AUTONOMOUS ARCHIVING

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Editorial
by Artıkişler Collective

As an institutional practice, archival practices often tend to serve the colonized, surveillance and discipline society of the modern world. However, during the last ten years, with [an upswing in] digital technology and the detection of social movements, the recording and accumulation of images has become a civil activity. Thus, actions of archiving videos and other types of visual images bring about non-institutional practices as well contemporary discussions surrounding the production of images, open source databases, collectivity, and forensics.

The term "archiving" in digital video production and dissemination designates not only a process of open source memory-making that reveals hidden disobedient practices, but also, an autonomous structure that leads to tactics in montage, uploading and leaking of images to rebuild a collective memory of political disobedience. This book aims to discuss the notion of "autonomy" in the practice of "archiving" as well as views on videogram montage through comparative perspectives from different geographically based practitioners.

Artıkişler Collective established "bak.ma", a practice of video archiving focused on social and political movements in Turkey. This archive not only aims to contain videos of the Gezi Park upheaval but also several other videograms that were stored in hidden parts of computers by media activists. In the process of building this archive, Artıkişler Collective aims to discuss archiving practices and urban movements, visual data collection, videograms of civil disobedience and the possible montage of revolution in a metaphoric sense.

Archives and archiving practices relate to many issues including the categorization of knowledge and images by legal register, practices of communing and the layering of complex social representations. Therefore, the book aims to widen the discussion on visual archival practices from three

angles. This edited volume features republished articles as well as several new texts commissioned for this book. The first chapter, “Haunting Image” is comprised of four articles. This chapter contains articles that discuss the forensic role of the image, anti-images, and poor-images that search for the political image. Practitioners and lawyers’ texts discuss the relation between the image as a testimony and political act. Human rights researcher Thomas Keenan, who has written and researched extensively on the photographic image and forensics, discusses the approach of counter-forensics by artist Alan Sekula. Architect and activist Eyal Weizman, whose research interest is based on the spatial production and detectability of images, researches the evicted Bedevil settlement in Palestine through visual images. Lawyer Murat Deha Boduroğlu writes about his experience after the Gezi struggle and the need for visual archives of disobedience for the advocacy of human rights. Video activist Oktay İnce provides an activist view, which complements Boduroglu’s article, as he questions the video camera as a civil disobedience testimony.

What are the roles of open digital archives and the contemporary meaning of archive/archiving through experiences such as “bak.ma” and “Pad.ma”? What does a methodology of participatory assemblage mean in this context? What is the new role of an independent researcher or academic researcher? Can we produce collective images and is it possible to recreate a political collective memory by visually recording political acts? The second chapter “Archive Fever” is about expanding the discussions on archives with several archival practices centered on disobedience. Shaina Anand of Bombay-based “Pad.ma”, introduces “10 Theses on Archives” and tries to answer the question: “How do we imagine archival practices as the little practical, experimental and strategic measures that we pursue to expand our sensibilities?” and thereby digs into the affective potential of archives. Lawyer and activist Lawrence Liang, co-initiator of “Pad.ma”, focuses his article on the residual image in the context of archives. Media artist Ege Berensel describes his research experience of digging through 8mm

films in the garbage while discussing the militant view on archiving and referencing the “10 Theses on Archives”: “The Direction of Archiving will be Outward, not Inward”. Researcher and writer Pelin Tan of “bak.ma” revisits the concept of necropolitics by Achilles Mbembe and questions how necropolitics can be avoided in the practice of archiving if our aim is decolonization.

The third chapter “Autonomy of Commons” brings together the practice of commoning of images of social urban movements, collective actions and the temporality of disobedience events. Lara Baladi, an activist and researcher from Cairo analyses Tahrir Square through images [it produced]. Eric Kluitenberg of “Tactical Media Files”, writes on affect of space while providing many examples of spatial social movements, and relating to the notion of archives while questioning a “living archive”. Artist and activist Sevgi Ortaç writes about the commons of the image of urban gardening initiatives and its struggle in Istanbul. Artist and activist Burak Arıkan, founder of “Graph Commons” and co-founder of the network of “Dispossessions,” writes on open source disobedience databases and the autonomy of commons.

The book also includes interviews with the activist collectives’ members: İnadına Haber, an Ankara based digital media activist platform; Seyr-i Sokak, a video activist collective; and Videoccupy and vidyo kolektif from Istanbul. The interviews focus on the experiences of video activists, the Gezi resistance, from early days to the present, as well as social and political movements and actions of solidarity in Turkey.

CHAPTER I
HAUNTING IMAGE

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Counter-forensics and Photography
by Thomas Keenan

1. From the Instrumental to the Operational Image

As a rule, Allan Sekula does not often let images go unexamined. And, as with all rules, exceptions can be found. One exception occurs about half an hour into the film he made with Noël Burch, The Forgotten Space (2010), in the course of a sequence at the Port of Los Angeles/Long Beach that opens the section called "Mud and Sun."[1] The sequence is designed to take the film to the motif of the container as Pandora's Box and the scene from Robert Aldrich's Kiss Me Deadly (1955) to which Sekula and Burch return at the conclusion of the film. But on the way through the interstices of the port, The Forgotten Space shows us some unusual images: not simply images of the port but images produced by it as part of its everyday operation.

Allan Sekula and Noël Burch, dirs. The Forgotten Space, 2010. Video stills.

Within the scene are two short sequences that appear to come from stock footage. They show U.S. Customs and Border Protection officers operating an X-ray or gamma-ray scanning machine, part of what is called a "non-intrusive inspection" regime to examine the contents of containers passing through the port.[2] The scanners produce images

that are analyzed by software algorithms designed to identify shapes and materials, detect suspect or anomalous objects, and then highlight these on a screen for a human operator.[3] The two short sequences show two customs officers examining such images.

With these scenes, Sekula and Burch show us, twice, the reading of an image or, more precisely, the mechanical reading of an instrumental image. They do not say that this is what the officials are doing. In fact, they do not even mention in the voice-over that images are being produced or examined. They are more interested, here, in getting into the container, opening the box.[4] But "scanning the can," as this procedure is apparently known, is for many reasons worth attending to. By starting with these images we can begin to appreciate Sekula's patient exploration of the relationship between photography, evidence, and humanism—and with it, the politics of human rights.

What happens in these scenes of reading? In the first sequence, which appears to show a wheeled vehicle inside a container, the operator exam-ines the image and, in effect, queries it with the mouse, generating a new image of the same contents with different shades and textures. Icons are lit up on the left side of the image. The wipe across the computer screen shows us that new information is being presented, and then the cursor hovers over one of the objects, lingering for a few moments until it begins to blink. After a pair of sequences that record the movement of the machines generating these images, the second screen shows us the inside of another container, presumably, and another wipe, although not much can be said about it. Even the film camera does not pay a lot of attention to these screen images.

They are almost forgotten, these technical pictures. Together, the men (somewhat half-heartedly) and their machines read these images, which are nothing if not instrumental. Instrumental image and mechanical reading are terms drawn from Sekula's essay on Edward Steichen's work in the First World War as the commander of American aerial

reconnaissance operations in France.[5] By exploring Sekula's reading of those photographs in "Steichen at War," we can begin to understand something about the pictures from the border.

The gamma-ray images are less images to be looked at than images to be used. Referring to a number of aerial images produced by the Photographic Section of the Air Service in the American Expeditionary Forces (Sekula notes that 1.3 million images were made), he insists that we attend to the ways in which "their meaning relates to the ways they have been used."[6] These are images, he says, designed to make things happen, to record and display a situation so as to intervene in it. "Simply put," he writes, "the problem was to decide what was there [on the battlefield] and to act on that decision before 'whatever it was' moved." The images are understood as evidence, then, but a special kind of evidence that aspires to be immediately operational: "The value of aerial photographs, as cues for military uses, depended on their ability to testify to a present state of affairs." The photographs bear witness to a particular, limited situation, recording it so as to enable operations in it. They are made to be actionable evidence, and they are linked in a network or a chain with a set of actors and agents that respond to them.[7]In this sense, Sekula says, the images are produced and interpreted out of "fundamental tactical concerns," and as tactical media they function in conditions where the goal is to minimize the mediations of time and signification as radically as possible.[8] They aim, that is, for a certain self-effacement, not so much to represent as to instruct, to effect, to enable a transformation in the reality they depict. Sekula writes,

"Few photographs, except perhaps medical ones, were as apparently free from "higher" meaning in the common usage. They seem to have been devoid of any rhetorical structure. But this poverty of meaning was conditional rather than immanent. Within the context of intelligence operations the only "rational" questions were those that addressed the photograph at the indexical level, such as: "Is that a machine gun or a stump?" In other words, the act of interpretation

demanded that the photograph be treated as an ensemble of "univalent," or "indexical" signs, signs that could only carry one meaning, that could point to only one object. Efficiency demanded this illusory certainty.
. . . The systematic investigation of a landscape for traces of an enemy, coupled with the destruction of that enemy, was surely a mechanical process. . . . "Reading," as it was ideally defined, consisted of a mechanical coding of the image".[9]

Sekula is interested, then, in how the utility, the instrumentality, the performativity of the image—under certain conditions and in certain contexts— can restructure it so radically as to void it, effectively, of rhetorical structure, not simply reduce it to its indexical origins but render it unequivocal and uniquely referential. A process existed for doing that.

Sekula describes the interpretive grid that was overlaid on the aerial images, translating them into operationally effective documents, guides for the destruction of the enemy. The grid includes both the codes of representation generated by a camera flying over a three-dimensional object (What does a farmhouse look like from overhead, or a person, or a machine gun, or a tree?) and a secondary set of codes that conventionalized the process of identification and allowed similar objects to be compared to one another ("a triangle stood for a dump, a circle with a central dot stood for a trench mortar").[10]

Sekula describes this decoding and recoding of the images, which had to be done as quickly as possible on a fluid and reactive battlefield, as "mechanical." Efficiency not only demands certainty, however illusory it might be, but makes the illusions real by automating or mechanizing their processing. Reading, practiced as "a mechanical coding of the image," assumes and ratifies, realizes, this empiricist epistemology. For Sekula, photography consists of more than this, but the radical and originary instrumentalization of these images commands his attention.(Sekula has no interest in "reclaiming" them for art—the force and elegance of his

reading of these images is precisely to suspend us impossibly between their sheer military instrumentality and their repurposing or recuperation as "photographic art," whether as abstract landscapes or portraits of risk and destruction.)

Reading becomes mechanical coding. The ideal goal of such an interpretive machine would be to incorporate the "reading" of the image into the very technology that generates it in the first place, to produce images that arrive before the eye bearing their own translation into the terms required for intervention . . . and then to link that directly to the means of intervention.

The Forgotten Space shows us something like this process in action. The images from the X-ray or gamma-ray scanner in the film, like the aerial reconnaissance images from Steichen's unit, in effect seek to suspend the question of interpretation, to build it into the production of the image itself. The ideal mode of reading them would be not to have to read them at all.

All sorts of pragmatic obstacles stand in the way of achieving this goal— camouflage and deception; camera angles; shadows, blurs, and reflections; unexpected materials; and so on—but they are precisely practical ones, for which better technical solutions might be found.

The very structure of communication or signification itself must also be considered, though. No utterance can avoid being read, however apparently automatic the reading may be. In "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," Sekula outlines this epistemological position; its escalating series of steps can be summarized by arranging quotations from the first five pages of the essay:

1. "All communication is, to a greater or lesser extent, tendentious; all messages are manifestations of interest."

2. "With this notion of tendentiousness in mind, we

can speak of a message as an embodiment of an argument. In other words, we can speak of a rhetorical function."

3. "This . . . implies, of course, that a photograph is an utterance of some sort, that it carries, or is, a message. However, the definition also implies that the photograph is an 'incomplete' utterance, a message that depends on some external matrix of conditions and presuppositions for its readability. That is, the meaning of any photographic message is necessarily context determined."

4. "Every photographic message is characterized by a tendentious rhetoric."

5. "[But] the photograph is seen as a re-presentation of nature itself, as an unmediated copy of the real world. The medium itself is con- sidered transparent. The power of this folklore of pure denotation is considerable. It elevates the photograph to the legal status of document and testimonial."[11]

In his reading of the aerial images, Sekula marks the fact that the rhetorical structure is irreducible—and that the photograph is not really an unmediated copy of the world—with qualifying phrases like "apparently free from 'higher' meaning" and "seem to have been devoid of any rhetorical structure." But he is not interested in simply proving that the instrumental/ mechanical approach is "illusory," that the force of the indexical is not immanent, that everything is rhetorical or needs to be interpreted. On the contrary, here the "tendentiousness," the argumentative force, of the image is not a secret, and so he is interested in the "conditions" that make it work, in how well it can be made to work, and in the consequences of that "conditional" workaround.

The conditions generate a particular rhetorical structure that, in fact, verges on transparency. The "folkloric" de-mediation is more or less accomplished in the battlefield situation, where the image re-presents elements of the real world successfully enough to allow their targeting and destruction. And, in its

machinery, its mechanical reading, it tends toward a system in which the loop between production, interpretation, and reaction can be further and further reduced and closed, to a point where the image would no longer require reading in anything like the sense we currently mean.

Today, all sorts of images are at work that do not require human eyes to see them or to function. They can operate on their own. For instance, here are some examples from spaces of interest to Sekula:

- Robots assemble cars in automated factories using combinations of live camera feeds and object recognition software to ensure that the robot and the car move at the same speed and that each added part fits into the right space.[12]
- Cruise missiles fly to their targets using Global Positioning System data, as well as by comparing stored three-dimensional terrain maps of their flight path with real-time imagery as they fly over the territory depicted in the maps (the software is called Digital Scene-Mapping Area Correlation). Course corrections happen automatically, generated by the image correlation.[13]

- The International Space Station (ISS) and other orbital platforms are now regularly serviced by automated cargo

vehicles. Although the docking could be remotely controlled from the ground, the berthing of the cargo craft is in fact done automatically, with the cargo ship being guided to the correct spot on the space station by cameras that capture reflected laser light and respond to it by manipulating the thrusters on the arriving vehicle. Video documentation viewed and recorded by scientists on the ground shows what it looked like in June 2013 when the French Automated Transfer Vehicle 4, the "Albert Einstein," arrived at the ISS on its own. The images are not simply from or of something flying; they are doing the flying.[14]

None of these images needs to be seen by human beings,

however interesting they are to look at. They need no interpretation in order to work; or, rather, they include something like interpretation as part of the image-making process. They are about as purely instrumental as images can get, and to that they add a feedback loop—what happens in the image guides, produces, creates effects in the world that is imaged. They are, as Harun Farocki would say, operative or "operational images," "images that do not try to represent reality but are part of a technical operation."[15]

A direct line extends from Steichen's unit's aerial imagery and its "mechanical" reading—Sekula had needed to put the word mechanical in quotation marks—to the algorithmic analysis of the X-ray images in The Forgotten Space and on to the image-based guidance systems that make spacecraft dock and missiles impact.[16]

Steichen knew this. Sekula quotes him mournfully realizing that "the photographs we made provided information that, when conveyed to our artillery, enabled them to destroy their targets and kill. A state of depression remained with me for days." Sekula calls this "negatively-instrumental communication" and tracks Steichen's photographic conversion, as it were, to the "positively-instrumental"; namely, to "a humanist, life-affirming art."[17]

Sekula finds the inversion, which culminates in Steichen's exhibition The Family of Man, dubious in the extreme. If the technical or mechanical image can kill, the artistic and humanist image is not much of an escape; he writes, "'a global vision of life,' even in its 'humanist' and liberal manifestation, may serve to mask another vision, a vision of global domination."[18] Readers of Sekula know that he uses few words with more implacable contempt, more corrosive criticality, than liberal and humanist.[19] Nevertheless, this masking operation seems to be not the only thing that a turn toward the human can do; it can also generate what Sekula, equally corrosively, calls "pity." From "liberal esthetics," he writes in "Dismantling Modernism," comes "compassion rather than collective struggle. Pity, mediated by an appreciation of 'great art,' supplants political understanding."[20] What else is possible, though? Are there tactical operations with images, images that can do something else, that resist both the masking of domination, on the one hand, and the compensations of compassion, on the other?

