe an 'other' Canberra that has certain 'other' characteristics, values, and abstractions. These are identified in this exegesis and illustrated in the exhibition. There might be many 'other' Canberra's, but this thesis outlines a proposal that, within the framework I have argued, is conclusive.

Perhaps most importantly, through the process of answering research question 1, my own understanding of Canberra has been altered. The persistent disparaging criticisms of the city are, from the viewpoint of an insider, hard to shake off—but my research has allowed me to see something different about the city. In the process of uncovering an 'other' Canberra (from the search for something missing to the discovery of something different and 'other') I have shifted from the position of 'not-knowing' and

frustration, to one of anticipation and optimism. There will always be something that I don't know and there will always be another 'other' Canberra. Both these actualities together, when backed by the processes that I have developed in my thesis, are filled with infinite possibilities for the ways in which we can see the city. In this way, Foucault's account has not only provided another way of seeing but has allowed me to reevaluate my knowledge and unravel Canberra in order to weave it back together (much like the warp and weft implied by the Grid). Through my research, I now know that there is an 'other', that it can be revealed and defined, and that this 'other' way of seeing beyond what I have previously learned, have been told, or have practiced, can be used as an 'other' method for practice thereby enabling me to revise entrenched habits and perceptions.

The second research question I asked was: Once described, through my practice as an architect is it possible to illustrate Canberra's 'other' spaces? This question speaks directly to the exhibition component of the thesis in which projects were undertaken as an analogous process of research. Utilising the tools and instruments of practice—namely diagrams, mappings, projections, illustrations, scale, sequence and overlay—I was able to elicit, explore and document the images of the 'other' spaces and places of Canberra. Through an oscillation between written explorations and practice (each allowing for the progression and reflection of the other) the projects revealed those things that cannot be written, but can be illustrated—such as patterns, movements, flows, edges, borders, thresholds, boundaries, connections, relationships, and transitions. All the sketches, fragments and layers coalesced to reveal an 'other' space presented in the medium that the city knows well and is the common language of planning and the planners—that is the plan.

The practice of the continual planning of the plan is an unstoppable building on the archive of the plan and Canberra's history of ideological projects. In order to re-present an image of the city (again in plan) perhaps for the first time as commensurate with the life of the city, the practice-based works demonstrate a reconsideration of the relations between the process of planning and the life of the city, rendered visible through the lens of heterotopia. The sum of the projects represented by layers of mapping and illustrations present an 'other' plan for Canberra, one which is not bound

to the 'ideal' but through its reflections on the life of the city, provide for a new plan for the city thereby demonstrating the possibility to illustrate Canberra's 'otherness'. This also results in a scalar rhythm—in the heterotopic typologies evident in the project component of the research. Starting from the car park to the park, to the monuments and festivals, to the city this scaling-up allows for a zooming out from the project to the city that is a logical conclusion and presumes a connection to the territory, the national, and finally the world. The planning process that Canberra applies to itself zooms in and scales down from the city to the project. My research shows planning in reverse. It is the inversion of the process that uncovers an 'other' way of seeing, progressing and illustrating the plan thereby augmenting my own practice remit with the evidence to substantiate—and therefore giving permission to—practice outside of the conventions of the plan and planning.

My final research question asked: Because the manner of planning of Canberra speaks only to the matter of planning in pursuit of the recovery of its lost ideal can this 'other' Canberra talk to the continuous planning of Canberra?

Chapter 2 analyses the city's urban planning history in depth. Canberra 'as-it-is' is the result of 100 years of planning decisions that were guided by ideas that evolved outside of our specific reality in the no-place of utopia. It was to be an 'ideal city'. To experience the city is to sense something missing and to see the city differently. To find what is missing requires more than arbitrary provisional iterations. It is not about the planning of an 'ideal' city that gives rise to an ideal society. It is about reviewing the present-day city to provide new understandings and new ways of seeing the 'other' which shapes the city, demystifying the complex ideology of the ideal, which surrounds how Canberra is articulated and conditions the form it takes.

What is missing is the ability to penetrate the legacy; to actually see the city; to insert patterns of use into the continuous planning of the city, and to consider that there exists an 'other' Canberra simultaneously. This thesis establishes the recognition of the city 'as-is' and not 'as-it-is'.

My argument is that through the lens of heterotopia, the Grid emerges as first, an 'other' way of seeing Canberra and second, an 'other' space, an 'other' Canberra, that functions in relation to all the spaces that remain. As a mediator between the plans and planning, legacy, images of the city and the life of the city, the Grid re-presents the totality of the city both ideal and otherwise. It frees us from the cycle of dependency that has locked the planning of Canberra into the continuous pursuit of its utopian origins. Seen as a way of freeing people from the culture of the city (the legacy) the Grid can be an opportunity to formulate a different culture.

