



**INSULARITY: THE URBAN ISLAND/ENCLAVE**

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beginnings

This thesis seeks to examine the urban island/enclave condition, exploring territorial relationships across the 'coastal' frontier. It addresses the fundamental question of what it means to be 'insular', and the importance of autonomy in the context of the metropolis, taking the notion of islands and enclaves as both metaphorical and physical spatial delineations. The concept of transition is central to the discussion; the 'edge' is examined as a three-dimensional site of activity and exchange – a live threshold between two contrasting domains.

A range of theories will be drawn upon to analyse this frontage or interface, and the resultant social, political and economic dynamics of the autonomous state. In the urban context, the edges of the metaphorical archipelago are characteristically less distinct than the land-water relationship at the fringes of the tangible island shoreline (particularly when defined metaphysically through cartographic parameters or spatial regulation), yet the peripheral confines remain principal to the delineation and recognition of a territory.

This study will compare and contrast a selection of examples of urban island/enclave conditions, and will explore these environments within their wider urban contexts. It will also question the relevance and viability of autonomy with reference to Richard Sennett's model of the Open City.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, the island/enclave frontier will be interrogated as a critical active zone, bridging the divide between private and public realms, and facilitating 'insularity' through the application of territorial borders and boundaries.

Figure 0.1 (right)

View of Djurgården, Stockholm Archipelago





## INSULAR [ADJECTIVE]

1. ignorant of or uninterested in cultures, ideas, or peoples outside one's own experience
  - 1.1. lacking contact with other people
2. of, relating to, or from an island
  - 2.1. of or relating to the art and craftwork of Britain and Ireland in the early Middle Ages, especially a form of Latin handwriting
  - 2.2. (of climate) equable because of the influence of the sea
3. [ANATOMY] of or relating to the insula of the brain

- DERIVATIVES **insularity** noun, **insularly** adverb

- ORIGIN mid 16<sup>th</sup> century (as noun denoting an islander): from late Latin *insularis*, from *insula* 'island'

Insular (2001). In: *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.947.

## ISLAND [NOUN]

1. a piece of land surrounded by water
2. a thing regarded as resembling an island, especially in being isolated, detached, or surrounded in some way
  - 2.1. a traffic island
  - 2.2. a free-standing kitchen cupboard unit with a worktop, allowing access from all sides
3. a detached portion of tissue or group of cells

- ORIGIN Old English *īegland*, from *īeg* 'island' (from a base meaning 'watery, watered') + *land*. The change in the spelling of the first syllable in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was due to association with the unrelated word *isle*

Island (2001). In: *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.967.

## ENCLAVE [NOUN]

1. a portion of territory surrounded by a larger territory whose inhabitants are culturally or ethnically distinct
  - 1.1. a place or group that is different in character from those surrounding it

- ORIGIN mid 19<sup>th</sup> century: from French, from Old French *enclaver* 'enclose, dovetail', based on Latin *clavis* 'key'

Enclave (2001). In: *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.607.

The island/enclave, as defined by Baldacchino, refers to a jurisdictional territory with “circumscribed privileges and powers, often ratified by law”.<sup>3</sup> Typically perceived as the inverse of one another, islands and enclaves are rarely considered as a unanimous entity, and the idea that an island could operate as an enclave (or vice versa) is widely overlooked. These domains can be formed through processes of carving, excising, offshoring, and quarantining, amongst others, depending on the initiatives driving the bureaucratic division from the surrounding context.<sup>4</sup> The notion of the island/enclave as a bounded, distinctly characterised zone renders it advantageous as a metaphor in urban theory, and can be applied in the analysis of metropolitan systems to describe spatial distribution and territorial relationships.

The term ‘insular’ derives from the Latin word for island, thus a strong connection exists between the notion of autonomy, and island/enclave territories.<sup>5</sup> This thesis explores insularity and the extent to which social, political, or economic exclusion is relevant and/or feasible in a contemporary urban context. Issues surrounding surveillance and citizen independence are prevalent in the modern developed world, as society is dominated by hyper-connectivity and overregulation. The notion of autonomy is challenged as one’s ability to withdraw from society or go ‘off-grid’ becomes increasingly unachievable, and the distinction between private and public realms is weakened. This paper seeks to explore autonomy in the contemporary city through analysing the treatment of, and relationships at, territorial edges. The critical zone of transition at the island/enclave periphery will be examined in order to identify the contextual dynamics, in addition to the physical, spatial characteristics, that either enable, or prohibit insularity.



Figure 0.2 Singapore - an island territory, independent from Malaysia



Figure 0.3 Vatican City - an enclave territory, independent from Italy

This thesis will be driven by social, cultural, and urban theory, discussed in conjunction with stories of real places and events. A combination of literary review, primary observation, and secondary evidence from images, maps and surveys will provide knowledge to structure the argument, and address the core questions regarding edge conditions and territorial theory. Principally, Richard Sennett's philosophy of borders and boundaries in *The Open City* will be adopted to discuss themes of spatial demarcation and ownership. A range of hypothetical, historic, and existing anecdotes of autonomous island/enclaves territories will be employed to support the investigation, and their successes and failures highlighted in order to critically analyse the conditions and consequences of the insular state. The examples selected will cover a range of contexts, from literal island regions to notional urban enclaves, mostly operating within similar territorial scales, concerning a single community or ideology. The use of historic anecdotes will offer lessons learnt, enabling a comprehensive review of the wider impacts of autonomy within an identified context, whilst current examples will provide relatable situations encountering contemporary issues.

Chapter one will explore how the island/enclave is defined within an archipelagic structure as both a conceptual and real space, focusing on the frontier as a fundamental point of expression and exchange. Hypothetical design projects will be broadly discussed in relation to the archipelagic model, before a more in-depth comparison of Exarcheia and Kowloon Walled City will demonstrate real sites of anarchic autonomy, and how they are defined within an urban fabric. Secondly, the duality between public and private space will be investigated in conjunction with the archipelagic model, and Sennett's posture on 'open' and 'closed' cities will be debated. Anecdotal examples of POPS and the Jewish eruv will be analysed as zones that challenge the binary relationship between inclusion

and exclusion, emphasising the importance of the territorial edge in defining a space and communicating its objectives. In the third chapter, autonomy will be discussed, contrasting existing examples of independent societies to investigate the social, political, and economic factors that generate territorial division. Conclusions will be drawn on the significance of autonomy and the role of island/enclaves in the contemporary urban context, before a critical stance will be taken in response to Sennett's open city model. An anecdotal personal account of a *dérive* in the Stockholm Archipelago will serve as an epilogue, contextualising and reflecting upon the key themes and findings of the thesis using the narrative of the author's speculative proposal for an autonomous urban island/enclave.

# 01

defining the territory

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“ *Dreaming of islands - whether in joy or in fear, it doesn't matter - is dreaming of pulling away, of being already separate, far from any continent, of being lost and alone - or is dreaming of starting from scratch, recreating, beginning anew.* ”

Gilles Deleuze (2004:10)



Figure 1.1 The world's 25 largest cities, concentrated around coastal regions

Islands possess a certain allure or fascination; they are often presented as “locales of desire, as platforms of paradise”, conjuring fantastical imagery of utopian escapism.<sup>6</sup> The island is perceived as a place of fabled existence, exempt from the governing laws and restrictions that control behaviour on the mainland.<sup>7</sup> It is a paradoxical place, simultaneously representing freedom and imprisonment, openness and enclosure – the island is the prime geography of choice for spatial-juridical enclaving.<sup>8</sup> It is unsurprising, therefore, that there exists a strong history of development of human settlements in coastal, island, and archipelagic regions – the world’s most densely populated areas exist in, or near, the coast, where recreational and economic activity is concentrated (Figure 1.1).<sup>9</sup> Grydehøj suggests that the strong association between islands and cities results from three key factors: territoriality, defence, and transport.<sup>10</sup> Islands proffer both power and protection, assisting the jurisdictional and economic elite. In this way, the spatial benefits of island inhabitation enable political distinction, often resulting in sovereign microstates or the development of free-trade zones and off-shore tax havens such as the Channel Island territories, which possess significant independence despite their proximity to, and confederacy with, the UK.

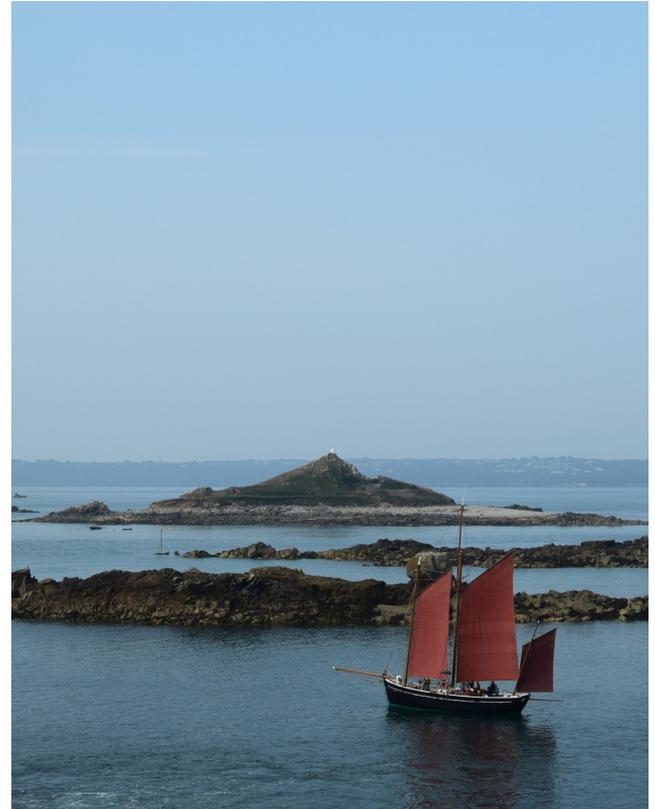


Figure 1.2 Channel Islands - a UK territory with independent laws and customs

Within the context of the metropolis, the physical dislocation between terrains has proven advantageous in the development of archipelagic cities such as Stockholm, Venice, and St. Petersburg, allowing strategic expansion and the controlled establishment of specific districts according to programmatic and demographic demands (Figures 1.3 - 1.5). For example, in Stockholm, the territorial division historically enabled undesirable activity and land uses to be segregated from the city centre; the large island of *Södermalm* was formerly identified as the working-class or 'slum' district; *Långholmen* notoriously housed Stockholm's central prison; and *Beckholmen* developed as an industrial site, accommodating the city's dry docks amongst other disruptive processes and infrastructures (Figures 1.6 - 1.9). The urban archipelago, as an assemblage of land masses, can thus be seen to present a unique metropolitan relationship, whereby the separate territories often possess distinctive characteristics or roles; each individual island serves a specific function that contributes to the whole, yet cannot operate in isolation – there exists an archipelagic urbanism “whose parts are different and complementary and whose capacity is dictated by operational collaboration amongst its parts”.<sup>11</sup>

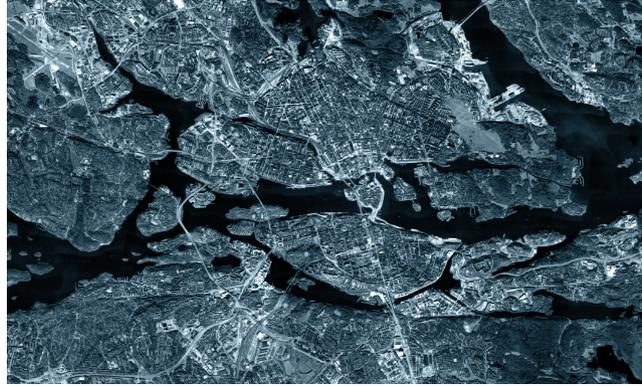


Figure 1.3 Stockholm



Figure 1.4 Venice



Figure 1.5 St Petersburg



Figure 1.6 Södermalm low-income housing, 1899



Figure 1.7 Långholmen prison, 1895



Figure 1.8 Beckholmen docks, 1959



Figure 1.9 Map of the Stockholm City Archipelago

Island Key:

- |                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Beckholmen      | 8. Reimersholme    |
| 2. Djurgården      | 9. Riddarholmen    |
| 3. Helgeandsholmen | 10. Skeppsholmen   |
| 4. Kastellholmen   | 11. Stadsholmen    |
| 5. Kungsholmen     | 12. Stora Essingen |
| 6. Lilla Essingen  | 13. Strömsborg     |
| 7. Långholmen      | 14. Södermalm      |

The metaphor of the archipelago is widely applied in architectural and urban theory as a compelling representation of a dispersed network of isolated nodes, with the central logic of “associated differences”.<sup>12</sup> The tendency to apply the geographical term to the metropolis was popularised in the latter half of the 20th century, as a number of prominent architects and academics adopted the language to generate evocative imagery of associated, yet autonomous objects. O.M. Ungers et al. employ the notion of developing island/enclaves in *Berlin: A Green Archipelago*, a manifesto for remodelling Berlin - a contemporary city that had a shrinking population, divided politics, and economic difficulties at the time - as an intricate and immersive system, reducing the city to a series of small, interconnected territories or ‘nodes’ (Figure 1.10).<sup>13</sup> Through this process of spatial division and categorisation, the ‘void’ or ‘ocean’ that hosts the nodes gains significance: the interstitial space is as important as the islands themselves, providing the solvent to unite the separate parts, and simultaneously producing both territorial connection and distinction.