2. From Evidentiary Promise to Counter-forensics

I think the answer from Sekula is a qualified yes. His argument turns on a notion of witness or testimony that recurs, without being underlined, in a number of his writings on photography. We find it in "The value of aerial photographs, as cues for military uses, depended on their ability to testify to a present state of affairs." And later, "the power of this folklore of pure denotation is considerable. It elevates the photograph to the legal status of document and testimonial."

Although Sekula is wary of the realist restriction of photography to testimonial status, he is also interested in how and when it happens. In "The Body and the Archive," he notes that, from the beginning of Henry Fox Talbot's explorations with the calotype, the "evidentiary promise" of the image was prominent.[21] And in "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary," he begins his consideration of new documentary modes by reminding us of the necessity of "expos[ing] the myth" of documentary and underlining what he again calls "the folklore of photographic truth." But he does this in order to return to a reinvented form of documentary.

What is the myth? "The rhetorical strength of documentary is imagined to reside in the unequivocal character of the camera's evidence, in an essential realism."[22] And why is this not correct but rather mythic, folkloric, imaginary? The point is not that the camera does not record what it sees, that the camera lies. As Sekula told Debra Risberg, "the old myth that photographs tell the truth has been replaced by the new myth that they lie."[23]

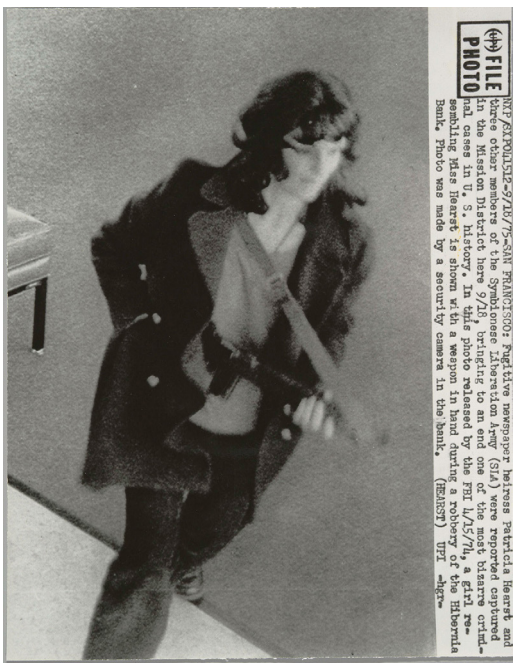
Neither is correct. Sekula's argument is more complicated than the mere exposure of the myth that so often simply inverts an allegiance to the index-ical truth into its opposite. He argues that we need to understand the evidence provided by the photograph not in terms of its relation to the reality it presents, as if the photograph offered a proof that was not only indexical but decisive or definitive. Rather, photographic evidence must be considered in terms of the forum or the debate into which its testimony is entered, what he calls in his Steichen essay its "conditions" and what he calls in "Dismantling Modernism" its "presentational circumstances."

Without saying so explicitly, Sekula turns to the surveillance camera images of Patricia Hearst, caught by the automated gaze in the midst of a bank robbery with her Symbionese Liberation Army captors-turned-colleagues, and to the fate of those images in a courtroom. He is again talk-ing about mechanical, technical images, and how they are to be read:

I shouldn't have to argue that photographic meaning is relatively indeterminate; the same picture can convey a variety of messages under differing presentational circumstances. Consider the evidence offered by bank holdup cameras. Taken automatically, these pictures could be said to be unpolluted by sensibility, an extreme form of documentary. If the surveillance engineers who developed these cameras have an esthetic, it's one of raw, technological instrumentality. "Just the facts, ma'am." But a courtroom is a battleground of fictions. What is it that a photograph points to? A young white woman holds a submachine gun. The gun is handled confidently, aggressively. The gun is almost dropped out of fear. A fugitive heiress. A kidnap victim. An urban guerrilla. A willing participant. A case of brainwashing. A case of rebellion. A case of schizophrenia. The outcome, based on the "true" reading of the evidence, is a function less of "objectivity" than of political maneuvering.

The only "objective" truth that photographs offer is the assertion that somebody or some thing—in this case, an automated camera— was somewhere and took a picture. Everything else, everything beyond the imprinting of a trace, is up for grabs.[24]

Sekula's argument is nominalist in the extreme—evidence is that which is presented to the eye, that which is made evident in the image or in the trace. The "imprinting" of the trace decides nothing, settles nothing, deter-mines nothing, forces no conclusions. Conclusions, decisions, happen in an altogether different realm and depend on "differing presentational circumstances" and conditions of use. This "indeterminacy" of meaning does not hold in spite of the indexicality of the image but because of it: Because there is a trace, an imprint, there is the possibility of interpretation, the opportunity for meaning, fiction, and hence the "battleground of fictions." Because there is a trace, there is a battle. Around the image, a debate can begin—we decide what it says; it does not, it cannot. This is what the word evidence means:



"everything beyond the imprinting of a trace, is up for grabs." The reading of the evidence, which is the only thing one can do with evidence since it does not speak for itself (this holds even with non mute evidence, like testimony in a courtroom), will always be a matter of "political maneuvering." That is what "up for grabs" means. The interpretive grid created by Steichen's unit, or a contemporary analytic algorithm, would represent an extreme form of such maneuvering.

Sekula presents this claim about indexicality, realism, indeterminacy, and the "up for grabs" as a challenge, a provocation, a charge, a demand for responsibility. This at least is how I understand his interpretation of the anti-apartheid photographs of Ernest Cole as a testimony of their own:

The example of Cole's work suggests that we would be wise to avoid an overly monolithic conception of realism. Not all realisms necessarily play into the hands of the police, despite Theodor Adorno's remark, designed to lampoon a Leninist epistemology once and for all, that "knowledge has not, like the state police, a rogues' gallery of its objects." If we are to listen to, and act in solidarity with, the poly-phonic testimony of the oppressed and exploited, we should recognize that some of this testimony, like Cole's, will take the ambiguous form of visual documents, documents of the "microphysics" of barbarism. These documents can easily fall into the hands of the police or their intellectual apologists. Our problem, as artists and intellectuals living near but not at the center of a global system of power, will be to help prevent the cancellation of that testimony by more authoritative and official texts.[25]

Perhaps we could call this persistent commitment to evidence, testimony, and the document—and to the necessity of making arguments, in polyphony, and hence to the forum and to the interpretive dispute—and its resolution, however provisional—that must follow from the trace and its "relative indeterminacy." Forensics is not simply about science in the service of law or the police but is, much more broadly, about objects as they become evidence, things submitted for interpretation in an effort to persuade. The word is derived from the Latin forensis, which refers to the "forum" and the practice and skill of making an argument before a professional, political, or legal gathering.[26] Perhaps, in honor of the oppositional and critical politics of someone like Cole, we ought to call this sort of practice "counter-forensics."

I owe this strange formulation, counter-forensics, to Sekula, a master of the neologistic inversion. A few years ago Carles Guerra and I latched onto his beautiful word anti-photojournalism, from Waiting for Tear Gas (1999– 2000), but it is only one in a long list of such contrarian maneuvers, perhaps oppositional or dialectical or perhaps something else.[27] Others include the "counter-image" and the "counter-display" and the "counter-sites" he examines in Fish Story; the practices of "counter-testimony and counter-surveillance" he explores toward the end of "The Body and the Archive"; and, most richly, the "counter-reenactment" represented by the "anti-Titanic" voyage of The Global Mariner he so admires in "Between the Net and the Deep Blue Sea."[28]

Counter-forensics is almost surely a notion of Sekula's invention, although since he first published it in 1993 it has become a term of art for something else.

Today, if forensics—in common parlance—refers both to the scientific investigation of physical and digital objects (including documents and photographs as well bodies, bones, bombs, bullets, and buildings) and to the presentation of those objects as evidence in legal proceedings, then counter-forensics refers to all sorts of efforts designed to frustrate or prevent in advance the analysis of those objects. When one suspects one might be, in the course of doing something, leaving behind traces that would allow a forensic anthropologist or archivist or accountant to reconstruct, at a later time, what one had been doing, one might want to take precautions, or even active countermeasures, to

preemptively impede that future production of evidence. Those efforts belong to what is today professionally called "counter-forensics."[29]

Although Sekula might have been sympathetic to some of these efforts—he did often take the side of the oppressed, the protester, the dissident, the rebel, against the forces of the police, the military, or the corporation—the professional meaning of counter-forensics is not at all what he meant by the term. Sekula meant something almost exactly the opposite. With the term, he refers to nothing less than the adoption of forensic techniques as a practice of "political maneuvering," as a tactical operation in a collective struggle, a rogues' gallery to document the microphysics of barbarism. He uses the term in a short essay on the photographer Susan Meiselas and her work in and on Kurdistan in the aftermath of the first Gulf War in the early 1990s. The essay, called "Photography and the Limits of National Identity," was published in 1993 and updated in 2006.[30]

Sekula makes a compressed, complex argument. Photography has often served as an instrument of "surveillance and cataloguing." This is particularly so in the case of the Kurds, whom Sekula calls "a people defined from without by multiple oppressors and scientists and adventurers: Ottoman Turks and Persians and Europeans in the nineteenth century, Turks, Iraqis and Iranians in the present period, with periodic bursts of 'Western' journalistic intervention."[31] In Kurdistan, the administrative practices to which photography can be turned went hand-in-hand with "torture and extermination." Both surveillance and cataloguing, as Sekula argues about the "new juridical photographic realism" of the Paris police official Alphonse Bertillon in "The Body and the Archive," depend on a process of individuation and identification. Bertillon, he argues, "invented the first effective modern system of criminal identification," a process that aimed to link the "metrical accuracy of the camera, . . . a medium from which exact mathematical data could be extracted," with "a bureaucratic-clerical-statistical system . . . [whose] central artifact [is] . . . the filing cabinet," in order to produce nothing less than "proof of identity."[32]

In that sense, Sekula writes about Kurdistan, "forensic methods (detective methods focusing on evidence and the body) offer a tool for oppressive states." But, he somewhat unexpectedly continues, forensic methods have also become tools of opposition." To demonstrate this, he produces a simple and apparently symmetrical diagram, which he refers to as a "sequence of actions: Identification–Annihilation–Identification."[33]

The association of the first two terms is already hinted at in "The Body and the Archive," where Sekula proposes a sort of correction to what he sees as Michel Foucault's overly strong distinction between disciplinary and repressive power, writing that we need to understand those modes of instrumental realism that do in fact operate according to a very explicit deterrent or repressive logic. These modes constitute the lower limit or "zero degree" of socially instrumental realism. Criminal identification photographs are a case in point, since they are designed quite literally to facilitate the arrest of their referent.[34] Then, returning us silently to Steichen and the "negatively-instrumental" aerial imagery, he adds in a footnote, "Any photographs that seek to identify a target, such as military reconnaissance photographs, operate according to the same general logic."[35] Sekula sees this process of identification, and especially the kind of identification in which photography is a basic element, as the essential accomplice to or even the instrument of ultimately genocidal operations:

"The oppressor state catalogues its victims as precisely as possible, typing them as a group, but seeking to register and track individual members. The key to ideological power over the "other" lies in typing; the key to functional power lies in individuation. In other words, stereotypes are ideologically useful and necessary, but in the end it is individuals who must be reduced to ashes".[36]

However, documentary and identificatory practices have

another side or another potential. ("We would be wise to avoid an overly monolithic conception of realism.") Sekula hints at this, somewhat dismissively, toward the end of his discussion of Bertillon, when he refers to a "curious aspect of Bertillon's reputation"; namely that his method "could be regarded as a triumph of humanism." Bertillon, he says, "contributed to this 'humane' reading of his project: 'Is it not at bottom a problem of this sort that forms the basis of the everlasting popular melodrama about lost, exchanged, and recovered children?'"[37]

Although Sekula then drops this line of reasoning in the "Body and the Archive," the problem of the missing—whether children or political prisoners or simply enemies—returns in his reading of Meiselas's photographs from Kurdistan. They, and the forensic effort they chronicle and assist in, are different from the melodramatic canon. What is missing in Kurdistan is not this or that child who can become the object of pity or compassion but something more radical: the missing are the objects of a systematic political campaign of extermination. A people has been targeted for disappearance, he says, but the project has left its traces and can be challenged—forensically:

"Counter forensics, the exhumation and identification of the anonymized ("disappeared") bodies of the oppressor state's victims becomes the key to a process of political resistance and mourning. The work of the American forensic anthropologist Clyde Snow, first in Argentina, with the victims and survivors of the "dirty war," then in El Salvador, at the massacre site of El Mozote, and then again with the remains of the Iraqi campaign of extermination of the Kurds, has provided the technical basis for this project. In Argentina, this work combines with that of psychoanalysts in the study and therapy of the interrupted work of mourning in the psyches of those who suffer from the indeterminacy of the "disappearance" of their loved ones. These are dismal sciences, but fundamental in their basic humanism, a humanism of mournful re-individuation, laying the groundwork for a collective memory of suffering".[38]

And so the sequence "identification—annihilation—identification" turns out to be not exactly symmetrical. Just as the forensics is different when linked to a process of political resistance to oppression, so is the identification. Assigning names and histories after the event of annihilation is some-thing very different from fixing identities before it. Knowledge needs this rogues gallery of bones and images, memories and traces, when the aim of the genocidal assault is not just to erase people but also their history and their rightful claim to share the earth with others.

Likewise, who is doing the killing and who the identifying makes a difference. Typically, the state has a monopoly both on killing and on identifying; but in some cases the practice of identification is done by others, in order to learn about those killed by the state. Snow once remarked:

"...of all the forms of murder, none is more monstrous than that committed by a state against its own citizens. And of all murder victims, those of the state are the most helpless and vulnerable since the very entity to which they have entrusted their lives and safety becomes their killer".[39]

The history of human rights forensics is marked by this asymmetrical reversal of state policing techniques into

tactics for resisting and challenging injustice.

"And that implies that the humanism at work here is different as well. The "humanism of mournful re-individuation" that restores names and identities to the disappeared is nothing like "the celebration of abstract humanity" Sekula had denounced earlier, the one that, "in any given political situation," simply amounts to "the celebration of the dignity of the passive victim." It is here, at the "individual" and forensic level,that the project of building a usable archive of the Kurdish "nation" begins. Without recognition of this level, all assertions of national identity are just that, mere assertions, liable to become dangerous fictions. The individual and mass graves and intimate grief must never become sepulchral excuses for abstract monuments. And it is precisely in this sense that photography's incapacity for abstraction is valuable".[41]

Photography, then (and this is what Meiselas's Kurdistan projects attempted to do), can join the dismal science of mass-grave exhumation in the project of recording and recovering the traces of the disappeared, of reindividuation. Their humanism is neither the merely sentimental and compassionate kind nor a mask of domination, but a basic one, basic precisely to the extent that it refers not to abstract metaphysical foundations but rather to the traces of specific individuals and events, the testimony of the bones and the images.

Counter-forensics, whether Snow's or Meiselas's, produces evidence, documents individual and specific things, names names, and attaches names to bodies. Both practices do this as part of a political struggle—not because the images and the bones are self-evident but because they are not. They operate like the police, but differently. Identification can assist annihilation, and it can resist it. "Not all realisms necessarily play into the hands of the police," Sekula writes about Cole. As in Cole's South Africa, "some of this testimony . . . will take the ambiguous form of visual documents, documents of the 'microphysics' of barbarism." As traces,

precisely, the images and the bones are up for grabs, and I think Sekula sees in this counter-forensic presentation one more effort "to help prevent the cancellation of that testimony by more authoritative and official texts."[42] Meiselas herself remarked on the convergence between Snow's forensic work and her own photographic practice in Kurdish Northern Iraq: "Forensics is very meticulous work. It paralleled where I was at the time. I was ready for that type of careful examination and I became absorbed in the minutiae of the process—how to track the bones, what the bones tell us."[43]
So photography, thanks to its trace-structure, its "incapacity for abstraction," takes a paradoxical but necessary turn in the direction of another abstraction, that of humanism, but this time rethought and repracticed as political struggle, as human rights advocacy. Sekula underlines the fact that this turn does not happen automatically, either for the forensic anthropologist or the counter-forensic photographer.