The central point that Foucault was making in his conceptualisations of spatiality was that the assertion of an alternative envisioning of spatiality directly challenges, and is intended to challengingly deconstruct, all conventional modes of spatial thinking. They are not just 'other spaces' to be added to the geographical imagination, they are also 'other than' the established ways of thinking spatially. They are meant to detonate and deconstruct. But heterotopia when applied to the city goes beyond the simple logic of contradiction, revealing a network of relations that "glitter and clash" through notions of contingency, interdependency, and simultaneity, "illuminating a passage for the imagination" (Johnson, 2006, p. 87). Through heterotopia, the city as a physical and social phenomenon comes into being and develops within its own logic; through heterotopia an 'other' Canberra comes into being. The parks become parkways, the festivals become monuments, the car parks become a continuous network, resulting in an 'other' equally historic plan that has always been presumed not to be 'ideal' – i.e., the Grid.

My reading of Foucault's heterotopia allows us to see through the legacy. It lights up an imaginary and 'other' spatial field, revealing a set of relations that are not separate from dominant structures and ideology, but go against the grain and offer lines of flight. And while it is the antithesis of the plan for Canberra there are no consistent patterns or paths to follow, but their existences indicate ruptures in ordinary life. Heterotopia comes to signify a spatial practice, where meaning is produced through the city at the interplay of a multiplicity of spaces. Although multiple and varied, these spaces convey a unified narrative of representation; a new image of the city—a public imaginary—mediated by the Grid. But whilst now defined and represented, these

remain contingent spaces, perpetually re-formed and negated, evading the fixing of a determinate meaning or outcome. As the antithesis of the idealised planning of Canberra these 'other' spaces create the conditions for the production of meaning, and therefore the production of the city, through a continuous and heterogeneous yet unified spatiality. In this way, they offer no resolution or consolation of plan, plans or planning policy but rather act to continuously disrupt and challenge our customary notions of ourselves because we are not 'other' than the city.

Before my search for an 'other' Canberra in my professional capacity I was used to only seeing the plan and planning in the same instrumental manner as everyone else—if only planning could regain control of the plan then everything in Canberra would be restored to its ideal state. But living in Canberra comes with a frustrating sense that something is missing—and the perplexity of not knowing what that was, or how to address that. As an architect and architectural educator, I could contribute to the city as a plan, but that felt incongruous. As a citizen, I could, like almost everyone else in Canberra, contribute to the criticism of planning, but that never felt constructive. Between the two was the sense of the liminal that initiated my research and that morphed from thresholds to 'other' spaces. Once framed as 'other' I could begin to 'see' what was missing.

Through my research the plan and its legacy, infrastructures, landscape, temporal modes, and images of the city of Canberra have been reviewed, reconceived, and reconstructed in different ways to be unravelled and put back together revealing the Grid. Through the lens of 'other spaces', I have shown that the notion of heterotopia can be embraced as a new layer of investigation and representation, which is more complex than simply mapping city form. As per Foucault's principles of heterotopia, this type of re-imagining generates a view of Canberra as a complex network of transitions, territorialisations, ruptures, illusions, and encounters; so-called 'man-made' places outside of all places. The by-products of the everyday—human activity, connections, and experiences—are used to generate a renewed way of seeing that which is not utopia revealing an 'other' plan. In this way, the heterotopic 'other' city is the compensatory plan for the city. It is an 'other' lens that shows an 'other' way of seeing 'other' possibilities. The heterotopic 'other' mediates the perceived, the

conceived and the lived. It is the ground, or foundation, from which it is possible to recode the city classifications and orders.

Once identified and decoded into the language of planning the 'other' spaces of Canberra present an alternative model for understanding the idealised design phenomena structuring Canberra and its society. The outcomes of my research demonstrate that through the application of the principles of heterotopia to urban planning, new perceptions can be generated—"The images we make of the world change our perception of the world and thus change our sense of reality of it" (Merleau-Ponty 2010, p. 19). In this way, through heterotopia and the Grid I have overlayed, we cannot help but imagine the future, because it is our every-day imaginings that guide how we live in, and therefore plan, the future Canberra.

In a very personal way through the process of the research, and through the images I have made of Canberra for the exhibition component, I have changed my own perceptions of the city and thus my sense of what is real. From a position, perception, and experience of feeling stuck in a story that was already written, re-read and retold a thousand times (the legacy), to seeing and feeling differently is a very personal transformation. Having equipped myself with an 'other' way of seeing I can provide new narratives and illustrations filled with new and different possibilities for different futures. The research has allowed me to see past the plan; to see not an archive but a dynamic network and ensemble of relations juxtaposed and set off against one another and implicated by each other. I have reached an understanding of the city not as planning policy and procedure, but as the sum of our patterns of living and the relationships, movements and flows they determine, and the projects, plans, and possibilities they create. What I have laid out is an 'other' present-day paradigm opposed to the legacy. In reflecting on my own research experience, I feel a new optimism about the city. My knowledge of Canberra now goes beyond the legacy, the critiques and the plans and planning to see and acknowledge the real potentials in not what, ideally, should be there, but what in the 'other' is there. If a continuous process of finding an 'other' Canberra were to become the 'ideal' then this would be the continuous planning of Canberra. Before my research I could only respond to the plan and planning, but now through a renewed understanding of the city I can help

interpret the historic belief in the plan and Legacy and apply new ways of perceiving Canberra 'as-found' and planning Canberra 'as-it-might-become' and hence injecting new ideas into the ideal.