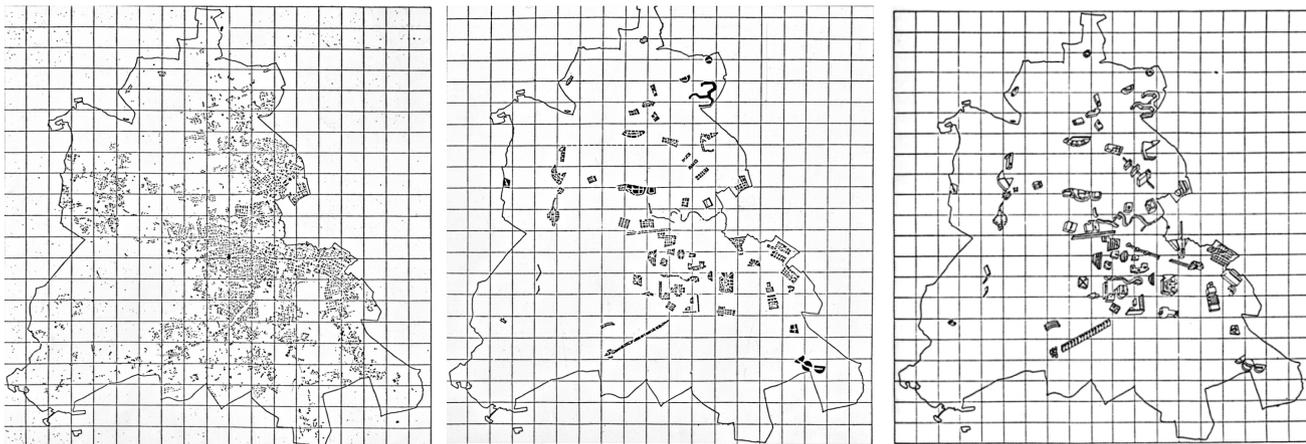


Figure 1.10 *Berlin: A Green Archipelago*, 1977. O.M. Ungers et al.



Figure 1.11 Paris - Radial Urban Layout

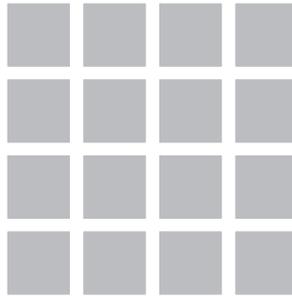


Figure 1.12 Barcelona - Gridiron Urban Layout



Figure 1.13 London - Irregular Urban Layout

Aureli expands upon the urban archipelago model, elucidating that architecture has the capacity to reveal the political stance of both the city and itself through the processes of separation. The boundaries of the architectural form provide frames, limiting and opposing urban flows through the application of stoppages, closures and strategic containment.<sup>14</sup> This relationship of contrast and separation is most evident in historic gridiron cities, in which distinct, regulated frontiers form a political statement of authoritarian enclosure and exclusion (Figure 1.12). The urban 'island' block signifies efficiency and functionality through top-down control, whereby citizen agency

and accessibility is strategically regulated by the distribution of built form. Contemporary urban production, in contrast, is commonly characterised by an irregular enclave-network structure, in which an "ad hoc flotilla" of 'islands' is dispersed through scaleless urban space (Figure 1.13).<sup>15</sup> The contemporary city's political and economic agenda is muted compared to the gridiron arrangement as separation is less overt, yet the closed unitisation of modern developments such as shopping malls, office parks, and housing estates results in urban enclaving - the territorial edges act as frames, imposing division.

As the inverse of an island, an enclave denotes a territory embedded within a larger terrain – a border within a border or, as Ungers put it, “the city in the city”.<sup>16</sup> In political and geographic terms, an enclave specifically refers to a piece of land surrounded by a foreign territory. These can be categorised across a range of levels from enclaved countries, such as the Vatican City, to extraterritorial regions, such as embassy buildings and military bases, which are endowed with jurisdictional exemption. In urban theory, the enclave is often used in conjunction with the archipelago metaphor, as seen in *Berlin: A*

*Green Archipelago*, and Rem Koolhaas’ *The City of the Captive Globe* (1972). In the latter, buildings and ideologies are connected by a common ‘sea’, yet restricted accessibility segregates territories into enclaved strongholds (Figure 1.14). Koolhaas employs the urban grid to reinforce spatial delineation, using proximity and juxtaposition to emphasise the differences between the separate blocks. In this way, the urban enclave is defined through its relationship with the surrounding context, and the archipelagic model is enhanced through distinction at the territorial limits.

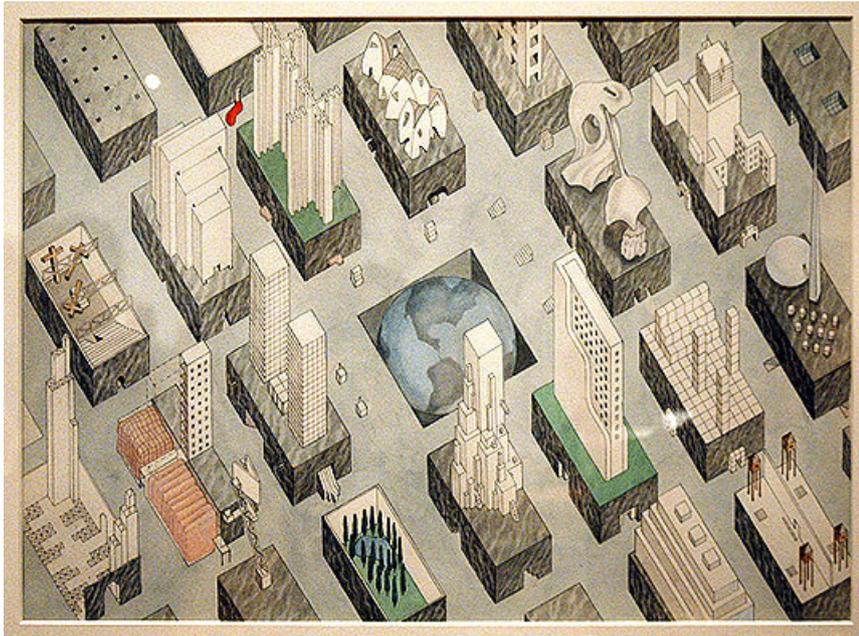


Figure 1.14 The City of the Captive Globe, New York, 1972. Rem Koolhaas.

In addition to its application in urban theory, the enclave condition has provided an appealing structure for anarchist settlements and squats in built form throughout history. Renowned examples include the Exarcheia neighbourhood in Athens, Freetown Christiania in Copenhagen, and the distinctly bounded district of Kowloon Walled City in Hong Kong (Figures 1.15 - 1.17). The formation of each of these territories has occurred at different historical moments, and the consequences have engendered varying social, political and economic dynamics in their separate contexts. Both Exarcheia and Freetown Christiania have a history of conflict with government forces, yet continue to exist today within their urban settings with relatively open borders. Conversely, Kowloon Walled City operated through an antagonistic relationship with external authorities, employing its built form as a barrier at the territorial frontier, and resisting cooperation. These contrasting precedents provide evidence that the treatment of the enclave frontier can result in markedly different spatial conditions, through which the character and outlook of the territory is often projected. In the same way, the edges of an island are intrinsic to defining its identity, stature and disposition through peripheral relationships, hence the littoral frontier can be analysed as a critical, symbolic interface, fundamental to the interpretation of a territory.



Figure 1.15 Exarcheia, Athens



Figure 1.16 Freetown Christiania, Copenhagen



Figure 1.17 Kowloon Walled City, Hong Kong

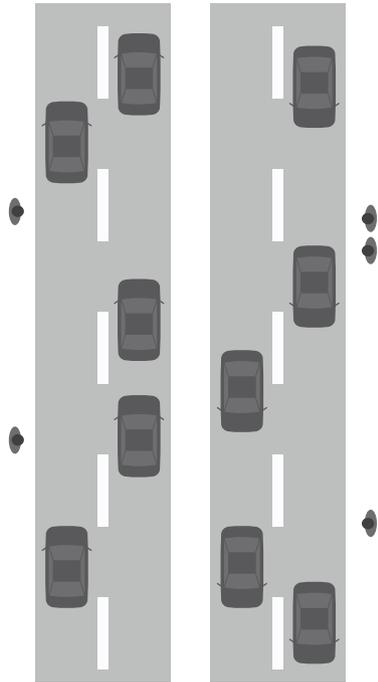


Figure 1.18 Impermeable boundary-wall

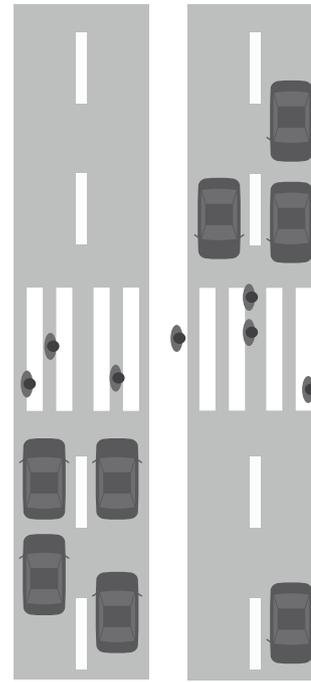


Figure 1.19 Permeable border-membrane

The archipelago model is based upon exchange between parts, principally at the intersections along its edges. Sennett's open city theory provides a useful language through which frontier conditions can be described and differentiated – the boundary 'wall', defined as the hard, impermeable barrier where things end, and the border, likened to a 'membrane' as a place of interaction that is porous, yet resistant.<sup>17</sup> In the context of the metropolis, the border and boundary can take various forms, and often a minor alteration to the urban infrastructure can lead to the reversal of a condition. For example, a highway or road may form a boundary-wall, physically inhibiting

pedestrian flows with fast-moving traffic {Figure 1.18}. Alternatively, if the same road is granted interventions such as traffic lights or speed restrictions, or bridging is provided enabling territorial osmosis, a border-membrane is realised {Figure 1.19}. Sennett argues that our cities are currently dominated by the closed boundary-wall, yet we should strive to build open border-membranes. This perspective reiterates the principles of the archipelagic model, whereby separate parts can exist individually yet rely upon integration within a wider network, operating through systems of mutual responsibility, reciprocity and compromise.

There exists a fundamental underlying binary at the edges of the island/enclave between two contrasting domains, presented as an interface between opposing sides. Anatomically, the edge possesses a thickness and height as a three-dimensional, occupiable zone, as opposed to a two-dimensional line as typically depicted on maps and plans.<sup>18</sup> The edge is a dynamic interstitial space; it can be hard or soft, continuous or fragmented, intimidating or enticing; the character is predominantly relational to, or representational of, the territory it encompasses. This is evident in the contrast between natural and anthropogenic coastlines, whereby artificial, man-made edges portray dominance over the environment, indicating the attitude of a territory's inhabitants and suggesting their political or economic motives. In this way, semiotic analysis can reveal the meanings communicated or manifested at territorial edges. As Casper suggests, "to design a city at its interfaces focuses design energy where it is most potent – as urban façades, as gateways, as divisions, and as icons".<sup>19</sup>

The notion of the edge as an iconic point of identity and expression is apparent in the treatment of the coast as a 'shop-front' for political and cultural symbolism; the littoral edge is commonly seen as a "stamping ground for new urban phenomena", used to accommodate personal whims and ambitions.<sup>20</sup> As the façade of a territory, the edge is endowed greater significance as it forms the marketing imagery, advertising the place contained within. Baldacchino notes that branding can be used effectively to exploit and flaunt 'islandness', using territorial exclusivity to promote local goods or services – "many an island is already deeply wedded to an existing, iconic image".<sup>21</sup> Examples of such branding regimes include Shetland ponies and Fiji water, through which the character and attraction of the island is proffered symbolically as a service or commodity.