[Meiselas begins] with the sense that where bodies are buried in secret there must also be a buried archive, limited in scope but immense nonetheless, waiting for resurrection. An archive, but not an atlas: the point here is not to take the world upon one's shoulders, but to crouch down to the earth, and dig.[44]

To dig is to climb into the grave with the dead, to share a space with them, and to confront the fact of their death, not in order to undo what has happened (that cannot be done) but to transform their silence and disappearance into names, stories, and claims. Listening to, and allowing others to hear, "what the bones tell us" is a practice with no guarantees. Forensics and photography both traffic in "the ambiguous form of visual documents," documents that are up for grabs in law and politics. But they have important things to say, and Sekula's work itself bears witness to the ongoing struggle "to help prevent the cancellation of that testimony by more authoritative and official texts."

1. Allan Sekula and Noël Burch, dirs., The Forgotten Space (2010; Brooklyn: Icarus Films, 2012), DVD.

2. See Elysa Cross, "A Visit to CBP's Port of Los Angeles/Long Beach," CBP Today 4, no. 6/7 (June–July 2006), http://www.cbp.gov/xp/CustomsToday/2006/jun_jul/1a_visit_la_port.xml; and Elaine Rundle, "Port Security Improves with Nonintrusive Cargo Inspection and Secure Port Access," Emergency Management, 28 July 2009, http://www.emergencymgmt.com/infra-structure/Port-Security-Improves-With.html.

3. On the automated image analysis of cargo containers, see, for example, Alex Chalmers, "Cargo Identification Algorithms Facilitating Unmanned/Unattended Inspection at High Throughput Portals," in Proceedings of SPIE, vol. 6736, Unmanned/Unattended Sensors and Sensor Networks IV, ed. Edward M. Carapezza (Bellingham, WA: SPIE, 2007); Victor Orphan et al., Advanced Cargo Container Scanning Technology Development (San Diego: Science Applications International Corporation, n.d.), http://www.trb.org/Conferences/MTS/ %20Orphan%20Paper.pdf; and Westminster International Ltd., WG IS1517DV X-Ray Cargo Scanner (180kV) (Banbury, UK: Westminster International Ltd., 2011), http://www.wi-ltd.com/security/Scanning_and_Screening/X_Ray_and_Screening_Systems/Pallet_and_Car go_Scanners/WG_IS1517DV_X_Ray_Cargo_Scanner. The WG IS151 product data sheet describes "a real time threat identification operator alert software package that automatically screens for potential explosives and other threats by utilising advanced material classification and atomic density analysis by drawing a coloured ellipse around the area of suspicion."

4. In a helpful reading of this paper, Ben Young suggested that Sekula and Burch are less interested in the scanning technologies and the contents of the containers (the operational or technical dimensions of the process) than in the "political theater" of the scanners, "the image or idea or wish for functional security." This is certainly the case for the film.

5. Allan Sekula, "The Instrumental Image: Steichen at War," in Photography against the Grain (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984), 32–51.

6. Sekula, "The Instrumental Image," 33.

7. Sekula, "The Instrumental Image," 34. A vast literature explores the role of images, especially photographic ones, as evidence in legal and political cases. An exemplary visual introduction is Sandra S. Phillips et al., Police Pictures: The Photograph as Evidence (San Francisco: Chronicle Books; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1997). Piyel Haldar, in "Law and the Evidential Image," Law, Culture and the Humanities 4 (2008): 139–155, argues that in evidential practice, "in order to acquire meaning, . . . images have to be torn apart and rendered unstable. Or, put differently, a form of iconoclasm is enacted under evidential examination according to which images are defaced and destroyed in a manner that seems to contradict the judicial faith in images" (140). Jennifer L. Mnookin, in "The Image of Truth: Photographic Evidence and the Power of Analogy," Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities 10, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 1–72, shows that as photography entered the domain of the law and established itself there in the nineteenth century, "the meaning and epistemological status of the photograph were intensely contested, both inside and outside the courtroom" and, even more important, that "the judicial response to photographic evidence helped to bring about broader changes in both courtroom practice and the conceptualization of evidence" (6). Thomas Thurston has authored a valuable online resource about the early history of this question, "Hearsay of the Sun: Photography, Identity, and the Law of Evidence in Nineteenth-Century American Courts," 1999–2001, http://chnm.gmu.edu/aq/photos/index.htm. More broadly, John Tagg's The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories

(1988; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) remains an essential resource on "the coupling of evidence and photography in the second half of the nineteenth century"

(5). Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's work—in "The Image of Objectivity," Representations 40 (Autumn 1992): 81–128; and Objectivity (New York: Zone Books, 2007)— explores the rich history of photographs and other "mechanically objective" images as evi-dence in scientific practice. And Ariella Azoulay's pages on how "everything could be seen" in The Civil Contract of Photography (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 190–203, are for me the richest analyses of the paradoxes of the linkage between evidence and photography.

8. Sekula, "The Instrumental Image," 35.

9. Sekula, "The Instrumental Image," 35–36.

10. Sekula, "The Instrumental Image," 35.

11. Allan Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," in Photography against the Grain, 1, 3, 5–6.

12. "Spacecraft Dockings Improve Car Assembly," European Space Agency, 20 January 2010, http://www.esa.int/Our_Activities/Technology/TTP2/Spacecraft_dockings_improve_ car_assembly.

13. Carlo Kopp, "Cruise Missile Guidance Techniques," Defence Today 7, no. 5 (2009): 55–57, http://www.ausairpower.net/SP/DT-CM-Guidance-June-2009.pdf. For an illustration of this process, see "Tomahawk Cruise Missile (BGM-109)," YouTube video, 7:05, n.d., posted by "BigConceptVideoMusic," 11 May 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a6yio1ZGFwo.

14. "ATV-4 Docking to the International Space Station—Transmission Replay," European Space Agency: Space in Videos, 15 June 2013, http://spaceinvideos.esa.int/Videos/2013/06/ ATV-4_docking_to_the_International_Space_Station_-_transmission_replay.

15. The "operational image" is the essential category of Farocki's three-part installation series called Eye/Machine (2000–2003) and the corresponding film War at a Distance (2003). In the notes for his online catalogue, Farocki writes, "The third part of the Eye/Machine cycle structures the material around the concept of the operational image. These are images which do not portray a process, but are themselves part of a process. As early as the Eighties, cruise missiles used a stored image of a real landscape, then took an actual image during flight; the software compared the two images, resulting in a comparison between idea and reality, a confrontation between pure war and the impurity of the actual. This confrontation is also a montage, and montage is always about similarity and difference. Many operational images show colored guidance lines, intended to portray the process of recognition. The lines tell us emphatically what is all-important in these images, and just as emphatically what is of no importance at all. Superfluous reality is denied—a constant denial provoking opposition." "Eye / Machine III," Farocki-Film [website], n.d., http://www.farocki-film.de/ augem3eg.htm. The second quotation comes from Harun Farocki, "Le point de vue de la guerre," Trafic 50 (Summer 2004): 449; quoted in Georges Didi-Huberman, "How to Open Your Eyes," in Harun Farocki: Against What? Against Whom? ed. Antje Ehmann and Kodwo Eshun (London: Raven Row/Koenig Books, 2009), 48. Farocki's essay "War Always Finds a Way," in HF/RG, ed. Chantal Pontbriand (Paris: Jeu de Paume/Blackjack Editions, 2009), 102–112, also has a lot to say on the operational image. The essential theoretical resource on this is the work of Paul Virilio, especially War and Cinema, trans. Patrick Camiller (New York, Verso Books, 1989); and The Vision Machine, trans. Julie Rose (London: British Film Institute; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), especially the last chapter on "sightless vision."

16. Recent reports suggest that overhead image analysts in the U.S. military, distant suc-cessors to the men of the aerial reconnaissance unit Steichen commanded, can be over-whelmed by the imagery acquired by airborne drones. Christopher Drew of the New York Times reported in 2010 that "the Air Force and other military units are trying to prevent an overload of video collected by the drones" and that "while the biggest timesaver would be to automatically scan the video for trucks and armed men, that software is not yet reliable." Christopher Drew, "Military Is Awash in Data from Drones," New York Times, 11 January 2010.

17. Sekula, "The Instrumental Image," 48–49.

18. Sekula, "The Instrumental Image," 51.

19. The best example would be the withering critique of the liberal humanism of Steichen's Family of Man exhibition in Allan Sekula, "The Traffic in Photographs," Art Journal 41, no. 1 (Spring 1981), 15–25.

20. Allan Sekula, "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation)," Massachusetts Review 19, no. 4 (Winter 1978): 875.

21. Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," October 39 (Winter 1986): 6.

22. Sekula, "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary," 862.

23. Debra Risberg, "Imaginary Economies: An Interview with Allan Sekula," in Dismal Science: Photo Works 1972–1996 (Normal: University Galleries of Illinois State University, 1999), 239.

24. Sekula, "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary," 863.

25. Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 64.

26. Thomas Keenan and Eyal Weizman, Mengele's Skull: The Advent of a Forensic Aesthetics (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012), 28.

27. Allan Sekula, preface to Waiting for Tear Gas [White Globe to Black] (1999–2000), in TITANIC's wake (Cherbourg-Octeville, France: Le Point du Jour Éditeur, 2003), 87.

28. Allan Sekula, Fish Story, 2nd ed. (Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 2002), 51, 103, 113, 120; Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 62; and Allan Sekula, "Between the Net and the Deep Blue Sea (Rethinking the Traffic in Photographs)," October 102 (Autumn 2002): 26, 32–33.

29. The first Lexis/Nexis citation for the term counter-forensics is from March 2005. For a fascinating description of the sophisticated counter-forensic (in the current sense) tactics of the Irish Republican Army, see the chapter on "The Forensic Battlefield" in Tony Geraghty, The Irish War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

30. Allan Sekula, "Photography and the Limits of National Identity," Culturefront 2, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 54–55; revised with an afterword as "A Portable National Archive for a Stateless People: Susan Meiselas and the Kurds," Camera Austria 95 (2006): 9–11. The revised ver-sion, once again titled "Photography and the Limits of National Identity," is included in Kristen Lubben, ed., Susan Meiselas: In History (New York: International Center of Photography; Göttingen, Germany: Steidl, 2008), 342–344. The final version is reprinted in this issue of Grey Room. I am very grateful to Ben Young for calling this text to my attention.

31. Sekula, "Photography and the Limits of National Identity" (1993), 54–55.

32. Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 5, 16–18, 25.

33. Sekula, "Photography and the Limits of National Identity" (1993), 55.

34. Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 7.

35. Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," 7 n. 7.

36. Sekula, "Photography and the Limits of National Identity" (1993), 55.

To think more about this forensics of the future (a destruction yet to come), let us jump to the present, and another field that is currently obsessed with future prediction—the calculus of the war on terror, which is being applied now in the context of drone warfare. Indeed, according to the US regulations on how drones and drone operators are allowed to kill, a person can never be targeted for what he or she has done, but rather for what he or she will have done in the future. It is not allowed, at least officially, for targeted assassinations to be a punishment—it must be a response to an imminent threat, a response to a crime that has not yet happened. The futurology of contemporary warfare looks for traces that might compose a chain of action to predict that somebody is about to do something. This is both a danger and a challenge as we seek to orient our actions, as architects, toward the future.

I recalled the van Pelt–Irving exchange about holes when asked to undertake, with the Forensic Architecture project, an investigation on drone warfare in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia, and Gaza.[1] This was because many of the buildings struck by drones had a specific architectural signature to them—a small hole in their ceiling. The reason for this hole was that drone missiles, such as Hellfire or Spike, are equipped with a delay fuse. The few milliseconds between impact and detonation allow the missiles to penetrate through a roof into the room under it and spray their load of hundreds of lethal steel fragments inside. This blast of small fragments, designed to kill people but to leave the structure intact, is argued by the military to be a humanitarian munitions meant to limit casualties. Like many other techniques and technologies of "lesser evil," this one enabled the proliferation of such strikes, thus causing more casualties.[2] Seen from above, the hole in the roof is the only visible trace that the building was attacked by drones. But this hole, and the violence it evidences, are also at the threshold of detectability. This is because the size of the hole

that a missile makes in a roof is smaller than that of a single pixel in the resolution to which publicly available satellite images are degraded.

Until 2014, this resolution was legally kept to 50 cm/pixel, with a pixel representing half a meter by half a meter of ground.20 This resolution was legally determined because it is roughly the size of the human body when seen from above. The pixel resolution is not only a technical product of optics and data-storage capacity, but a "modulor" designed according to the dimensions of the human body. Unlike other architectural modulors (most notably that of Le Corbusier), it was not meant to help organize space, but rather to stamp the human figure out of photographs. The 50 cm resolution is useful because it bypasses risk of privacy infringement when recording people in public spaces, much in the same way that Google Street View blurs the faces of people or car license plates. But the regulation also has a security rationale: It is not only important details of strategic sites that get camouflaged in the 50 cm/pixel resolution, but the consequences of violence and violations as well. [3] The resolution of satellite images have direct bearing on drone attacks. Although at a resolution of 50 cm the general features of individual buildings can be identified, a hole in a roof—the signature of a drone strike—would appear as nothing more than a slight color variation, a single darker pixel, perhaps, within a pixel composition.

The 50 cm/pixel satellite imagery thus poses a digital version of the material problem presented by the silver salt particles in the negatives of the Auschwitz aerial photographs presented in the Irving trial. It masks a hole in a roof—a hole that is similarly related in its dimensions to the human body. In both, the hole in the roof is an indication that the room under it was an assassination chamber. In both, this hole was at the threshold of detectability in the images in which it was captured. My claim is of course not that there is a relation between the Holocaust as an attempt to exterminate an entire people in gas chambers, and a secret and illegal war conducted by the US in densely populated civilian areas, but rather that the forensic-architectural problem that arises forces us to examine the material limit of images.

We do not know the precise optical specifications of drone cameras. Some operators stated publicly (or told us privately) that they could identify people. They claimed that sometimes they could even recognize them. Others said that the resolution was not sharp enough to differentiate children from adults and that they have mistaken spades for guns.4 All statements confirmed, however, that the human figure is the thing to which drone vision is calibrated, obviously because it is designed to deliver munitions to people and kill them. However, while the human figure is the convergent point of drone vision, it is what satellite images are designed to mask. The UN, via UNOSAT—its program delivering satellite-image analysis to relief organizations—as well as other research bodies, increasingly monitors violence by purchasing images from the archives of commercially available satellite companies. The analysis is undertaken by studying "before and after" images, which are the most common form of forensic montage designed to frame an event between two spatiotemporal conditions: The "before" setting the benchmark against which the "after" state displays the result of an incident. Because satellite images render people invisible, the focus of the analysis turns to architecture, to the pairing or sequencing of buildings with ruins.

Both the act of military killing and the practice of investigating those killings are image-based practices, afforded through the combination of proximity and remoteness that is the condition of media itself. Drone strikes themselves are performed in a high-resolution designed to show information, but are monitored (by NGOs or the UN) in the poor resolution of satellite photographs designed to hide information. This fact inverts one of the foundational principles of forensics since the nineteenth century, namely, that to resolve a crime the police should be able to see more—in higher resolution, using better optics—than the perpetrator of the crime is able to. This inversion is nested in another, because in the case of drone strikes it is state agencies that are the perpetrators.

The difference in vision between remote perpetrator and remote witness is the space of denial—but of a different kind than the denial presented earlier in this essay.

The formulation for denial employed by US agencies is officially sanctioned as the "Glomar response," stating that US state agencies are authorized to "neither confirm nor deny" the existence—or nonexistence—of documents and policies such as a secret war of assassination in Pakistan. To say "this is untrue," or "this did not happen," is an antithesis that requires a counter-narrative. Glomarization is, however, a form of denial that aims to add no information whatsoever. This form of denial has its corollary in the visual field through the satellite image's inability to either confirm or deny the existence or nonexistence of holes in roofs that would otherwise constitute evidence of state-sanctioned violence. This form of denial is not simply rhetorical, but rather is made possible by the production of a frontier that has territorial, juridical, and visual characteristics.

Take for example the Waziristan region of Pakistan, since June 2004 one of the focal points for the drone campaign. Waziristan is part of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). During the period of the British Raj, FATA was established as an extraterritorial zone of local autonomy. The Pakistani military established checkpoints that filter movement in and out; it also prevented the bringing-in and taking-out of any electronic equipment, including mobile phones, cameras, and navigation equipment.[5] The consequence is an effective media siege in which very few photographs and eyewitness testimonies were allowed to leave these regions. This media blackout enabled drone warfare in these areas. It also helped Pakistani and US sources to deny this campaign ever existed and helped them to misleadingly claim that the casualties of drone strikes died rather in "bomb-making accidents."[6] In masking all signals within it, the pixel is the human-scale equivalent of the territorial-scale media blockage extended over FATA.