In response to my own assertions that "something's missing" heterotopia offers a way to address what is missing. My research has identified four 'other Canberras'. Chapters 3 (The Car Park), 4 (The Park), 5 (The Monument and the Spectacle) and Chapter 6 (The Grid) illustrated those, and what is revealed is that the Canberra that we live in is distinct from the Canberra we see in the plans and what can be distinguished from the plans. In revealing an 'other' Canberra I am inserting this illustration into the practice of the plan setting a new condition to be able to speak earnestly about the 'other' without it being a mechanism of illusion and deception. This is my contribution to knowledge. I have illustrated one of possibly many ways in which another Canberra can be revealed. In this way, my contribution is an opening to what could be a rich way of looking at cities. Perhaps the real legacy of the Grid is not itself as a product, but itself as proof that there is an 'other', thereby introducing the notion of 'other' into the lexicon of a city dependent on derivatives and imitation (the utopian impulse)—and opening the door for other 'others'. In this way, the Grid becomes the possibility of an open-endedness—of lives, relationships, histories, and processes of thought. The city I have come to describe through my research makes sure that there is a space and a new legacy through which we can keep imagining the infinite possibilities of Canberra's future i.e., the continuous planning of Canberra.

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Appendix

Figure 10. Exhibition Catalogue

Of Other Plans

Having been conceived upon the grid, Canberra is a city... (text continues)

Philosopher Michel Foucault's influential notion of Other Spaces... (text continues)

The exhibition accompanies the 2015 theme and applies the way in which Canberra's past... (text continues)

My research explores new ways of seeing that illustrate an 'Other' Canberra... (text continues)

Through the lens of 'Other spaces', the notion of heterotopia... (text continues)

As the nation's designated Capital, Canberra... (text continues)

THE EMERGENCE OF THE GRIDDED CITY

...the smallest spatial and planning entities cities... (text continues)

From the car space to the structural moulds of the parking lot... (text continues)

RE-VIEWING CANBERRA THROUGH THE LENS OF OTHER SPACES

1 The word 'Other' is used not in reference to the Canberra Plan... (text continues)

"I HAVE PLANNED A CITY THAT IS NOT LIKE ANY OTHER IN THE WORLD..."

...I HAVE PLANNED AN IDEAL CITY—A CITY THAT MEETS MY IDEAL OF THE CITY OF THE FUTURE!"

Charles Sturt University

THE CAR PARK: SPACE OF TRANSITIONING FUNCTION

As Canberra's dependence on the car has burgeoned... (text continues)

This project was the car/park/pavement playground... (text continues)

THE PARK: SPACE OF ISOLATION AND PENETRATION

In the tradition of the City Beautiful and Garden City urban planning movements... (text continues)

THE PARKWAY: SPACE OF EMERGENT PUBLIC SPACE LIFE

Canberra is a city contingent on the movement that sustains it... (text continues)

THE MONUMENT AND THE SPECTACLE: SPACES OF TEMPORAL RUPTURE

According to Foucault heterotopia 'function as full capacity... (text continues)

This project supports the grid as a mechanism... (text continues)

THE GRID: SPACE OF ILLUSION

As a plan for a future Capital, the Griffin plan for Canberra... (text continues)

This project brings the heterotopic products of the car and the infrastructure... (text continues)

"FIRST THERE ARE THE UTOPIAS. REAL PLACES ARE SITES WITH NO REAL PLACE..."

...THEY PRESENT SOCIETY ITSELF IN A PERFECTED FORM, OR ELSE SOCIETY TURNED UPSIDE DOWN, BUT IN ANY CASE, THESE UTOPIAS ARE FUNDAMENTALLY UNREAL SPACES.

THERE ARE ALSO, PROBABLY IN EVERY CIVILIZATION, REAL PLACES—PLACES THAT DO EXIST AND THAT ARE FORMED IN THE VERY FOUNDING OF SOCIETY—WHICH ARE SOMETHING LIKE COUNTER-SITES, A KIND OF EFFECTIVELY ENACTED UTOPIA IN WHICH THE REAL SITES, ALL THE OTHER REAL SITES, THAT CAN BE FOUND WITHIN THE CULTURE, ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY REPRESENTED, CONTESTED, AND INVENTED, BECAUSE THESE PLACES ARE ABSOLUTELY DIFFERENT FROM ALL THE SITES THAT THEY REFLECT AND SPEAK ABOUT, I SHALL CALL THEM, BY WAY OF CONTRAST TO UTOPIAS, HETEROUPLAS."

Charles Sturt University