Branding is also practiced in construction around the littoral edge - often amenities designed to appease and seduce are employed along the visible frontier, communicating a certain social, political, or economic status. For example, the reshaping of Macau's coastline through land reclamation has enabled the erection of "internationally renowned" casinos and luxury resorts that, according to the official tourism board, offer 24-hour non-stop services and "a wealth of entertainment options for visitors".<sup>22</sup> These iconic developments are clearly visible from the majority of approaches to the territory, dominating the skyline and communicating the cultural character and financial objectives of Macau through symbolic definition (Figure 1.20). This highlights the importance of marketing at the territorial interface - as the critical zone of expression and exchange, the edge is paramount in establishing the selling point, publicising the qualities or ideals of an island/enclave.



Figure 1.20 Macau's waterfront projects a culture of gambling and corporate dominance



EXARCHAIA, ATHENS





Figure 1.22 Visual expressions of character define the territory

Exarcheia has long been a renowned epicentre for radical free-thinkers and activists – established in the 1870s, the region has played an important socio-political role in Greece, accommodating numerous intellectuals and artists amongst socialist, anarchist, and anti-fascist communities. Unlike Kowloon Walled City, Exarcheia is not retained by a physical boundary-wall. The quarter is defined by the existing urban grid, whereby its extents are ascertained cartographically – the enclave frontier operates as a metaphysical line, relying upon public awareness and notoriety for recognition as an autonomous territory. As a result, the theoretical boundary line translates in actuality as a transitional zone at the fringes of the district, within which the character and socio-political status become gradually more apparent as the territory is penetrated (Figure 1.22).

Figure 1.21 (Previous spread) Exarcheia is characterised by graffiti and visual expressions of its socio-political status

Figure 1.23 (Opposite) Violent outbreaks between residents and police forces are frequent



Exarcheia has historically been stereotyped as a “no-go anarchist ghetto where attacks against the police...are rife”.<sup>23</sup> In 2015, the fatal shooting of a 15-year old by police forces in the district triggered extensive riots across Athens, and as a consequence authorities now refrain from entering Exarcheia except in extreme circumstances. Instead, police can frequently be found stationed strategically around the periphery, forming a more defined, coercive barrier around the territorial frontier.<sup>24</sup>



二十六號  
西醫陳杰

孫仰光牙科

西醫陳杰生

黃景志

黃景志牙醫

國醫診所

安芬診所

王君

廣州丹鳳堂

林天任

劉瑞華

郭衛人

Coca-Cola  
松發冰室

同安

林仲平

麗斯牙室

孫仰光

郭衛人

科牙科會

所診生醫

所療醫民平

屈宋郊華西

和成

龍活



西醫  
陳漢良

張廷華皮膚專科  
內科  
針灸  
電療  
即知  
即驗  
23號二樓

麗天牙科

大眾診所

譚樹輝牙科

美斯錄牙科

許天勳

光明診所

新興飯

富士牙科  
胡湘揚科

美斯錄牙

王偉權

科牙派張

馬慶輝牙科

科牙派張

富士牙科 胡湘揚科

KOWLOON WALLED CITY, HONG KONG

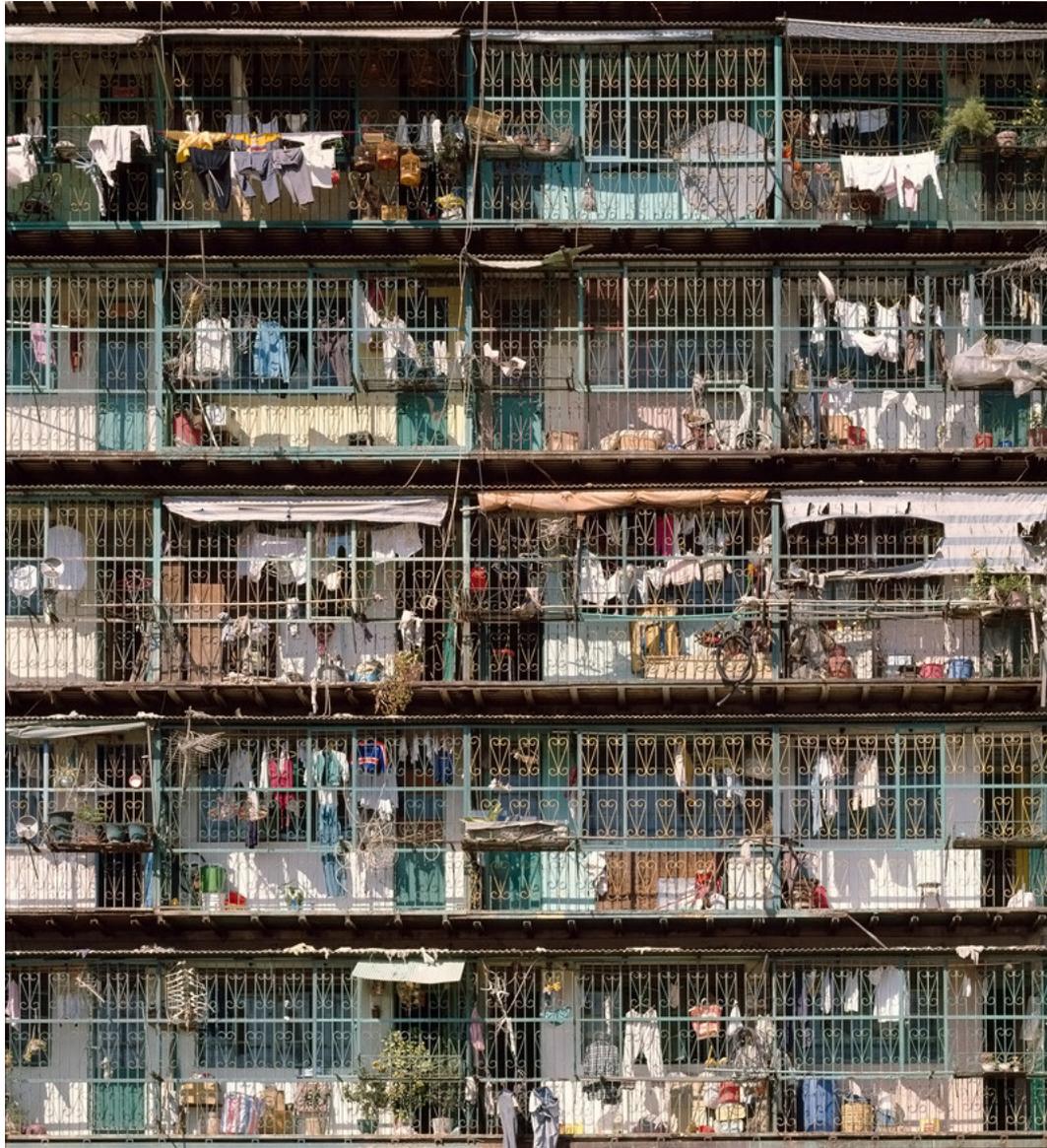


Figure 1.25 A maze of walkways provided access around the enclave, removing the need to return to the ground-plane

Figure 1.24 (Previous spread) Tung Tau Tseun Road, 1987 - the territorial frontier formed an overt, symbolic boundary



Figure 1.26 Densely-packed tower blocks formed a distinct, physical barrier around the territory, contrasting the surroundings

In contrast to Exarcheia's hypothetical border, which is largely imperceptible other than through demarcation on maps or the implication of territorial division by the presence of police, the enclave of Kowloon Walled City dominated 2.7 hectares of the Hong Kong landscape as a physical landmark of anarchy. Over three-hundred interconnected (unregulated) high-rise buildings of up to fourteen storeys formed an overt territorial boundary, issuing a frank statement to authorities regarding the jurisdictional status of the district. The legend of the Walled City dates back hundreds of years; originally founded as a small fort, it was not until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the British invaded, that the district assumed its status as an enclave, resisting colonial administration. Over time, the territory became

increasingly populated – by the 1980s the Walled City housed around 33,000 people. The territory was historically surrounded by a 4.5 metre deep stone wall, from which its name derived. Although the original wall was dismantled in 1943, the enclave continued to be defined by its physical boundaries; the building edges formed a tangible partition, asserting a clear division between internal and external authorities. The ungoverned, anarchist societal structure led to extensive criminal activity, including prostitution, gambling, and drug abuse, and resulted in the formation of triads. In response, government authorities in Hong Kong developed a hands-off approach with limited interference, until in 1987 demolition plans were outlined, and the eviction process finally began.<sup>25</sup>

The island/enclave exists as a result of separation, produced through a relationship of contrast with its surroundings. As illustrated in the archipelagic model, the differentiated parts that form island/enclaves often possess diverse qualities and ambitions. These differences are most apparent at the edges where conflicting ideals collide: the territorial frontier forms a critical zone of opportunity, a place of negotiation and exchange that communicates the status and identity of the district it surrounds. In short, the frontier zone is articulated by the nature of the space within, projecting inclusivity or exclusivity through the treatment of its edges.

Sennett would argue that to achieve an effective archipelagic structure, in which separate territories operate holistically as a system of interconnected nodes, urban edges should embrace a border-membrane condition, encouraging interaction and compromise, and fundamentally enabling coexistence through an agonistic framework of positive tension and bottom-up control. However, as Fraser suggests, "empowered publics are as likely to take the form of contestation as that of deliberation".<sup>26</sup> The study of Exarcheia demonstrates the application of a permeable border around an urban enclave territory, allowing free movement across the peripheral zone, which conversely resulted in ghettoisation and antagonism. In this way, Sennett's views on the elimination of the boundary-wall can be challenged, as forceful containment or control in certain situations could be seen as pertinent to facilitating civic stability and social accord through acknowledging differentiation.

# 02

privacy vs. publicity

The island/enclave occurs in the metropolis under a range of guises; sanctions are often enforced to control access to, and activity within, a territory, regulating behaviour and specifying exclusivity.<sup>27</sup> Spatial ownership is typically distinguished through contrast, most discernibly in the delineation and differentiation between public and private space. Territorial confines can take either physical or metaphysical form, including force-based interventions such as walls and gates, coercive measures such as CCTV surveillance, or authoritative regulations that dictate and impose spatial division. Public space is traditionally formed in the gaps between private properties, whereby the hard edges of defined enclosures operate as a symbol and apparatus of power, political status, social codes, and accessibility.<sup>28</sup> Adopting the archipelagic model, spatial demarcation enables the framing of public realms - island/enclave edges work in tension to support common open spaces or voids, and separate the enclosed, solid, private domains. Hence negotiation between publicity and privacy is managed in the design of the surfaces, or territorial disposition communicated, at the transitional edges; Casper argues that “these interfaces are imperative to the production and preservation of active public realms”, as the archipelagic edge possesses agency as a spatial domain to impact the wider urban context.<sup>29</sup>



Figure 2.1 Interventions are often employed to reinforce territorial boundaries

The public sphere is often perceived as the amalgamation of a body of private individuals coming together to discuss communal matters.<sup>30</sup> In this way, the spatial consequence of the public sphere is a domain produced as a result of different territorial productions overlapping and intermingling in a singular place – the commons are presented as a palimpsest of territorial layers, through which an informally empowered collective is generated. In line with Sennett's view that we must champion dissonance, Kärholm stipulates that the aim of public space is not to promote integration or assimilate different groups, but rather to establish mutual values of tolerance,

and acknowledge similarities and differences.<sup>31</sup> In the contemporary city, the common 'sea' between archipelagic nodes is widely considered to be under threat as the public realm is increasingly privatised with gated communities and exclusive amenities.<sup>32</sup> The erosion of this interstitial, neutral ground will not only impact the potential of the collective as a mobilised body of discursive opinion, but also jeopardise social, political, and economic relations in the metropolis. As territorial distinction between public and private space is weakened, the critical zone of exchange at the island/enclave frontier loses prominence {Figure 2.2}.