A Return to the Witness

I will briefly describe some possibilities of this counter-forensics through two strategies that we have used to bypass those image politics where we can. In the summer of 2012, twenty-two seconds of video footage was smuggled out of Waziristan, passing through six hands before landing in the NBC offices in Islamabad. It was a rare piece of footage, and was broadcasted. Disturbingly, there was also a lot of information in those images, and no attempt to see anything in them. For most people, it's simply a confirmation that something has happened—we see destruction, we see a hole in the roof, we see a building destroyed, and that's it.

We spent six months looking at these twenty-two seconds, frame by frame, and we started seeing things. A first thing to see is not through the window, but the window frame itself. The size of the window frame within the photographic frame meant that the person shooting the footage is not at the window but rather inside the room. This person is feeling danger—whether a second U.S. strike or from the Taliban, we don't know. But we know from the size of the frame that this is precious evidence, delivered under perilous circumstances.
We wanted to find the only confirmed target site in Waziristan that we are able to recognize. So the first task is to figure out where this footage is within North Waziristan. The shadow is cast forward, north by northwest—so we are looking northward. We can see that the building from which the photograph was taken is higher than the building destroyed, so we know we have a higher building behind a lower building. We collage the available images together, and get a fuller view of the ruin. We see a bend in the road on the left, and a certain widening of the road on the right. That is initially the typology we're looking for as we scan through the cities of Waziristan—a building that has a high building behind and that kind of arrangement of streets in front.

We find what seems like a match, and start comparing other details. We see fanning on the left, and a tower. There's a higher building, and we can confirm that we see the higher

building on the satellite image as well. It's a very laborious process, but over time we become more certain that we've matched the footage to the satellite image. Now we know where the target is. But the problem of pixelation means that we simply cannot know within which pixel the drone rocket has entered and therefore which room. We want to find the room where it happened.

[The first stage in understanding what this footage could reveal was to locate the building within the city. The direction of the shadow helped to orient the structure. We determined that the videographer was standing level with the destroyed roof and must therefore have been in a building that was higher than the one that was targeted. Using a collage pieced together from individual frames extracted from the footage, we eventually found the building within a satellite image of Miranshah, with the morphology of the streets as a guide. From Forensic Architecture's "Decoding Video Testimony" project, Miranshah, North Waziristan, March 30, 2012]

[Behind the missile fragment we noticed a trace on the wall. The room was full of such traces. They seem to be fragmentation patterns from the explosive head of the ammunition. The missile is designed to penetrate through a ceiling, and detonate when inside a room, spraying hundreds of steel fragments and killing everybody in proximity. Each fragment was studied and mapped. Where the distribution of fragments is in lower density, it is likely that something absorbed them. Although we could not be certain, it is possible that the absence of the fragments indicated the places where people died. From Forensic Architecture's "Decoding Video Testimony" project]

So we look again at the shadows, comparing the length of the shadow to the length of the building, which eventually lets us build a 3-D model of the building that we suspect is the building that was destroyed. We locate it within the extruded map of the city. Now it becomes important to know what time the video was taken, which is very easy with existing architectural software. That becomes very important,

because one piece of evidence is a ray of light entering through the hole in the ceiling, which gives us direction again—meaning that we can use it as a compass by which to locate the room within the building.

Then we begin seeing the finer grain of blast holes—fragments on the roof and on the wall itself. We scan the image and we map all of them to understand what happened with the shrapnel after the missile entered the room. We slowly notice that there are two areas in which there are fewer fragments—which suggests that those areas are where the bodies that absorbed the shrapnel stood. The room's walls thus functioned as something akin to a photograph, exposed to the blast in a similar way to which a negative is exposed to light, just as the remains of bodies created voids in the ash layer over Pompeii, or as a nuclear blast famously etched a "human shadow" onto the steps outside the Sumitomo bank in Hiroshima. Combining pathology and forensic architecture, the traces of dead bodies seem to have become part of the architecture.

Another example comes from the methods we used with a witness who escaped from Waziristan. She had a German passport, which allowed her to come to Europe. Her husband was facing trial in Germany, and she wanted to deliver testimony—but as often happens in traumatic moments, she lost some details of the attack. Our form of assistance was to undertake the very slow process of building a digital model of the house in which she was living. Slowly, through the conjunction of architecture and the details of her stories, the memory came back.

Sitting between her lawyer and an architect acting as a computer modeler, she directed the process in which a detailed model of her house was constructed. The model included all rooms, furniture, and objects the witness could remember. Slowly, as she was sizing the rooms, locating the windows and doors, and placing mundane objects in these spaces, she started recalling and narrating fragments of memory from her life in this house and also from the strike

itself. When the digital model was complete, we rendered it and undertook a series of virtual walk-throughs. "Returning" to the space and time of the strike, the witness could recount her story.[7]

One object in particular was important to the witness. It was a fan. She seemed uneasy about it, repeatedly adjusting its location. At the beginning it had been modeled as a ceiling-mounted ventilator; then the witness placed it as a freestanding fan on a tripod inside a room. A few moments later she took it outside and placed it in a small courtyard that mostly served the women and children. The house was gender-segregated; most of its space was reserved for men, and women were confined to a small part within. This limited the witness optics of the events that unfolded. When "walking" through the model in the digital aftermath of the strike, she recalled finding human flesh on the fan's blades. [8] The fan was a digital object but also a vehicle into her memory. Human memory, architecture, destruction, and digital reconstruction got entangled here in a way that does not surrender to the easy separation of subject and object, testimony and evidence, matter and memory.

None of this is hard evidence. The courts, the UN investigations, and the processes that we have developed aren't simply theoretical, but still, these elements are weak signals, faint memories, speculations, probabilities that exist at the threshold of visibility and also at the threshold of the law. We never know if these investigations have an evidentiary value until they are tested in courts—these things cannot be known a priori. The fact that these signals operate beneath the threshold of science and law makes the practice of forensics in excess of both—offering a point of intersection between aesthetics and politics through theory and practice.

This whole essay is published previously in the book 2000+: Urgencies in Architecture (GSAPP, 2015, New York); and part of it is published in this book by the permission of the author.

1 The investigation was undertaken on behalf of various political and legal groups and was presented at the UN General Assembly in 2013 by the UN Special Rapporteur for Counter Terrorism Human Rights, Ben Emerson. The work was also presented in the context of legal action brought about by Pakistani lawyer Shahzad Akhbar in the UK Court of Appeal and in collaboration with the Bureau of Investigative Journalism (BIJ). The team was coordinated by Susan Schuppli (research and coordination), Jacob Burns (research), Steffen Krämer (video compositing and editing), Reiner Beelitz (architectural modeling), Samir Harb (architectural modeling), Zahra Hussain (research assistance), Francesco Sebregondi (research assistance), and Blake Fisher (research assistance). Some cases were undertaken in collaboration with Situ Research. Other partner organizations included the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (Andreas Schüller), One World Research (Bridget Prince, Nasser Arrabyee, and Anis Mansour), Al Jazeera English (Ana Naomi de Sousa), Chris Woods (freelance journalist), Edmund Clark (photographer), Chris Cobb-Smith (munitions expert and consultant), and Myra MacDonald (freelance journalist).

2 See my own "665: The Least of All Possible Evils," e-flux journal 38 (October 2012); and The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza (New York: Verso Books, 2012).

3 In 2014, after lobbying by satellite companies, American satellite companies were allowed to provide images in a slightly sharper resolution—about 30 cm/pixel. They successfully argued that private identity would still be masked at this resolution. See the United States' 1998 Land Remote Sensing Policy Act, geo.arc.nasa.gov/sge/landsat/15USCch82.html. See also "US lifts restrictions on more detailed satellite images," BBC, June 16, 2014. The European satellite Pléiades, unaffected by the American restrictions, has since the end of 2011 provided 50cm/pixel images of Palestine/Israel. See also Hito Steyerl's beautiful film How Not To Be Seen: A Fucking Didactic Educational .MOV File (2013). The size of the pixel in relation to the size of the body makes camouflage unnecessary.

4 In a further radicalization of the geopolitics of resolution, US satellite image providers make an exception to the 50-cm rule in Israel and the Palestinian territories it occupies. An amendment to the US Land Remote Sensing Policy Act, which sets the permitted resolution of commercial US image satellites, dictates that these areas are shown only in a resolution of 2.5 meters (later effectively eased to 1 meter per pixel) in which a car is made of two pixels

and a roof—another common target—is depicted by 6–9 pixels. The snow screen placed over Israel's violation of Palestinian rights in the West Bank and Gaza contributed to Turkey's decision, after the Gaza Flotilla incidents, to send its own image satellite into space and make available 50 cm/pixel images of Palestine/Israel. William Fenton, "Why Google Earth Pixelates Israel," PCMag, June 14, 2011; Maayan Amir, "Gaza Flotilla," www.forensic-architecture.org/file/gaza-flotilla.

5 Heather Linebaugh, "I worked on the US drone program. The public should know what really goes on," The Guardian, December 29, 2013.

5 The Federally Administered Tribal Areas are officially a "Prohibited Area" for which nonresidents require special permission to enter.

6 Jacob Burns, "Persistent Exception: Pakistani Law and the Drone War," in Forensis: The Architecture of Public Truth, ed. Forensic Architecture (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014).

7 This process of mediation based on embodiment recalled other experiments in "situational awareness" undertaken in the context of US military immersive training environments and post-trauma treatment as captured in Harun Farocki's Serious Games (2009–10). A classic predecessor to this practice is narrated in Frances Yates' magnum opus about the Roman and medieval tradition of mnemonic techniques. The Art of Memory emphasized the relationship between memory, architecture, and destruction. Frances Yates, The Art of Memory (London: Pimlico, 1992).

8 Deborah Brauser, "Novel 'Avatar Therapy' May Silence Voices in Schizophrenia," Medscape, July 3, 2014: "Avatar therapy allows patients to choose a digital face (or 'avatar') that best resembles what they picture their phantom 'voice' to look like. A therapist, siting in a separate room, 'talks' through the animated avatar shown on a computer

The Need for Objective Photos and Videos as Evidence
by M. Deha Boduroğlu

The peaceful and creatively protesting community of the Gezi Park resistance during the summer of 2013 was under direct violation by police and security forces. I am a firsthand witness of several torts in and around the Beyoğlu district and of the deliberate police attacks against elders, children and adults, who were totally peaceful and united, representing every color and segment of the country's population. The police use of such extreme amounts of toxic CR, CS and OC gas, gas bombs, plastic and real bullets cannot even be defined as a disproportional use of force. The police violations clearly surpassed all legal boundaries of the criminal law and decisions by the European Human Rights Court.

According to an announcement by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, approximately 2.5 million people took part in the protests within 79 provinces. The attitude of the police generated an atmosphere of violence, which was responsible for 10 deaths, 8163 seriously injured, and hundreds of thousands of traumatized people. Also, thousands of people were discharged from their jobs due to their messages of support in their social media accounts. Because of the pressing emergency, we gathered with 26 colleagues and many friends working in different disciplines in the 1 Umut Association and agreed in our first meeting to form a volunteer legal support collective, announcing our call through a website.

98 complainants sent us their experiences, questions and applications. We informed them about the required doctor reports, evidence and traces, concerning their physical and intangible injuries and damages.
A civil and independent documentation of the violence was required. Due to the censored mainstream media, unreliable surveillance cameras, and for others reasons, we needed to document all the evidence ourselves. At the same time, organized manipulation groups countrywide, government supported media and other interest groups, as well as supporters of the Gülen organization manipulated the events

by using Photoshop-ed images, and by blacking out other communication channels such as Twitter and Facebook, and using all kinds of blotting and deception tactics. Therefore, the reach for objective evidence was a serious matter.

The efforts of independent, objective groups such as Videoccupy, Nar Photo and Çapul TV provided us with evidence related to the complaints of different victims who requested legal support from us. The accessibility of real camera and video recordings through these archives was creating hope and shelter for people against the non-stop violation and lawlessness.

By asking our friends and doing research, we met the archive creating groups and agreed to collaborate with them, as they provided us with camera records, which could later be used as evidence during the judicial process.

Initially 98 applicants responded to our call and informed us with e-mails regarding their victimization, telling their experiences and sending us their evidence. 27 of them gave us their power of attorney and we started the judicial process. We observed that in contrast with the huge number of people who were injured, attacked, battered and terrorized, only a very small number of people applied for the pro bono legal support, from the first claim to the final court order. Even the Istanbul Bar Association received only around 400 applications for legal support. This showed a clear, and major distrust of the people against the legal system.
The Istanbul Bar Association announced in June 2013, "Don't be afraid! You have rights! If you were attacked, bring all the evidence you have to the Bar Association, look after your evidence (photos, videos, etc)." Because the number of applications was far below the real number of people who suffered from violations, we decided to make animated films to encourage them and inform them of their rights. Our friends from Anima Istanbul prepared 7 short animation films about the issue. But despite the publication of these animation films on different channels such as YouTube, the number of complainants did not increase.

One of the claims was submitted by a 68 year-old sufferer, who was attacked on her way home from the Asian side of Istanbul to her apartment in the European side, where she was directed by the police from Taksim Square to Istiklal Street. At Istiklal Street, a riot control vehicle called TOMA, sprayed her, and others, with a poisonous gas and water mixture. Because of the strong pressure of the shot by the TOMA vehicle, which was directly targeting her body, she fell to the ground causing the wrist of her right hand to break. Under a shock, she was transferred to the hospital with an ambulance and the doctor gave her a medical report.
We wrote a claim to the prosecutor and attached her doctor reports and the video showing the TOMA attack against her. We demanded to determine the responsible police officers as real persons who had used the TOMA vehicle. We also made a claim against their commanding officers who gave the order for the attack.

We applied to the prosecutor's office with our legal explanations, doctor reports and video footage on October 10, 2013. The prosecutor started the investigation but worked very slowly, fulfilling all legal formalities related to the investigation perfunctory.

The prosecutor invited our client for a statement towards the end of 2013. The number of the TOMA vehicle and the date of the incident were both clear. Nevertheless, it took several demands to the prosecutor, and more than one year for the police officers to be interrogated. Both police officers who were driving and operating the TOMA vehicle submitted the exact same statement. The only difference between their statements was in their names. The prosecutor had not asked them any compelling questions. Although they had experience in working with TOMA for more than four years, they said they had not seen our client and mentioned that they did not
shoot directly at anyone; they only shot into the air in order to disband the people who were protesting. Their statements contained many doubts, but there was no further questioning

by the prosecutor regarding these doubts. However, upon our demands, the prosecutor did order for the camera records of the MOBESE (city surveillance cameras), which were under the control of the Ministry of Inner Affairs and the police. The police department declared on November 7, 2013 that the cameras were demolished during the protests by the protestors. There has been no detailed research of the different cameras in the area. The prosecutor could have asked for bank, shop, and café cameras, and could try to find more evidence. Every TOMA vehicle has an HD camera, but the prosecutor did not even demand these TOMA camera records from the police.

There is a quite an outdated law in Turkey with the number 4483, which is called "The Law for the Trial of Officials and Other State Employees". This law provides that all state employees, or officials such as police, civil servants, governors, and directors, etc., have immunity from prosecution. According to this law, a prosecutor who receives a claim against a state official, either a criminal one or a private one, is required to demand a permit from the superior of the accused official, in order to be able to investigate said person. In most cases, the superiors do not give the permit to the prosecutor. We also saw this in our case, as we expected. We received a decision from the governor of Istanbul on September 2, 2015, more than two years after the incident. We objected to this decision in the administrative court and within the legal period, but the administrative court rejected our demand in merely one sentence. There was only one more way to look for justice. We applied in the name of our client to the Supreme Court, based on her application for individual constitutional rights. This case, and also other cases, which we are following with colleagues, give clear proof that finding your own images as evidence seems to be the most important issue if you are making a claim against any kind of official as a victim. Even with doctor reports, witnesses and other evidence, it is only possible to ensure an objective proof with a video recording and publishing and archiving of these footages through open and secure online sources.

THE LAW and THE IMAGE (2): The Camera as an Objective Witness, "It does not lie"
by Oktay İnce


sequence 01272

sequence 01273


sequence 01274


sequence 01275

By opening up questions in the previous texts we will discuss how the relationship between the image and the law, which is strengthened in favor of the image, has altered these two concepts reciprocally, what it transforms into and how.