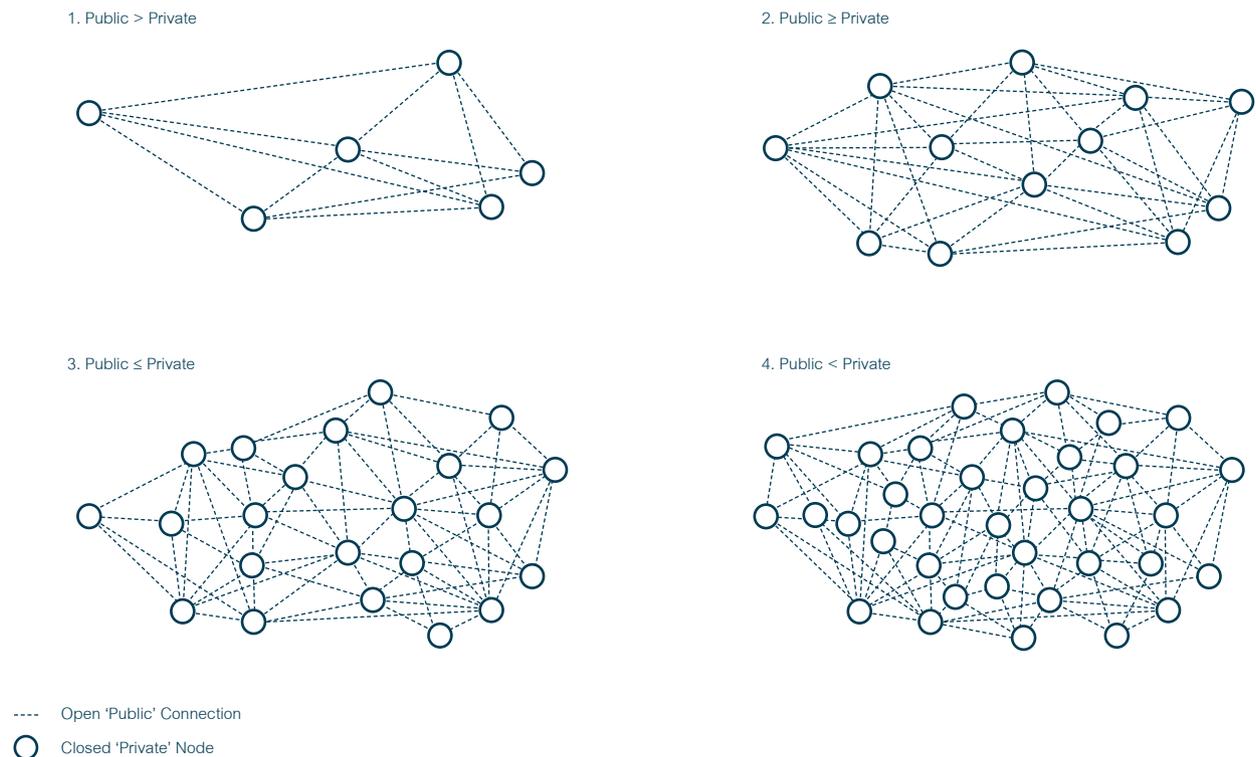


Figure 2.2 Territorial definition and public interconnectivity deteriorate with privatisation

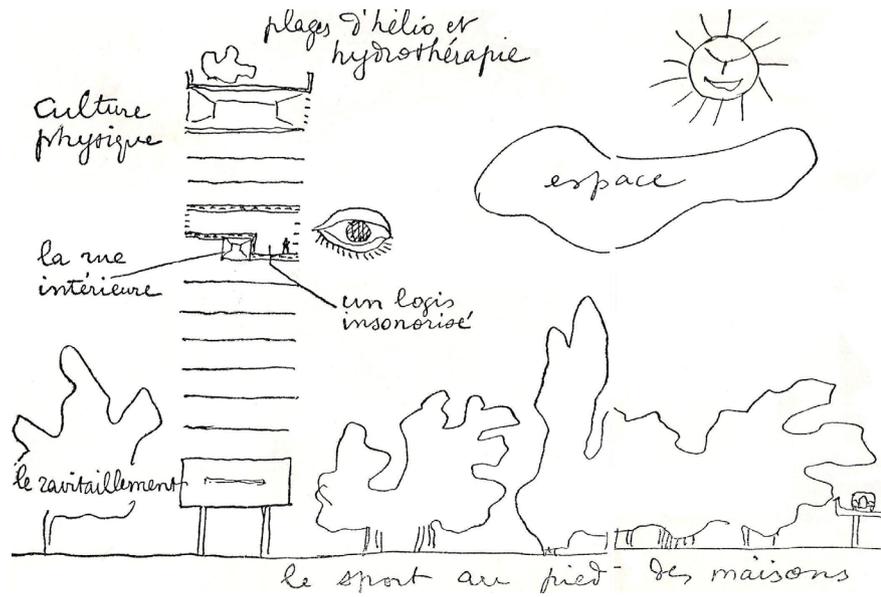


Figure 2.3 Integrated public space - Unité d'habitation sketch section, Le Corbusier

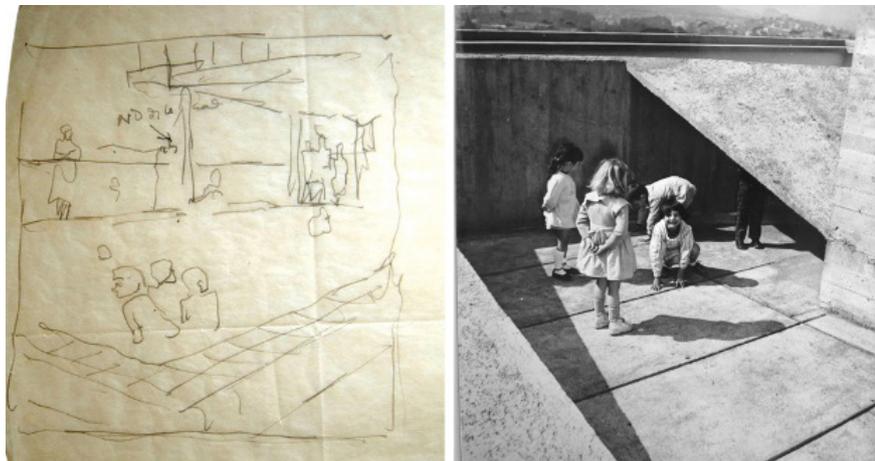


Figure 2.4 Spatial / programmatic concept to realisation - Unité d'habitation roof sketch / photograph

Sennett describes the contemporary city as a closed, brittle place, composed of regulated zones operating in isolation.<sup>33</sup> The closed-city is a place of hard boundaries, where accessibility is limited and territorial division pronounced through the broad presence of impenetrable zones of exclusivity. As a form of the boundary-wall, 'antisocial' architecture is often employed, exploiting audio-visual deterrents such as white-noise or hostile lighting, or the more forceful, undisguised application of spiked or sloped surfaces, to discourage activity or access. The closed-city is dictated by order and control, inhibiting public influence or adaptation. Conversely, the archipelagic model presents the city as a constellation of interconnected nodes, relying upon citizen flows, cohesion, and reciprocity within its interstitial space to function – accessibility and interchange between solid, private realms are critical to the operation of the city as a unified system. This relationship is exemplified in Corbusier's *Unité d'habitation* – a purpose-built, all-inclusive high-rise 'city' for cooperative living.

Despite the controlled rigidity of private apartment zones in *Unité d'habitation*, the mixed-use development thrived as a result of community engagement and the integration of public services, including an art gallery, gymnasium, cinema, and various shopping 'streets' (Figures 2.3 - 2.7). These services encouraged social interaction, and loosened the division between public and private realms. In this way, to avoid a brittle urban fabric, public space in the metropolis has a vital role as a binding medium, facilitating exchange and transition, and enabling individuals to move and operate freely. Fundamentally, collective ownership of the commons is achieved through equal and open access to all – this is strengthened by the definition of territorial edges, promoting unification and inclusivity through contrast with private domains, and the application of democratic, porous frontiers in the public realm.



Figure 2.5 Unité d'habitation - public rooftop amenities



Figure 2.6 Unité d'habitation - 'internal shopping streets'



Figure 2.7 Unité d'habitation - open ground plane

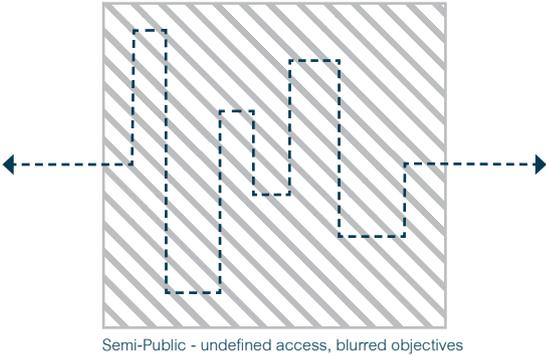
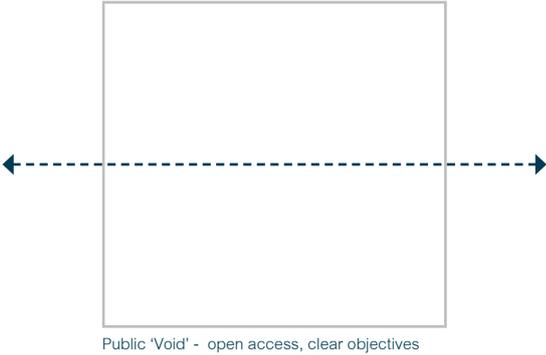
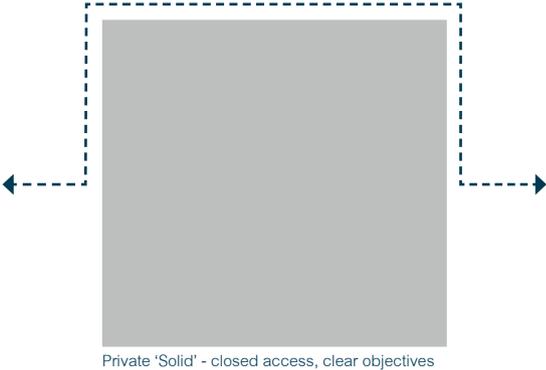


Figure 2.8 Security officers monitor public behaviour in Canary Wharf, London

Private acquisition and tenure of communally accessible land is increasingly practiced in the contemporary neoliberal city. Consequentially, citizen liberties are curtailed as capacity for expression is circumscribed, or certain behaviours are prohibited, within territories that can appear to be public. Privately owned public spaces (POPS) are frequently indistinguishable to civilians – the territorial edges are designed to encourage access and occupation of the space, yet (largely unbeknown to the public) regulatory controls can be enforced at the whim of the private authority. The dramatic, unexpected implementation of sanctions to prevent the Occupy movement from protesting in 2011 is evidence of this territorial blurring, whereby private interests were suddenly revealed through the erection of fences and introduction of security patrols around

the periphery of London's Canary Wharf. Through private ownership of the land, the Canary Wharf Group was able to capitalise upon state power to remove unwanted citizens, and activity, from its site. Protesters openly responded; "Canary Wharf is privately owned, but its character is the result of a deliberate attempt to create a 'public space' in which the public is not welcome" – the territory is identified as deceitful, concealing its authoritarian motives, and belittling the public through spatial and political ambiguity.<sup>34</sup> This lack of clarity at the fringes of POPS results in a fuzzy zone in the urban archipelago, in which characteristics of both the private 'island/enclave' and the public 'sea' can be embraced – the territory is semi-public (or semi-private), challenging the binary model through blurred objectives and territorial overlap (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9 Private, Public and Semi-Public Territorial Access



An interesting example of a semi-public territory within an urban context is the Jewish district of the eruv. Found in cities across the world, eruvim are intentionally designated spaces, tied to a specific community, yet often exist symbiotically within a wider society in which non-participating members are oblivious to the territorial division. In Orthodox Judaism, the Sabbath is observed as a holy day, during which practicing Jews are forbidden from working, including carrying or operating objects and devices, in the public domain. This tradition presents a range of challenges in the contemporary city, particularly to minority groups disadvantaged by gender, age, or disability. The implementation of an eruv symbolically extends the private domain through the manifestation of a metaphorical, continuous wall around the territorial periphery, within which a lower level of restrictions can be observed. Consequentially, activities that are normally prohibited in public can be practiced within the enclosure, enabling a more practical, inclusive, community-based existence, without violating the customs of the Sabbath. The domain is hypothetically converted from public to private, yet in reality the territory remains part of a shared urban fabric: the parameters are acknowledged only by participatory actors.

The peripheral line enclosing eruvim territories is often formed from existing structures (Figure 2.11). Where continuity in the border is not possible, for example where a road is bisected, a notional 'doorway' is erected from vertical supports bridged by a 'lintel', commonly achieved by stringing wire between utility poles, creating a symbolic edge that is largely indiscernible to the wider public (Figure 2.10). If this 'wall' is ruptured, the entire territory is affected – nowhere inside is safe, and the designation as a private terrain ceases to apply. The eruv contests the division between public and private property, "challeng[ing] modern state and capitalist notions of space as 'territory' or 'enclosure'"<sup>35</sup> – although classified as private terrain for

cultural and religious purposes, the land is often legally owned by the state, or other private bodies, and eruvim borders present no limitations to public access or activity. Despite the social, political, and legal disputes concerning the implementation of eruvim, the territorial model presents opportunity for a new definition of spatial ownership and control in the city, in which the meaning of 'private' alters according to temporal demands and civic conditions.