Today, the testimony of the image has taken the place of the witness. Rather than a witness, the question of "do you have image," has become more important for a murder committed by the state or any individual. Since the thing called a trial was established in the world, whether by the inquisition of a church or an Ottoman judge (qadi) who secures justice according to canon laws; it has tried to ensure the objectivity of witnesses, that they tell the truth. However, it has remained an unreliability of mankind; they do not always behave accurately while telling "the truth" at the police station and deviate from the truth in the courtroom. The quest for accuracy and objectivity, which was generally secured by making witnesses swear on holy books, or turned into an ethics of not lying during testimony as in some European examples, is now almost ensured by images from the camera.

"The image does not lie" because the machine that recorded the event is inanimate, and the image is therefore "the track

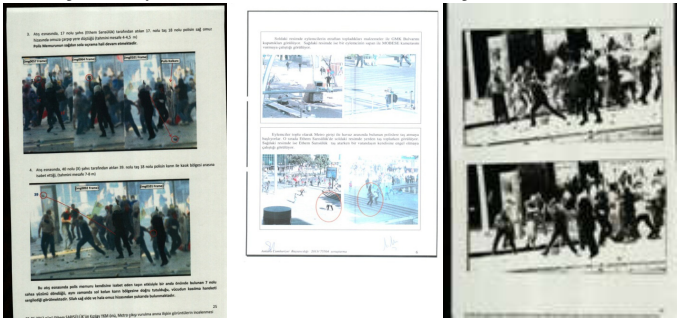
of reality, a copy as the same of reality". The testimony of the camera is much more credible and convincing than a human being who can say anything out of fear, or who may accept a bribe, or want to bestow a privilege upon someone. Now, the expression by a witness has been gaining credible quality only after the verification by camera.

The image, at the same time, leads to a public inspection of the decisions by the court that makes judgments on behalf of the people, because the image can convince large audiences that it reaches and can transform all of them into witnesses. A person who was watching the images of how Ethem Sarısülük was shot by a police officer, or a person who is listening to the phone call between Erdoğan and his son about laundering the money obtained through bribery, cannot accept an acquittal or release decision by the court on their conscience. The legitimacy of court decisions becomes questionable.

"The camera does not lie" thesis, of course is relative and debatable. What's important here is what is inside and outside of the frame, the subjectivity of the image; in other words, the focus of the hand that is holding the camera. However, first, we need to exclude from discussion the manipulation of the image if we want to find answers to whether an image lies or not. Philosophers were critical of this issue. Ulus Baker argued that the image tells real lies, deep lies, and even aesthetic lies; however, all these lies are montaged together into the work of an image that has become a marginal film, such as at least two sequences following each other. We are the ones lying, not the image; the image has an existence independent from us. We can place one frame from Palestine next to Kobani, or a frame from Kobani next to Cizre, and it would be convincing, however, this lie is not due to the photo.

An image in the frame of a camera directed at any event is only a section of the recorded reality, not the entire reality; it is missing but it is true; it is what it is. When Ethem Sarısülük was shot, a CNN Turk TV camera was entirely focused on the murder and clearly giving all the details of how it was committed; it answers almost every question of the reality.

On the other hand, the state-controlled Mobese cameras change their direction upwards whenever they detect a situation or an image that is covered by a gas cloud. But, in fact, the frames from both cameras reflect the truth. A murder is committed there, and at the same time, there is gas cloud. Mobese cameras do not say, "the police did not commit the murder" and they cannot say so, otherwise they merely exempt themselves from testimony.



Ethem Sarısülük's case, official expert report and image reviewing report of the police

Each camera has a different angle and a totality emerges from a synthesis of multiple perspectives. Hence, dozens of minor events and situations were happening at the same time. If we think of each camera, we can see each of them; one camera only shows the people, the witnesses looking at the square from a store with panic and confusion, demonstrators throwing stones at policemen in Güvenpark, and an ambulance coming from the distance. All these records are true; they have direct or indirect connection with the main event.

They are only one section of the reality of that moment, what they each show is true. An ambulance was coming, demonstrators were throwing stones, people at the store were looking at how the murder was committed, and police were shooting at Ethem Sarısülük as he arrived by running. If the DIHA (Dicle News Agency) reporter would have kept his camera pointed in the direction where Tahir Elçi was shot instead of recording the police, then more precise information

could have been reached about where the bullets came from. Both two segments of information seen on the frame of the camera turning its angle from Tahir Elçi to the policemen are correct and real.

The evidence of the image and the power of repeating an action are endlessly at work at the same time. In an exhibition titled "Counter Reflection," we also tried to show the potential of the images that were submitted as evidence to the court in the 2013 June resistance by the Ankara Police Photo Film Center, to reproduce the power of resistance. In fact, we used generally continuous images from an angle that news or video activist cameras; with records obtained from Mobese cameras and other sides of protestors by hand-held police cameras.

Some events are recorded only by the police, the people do not have images. This situation leaves one of the two places deprived from the image, which the court established for the people in good conscience. As in the Nihat Kazanhan murder trial, the state was forced to give images for the case file, which spread from here to the public. And images of Ethem Sarısülük had the potential to express the moment of shooting endlessly. We have never closed this file, we will never forget and never allow the people to forget; it stays fresh in the minds of a future generation.

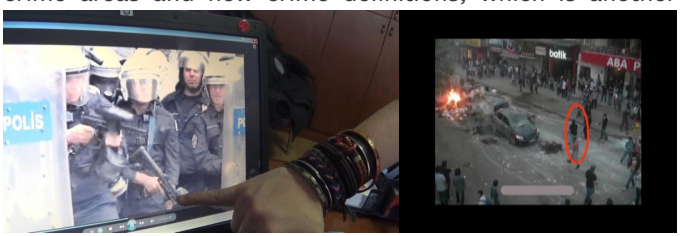
The camera as a controlling device, an increase in image production, the legalization of murder

As testimony is transferred by camera, there is an increase in the number of cameras and image productions in the streets and at crime scenes. The state moves its surveillance cameras and control mechanisms beyond its estimates by placing Mobese cameras everywhere. We can also count on the wire-tapping if we think of audio as an image.

However, the camera is a tool that serves someone who holds it in her/his hands and monitors its opposite. For those who are exposed to the crimes committed by the state, these

citizens turn the lens of the camera to the state so that systems established by the state to spy on people are then caught red-handed. When we also think about the private security camera systems set up by workplaces, institutions, or individuals, we can predict how image production goes beyond the imagination. Thus, it becomes inevitable to mention the huge image warehouses being produced while the state is recording people, or as people are recording the state, or as people are recording other people. During these days, the obligation to supply these productions to the public and to make them visible remains evident in such places as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and Vimeo, etc.

All these surveillance areas have led to the formation of new crime areas and new crime definitions, which is another



issue.

In 2005, the state was caught red-handed by a mobile phone camera in Şemdinli. In 2007, we watched the last unofficial fascist gunmen of the state, the murderer of Hrant Dink, from the Mobese cameras. After the murderers of Ali İsmail and Ethem Sarısülük were caught on cameras during the 2013 June resistance, the state found itself in a position in which they were not able to cover their dirty wars and murders because of these monitoring networks. When they could not hide their killers from the public and could not avoid trial, they took the murder monopoly into their own hands from the counter-guerrillas, and removed all the limits on the warrants of armed forces to kill. They started to commit murders in front of live cameras, and they did it legally. The government no longer needed to remain as an "unknown perpetrator" while committing a murder as it happened in the 1990's. Counter-

guerrilla murder gangs from that time are now dressed in formal suits; they are posing together on mutilated corpses for a souvenir photo while burning the injured young people in the basements of Sur (Diyarbakır), and writing such things as, “love is in the basement, beautiful” on the walls. With an unlimited license to kill due to the anti-terrorism laws and the guarantee of avoiding trial, there has been a shift from a “kill but hide” in the 1990’s, to a “kill by posing” of 2016. Many more people have been massacred in the period of “live murder” than in the period of “unidentified murder”. Proliferation of the image production finds its reflection in the growth of the production of death.

The news was spread, the police who shot Berkin Elvan were almost identified by the Gendarmarie Criminal Laboratory through the video recorders on the armored vehicles. Images in the criminal laboratory are subjected to treatment like a naked body in an autopsy. They are cut and then enlarged until their grains and details are able to be analyzed; they are subjected to an operation in which the colors are lightened and lines become clear; the crime information it contains is recorded by a tele-microscope. While the number of murder-candidates among the cops is narrowed down to a particular officer with each crumb of new information, the time of the recordings is also narrowed down to a few seconds in which Berkin Elvan was shot; at the point where these two overlap, the face of the killer would appear. Just as it appears in the image of Ethem Sarısülük’s death at 01272-73-74 and the 75th frame where the gun is horizontal to the ground.
The state records its own murders with the cameras placed inside of the tanks and vehicles. When a murder is decriminalized, these images such as the moments of a shooting, or the mutilated or naked corpses are served to a public that has already been converted into vultures to meet their need to see a “carcass,” and to demonstrate the power of the state.

Recording ban in the court; the courtroom from ‘justice game’ to ‘tele-series’

This live murder is followed by a live trial. When the murderer of Ethem Sarısülük debunked the state, which he murdered on behalf of by participating in the first trial wearing a wig, and when people spit in his face on behalf of the state, he was exempted from trial and interrogated via Skype from a city that was supposed to be Urfa. Defense lawyers could not even question the killer; the electricity was cut, and the broadcasting was discontinued. While he was interrogated in front of the camera, there was a prompter in the room where he was posing, behind him, perhaps as a doublure. The statement by the coup-d’état killer Kenan Evren was taken by a video out of bed, so that he was rescued from looking into the eyes of Berfo Ana of Cemil Kırkbayır and being spit on in the face.

If you are not in place where you can be exempted from the state’s power, for example, residing abroad, it is easy to predict that only those who committed a crime under the state’s protection are those who gain the chance of providing a statement by a distant video call system; a chance to be judged without even living with the shame of having looked into the eyes of the victims and relatives who they massacred, tortured or raped; normal citizens are deprived of this right. That’s why Hrant Dink was delivered into the hands of racist lynch mobs in the public trials and courtrooms, although it is known that he was faced with the issue of safety regarding his livelihood.

We do not know if law prohibits it initially, but sound or image recording is not permitted in the courts; although the judgment is made publicly, the court is generally 'off the record' because as in a testimony, the sound and image records may reveal that courts do not actually distribute justice. Instead, the courts just play their roles that they study in the plan of protecting and looking out for those who are governing the state. How they distribute the acquittal decisions to the tormentors, and how they fall asleep in the trials can be watched by the public in these records, in effect, breaking the authority of their older crowd of gowns.

Until a decade ago, the courtroom under a recording ban had become a theater; a game of justice based on live performance was happening in this scene. But it is not like that now; it's been a long time since the art of cinema has left the theater behind, eventually cinema conquered the theater. Now we're watching the trial like a movie on plasma screens from the seats in the court hallway prepared for audiences two-by-two. Theater and cinema, both options are together. The court board is visible both on the screen and while sitting in the chair. You may see yourself on the screen from the audience seat. Lawyers analyze the events from the images that they obtained by approaching them with a close-up view. The prosecution or suspects argue their thesis through the screen. Lawyers now have to be equipped with the knowledge of the image from its format to its resolution, as telling is not enough anymore; they must also show. They need to have enough knowledge to read the information of guilt or innocence blow by blow, as well as the board and the prosecutor.

As in the live broadcasts on TVs, those who select the pictures decide what will be on the court's screen; they are running the job of instantly creating montages, the 'xth section' of justice 'serial' you are watching. From this screen, poli-films are also presented to audiences, which are edited and manipulated versions of hand made records, not the Mobese records from police photo film centers.

Get busted by default, "show your face to the camera" or a selfie in custody

As the state cannot hide its own crimes anymore due to its own surveillance and monitoring systems, it can dignify its murders by decriminalizing these crimes as those that 'cannot be tried' or 'subject to permission'; however, the public has no such legislative power. We have often been watching images of the extreme urban poor on the TV news, those who steal a bracelet from a jeweler; these images are in the court files. The genius state uses these images as evidence that keeps us in jail for years, and by watching us step by step in the streets with the Mobese cameras, to capture us in the last hole that we entered. In other words, they nail us.

Since there is nothing worth stealing in the suburbs and all the streets in the city center are full of cameras, there is a need for new tactics in committing a crime in front of the camera. An indication of this is to move a planned 'crime' (crime is always in quotation marks) to an earlier time, to work at times when the streets are the most crowded instead of when they are sparse, to become invisible in the crowds, and to disassociate with possible similarities thus making it difficult to be detected. Another important tool is to wear a mask at the crime scene, masking the face.

The state has enacted a special law regarding the use of masks during political actions and makes threats that anyone who wears a mask will be identified as a terrorist; they are detained immediately, if necessary. All these situations and their insistence on wanting to see our faces in any case can be understood in this context. Moreover, a government that tries to put women in chadors and wants to veil their faces is doing this. If we consider that the police blacklisting technology has come to a point where they can identify us by facial recognition, or almost by the breath we take, then political action in the street is possible only by constructing a situation where one is not to be judged. The privilege that the state provides to their own killers should be obtained

by the prosecutors de facto, instead of hiding their faces with masks. This is possible as the crime is committed by masses. A 'crowded' area, which is needed for the robbery, takes the similar form as the 'mass' in political actions. The appropriate time for a robbery is not the lone hours at night, but primetime; for political action, the appropriate time is one hour after the end of the workday, during rush hour.

I think the most appropriate example for this is the 2013 June resistance. There is no harm for either the state or the demonstrators to say that it was the most displayed action in Turkey's history. All of the images of thousands of people throwing stones, or at least, wearing masks, or writing criminal things, or swearing to those who govern the state are recorded on cameras and also in the state's own records. If the state would acquire a business, they could identify thousands of criminals and prepare their case files, but they did not. Instead, prosecutions stayed at the symbolic level with the leading persons, because when a 'crime' is committed by the masses it is no longer a crime de facto, neither a revolution.

The attitude of the protestors concerning the video activist camera is ambivalent in terms of the legal consequence; it is based on a relationship of trust, and varies from case to case. In a protest in which the legal consequence is likely to lead to arrest, all kinds of video recordings may be risky as they create evidence by crystallizing the crime. However, in a protest seen by 3-5 people who are passing a policeman who is detaining someone, if they could not make their own propaganda heard by the public, they cannot be deemed to have reached their goal. Sometimes, protestors are forced to choose one of these two options, and may prefer "as long as my protest will be heard, let them arrest me". This preference is the reason why video activist cameras are invited even to the protests where nobody is informed. Actually, at one point, they make the camera as part of their crimes, or they record their own crimes by taking a camera with them.

Nowadays, being viewed is almost inevitable and the phobia

Selfie in custody

of protestors being viewed has turned into a hobby, a desire. There are more cameras and therefore more enthusiasm. There is reluctance over the possibility of not being seen by anyone other than themselves. This situation of being recorded sometimes exceeds the press; the number of those who are recording exceeds the number of the activists. For activists who record themselves, it's prolonged from taking a 'selfie at the demonstration' to a 'selfie in custody'.

The students taking a selfie in this photo were taken into custody as they rejected the police control at the entrance of the Ankara University campus. Legally, the police cannot touch their mobile phones without an official custody, so there is no obstacle in taking selfies while inside the police vehicle, or even in the police station, or while they call their relatives. They are sending messages both to their family and friends, "we are ok, do not worry" and "we do not give a damn". This photograph which seems to function in preventing the fear of custody to an outsider, as compared to the actual custody laws in Kurdish regions of Turkey, presents a difference that is soul shattering.

How does the state process the records that are maintained in cases of illegal mass actions? The first issue is the filing of images of people who are potential criminals and blacklisting them. In the 2013 June resistance, the people

who participated reluctantly, not permanently, but during the mass upheaval period, and then returned back their homes when the protest was over, are most likely separated from the organized people who made resistance as a way of life through the images. And among organized people, there is an inclination to identify those who are suspected as spokespersons of the actions, or initiators and leaders of events. The state did not search for those "who committed the crime" within the images because everyone committed the crime; however, they did make symbolic judgments. Those who were subjected to this symbolic judgment were marked with chosen people who were probably blacklisted before, by drawing a red circle on the image; images in which they are throwing a stone, chanting a slogan, setting up a barricade, in masks or unmasked were added to their files as evidence. As these people were usually at the forefront of the resistance, they generally attract the attention in police records.