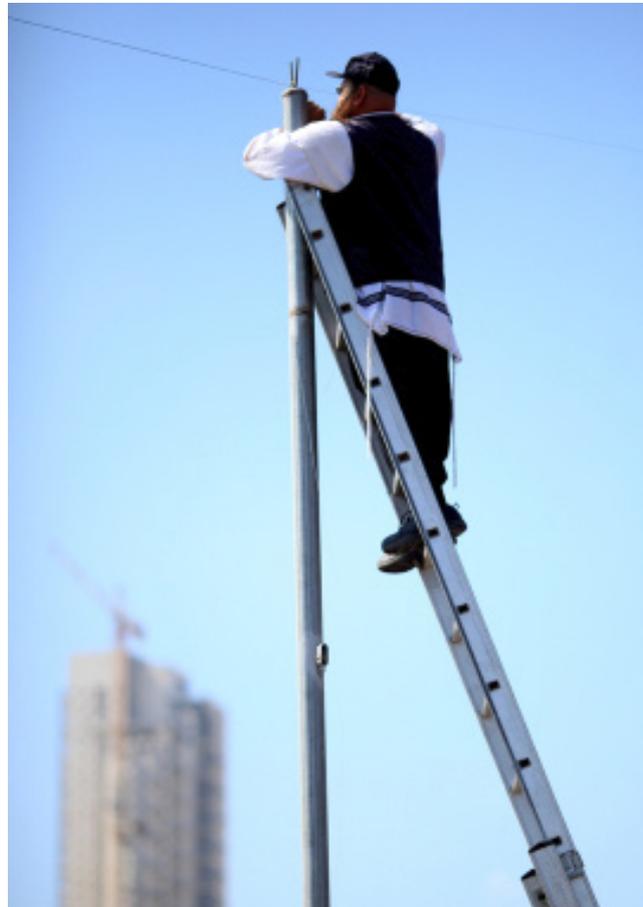


Figure 2.10 The erection of an "invisible" eruv border using suspended wire, Jerusalem

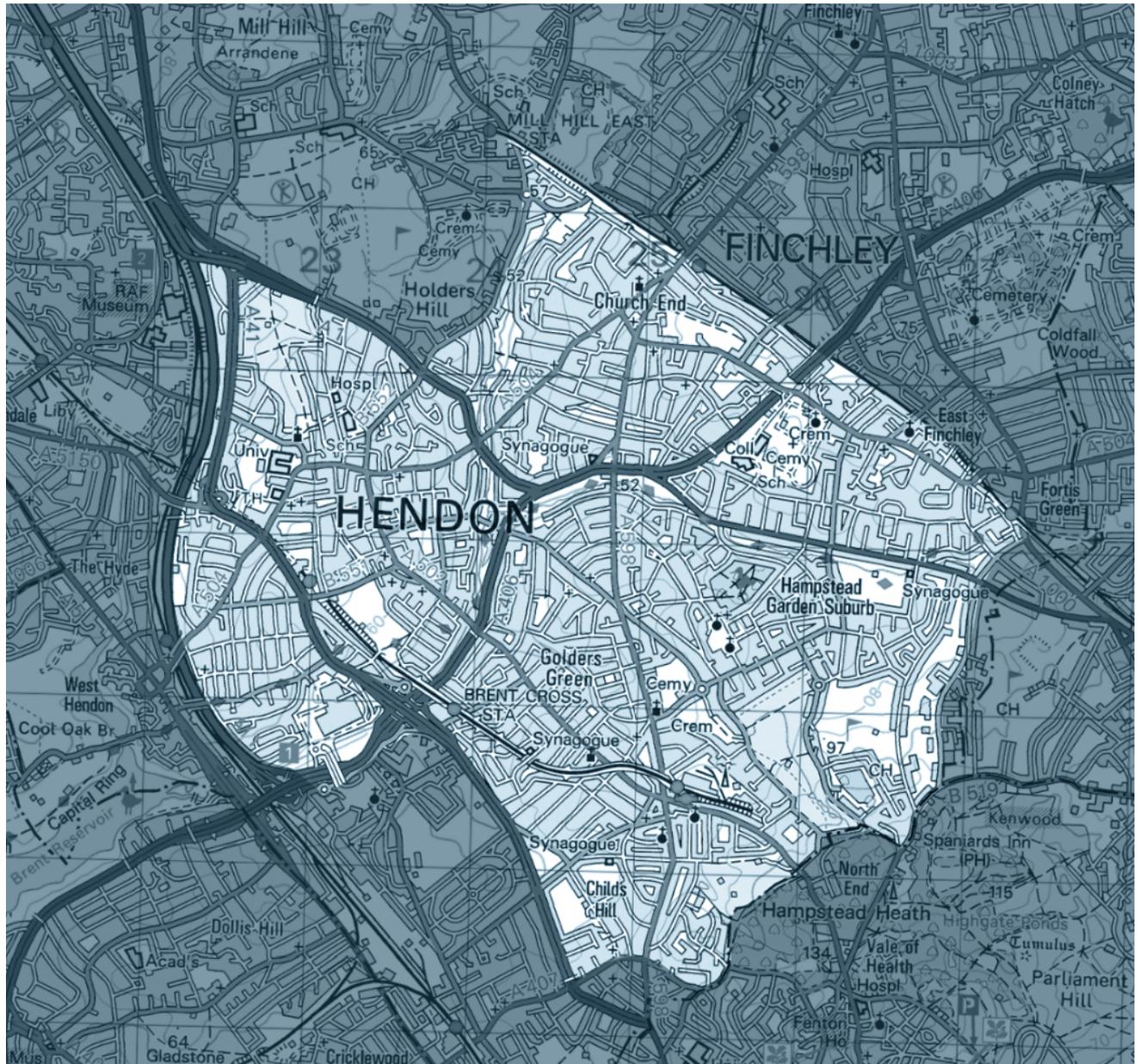
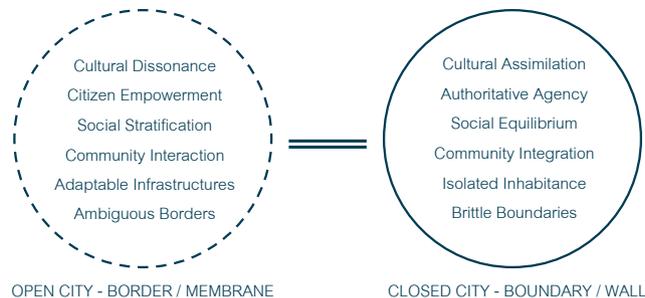


Figure 2.11 The north-west London eruv exploits existing infrastructures to form its borders

The contemporary city relies upon a fragile balance between public and private domains. Sennett argues that the closed system denies citizen agency, and it is in the bringing together of differences in the open system that a reactive, empowered collective is produced. The closed city attempts to assimilate and regulate citizen attitudes, striving for equilibrium and integration – virtues that, according to Kårholm, should be avoided, whereas tension and dissonance should be harboured.<sup>36</sup> These theories, in conjunction with the anecdotal analysis of *Unité d'habitation*, illuminate the importance of the commons as a critical site of transaction, where mutual values are established, and a community spirit is forged. The archipelago model demonstrates how public space is shaped through distinction from private realms, whereby the nature of spatial possession is defined in the treatment of the interfaces between territories. In further opposition of Sennett's endeavour to eradicate the boundary-wall, this highlights the relevance of retaining markedly private terrains that can offer security, seclusion, and enclosure, allowing an individual a choice over participation and public engagement, whilst accentuating the territorial divide.

Collective ownership of the commons is reinforced through expression of, and contrast between, publicity/inclusion and privacy/exclusion. Clarity at the territorial edges enables heightened awareness and acknowledgement of spatial extents, thus illuminating citizen liberties. Issues arise in situations where this division lacks definition, as demonstrated in the fuzzy, semi-public zones of POPS and eruvim. In both examples, public access to a privately designated space is unconstrained, and as a result, the indication of territorial ownership and control is inexplicit. Sennett suggests a need for such ambiguous, “unscripted” public/private space, within which impromptu, impulsive social engagement or activity can occur.<sup>37</sup> One can argue, however, that it is the blurred objectives of these loosely classified hybrid spaces that threaten the role and potential of the commons, misleading citizens into a false perception of territorial rights, and diluting the relationship of contrast and dissent that is considered central to maintaining an active public realm.

Figure 2.12 Characteristics of the open vs. closed city



03

autonomy

The term 'autonomy' refers to the right or condition to self-govern, endowing freedom from external control or influence. In most societies, legislation such as *Freedom of Speech* and the *Human Rights Act* allow citizens a certain level of autonomy to make independent decisions and choices. On a broader scale, autonomous states are typically formed from geographically delineated territories that are exempt from external authority, either physically disconnected from a country as an island, or inhabited by a minority population as an enclave. Statistics demonstrate that over 20% of the world's sovereign states are located on island or archipelagic territories, and over 100 island jurisdictions "are known to enjoy a degree of autonomy without sovereignty".<sup>38</sup> Arguably, this is because the terrestrial characteristics of an island render it an ideal site for mutiny or exclusivity, endorsing "a place of lawless exception and a cauldron of democracy".<sup>39</sup> Autonomy is recognised in creative political economy, such as the use of independent stamps, currency, internet domains, or telephone dial-codes, amongst others {Figure 3.1}. It is similarly evident in the architectural or programmatic application of island or enclave territories, such as detention centres, religious sanctuaries, casinos, or financial free-trade zones, which are often governed by alternative laws, or possess a special legal or economic status {Figures 3.2 - 3.4}.



Figure 3.1 £1 notes are widely used in Guernsey, yet not accepted on the UK mainland



Figure 3.2 Tax Haven Jurisdictions - Caribbean



Figure 3.3 Tax Haven Jurisdictions - Europe



Figure 3.4 Tax Haven Jurisdictions - Asia & Oceania

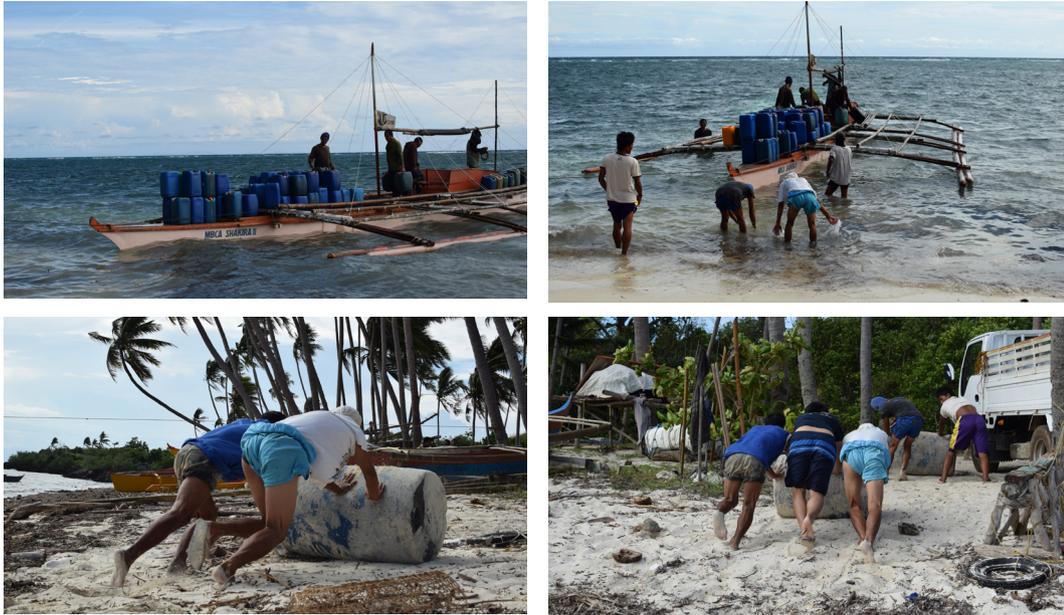


Figure 3.5 Negotiation and exchange of goods at the littoral edge of an island territory - Siquijor, Philippines

The principle of autonomy can be achieved in different ways, ranging from social withdrawal and physical retreat from society, to political or economic sovereignty, through which external customs or rules are rejected in favour of an alternative governing structure or cooperative. In both the generation of an island condition through territorial segregation, and the enhancement of parochial attitudes and societal disengagement, autonomy is closely related to insularity: the autonomous state is presented as a sectarian province, a place of opposing philosophy and cultural differentiation. As autonomous civilisations tend to exist in island/enclave locations, the territorial frontier becomes a vital site of exchange, forming a transitional zone where values shift, and principles are redefined. Baldacchino maintains that “paradigms tend to be weakest at their peripheries; challenges to sovereignty are most apparent at the margin, where power is more clearly contested”.<sup>40</sup> Sennett would argue the importance of encouraging activity and interaction in these zones of contestation, creating porous borders within which different social groups and attitudes collide, and promoting tolerance and compromise at the crucial edges between communities, which are frequently neglected in urban planning as attention tends to be focused at the centre.<sup>41</sup> The frontier is a realm where understanding is established – regardless of how the peripheral division is executed, the autonomous state is defined through the processes of negotiation, flux, and exchange at its edges.

The notion of exchange at the territorial frontier is perhaps most manifest in economic transaction – the production, distribution and trade of goods or services between two agencies occurs principally at the fringes of a community, particularly those operating in an island/enclave location, whereby value can be negotiated on the peripheral, neutral ground. Graeber outlines the history of economic exchange, suggesting that trade initially developed around networks of ‘everyday communism’, using a social currency to distribute mutual responsibilities and labour.<sup>42</sup> Monetary systems were not established until much later, and new forms of trade continue to be developed today, with varying aspirations according to their intended market. Digital currencies have existed for over 20 years, with the most popular service, Bitcoin, released in 2009. Its value, as with any currency, is determined by demand - in March 2017, a unit of Bitcoin was reported to be worth more than gold for the first time.<sup>43</sup> Electronic methods of payment have been popularised due to the anonymity of transactions, lack of authoritative control, accessibility in areas that lack traditional exchange systems, and fundamentally, the ease and speed of online transfer authorisations.

In contrast to these globally accessible cryptocurrencies, various local currency enterprises, such as the Brixton Pound, have been initiated in the UK in recent years to promote local sustainability. The objectives of these schemes include supporting regional economies and independent businesses, instilling a greater sense of community spirit through increasing local interaction, and providing transparency in enabling people to control and monitor where their money goes. As legal restrictions forbid the production of private banknotes from sources other than listed issuers, local currency schemes often adopt voucher-based tokens of exchange that operate within closed circuit networks (Figure 3.6).

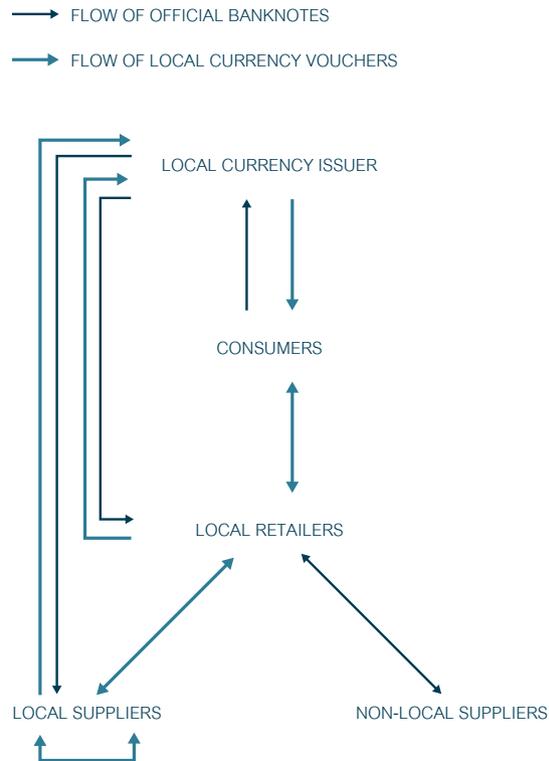


Figure 3.6 Typical Monetary Flows in a Local Currency Structure

Figure 3.7 (Opposite) Local services support use of the Brixton Pound

THE BRIXTON POUND  
CASH MACHINE

THE BRIXTON POUND

An economically autonomous region can be determined by the locations of participating units, adopting an archipelagic model of dispersed, yet interconnected nodes. This territorial relationship is apparent in the distribution of contributors to the Brixton Pound initiative; participation is concentrated in the centre of Brixton, and becomes sparser with distance from the urban core (Figures 3.8 - 3.9).<sup>44</sup> Through mapping the circulation of the Brixton Pound, it is clear that the spatial confines of an economically autonomous enclave are often fuzzy. In this case, units are classified according to their function or level of commitment, forming a series of layers that occupy different spatial zones. The participating territory is flexible and lacks articulation, thus the enclave assumes a border-membrane relationship with the exterior through porosity and adaptability at its edges.

- Fully participating trader that accepts online, mobile, and cash transactions
- Trader with pending applications that accepts cash transactions
- ⬢ Brixton Pound issuing point where GBP can be exchanged

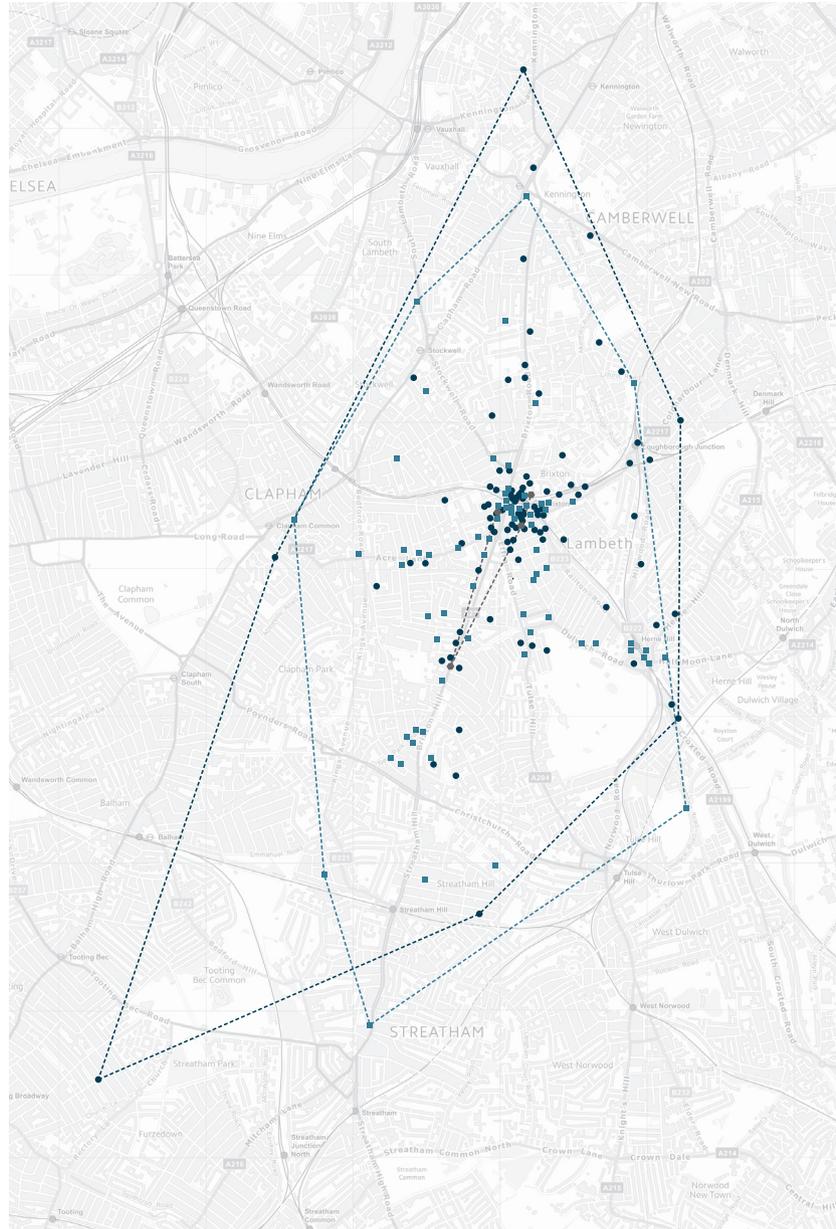


Figure 3.8 Application of the Brixton Pound in the Wider Urban Context

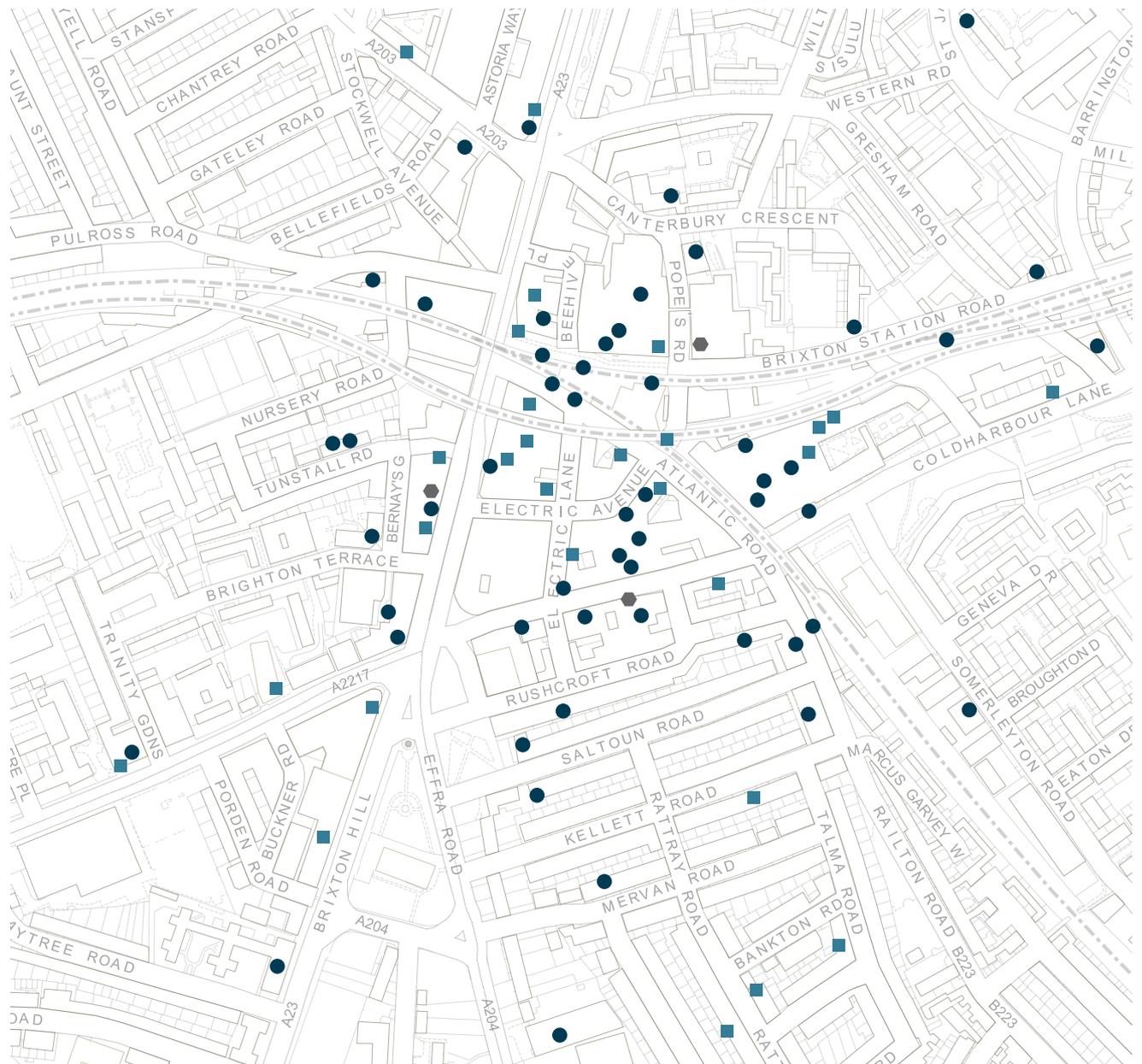


Figure 3.9 Application of the Brixton Pound in the Local Context



AN ISLAND CURRNECY - SUOMENLINNA, HELSINKI



In 2010, Christian Nold and a small team embarked upon a pioneering project, attempting to introduce an experimental currency on a small island in Helsinki. Their book, *Autopsy of an Island Currency*, outlines the series of events that led to the demise of the initiative over the course of three years. The island of Suomenlinna was interrogated as a site of social, cultural, and economic contact and exchange, selected due to its unique landscape and “mysterious possibility for experimental autonomy”.<sup>45</sup> The core aim of the project, referred to as the ‘Suomenlinna Money Lab’, was to introduce a local currency both as a social medium and as a distinct memento that was identifiable and associable with the district. Unfortunately, Nold and his collaborators faced a variety of challenges throughout the project, which exposed wider questions about the nature of money and its ability to unite or divide, and fundamentally people’s commitment to the collective through participation and civic engagement.