The camera as a wailing wall

The possibility of being caught affects the form of political actions naturally. It reduces the use of stones or molotovs during actions; people run to blind spots where cameras cannot see them, or where

cameras are broken. Or, a crowd gets so massive that it cannot fit into the view of the camera and a crime is thus removed from being de facto a crime. However, we must say that the possibility of being viewed creates a pacifying effect on political actions, like how a "press release," which

is a common form of action, is not directed to the people on

Ankara, Yüksel Street

İstanbul, in front of Galatasaray Highschool

the streets but is a form of action demanding to be recorded. And often there is no intervention by the government. On the contrary, the state supports this kind of political action as long as the words it contains does not violate its own territory; it tolerates the central areas of the cities, except demonstration areas, to allow these statements to be performed. Yüksel Street in Ankara, or Galatasaray High School in İstanbul are both used for this purpose.

To attend these press releases in these areas where there are the plenty of cameras and minimum risk turns into a labor of routine and daily action. The state of mind of these statements and the participants themselves lose their direct interaction with the incident that is the subject of the statement. Whether it is for people burned in the basement in Cizre or academics suspended from work, a statement will be read with the same tone of voice, and slogans made for the event will be followed by familiar slogans, and then the work will be over and everybody will go back to their homes. As a kind of action that works to absorb and tame the anger and generate the least problem for the government, even if you say the most radical things in these statements, the state will tolerate it.

While the desire for being viewed has resulted in an increased trend towards passive forms of actions like press releases, protestors who do not want to be viewed are inclining towards attitudes that are more radical, such as creating liberated blind spots in cities free from surveillance. Maybe the Gazi and Okmeydanı neighborhoods in İstanbul can be given as examples of areas that are distant from the eyes of the state. Tuzluçayır in Ankara may also be a candidate. If we say that "Kurdistan behind the ditches" is a candidate for getting away from not only the state's monitoring systems but also all kinds of control mechanisms, it would not be a lie.

Can documentarians make images lie?

Where is the documentary filmmaker, aside from obtaining archival images for their own film, re-engaged in a relation

between the law and the image? For sure, there is an official expert analyzing the images of evidence recorded at the crime scene. In the case of Ethem Sarısülük, the documentarian expert is Prof. Dr. Klaus Stanjek, Professor of Documentary Filmmaking at Konrad Wolf Academy for Film and Television.

The report written by him begins as follows:

"A number of video records regarding the events in Kızılay Square in Ankara on 01.06.2013 and the death of a demonstrator named Ethem Sarısülük were given to me (with a sound recording that is partly original) and the following questions were asked:

a) Can the clash between the police and the demonstrator be understood from these videos alone?

b) Can a connection be seen between a police firing his gun and the mentioned demonstrator falling to the ground (died)? Five different camera records (partially with voice) belonging to the same situation and the same time were delivered to me to examine and to make an assessment. These five records were taken with five different cameras (partially with microphone) and from different locations (or different perspectives). These records are described below.

1. Security Camera 1 "YKM AVM" (1.6.13 / hour 17.30 - 17.35)
2. Security Camera 2 "ANK 281 HRK" (1.6.13 / hour 17:28 - 17:35)
3. Security Camera 3 "KI-484" (1.6.13 / hour 17:29 - 17:36)
4. Records of a TV Camera (CNN TÜRK) ("Sarisülük.mov" file)
5. Records of a TV Camera (Kanal D) ("KIZILAY PROTESTO 2 01.06.2013.mpg" file Polis Miting Ham)

This multi-partite material offers a relatively well starting point for a detailed reactivation and assessment of the events."

This expert report based on video records and prepared by a documentarian has been the basis of the defense in the Ethem Sarısülük case. Detailed reports were prepared separately for each camera on how and when the incident took place over the space and time of coincidences, and as the images were slowed down or sometimes frozen as photographs. The context in which the montage and knowledge of the image by the documentarian is transformed into legal knowledge, also responds to questions such as; whether these images were raw records or not, and whether they were edited or manipulated, or if there were effects created by the cameras given their different angles and perspectives.

You probably know that the moving image consists of 24 frames per second in cinema. Dr. Klaus Stanjek had determined that after the police, the murderers of Ethem Sarısülük, fired their gun up into the air, the gun then took a horizontal position facing the demonstrators in only one of those 24 frames and three frames later Ethem Sarısülük had been shot. He also detected that none of the stones thrown by protestors hit any of the police, thus refuting the state's argument of self-defense through the images.

At the beginning, we asked the question: "Does the image lie?" Even reporters asked it as the most critical question of a documentary film that only tells the truth and announces the real and legal process as master. Does a documentary film make images lie? It must be considered that the first two stages will search for an answer to this question in the raw images of their recorded versions, while a documentary film will require additional attention to the sequencing of images. It would be appropriate to review today's documentary filmmaking trend regarding this question, one that is intertwined with fiction, and scripted with actors. If we return to the topic:

The "crime scene investigation" and "image investigation" reports were also prepared with these kinds of photographs that are converted from video. In the police reports, comments that saved the murderer Ahmet Şahbaz from harsh punishment were made with photographs and sketches. Another tool for the testimony was the documentation from

police-radio records; however, these were completely edited and did not include the dialogues regarding the moment that Ethem Sarısülük was shot. While the Mobese records sent by the Security General Directorate consisted of raw images, hand-made records were edited; they were filled with the moments of Ethem Sarısülük throwing a stone. Images were attempting to create the effect, "If he was shot, he deserved it".

Visual psychoanalysis of the case

The law always investigates the psychological environment of a crime and wants to know the psychology of a suspect at a particular moment, to consider such factors while determining a punishment. Here, our issue is how the images set the ground for psychological analysis. Kazım Bayraktar, the lawyer of Ethem Sarısülük, sent the images analyzed by the documentary expert above to the Turkish Psychiatry Association, and applied for a psychoanalytic reading of them. Referring to their analysis made of the images:

"Although the development process of events is short, all of these behaviors that can not be explained by an intent of defense are complying with the objective definition of aggression. Suspect, Ahmet Şahbaz, was not trying to move further away, even while preparing his gun. When his bodily movements were analyzed in terms of "body language", it was seen that his movements were more compatible with the cases of aggression rather than the movements observed in a state of fear and panic."

This report, by claiming that affective states such as fear, astonishment or withdrawal that a murderer feels during self defense were not observed, on the contrary, that a state of self-defense was observed in the demonstrators, has influenced the case and become a part of the legal process.

In the past, the psychoanalysis of a crime environment was based on a report of insanity or drunkenness of the suspect, or by the expression of witnesses, but now it becomes possible

precisely through the images by watching them repeatedly. At this point, we should mention Ulus Baker who stated that images are the most powerful transistors of the affections.

From the image of 'crime' to the crime of the image

I will finish by connecting the image of crime with the crime of the image. The state started a so-called prosecution against the police who dragged the dead body of Hacı Lokman Birlik tied to the back of an armored Turkish police vehicle in Şırnak, and which was filmed and published on the Internet. We found the signboard of "Ferbunde zone, zone intertit" everywhere; a military zone cannot be recorded. A state trying to record everybody and everything, does not like to be recorded. As soon as you record, you may end up in a jail.

Here, the image is declared not as the image of crime but rather the source of crime. It is not a witness anymore, but the suspect. If it is not illegal to look at it with naked eyes, and this is also a kind of mental record, then what does 'creating an image' threaten, and with what? Images can show everything repeatedly to everyone everywhere, because of this power it is perceived as a threat. The torture of a dead body can be shown to anybody at anytime and in any place, and these people who did this may be cursed forever.

A friend from Seyr-i Sokak video activist collective was taken into custody on a complaint from a civil police officer for exposing him by taking photos while she was recording police violence that students, who took the selfie photo above were subjected to. Her mobile phone was confiscated as being an offensive weapon in the prosecution office, and she was sued. The accusation was based on the images found on the phone and the possibility that they were shared. The issue here is that while on one hand the state is taking down the masks from our faces; on the other hand, it is closing the objectives of our cameras to unmask them.

Can an image produce a crime through the image of the crime? It depends on whether a crime committed in real life can

reproduce itself on the image level or not, what would it look like? During the 2013 June resistance, things written on the walls for Cum baba were counted as defamation and those who were captured were tried for this. However, evidence showed photographs sent to the court by police who were continuing to commit that crime. For instance, when these photographs are opened to the public in an exhibition like "Counter Reflection", has there been a crime reproduced at both a juridical and artistic level? We will try to ask these questions again in the second Counter Reflection exhibition.

Now, under what conditions it is possible that an image reproduces the crime directly but not indirectly as a work of art? The answer to this question depends on which tools are used in the crime and what is repeated by the image or sound. If the crime is actually committed with a tool other than sound, image, or text, the image of this crime does not reproduce the crime. The image of a burned public bus during the 2013 June resistance is not the image that reproduces the crime but it operates as a signifier as evidence of it. An image cannot throw a stone or a molotov cocktail, it cannot break a glass.

CHAPTER II
ARCHIVE FEVER

10 Thesis on the Archive
by Shaina Anand

1. *Don't Wait for the Archive*
2. *Archives are not reducible to the particular Forms that they take*
3. *The Direction of Archiving will be Outward, not Inward*
4. *The Archive is not a Scene of Redemption*
5. *The Archive deals not only with the Remnant but also with the Reserve*
6. *Historians have merely interpreted the Archive. The Point however is to Feel it*
7. *The Image is not just the Visible, the Text is not just the Sayable*
8. *The Past of the Exhibition Threatens the Future of the Archive*
9. *Archives are governed by the Laws of Intellectual Propriety as opposed to Property*
10. *Time is not Outside of the Archive: It is in it* [1]

1. Don't Wait for the Archive

To not wait for the archive is often a practical response to the absence of archives or organized collections in many parts of the world. It also suggests that to wait for the state archive, or to otherwise wait to be archived, may not be a healthy option.

This need not imply that every collection or assembly be named an archive, or that all of art's mnemonic practices be, once again, cast into an archival mould. It suggests instead that the archive can be deployed: as a set of shared curiosities, a local politics, or epistemological adventure. Where the archival impulse could be recast, for example, as the possibility of creating alliances: between text and image, between major and minor institutions, between filmmakers, photographers, writers and computers, between online and offline practices, between the remnant and what lies in reserve, between time and the untimely. These are alliances against dissipation and loss, but also against the enclosure,

privatization and thematization of archives, which are issues of global, and immediate, concern.

The archive that results may not have common terms of measurement or value. It will include and reveal conflicts, and it will exacerbate the crises around property and authorship. It will remain radically incomplete, both in content and form. But it is nevertheless something that an interested observer will be able to traverse: riding on the linking ability of the sentence, the disruptive leaps of images, and the distributive capacity that is native to technology.

To not wait for the archive is to enter the river of time sideways, unannounced, just as the digital itself did, not so long ago.

2. Archives are not reducible to the particular Forms that they take

Archival initiatives are often a response to the monopolization of public memory by the state, and the political effects that flow from such mnemonic power. But attempts at creating an archive are not necessarily supplementing the memory machine of the state. The state archive is only one instance of the archive, they are not the definition of archives, but merely a form. As a particular form, state archives do not exhaust the concept of the archive. The task of creating an archive is neither to replicate nor to mimic state archives but to creatively produce a concept of the archive.

An archive actively creates new ways of thinking about how we access our individual and collective experiences. An archive does not just supplement what is missing in state archives, it also renders what is present unstable.

Nietzsche defined happiness as the capacity or power to live one's life actively – affirming the particularity or specificity of one's moment in time. In doing so he refused to subsume the conceptual possibility of what it means to be happy under a general form of happiness.

When we subsume the concept of archives to its known form we are exhausted by it and suffer from archive fevers and archive fatigue. Contemporary archival impulses attempt to realize the potential of the archive as virtuality, and challenge us to think through the productive capacities of an archive beyond the blackmail of memory and amnesia.

The production of a concept is a provocation, a refusal to answer to the call of the known, and an opportunity to intensify our experiences. The archive is therefore not representational, it is creative, and the naming of something as an archive is not the end, but the beginning of a debate.

3. The Direction of Archiving will be Outward, not Inward

We tend to think of archiving as the inward movement of collecting things: finding bits and pieces, bringing them together, guarding them in a safe and stable place. The model of this type of archiving is the fortress, or the burning library. This model already provides a clear sense of the limits, or ends, of the archive: fire, flooding, data loss.

Can we think of the archive differently? When Henri Langlois, founder of the Cinémathèque Française, stated that 'the best way to preserve film is to project it', he hinted at the very opposite philosophy of archiving: to actually use and consume things, to keep them in, or bring them into, circulation, and to literally throw them forth (Latin: proicere), into a shared and distributed process that operates based on diffusion, not consolidation, through imagination, not memory, and towards creation, not conservation. [2]

Most of today's digital archives seem to still adhere to the model of the fortress, even though, by definition, they no longer preserve precious and unique originals, but provide cheap and reproducible copies. These copies can be 'thrown forth' on a much larger scale, and with much greater efficiency, than Henri Langlois – or Walter Benjamin, theorist of analog reproduction, advocate of its technological

potential and critic of its practical political use – would have ever imagined. To archive, and to be archived, can become massively popular.

The astonishingly resilient archiving practices around Napster or The Pirate Bay, and the even more virulent promise of actual or imaginary archives far beneath or beyond them – if, for one moment, we could step outside the age of copyright we all inhabit, and fully embrace the means of digital reproduction most of us have at our disposal – not just directly follow the trajectory traced by Benjamin and Langlois, but extend it to a point in the not-so-distant future where we will think of archiving primarily as the outward movement of distributing things: to create ad-hoc networks with mobile cores and dense peripheries, to trade our master copies for a myriad of offsite backups, and to practically abandon the technically obsolete dichotomy of providers and consumers.

The model of this type of archive, its philosophical concept, would be the virus, or the parasite. And again, this model also allows us to make a tentative assessment of the risks and dangers of outward archiving: failure to infect (attention deficit), slowdown of mutation (institutionalization), spread of antibiotics (rights management), death of the host (collapse of capitalism).

4. The Archive is not a Scene of Redemption

Important as the political impulse of archives is, it is important to acknowledge that archives cannot be tied to a politics of redemption.

A large part of what may be thought of as progressive impulses in historiography is informed by a desire to redeem history through a logic of emancipation. The resurrection of the subaltern subject of history, the pitting of oral against written history and the hope that an engagement with the residue of the archive will lead to a transformative politics.

Benjamin's theses on the philosophy of history has served as an important intellectual reference point for such initiatives. Benjamin says that:

The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the "state of emergency"[3] in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is in keeping with this insight. Then we shall clearly realize that it is our task to bring about a real state of emergency,
Benjamin does not hide the redemptive messianic thrust in his thesis: According to him 'Our image of happiness is indissolubly bound up with the image of redemption'. [4] Hope, in this formulation is primarily messianic, 'For every second of time is the strait gate through which the Messiah might enter'.[5] Elsewhere Derrida writes that 'Aspectral messianicity is at work in the concept of the archive and ties it, like religion, like history, like science itself, to a very singular experience of the promise'. [6]

Archival initiatives have unconsciously continued this theological impulse. Their desire to document that which is absent, missing or forgotten stages a domain of politics which often privileges the experience of violence and trauma in a manner in which the experience of violence is that which destroys the realm of the ordinary and the everyday.

Thus if you examine the way that histories of the oppressed are written about, it were as if life is always subsumed under the threat of death, and living is forever condemned to a shadowy existence under the idea of a 'bare life'. The subsumption of life into a condition of bareness is as illusory as aesthetic practices which attempt to redeem experience from the clutches of time and history.
If the archival imagination is to rescue itself from this politics of redemption, it will have to allow for a radical contingency of the ordinary. It will have to engage with 'forms of life' which exceed the totalizing gaze of the state as well its redemptive other. Radical contingency recognizes the possibilities of surprise in the archive and in the possibility that a descent into the ordinary suspends the urgent claims of emergencies.

5. The Archive deals not only with the Remnant but also with the Reserve

Capitalistic production proceeds by isolating the extract from raw materials, producing the remnant, that which is left behind. And the archive, resisting obsolescence, is constituted through these remnants. This is one common view. But there is another place in the contemporary where the role and responsibility of the archive may lie. That is, in addressing the reserve, that which is not yet deployed. And that which, like residue, is cast in shadow.