Figure 3.10 (Previous spread) Ferries provide access to the unique landscape of Suomenlinna throughout the year

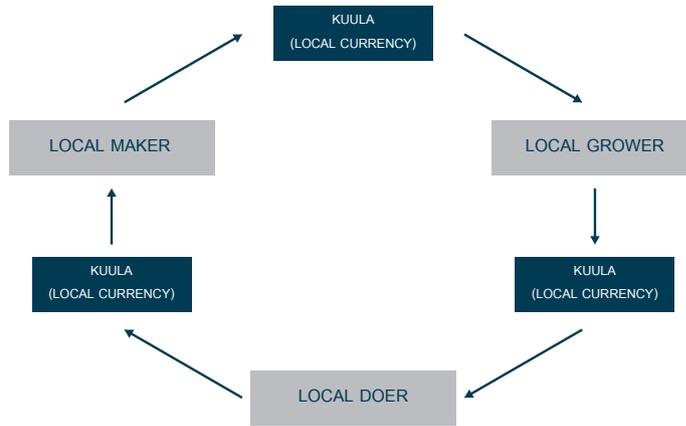


Figure 3.11 Island residents establish a local network of exchange in which money is circulated within a closed cycle

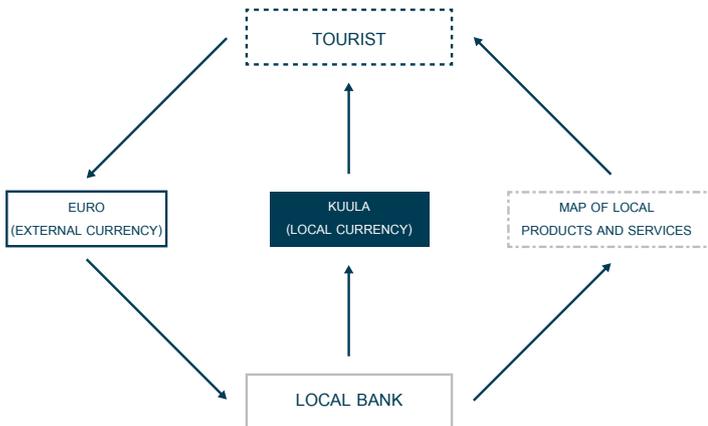


Figure 3.12 On the journey to Suomenlinna visitors exchange Euros for *Kuula* and tourist information

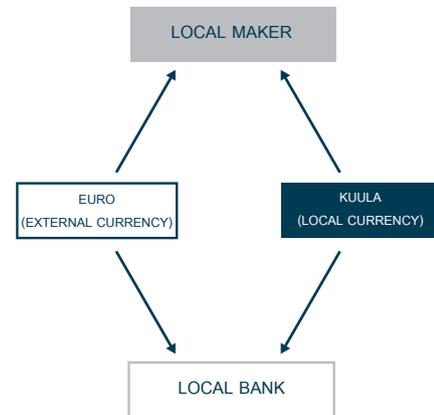


Figure 3.13 Island residents can exchange local currency for Euros as some services cannot be provided by *Kuula*



Figure 3.14 Suomenlinna is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, built across six islands in Helsinki

Nold and his peers developed a strategy whereby the currency would be implemented in two cycles – an internal one for local island inhabitants {Figure 3.11}, and an external one for tourists {Figure 3.12}. The external cycle generates profit, stimulating and supporting the smaller, island-based initiatives, which operate through local monetary circulation. The Suomenlinna scheme relied upon firm commitment and trust in order that ‘real’ money could be exchanged into the local currency. Alas, over time it transpired that the small island community was overburdened with authority, likened to a “feudal village”.<sup>46</sup> The project faced widespread opposition from governing bodies, and participation was

discouraged - rather than constructing social cohesion as intended, the scheme appeared to cause friction within the community, drawing out local tensions associated with power and control. The failings of this project highlight a common attitude towards autonomy: many people prefer to rely on the comforts and security of connection to a larger, lower-risk, established system. This perspective is particularly prevalent in island civilisations, where the geographical conditions may already present a form of dislocation or disassociation from the wider society. As Baldacchino suggests, “There is at least one worse predicament than being totally overrun by external intervention; and that is being truly insular”.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to economically autonomous regions, which are frequently associated with, and governed by, a larger authority, sovereignty suggests supreme power through the self-ruling of a state. Sovereign territories are, by definition, exempt from external laws, and as a result, often sanction behaviour or activity that is forbidden or restricted elsewhere. As Grydehøj stipulates, the terrestrial characteristics of islands are conducive to the implementation and maintenance of sovereignty, as geographically segregated territories are easier to defend, and local agents possess greater protection from external threat.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the physical or jurisdictional dislocation of a terrain from its surroundings can encourage self-sustenance – autonomous communities often practice a degree of local food production and energy sourcing, and island/enclave territories are widely used as the utopian locale for holistic, ecologically self-contained societies.

The principle of self-sufficiency was central to Paolo Soleri's concept of arcology (the fusion of architecture and ecology), and his hypothetical fantasy municipalities illustrate the key elements required to produce an environmentally autonomous community in harmony with the natural world (Figures 3.15 - 3.16). His designs centre on pedestrian infrastructures within 'miniaturised' three-dimensional compact frameworks, combating transport inefficiency, increased energy consumption, and social fragmentation that result from two-dimensional urban sprawl.<sup>49</sup> Arcologies remain largely as speculative proposals, as no project has thus far been completed, yet the experimental township of Arcosanti, built as a prototype of Soleri's vision, survives as a self-contained desert community in Arizona (Figure 3.17). Arcosanti is located in a rural setting, forming an insular community that relies upon a relationship with its surrounding landscape. Whilst much of the original design has not been realised, the project forms a testbed for arcological concepts,

focusing on social integration and the balance of living, working and recreation as a theoretical and architectural synthesis.<sup>50</sup> Despite operating today primarily as a tourist destination, the concepts behind Arcosanti provide a model for autonomous societies, driven by self-reliance, frugality and environmental responsibility, whilst existing in isolation as an ecologically integrated, living system.

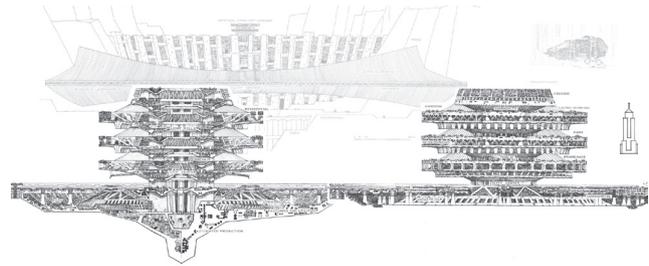


Figure 3.15 Proposal for Babel City (*The City in the Image of Man* - Paolo Soleri)

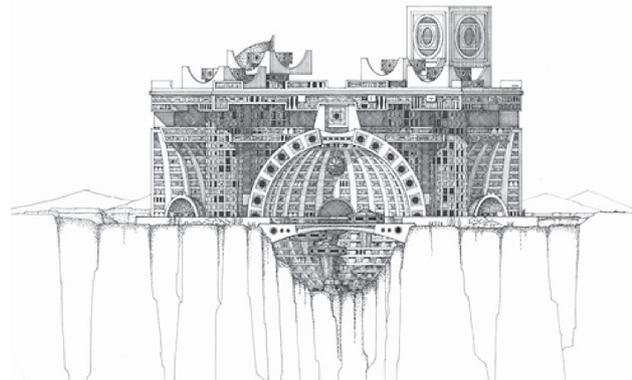


Figure 3.16 Early vision for Arcosanti (*The City in the Image of Man* - Paolo Soleri)



Figure 3.17 The Ceramics Apse is one of 13 built structures in Arcosanti, designed to harness natural light and climatic conditions

An extreme case of the application of sovereignty can be seen in the Principality of Sealand, a micronation which refers to itself as “the smallest country in the world”.<sup>51</sup> Located on an abandoned sea fort, the territory was first inhabited in the 1960s, at which point the occupiers defended its status as an autonomous sovereign state. In 1987, an extension of UK nautical boundaries resulted in Sealand lying within British territorial waters, thus contesting its position as an autonomous nation. Nonetheless, irrespective of the legalities, the inhabitants have continued to recognise Sealand as a sovereign state with an independent monarchy and constitution, issuing its own passports and currency. As a consequence, the site has attracted various commercial businesses, including a ‘data haven’ and the notorious torrent platform *The Pirate Bay*, which sought to purchase the territory after encountering legal issues at its former operational base in Sweden. Both the marine location of Sealand and its architectural form enable the territory to function as an exclusive off-shore fortress, resisting public access and conveying supremacy.



Figure 3.18 Michael Bates, 'Prince of Sealand'



Figure 3.19 Sealand is located on an abandoned sea fort off the east coast of England



Figure 3.20 Creative political economy - Sealand stamps

Figure 3.21 (Opposite) Christiania declares itself exempt from the jurisdiction of the EU



*You are now entering the EU.*

EU

DANFAXI 70 25 25 25

4x27

FREETOWN CHRISTIANIA, COPENHAGEN



Figure 3.22 Graffiti and murals communicate the anarchist spirit of Christiania's territory

Autonomous societies in urban enclave locations operate through a complex relationship with their surroundings, as the transitional zone at the peripheral edge forms a fuzzy space of contention where legalities and ideologies are transposed. One such example of this is the territory of Freetown Christiania, a self-proclaimed sovereign state that encompasses 34 hectares of the city of Copenhagen. In line with Soleri's principle of arcology, Christiania prohibits the use of private cars, operating as an ecovillage with self-sufficient initiatives including recycling, sustainable energy sourcing, water treatment, and local food production. The district developed from a squat in a former military barracks, and currently hosts around 1,000 permanent residents. As an anarchist community, Christiania has sought to establish its own laws, independent of Danish governance (Figure 3.23). The mission statement from 1971 declares:

*"The objective of Christiania is to create a self-governing society whereby each and every individual holds themselves responsible over the wellbeing of the entire community".<sup>52</sup>*

Christiania's legal status has been disputed for decades, with extensive negotiations between occupants and Danish authorities over land ownership and development, taxes, and the open drug market. The future of the commune remains uncertain, particularly following the recent curtailing of cannabis trading and normalisation measures such as the formal registration of all buildings within the territory. Nonetheless, Christiania's historic relationship as an enclave within the city offers a valuable model for analysing how sovereignty can operate in an urban context. Since the wall of the former barracks was deconstructed nearly half a century ago, an abstract border between the autonomous community and Denmark has existed. The spatial division is apparent through both signage and the clear contrast in territorial identities, yet the ethos of Christiania is to allow open access to all. A border-membrane is employed, facilitating negotiation and embracing agonism at the edges, thus increasing the possibility of a peaceful coexistence.



Figure 3.23 Christiania is governed by its own common law



Figure 3.24 Police often feel the need to intervene, disregarding Christiania's autonomy



Figure 3.25 Drug raids by the Danish police are increasingly common



Figure 3.26 Cannabis stalls were recently removed from Pusher Street following violence

The sovereign communities analysed in this section illustrate how autonomy can be achieved through various methods of societal seclusion further to physical spatial separation, including financial and legislative independence, and self-sustenance. Soleri's arcologies illustrate utopian urban autonomy, counteracting urban sprawl with contained, self-supporting communities. In reality, most arcology enterprises have failed as a result of financial or practical shortcomings – the lack of investment in these schemes suggests an absence of interest or commitment, arguably indicating apathy towards the ideals of complete autonomy. Conversely, the Principality of Sealand - a unique site of jurisdictional exemption - thrived by means of attracting financial investment, harbouring activity that was prohibited or disapproved of elsewhere. Similarly, Christiania has succeeded through accommodating a specific demographic with a desire for legislative independence, whilst retaining interaction and connection with the surrounding civic framework. In the metropolis, the parameters of a territory's autonomy are articulated through the peripheral relationship with its context. This is apparent in the dispersal of the Brixton Pound, whereby units promoting the currency begin to overlap and intensify towards the urban core – the transitional zone at the territorial fringe forms a crucial point of exchange as awareness of, and participation in, autonomy is endorsed.

These examples have highlighted the range of benefits and attractions autonomous communities can offer, including social, political, economic, and environmental factors that can enhance participants' existence, satisfying individual desires through financial gain, legislative freedom, social refuge, and/or increased ecological responsibility, amongst others. Nevertheless, as highlighted in the shortcomings of Christian Nold's experiment in Helsinki, autonomy is sometimes perceived as a negative asset. The autonomous state attracts anarchist, radical communities, providing a platform for the alternative, and challenging governmental normalisation. In truth, many people have an intrinsic desire to remain unified with the collective, willing to yield to the authority of a wider society for fear of instability or insularity – traits associated with the autonomous state.