In surveillance systems for example, we are forced to rethink the idea of 'waste.' Those millions of hours a day of CCTV images, are not just the leftovers of the surveillance machine, they are its constitutive accumulation. They are the mass which waits for the event, and it is this mass that produces the threat.

Following Michel Serres we could describe this mass as having 'abuse value', something that precedes use value or exchange value.[7] Of course, abuse value and exchange value can change hands. The line between residue and reserve can be unstable. Suddenly, the nuclear arsenal is rendered waste, and is sold as junk. Our accumulated ideas expire. But to look to the reserve has a strategic value for the archive. It is a way of addressing capital not only as the production of profit from labour and commodities, but as the accumulation that can be used for speculation, and to extract rent.

The archive in this sense is sympathetic to those practices which sabotage capitalistic accumulation, and those which have an interest in the future, and in the 'unrealised.'

6. Historians have merely interpreted the Archive. The Point however is to Feel it.

Archives have traditionally been the dwelling places of historians, and the epistemic conceit of history has always been housed in the dust of the archives. But in the last decade we have also seen an explosion of interest in archives from software engineers, artists, philosophers, media practitioners, filmmakers and performers.

Historians have responded by resorting to a disciplinary defensiveness that relies on a language of 'the authority of knowledge' and 'rigor' while artists retreat to a zone of blissful aesthetic transcendence. There is something incredibly comfortable about this zone where history continues to produce 'social facts' and art produces 'affect.' Claims of incommensurability provide a 'euphoric security' and to think of the affective potential of the archive is to disturb the 'euphoric security' which denies conditions of knowing and possibilities of acting beyond that which is already known.

Rather than collapsing into a reinforcement of disciplinary fortresses that preclude outsiders and jealously guard the authenticity of knowledge and experience by historians, or resorting to a language of hostile takings by activists and artists, how do we think of the encroachments into the archives as an expansion of our sensibilities and the sensibilities of the archive. Archives are not threats, they are invitations.

Lakhmi Chand, a writer based in the media lab of the Cybermohalla in New Delhi asks 'Kya kshamta ke distribution ko disturb karta hai Media?': Does media disturb the distribution of 'capacity' or 'potential?'. [8]

The invitation to think of the ability to disturb the kshamta of the archive seems to be marked by a different relation to time. The idea of capacity marks a time: This time is neither in the past nor in the future though they may be related, it is a marker of the present – or exactly where you are.

Anna Akhmatova writes in Requiem:

In the dreadful years of the Yezhov terror I spent seventeen months in prison queues in Leningrad. One day someone

"identified" me. Then a woman standing behind me, blue with cold, who of course had never heard my name, woke from that trance characteristic of us all and asked in my ear (there, everyone spoke in whispers):

– Ah, can you describe this?
And I said:
– I can.
Then something like a tormented smile passed over what had once been her face.

1st April 1957 [9]
The question 'can you describe this?' was not a question about the possession of a skill, or even the possibility of language to speak of certain things under certain conditions . It is about a moment or a context that arises in which anyone can be faced with the question of: Can you? And they must either answer 'I can' or 'I can't'.

How do we think through the ways that archives challenge us to think about the experience of potentiality. To dwell in the affective potential of the archive is to think of how archives can animate intensities.

Brian Massumi argues affect is critically related to intensity. We are always aware of our potential to affect or to be affected, but this potential also seems just out of our reach. Perhaps because it isn't there actually – only virtually. Massumi suggests that:

Maybe if we can take little, practical, experimental, strategic measures to expand our emotional register, or limber up our thinking, we can access more of our potential at each step, have more of it actually available. Having more potentials available intensifies our life. We're not enslaved by our situations. … Our degree of freedom at any one time corresponds to how much of our experiential "depth" we can access towards a next step – how intensely we are living and moving. [10]

How do we imagine archival practices as the little practical, experimental and strategic measures that we pursue to expand our sensibilities. The affective potential of archives is therefore both a political as well as an aesthetic question in its ability to activate ones capacity to act, and it is on the very faculty of imagination and possibility that this conflict is located.

7. The Image is not just the Visible, the Text is not just the Sayable

Serge Daney makes a famous distinction between the image and the visual. The image is what still holds out against an experience of vision and the visual. The visual is just the optical verification of what we may know already, or which may be read, or deciphered through reflexes of reading. The image, on the other hand, is alterity. [11]

Jacques Ranciere, in The Future of the Image, will develop this by saying that images are not restricted to the visible. He will reject the subordination of the image to the text, of material to history, and of affect to meaning. He suggests that the commonest regime of images is one that presents a relationship between the sayable and the visible, (between image and text, between presence and inscription) a relationship that plays on both the analogy AND dissemblance between them. But, of course, 'this relationship by no means requires the two terms to be materially present. The visible can be arranged in meaningful tropes, words deploy a visibility that can be blinding'. [12]

Ranciere thus invents the 'sentence-image'. The sentence-image is a form that could appear in a novel, equally as it could appear in a cinematic montage. In it, the 'sentence-function' provides continuity against chaos, while the 'image-function' disrupts consensus. [13]

The sentence-image provides a way to think across the modernist incommensurability of painting, literary works, and films, i.e. their autonomy. It allows us to acknowledge

their appropriations, invasions and seductions of each other. The archive assembles another site where we can conceive, differently or similarly, of the connections and the distance between the functions of writing and of images. It suggests the possibility of art, if art is the alteration of resemblances between the two. With the introduction of software, we have yet another possibility for the disjunct: a third heterogeneity, another possible element of surprise. And perhaps to extend our thesis then: the software is not just the searchable, or the database.

8. The Past of the Exhibition Threatens the Future of the Archive

What is the relation between memory and its display? Between the archive, 'the system that governs the appearances of statements' and a culture of appearances?[14] In 'Archives of Modern Art' a 2002 essay for the journal October, Hal Foster develops three useful stages of the museum as the site of memory, in modern art. [15]

In the first stage, in the mid-1800's, Baudelaire writes that 'Art is the mnemotechny of the beautiful'. [16] Which with Manet for example, has become the art of outright citation. Here art is the art of memory, and the museum is its architecture.

The second moment occurs with Adorno's essay, the 'Valery Proust Museum', which marks a point of suspicion of the museum, as the 'mausoleum' of art. The museum is where art goes to die. But, it is also the site for a redemptive project of 'reanimation'.

The third moment occurs when this reanimation is possible through other means, i.e. through Benjamin's mechanical reproduction. The key difference here is between Benjamin's reproduction, which threatens the museum, and Malraux's, which expands it infinitely. For Malraux, it is precisely the destruction of the aura which becomes a basis for the imagination of the museum without end.

But there are 'problems of translation', gaps, between Malraux's Musee Imaginaire, its english name the 'Museum without Walls', and the concept of a 'Museum without End'. Which on the one hand, have fed many a modernist museum architect's fantasy of endless circulation, and views through the glass, while on the other, continue to offer the promise that art's institutional structures can have a relationship with the world. Foster's account of modern western art's archive ends with a split in art itself, between its display function that appears in spectacular form in the exhibition, and its memory function, which retreats into the archive.

The challenge for the archive, which today threatens the exhibition with its own sensual ability to relink and rearticulate these two functions, is how not to end up as a spiral ramp, or as flea market. In other words, how to avoid the tyranny of the two historical 'freedoms': one, the (modernist) formal strategies of audience participation in the spectacle, and two, the (postmodernist) eclecticism in which anything, included and curated, could be accorded 'exhibition-value'. Or we could put it this way: how does the archive avoid the confusion, that persists in the exhibition (as Irit Rogoff notes about the Tate), between accessibility as entertainment and marketing strategy, and access as something deeper, as something that is 'closer to the question'. [17]

9. Archives are governed by the Laws of Intellectual Propriety as opposed to Property

As the monetary value of the global information economy gains more importance, the abstract value of images get articulated within the language of property and rights. The language of intellectual property normativizes our relationship to knowledge and culture by naturalizing and universalizing narrow ideas of authorship, ownership and property. This language has extended from the world of software databases to traditional archives where copyright serves as Kafka's gatekeeper and the use of the archive becomes a question of rights management.

Beyond the status of the archive as property lies the properties of the archive which can destabilize and complicate received notions of rights.

They establish their own code of conduct, frame their own rules of access, and develop an ethics of the archive which are beyond the scope of legal imagination. If the archive is a scene of invention then what norms do they develop for themselves which do not take for granted a predetermined language of rights. How do practices of archiving destabilize ideas of property while at the same time remaining stubbornly insistent on questions of 'propriety.'

Intellectual propriety does not establish any universal rule of how archives collect and make available their artifacts. It recognizes that the archivist plays a dual role: They act as the trustees of the memories of other people, and as the transmitters of public knowledge. This schizophrenic impulse prevents any easy settling into a single norm.

Propriety does not name a set of legislated principles of proper etiquette, instead it builds on the care and responsibility that archivists display in their preservation of cultural and historical objects. The digital archive translates this ethic of care into an understanding of the ecology of knowledge, and the modes through which such an ecology is sustained through a logic of distribution, rather than mere accumulation.

It remembers the history of archivists being described as pirates, and scans its own records, files and database to produce an account of itself. In declaring its autonomy, archives seek to produce norms beyond normativity, and ethical claims beyond the law.

10. Time is not Outside of the Archive: It is in it

In his history of the book and print cultures, historian Adrian Johns argues against what has traditionally been seen as the 'typographical fixity' which was established by the print revolution.[18] Earlier scholars had argued that scribal cultures were marked by all kinds of mistakes of the hand, and the book was therefore not a stable object of knowledge until the emergence of print technology.

Adrian Johns demonstrates the fallacy of this assumption by looking at the various conflicts that erupted with print technology, and far from ensuring fixity or authority, the early history of printing was marked by uncertainty. For Johns, the authority of knowledge is not an inherent quality, but a transitive one. It is a question that cannot be divorced from the technologies that alter our senses, our perception and our experience of knowledge.

Rather than speaking about 'authority' as something that is intrinsic to either a particular mode of production of 'knowledge' or to any technological form, John's work demonstrates how it would be more useful to consider the range of knowledge apparatuses which come into play to establish authority.

The preconditions of knowledge cannot easily be made the object of knowledge. It is a matter of making evident or making known the structures of knowledge itself, which emerge in ways that provide definitive proof of the imperfectability of knowledge.

Archives are also apparatuses which engage our experience and perception of time. This is particularly true for archives of images, since photography and cinema are also apparatuses that alter our sense of time. The traditional understanding of an archive as a space that collects lost time sees the experience of time as somehow being external to the archive itself. It loses sight of the fact that the archive is also where objects acquire their historical value as a result of being placed within an apparatus of time. The imagination of a video archive then plays with multiple senses of the unfolding of time.

In her reflections on the relationship between photography, cinema and the archive, Mary Anne Doane states that photography and film have a fundamental archival instinct embedded in them.[19] And yet this archival nature is also ridden with paradox, because of the relationship of the moving image to the contingent. The presence of the contingent, the ephemeral, and the unintended are all aspects of cinematic time, and the challenge of the moving image as archive is the recovery of lost time, but within the cinematic.

The recovery of the lost time of cinema and the contingent can be captured through an experience of cinephilia, for what cinephilia names is the moment when the contingent takes on meaning – perhaps a private and idiosyncratic meaning, but one in which the love for the image expresses itself through a grappling with the ephemeral.

The archive is therefore an apparatus of time, but its relation to time is not guaranteed or inherent, it is transitive and has to be grafted. The archive of the moving image grasps this problem in an erotic and sensuous fashion, grafting the experience of time as an act of love.
Negri speaks in Insurgencies about the love of time: These two registers, of love – of time, and of cinema allow us to think about the cinematic and archival apparatus of time, and the way they shape our relation to our time and the time of the image. [20]

1. Co-authored by members of pad.ma: Lawrence Liang, Sebastian Lütgert and Ashok Sukumaran during 'Don't wait for the Archive – I' (workshop, Homeworks, Beirut, April 2010).

2. Henri Langlois cited in Professor Richard Roud and Mr François Truffaut, A Passion for Films: Henri Langlois & the Cinematheque Francaise (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

3. Walter Benjamin, 'On the Concept of History' in Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, (Volume 4: 1938-1940), eds. Eiland & M. W. Jennings, trans. Harry Zohn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 392.

4. Walter Benjamin, Illuminations: Essays and Reflections, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 254.

5. Ibid., 264.

6. Jacques Derrida, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', Diacritics, trans. Eric Prenowitz, vol. 25, no. 2 (summer 1995): 27.

7. Michel Serres, The Parasite (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 75.

8. Lakhmi Chand, Cybermohalla Ensemble, 'No Apologies for the interruption' (Translated by Shveta Sarda), CSDS: Sarai, New Delhi 2010

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12. Jacques Ranciere, The Future of the Image, trans. Gregory Elliot (London: Verso Books, 2007), 7.

13. Ibid., 46.

14. Hal Foster, 'Archives of Modern Art', October, vol. 99 (winter 2002): 81–95.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.: 82.

17. Irit Rogoff, quoted in 'The Implicated: Reflections on Audience', Artconcerns.net, archive available at http://www.zoominfo.com/p/Irit-Rogoff/405885605/ (accessed 21 October 2014).

18. Adrian Johns, The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

19. Mary Anne Doane, The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive, new edition (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2003).

20. Antonio Negri, Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State, trans. Maurizia Boscagli (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

The Dominant, the residual and the emergent in archival imagination[1]

by Lawrence Liang

Just as the explosion of information in the 18th century brought about by the print and industrial revolution necessitated the emergence of dictionaries and encyclopedias to make sense of the capacious and chaotic world of information and knowledge, we seem to be witness to a comparable moment in the early decades of the 21st century with the proliferation of archival initiatives. The career of encyclopedias were never totally exhausted by their status as epistemological enterprises and they often spilled into narrative domains, emerging as new ways of curating knowledge as narrative. The growth of encyclopedias could be read as symptomatic of seismic shifts in the world of knowledge and our uncertain place in it. They were narrative forms that attempted to manage the deluge and impose a logic of sense through classification and the imposition of order.[2] We see a parallel in our contemporary era with the rise of archival impulses, situated at the intersection of vastly democratized technologies of storage, retrieval and classification on the one hand, and the befuddlement that we experience by the rate of their growth and the amount of information, which defies a conventional organizational logic.[3]

Following Raymond Williams' characterization of culture as the dominant, the residual and the emergent,[4] one could perhaps begin to think of the present archival moment as a translucent palimpsest of the three, with the blurred edges overlapping with each other. Rejecting the classical reduction of history into epochal narratives, Williams suggested that the dominant, the residual and the emergent coexist in agonistic and cooperative relations. Similarly, the will to archive produces a productive tension between archives in their dominant, residual and emergent forms, and in this paper I shall focus on how these play out in the case of moving image archives. I will suggest that in addition to the three categories, an additional one – "the contingent" – may

be a necessary addition to how we think of contemporary archives.

If archives are a response to the question of the contingency of information, they are in turn marked by their own contingent relation to social, legal, political and technological factors. With digital archives and digital information, we see a move away from the concept of the archive as a physical place to store and preserve records to that of the archive as a virtual site facilitating immediate transfer. The notion of immediate data access and feedback replaces the older logic imposed primarily by paper, and the digital possibilities of the archive bypass traditional concerns of preservation in favour of dissemination. We have however inherited the conceptual vocabulary of archives from this older logic and one of the challenges of imposing this logic of the archive upon the contemporary moment manifests itself as an ontological impossibility of the archive itself.

Does an archival instinct of the contemporary have the same connotation as the maintenance of an archive in the traditional sense? As is well known, traditionally archives emerged in the context of power, control and secrecy and Derrida reminds us that archives share their etymological roots with the archaeon, literally the house of the magistrate. [5] In his description of the fever or mal that afflicts the desire for the archive, Derrida suggests that it is marked firstly by the fever of authority and the need to establish official memory, and equally by a feverish desire to return to origins.