# 04

conclusions



Figure 4.1 Island territories in the Hong Kong archipelago

*“ neglect of the edge condition... means that exchange between different racial, ethnic, or class communities is diminished. By privileging the centre we can thus weaken the complex interactions necessary to join up the different human groups the city contains. ”*

Richard Sennett (2006)

Metropolitan areas are commonly structured through an assemblage of enclaved territories, as illustrated in the archipelago model. These urban enclaves typically employ overt interventions to assert spatial control in the form of borders and boundaries, sanctioning the possibility of insularity through social, cultural, political, or economic segregation. Insularity is built upon contrast, relying on a relationship with the wider context in order to establish difference. Consequentially, insular territories are defined through the processes of transition and exchange, occurring principally at the terrestrial fringes where disparate ideologies collide. It is at these peripheral sites of territorial overlap that the city can be read; where activity is heightened; where attitudes are communicated; where values are established.

Edges play a crucial role in facilitating autonomy and insularity, qualities that are challenged in the contemporary urban context. The archipelago model portrays the public realm as the interstitial platform between private nodes, hosting a network of inter-territorial flows. This duality between inclusion and exclusion, solid and void, is emphasised at the island/enclave frontier, informing citizen agency through an expression of territorial identity. Whilst private space is critical to the functional operation of a city, the modern capitalist state, driven by economic gain, widely disregards the role of the commons, and the private procurement of public space is resulting in a blurred urban fabric in which spatial division and ownership is ambiguous. This highlights the importance of retaining distinction at territorial edges, categorising space through symbolic demarcation in order to raise awareness of the behavioural expectations and liberties that can be exercised within.

Sennett argues that the closed city – in which citizens reside in isolation and strive for assimilation – should be replaced with a more open urban structure centred on social reciprocity and an appreciation of differences. In concurrence with Sennett's ideology, I support the view that differentiation and diversity are paramount to a healthy, functional society, and dissonance can be harnessed as a tool for enriching the cooperative. We must, however, be aware that in the open city model public empowerment can result in conflictual, agitational reactions, and I contest that the boundary-wall condition still upholds relevance in certain situations. I argue that it is imperative to retain distinct zones of autonomy and exclusivity as places of refuge in the city by means of controlled accessibility. It is within these spaces where freedom of expression is sanctioned and likeminded groups can unite that diversity, which is central to social relations in the wider urban context, is fortified.

Furthermore, the lack of territorial definition in the open city model challenges the fundamental principle of the urban archipelago as a binary structure of solid and void: the non-linear open city has ambiguous edges, adaptable form, and unpredictable outcomes. I maintain that such ambiguity can conversely result in disempowerment of the collective, as a lack of transparency can engender fear, confusion, or discouragement of community unification through uncertainty of citizen rights. Nonetheless, embracing the limits of the archipelagic binary model, we must adopt a more hierarchical stratification between the basic division of publicity and privacy. As Bauman notes in his analysis of contemporary culture, we are moving away from “rigid standards and fastidiousness”, abandoning fixed tastes and distinct societal divides for a more flexible, inclusive structure based upon preference and temporariness.<sup>53</sup> Applying these ideas to the context of spatial organisation in the metropolis, the categorisation and division of territory should be less constrained, enabling a space to assume different conditions across a broader range of classifications.

Above all, regardless of the label applied to a territory, it is crucial to provide clarity at the transitional edges, whether porous or solid, border or boundary. It is at these edges that the island/enclave is brought into existence – we must achieve a certain level of spatial delineation in order to express and maintain territorial ideologies, and communicate citizen rights. As we move into a more complex urban model and adopt a wider variety of territorial conditions, it is crucial that differentiation is highlighted through contrast between the island/enclave and its surroundings. In short, the autonomous territory relies upon a critical relationship with the wider civic framework, communicating its status through the processes interaction and exchange at its peripheral edges.

# 05

epilogue

Figures 5.1 - 5.8 (opposite)

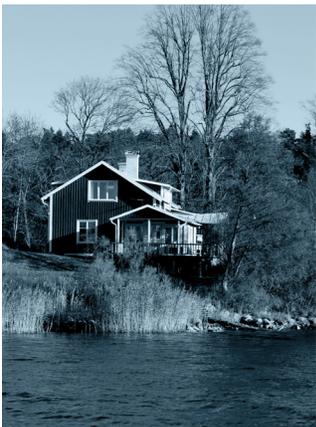
'Islandness' and insularity in the Stockholm Archipelago



# EPILOGUE



a *dérive* in the  
Stockholm Archipelago



Official reports suggest that Sweden is comprised of around 221,800 islands, over 28,000 of which belong to the Stockholm Archipelago (although figures vary depending on how 'islands' are classified).<sup>54</sup> Walking through the city of Stockholm on a sunny October day, the notion of 'islandness' began to transcend into every aspect of my reading of the site – the nature of both inhabitation in, and transition through, the territory, in addition to the behaviour and attitudes of the people passing by, reflected an innate sense of autonomy and insularity. Despite the prevalence of families and individuals profiteering from public space in the numerous parks, open plazas, and broad urban boulevards, I began to recognise a widespread aversion towards social interaction in public, and avoidance of community engagement. It was only in the most intimate of spaces, sitting nude in the *Centralbadet* sauna surrounded by local women, where I noticed a change in conduct. In this zone of demarcated privacy I beheld free expression and open interaction - behaviours unseen elsewhere on my journey.

On reflection, I turned to Daun's *Swedish Mentality* to unpick this observation, which noted that Swedes are often described as 'cold', and are commonly considered to be "socially closed" and "spiritually empty".<sup>55</sup> According to Daun, Swedish people tend to avoid verbal and physical expressions of emotion or affection, particularly in public situations, reaffirming the behaviour I had witnessed. I continued to mull over this stereotypical classification, and discovered through my research that (in general) Swedish people are incredibly private, and have an intrinsic desire for isolation and escapism. This attitude is ingrained in Swedish culture, and is particularly evident in the national ritual of abandoning urban life and retreating to the countryside *stuga* (summerhouse) for rest and relaxation, away from the strains of the city. It is said that over 50,000 *stuga* can be found on the islands of the Stockholm Archipelago, reiterating this desire for insularity and physical separation.

Stockholm is globally recognised as a tech-hub and hotbed for cutting-edge innovations. One such pioneering enterprise I witnessed was the move towards becoming a cashless society and the eradication of cash based payments, stumping many tourists like myself who had dutifully collected a supply of *krona* prior to the trip. The use of mobile technology and digital communication bring widespread benefits to the economy, improving efficiency whilst allowing transactions to be recorded and analysed. This information is valuable for

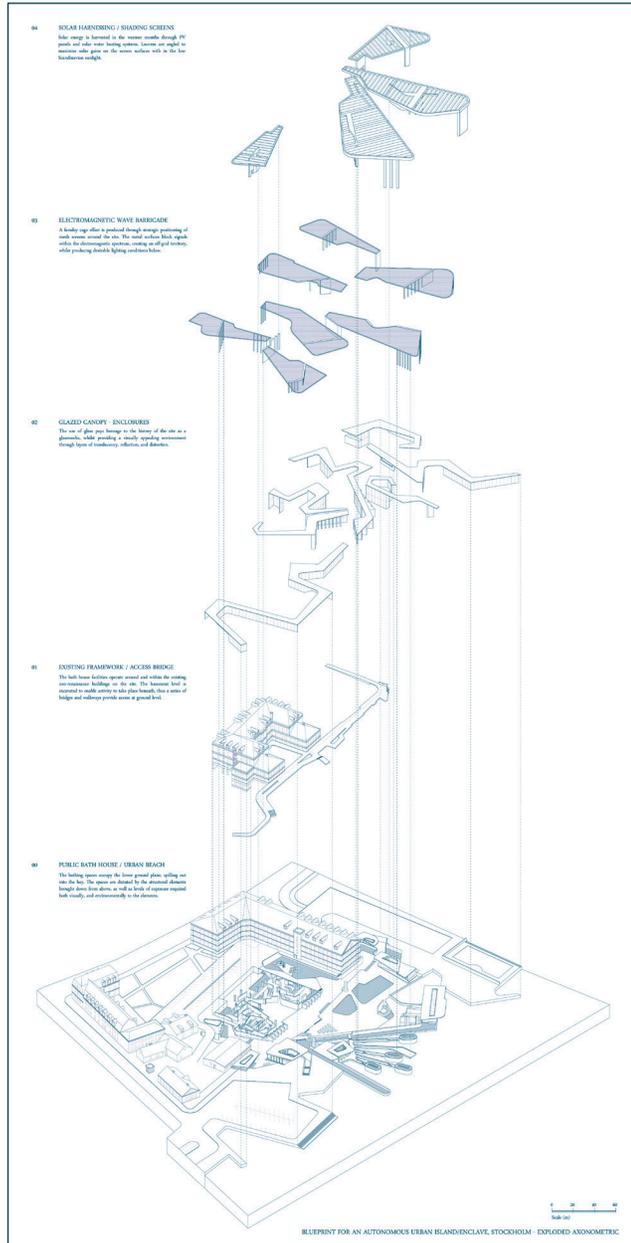
both private corporations, who are able to capitalise upon trends derived from the data, and authorities, who can attain greater control over a populace through surveillance. Nonetheless, despite the practical and financial benefits of digital monitoring, concerns have risen about citizen confidentiality. As our activity is perpetually scrutinized and tracked, the boundary between publicity and privacy is eroded, challenging our egalitarian rights and autonomy – principles that are central to a Swedish society built upon openness and equality.

This contradiction between continuous surveillance and the Swedish desire for escapism and independence captivated me, and I focused my attention on contriving a situation in which individuals could retain autonomy within the urban fabric of Stockholm. Given the archipelagic nature of the city, I adopted the form of an island/enclave, carving a territory out of the existing terrain to achieve a distinct, isolated zone, dislocated from its surroundings. Programmatically, the territory was developed as a bathhouse – a place within the city I had observed offering sanctuary and encouraging social interaction, whilst deterring the use of technology. Taking precedent from the historic model of the Roman Baths, I strove to provide not only relaxation and recreation facilities, but also a critical base for discussion, business, politics, and community assembly, away from the prying eyes of the state. I employed transparency and reflection in the treatment of surfaces to play with visibility, challenging the boundary between public/inclusion and private/exclusion by combining the most intimate of activities in the most public of environments: the Stockholm waterfront.

The architectural consequences of creating a digitally autonomous, surveillance-free urban island/enclave enabled me to communicate the status and objectives of the territory through exploiting both visual and experiential distinction from the surrounding landscape. Signal-blocking materials were applied to vast overhead canopies as overt, symbolic expressions, communicating the project intentions, whilst generating a zone of transition from exterior connectivity to interior insularity. The message of autonomy was accentuated at the periphery, where borders and boundaries formed from tectonic obstructions and water bodies were used to indicate both physical separation and socio-political distinction from the city. I created a space that was openly accessible yet restricted, public yet private, addressing the paradoxical Swedish desire for insularity within an egalitarian, open society.

Figure 5.9 (insert)

Blueprint for an autonomous urban island/enclave, Stockholm - exploded axonometric



06

notes

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Fig 0.2 <https://www.bing.com/maps/>  
Fig 0.3 <https://www.bing.com/maps/>

**01 DEFINING THE TERRITORY**

- Fig 1.1 Author's Own  
Fig 1.2 Author's Own  
Fig 1.3 <https://www.google.co.uk/maps>  
Fig 1.4 <https://www.google.co.uk/maps>  
Fig 1.5 <https://www.google.co.uk/maps>  
Fig 1.6 <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/28554>  
Fig 1.7 <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/6454>  
Fig 1.8 <https://stockholmskallan.stockholm.se/post/17258>  
Fig 1.9 Author's Own  
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Fig 1.18 Author's Own  
Fig 1.19 Author's Own  
Fig 1.20 <https://www.casino.org/> (Courtesy of 'boxinginsider.com')  
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Fig 2.2 Author's Own  
Fig 2.3 <https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/home/house-plan-keith-williams-on-le-corbusiers-unit/8687777.article>  
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Fig 2.6 <http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/> (Photo: Paul Kozlowski)  
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Fig 2.10 <http://www.vosizneias.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/eru4.jpg>  
Fig 2.11 Author's Own  
Fig 2.12 Author's Own

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- Fig 3.3 Author's Own
- Fig 3.4 Author's Own
- Fig 3.5 Author's Own
- Fig 3.6 Author's Own
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- Fig 3.8 Author's Own
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- Fig 3.10 <http://www.suomenlinna.fi/en/governingbody/agency/media/image-bank/> (Photo: Arttu Kokkonen)
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- Fig 3.13 Author's Own
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- Fig 4.1 Author's Own

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- Fig 5.1 Author's Own
- Fig 5.2 Author's Own
- Fig 5.3 Author's Own
- Fig 5.4 Author's Own
- Fig 5.5 Author's Own
- Fig 5.6 Author's Own
- Fig 5.7 Author's Own
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- Fig 5.9 Author's Own



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