Residual Value

Carolyn Steedman in, "Dust: The Archive and Cultural History"[6], plays the ultimate deconstructionist joke on Derrida. She takes his metaphor of archive fever literally rather than metaphorically and examines the history of various forms of illnesses that were associated with scholarly work, in turn producing a new metaphor of the relationship between dust and the archive. Steedman notes that when the field of occupational or industrial diseases began to emerge in the late 19th century, one of the major causes was dust or vapors which resulted in all forms of illnesses. She cites John Forbes' definition of a new category of industrial disease in, 'The Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine of 1833': "The Diseases of Artisans", and under this heading sat a subcategory 'The Diseases of Literary Men', which for thirty years, listed a range of occupational hazards understood to be caused by the activity of scholarship. These originated, said Forbes, "from want of exercise, very frequently from breathing the same atmosphere too long, from the curved position of the body, and from too ardent exercise of the brain." Forbes allegedly claimed that this resulted in 'Brain fever', which was attributed to 'a highly excitable state of the nervous system, which results in an increased or irregular action of the arteries in the brain'. A cautionary tale for all of us if ever there was one.

Steedman then turns to the example of Jules Michelet, widely acknowledged as the father of modern French history. Michelet reinvented the subject of history by taking it away from the aristocracy and installing a new ambitious subject - 'the people' or 'the poor'. According to Steedman, when the young Michelet spent his first days in the archives, in those "catacombs of manuscripts" that made up the national Archives in Paris in the 1820s, he wrote of restoring its "papers and parchments" to the light of day by breathing in their dust. Steedman suggests that it was not just a figure of speech that he intended but, rather, a literal description of a physiological process. For Steedman it is the historian's act of inhalation that gives life. She cites a passage from Michelet to illustrate this "these papers and parchments, so long deserted, desired no better than to be restored to the light of day . . . (A)s I breathed in their dust, I saw them rise up."[7]

In reworking the idea of Derrida's metaphor in Archive Fever, Carolyn Steedman contributes a range of new metaphors for us to work with: Dust, residue and fragments as forms that are central to the imagination of the archive, and our relationship to history and knowledge.

Continuing with dust and fragments, let's turn to another archivist destined to breathing dust. In the late 1940s Roja Muthiah Chettiar, a painter of signs, set up a shop in Madras, in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu. He had moved to Madras from a small town, Kottaiyur, a few hundred kilometers away. A self-educated man, Chettiar was fascinated by visual culture, and began to build up a personal collection of print material about art and popular visual culture. Over a period of time he extended his area of interest, and started collecting books, magazines, pamphlets, posters, letters, reports, events announcements and even wedding invitations. Chettiar became a well-known figure amongst the old booksellers and the scrap dealers in Moore Road in Madras, as the man who would buy garbage. Chettiar paid far greater attention to his collection than to his business, and as a result he eventually had to shut his sign shop and move back to Kottaiyur. Once back, he set up the India Library Services, a reading room where visitors could consult the archives and were provided with coffee and lunch, for just one Rupee.

His family thought he was insane, and would constantly throw away the junk that Chettiar had accumulated. Chettiar would then have to chase his treasures as they travelled from garbage bin to scrap dealer, recovering some, losing others. Every time he ran into financial difficulties, he would look among his old envelopes, find a stamp, and send it to a stamp collector with a covering letter informing him that it was very rare, and he would be obliged if the philatelist could send him some money.

In 1983, there was a pogrom against Tamils in Sri Lanka, and Chettiar heard about the burning of the Jaffna library. Chettiar was aware that the Jaffna library contained some of the oldest and rarest Tamil manuscripts in the world. He borrowed money and traveled to Jaffna to see what he could recover, but was devastated to learn that most of the documents had been destroyed in the burning of the library. Chettiar had gone to Jaffna as an eccentric collector, and he returned an obsessive archivist, determined to collect whatever he could of Tamil print culture.

Worried about the state of his health and his ability to preserve his collection, he offered to sell it to the Tamil Nadu state archives. By then, his collection contained more than 100,000 items, including many publications dating back to the early 19th century. The state refused to pay him 200, 000 Rupees for what it considered to be junk. One of the regular visitors to the India Library Services was C.S. Lakshmi (Ambai), a well-known Tamil writer and feminist scholar. When Ambai was a visiting scholar at the University of Chicago, she informed the South Asian Studies department about this eccentric archive. They immediately sent a team to evaluate the archive and offered to buy the archive for 10 million Rupees. Muthiah Chettiar never saw any of the money, since he died by the time the transaction was complete. Chettiar died of DDT poisoning as a result of years of breathing the fumes of the insecticide that he regularly used to prevent his collection from being destroyed by insects and worms. The Roja Muthiah Research Library is now one of the finest archives of South Indian materials (in India).

From the dust that Michelet breathed to the DDT fumes that killed Roja Muthiah, we are confronted with the question of what it is that we consider of value, what we discard as debris, and the residue of value. In their reflections on the process of creating value. The Raqs Media Collective notes:

"The extraction of value from any material, place, thing or person, involves a process of refinement. During this process, the object in question will undergo a change in state, separating into at least two substances: an extract and a residue. With respect to residue: it may be said it is that which never finds its way into the manifest narrative of how something (an object, a person, a state, or a state of being) is produced, or comes into existence. It is the accumulation of all that is left behind, when value is extracted... There are no histories of residue, no atlases of abandonment, no memoirs of what a person was but could not be." [8]

Dust and rubble is what is generated when projects of great value are undertaken. From infrastructure and real estate, the two engines of economic value, all contemporary capitalist development produces an enormous amount of waste and residue of value. And as the engines of value chug along, they deposit forms of life no longer considered valuable or indeed even recognizable. And yet living as we do in the era of global warming, we are also acutely aware that one of the aspects of modern life are the ways in which the residue and rubbish of modernity come to haunt us through new risks and diseases that threaten to overturn the seamless flow of capital. Carbon monoxide, which disappeared into the air as the residues of modern industrialism, returned as one of the most pressing issue of the 21st century.

And there is perhaps no better witness to the productive and destructive forces of development and the creation of value than Jia Zhang Ke's film, Still Life. If Walter Benjamin's angel of history looks Janus-faced, both to the future and to the debris of the past, then Ke offers us a way out of this paradoxical gaze. Still Life, which documents the demolition of buildings at the site of the Three Gorges Dam, provides us with yet another image of how we can escape our fate of being reduced to worthless rubble. In the film, a dilapidated building earmarked for demolition (and destined to join the debris of socialist modernity) as China leaps forward into capitalist development, abruptly transforms into a UFO in the middle of the night and takes off to an uncertain future, or perhaps a distant past.

The Surplus of Images

Lets take this image as a starting point for thinking about the relationship between image making, the accumulation of value and the production of debris and waste. The first decade and a half of the 21st century has possibly seen more images made than all the previous decades put together and it is estimated that every year billions of hours of images are produced and even more watched. [9] Not all of these are intentional images in the classical sense of the term and most

of the work of image production is in fact made by stationery surveillance cameras which document the mundane and the extraordinary with the insouciance of a lift operator. And yet these mundane images attain value, not in and of themselves, but as a part of a database and as information. But even if we were to move from the world of the mundane image to the more traditional forms of image making, we encounter an ecstatic overproduction facilitated by the digital turn in filmmaking.

Consider the case of documentary film makers for instance: traditionally limited by meager budgets, film makers were very careful about how much they shot because the shooting ratio of footage to videos that was eventually used was an aesthetic but also often an economic choice. Freed of these constraints by the relatively lower cost of shooting digitally, documentary filmmakers are happy to keep their cameras rolling, knowing well that much of what is shot will never be used. What happens to these images, to the raw footage in the world of image value? Are they condemned to being assigned to the waste bin (even if in the form of hard discs) of image making - and what are we to make of this surplus of film? If the tragedy of celluloid and tape was its propensity to rot through the accumulation of dust and fungus it indicates that the graveyard of image is a vast swathe of residual time.

I would suggest that there are three ways in which we can think of the surplus of film. Firstly, it is the life of film as surplus, or the extra footage that does not make it into a film. We can also call it the residue of aesthetic and political choices of the making of a film. Secondly, there is the contingent surplus where any act of image-making always captures the unintended, the ambient and the transient. This is especially true of stock footage such as city shots that film makers take whose historic value exceeds the intention of the film maker. And finally there is the inherent surplus of latent meaning that resides in a film, and can only be converted into valuable interpretation by a spectator.

It is perhaps these forms of surplus that have resulted in the

genre of the archival film, mastered by film makers like Adam Curtis and in more recent times, Tom Anderson. Anderson's Los Angeles Plays Itself is a film composed entirely of fragments from Hollywood which, seen together, narrate the history of the urban form of Los Angeles, and where cinema plays an often unwitting archive of architecture. These images, taken out of their narrative context and the historic moment of their production, are then recycled as valuable images not for what they sought to capture but of what they happened to capture.

Articulating the relationship between the human subject and the historical past has been at the heart of the documentary exercise. The challenge of a contemporary period – one in which material objects are increasingly overwhelmed and outnumbered by digital documents – is for us to find new ways of sorting through these traces and to invent new methods for encountering and articulating the past.

Just as in Ke's films, ecologies of destruction are accompanied by transforming social and personal relations, we are at a precipice in which the surplus of film and the surplus of residual images challenge us to think about what it may mean to articulate a different relationship to the image bereft of value. Susan Jarosi in her work on found footage, suggests that we think of recycled cinema in ecological terms. [10] She argues that, we can think of the value underlying found footage in terms of a 'virtual projection' or that which remains dormant 'beneath which or through which we are able to discern the history of a particular image writ large'. This approach, she suggests, ascribes not just a physical transparency to recycled images but a notional one as well, and it is this quality that allows us to see and decipher various meanings 'behind' them. Jarosi derives her ecological argument through a reading of Gene Youngblood's formulation of 'The artist as ecologist' in his book, Expanded Cinema,[11] suggesting that this was perhaps the first reference to environmentalism as a trope for understanding artistic practice. Youngblood, contrasting the traditional idea of the artist as creator, sees the ecological imagination of the artists as one who reveals 'previously unrecognized relationships between existing phenomena, both physical and metaphysical'. Youngblood in turn directs our attention to an often ignored etymological link that allows us to return to the question of the archive: He notes that the terms economy, ecumenical, and ecology share a common Greek root: oikos, a house.

Reclaiming the residual

We began by suggesting that outside the official house of memory (or the archeon), lies a range of initiatives that seek to wrest the control of memory from its official houses. Now we see that the question of the economy of images, the ecology of residual images and ecology seem to come together. And if the displaced are always looking for a new home which they can call their own, then perhaps one way of thinking about the productive relation between the discarded image is to see it as images that await their activation through the creation of a new house of meaning, and there can be no higher aspiration for archives than to facilitate meaning produced through the discarded.

Just as Roja Muthiah scrounged through the garbage bins looking for discarded images and texts, rescuing materials that were discarded, Walter Benjamin's account of the ragpicker and the collector as recyclers of value, serve as important allegorical icons to consider value and its other. As commodities sought to place themselves within the visible circuits of value in the 19th century, they enabled a new form of display politics. The collector and the ragpicker shared a common enthusiasm for the discarded, choosing to privilege a fancier's value over use and exchange value, and in the case of the latter, rescuing value from its negation.

Benjamin says:

"The collector is the true resident of the interior. He makes his concern the enlightenment of things. To him falls the Sisyphean task of divesting things of their commodity

character by taking possession of them. But he bestows on them only a collector's value, rather than use value. The collector dreams his way not only into a distant or bygone world but also into a better one – one in which, to be sure, human beings are no better provided with what they need than in the everyday world, but in which things are freed from the drudgery of being useful" [12]

In both cases, however, there is a common practice of making sense of that which is scattered, collecting and assembling waste to give new narrative form to experience. It is only appropriate that the metaphor that Benjamin deploys to make sense of these forms of behavior, is that of dwelling. Benjamin sought these figures, otherwise cast out of the ordinary circuits of value, to pose the possibilities of a dwelling in modernity beyond bourgeois normative forms, choosing instead to dwell in a "zone of indetermination".

An archive of one's own

What kind of lesson may be drawn for how we think of the dwelling place of films and images? The vaults of national film archives store national culture and heritage and are supposed to act as public custodians but often act as gatekeepers guarding films against users and in such a context, the mythic value of films arise from their non availability. At the same time film makers work with a strict hierarchy between footage and finished film deeming the former worthless (remaining as they do beyond the magic touch of the auteur).

How then may we posit a form of dwelling of images, which exceed these normative horizons? How may we derive a practice of memory, which exceeds the historiographic project of the film archive?

In the digital era, the blurring of the lines between databases, archives, and collections seems to be mirrored in the blurred boundaries between what may be considered the proper and improper use of materials. In the case of filmmakers like Chris Marker, for instance, it is argued that the epistemological

effects of their films make it difficult to determine whether Marker shot certain footage, found it on the street, or found it in an official archive. In his famous voice-over, laid over an image of three children walking up a path, Marker says:

"The first image he told me about was of three children on a road in Iceland in 1965. He said that for him, it was the image of happiness and also that he had tried several times to link it to other images, but it never worked. He wrote me: One day I'll have to put it all alone at the beginning of a film with a long piece of black leader. If they don't see happiness in the picture, at least they'll see the black".

Marker's work is an instance of what Sobchack describes as the shift from thinking of documentary as a genre to a mode of reception. She writes:

"The term 'documentary' designates more than a cinematic object. Along with the obvious nomination of a film genre characterized historically by certain objective textual features, the term also - and more radically - designates a particular subjective relation to an objective cinematic or televisual text. In other words, documentary is less a thing than an experience - and the term names not only a cinematic object, but also the experienced "difference" and "sufficiency" of a specific mode of consciousness and identification with the cinematic image?"[13]

Maybe it is time then to think of the archive less as an institution or even a designated set of practices but as an emergent form. Autonomous archival initiatives are often a response to the monopolization of public memory by the state, and the political effects that flow from such mnemonic power. But attempts to create autonomous archives do not necessarily supplement the memory machine of the state. The state archive is only one instance of the archive; they are not the definition of archives, but merely a form. As a particular form, state archives do not exhaust the concept of the archive. The task of creating an archive is neither to replicate nor to mimic state archives but to creatively

produce a concept of the archive.

An archive actively creates new ways of thinking about how we access our individual and collective experiences. Autonomous archives do not just supplement what is missing in state archives; they also render what is present, unstable. When we subsume the concept of archive to its known form, we are exhausted by it and suffer from archive fever and archive fatigue. Contemporary archival impulses attempt to realize the potential of the archive as virtuality, and challenge us to think through the productive capacities of an archive beyond the blackmail of memory and amnesia. The production of a concept is a provocation, a refusal to answer to the call of the known, and an opportunity to intensify our experiences. The archive is therefore not representational; it is creative. The naming of something as an archive is not the end, but the beginning of a debate.

If archives are thought of as points of access to what count as evidence of past events, then what is at stake is precisely how certain film practices help us to locate and trace the changing ways in which we think about history and our access to it, and about how we may be able to transcend reified notions about our relationship to the past. The idea of the "archive" in the context of film has been completely transformed and has now expanded in common parlance to include many kinds of collections; the term, "archival documents", has become more complex and difficult to define. Instead of defining these documents in terms of the locations in which they have been stored, it may be more useful to think of them in terms of a new set of practices that constantly push us to think about questions of the control and ownership of the image and its reconstitution as ways in which the digital creates a rupture within the idea of history and memory. Ali Kazimi's film, Continuous Journey, about the infamous Komagata Maru incident of 1914, is a case in point of the blurred boundaries between film, archives and invention. Working more or less with a handful of photographs, Kazimi animates these photographs and in the process, animates the possibilities of how we think of the archive and how film,

just through panning and zooming in on a photograph, may itself become an archive of the residual.

Of Love and Time

In her reflections on the relationship between photography, cinema and the archive, Mary Anne Doane states that photography and film have a fundamental archival instinct embedded in them. And yet this archival nature is also ridden with paradox, because of the relationship of the moving image to the contingent.[14] Doane identifies the specificity of film in debates on archives, by observing that cinema is both a temporal technology as well as one whose material form is particularly susceptible to the vagaries of passing time. For Doane, "The archive is a protection against time and ist inevitable entropy and corruption, but with the introduction of film as an archival process, the task becomes that of preserving time, of preserving an experience of temporality, one that was never necessarily 'lived' but emerges as the counterdream of rationalization, its agonistic underside - full presence [15]

Against a dominant paradigm of the rational ordering of time that shapes our temporal expectations in modernity, Doane suggests that chance and the contingent play a crucial ideological role of representing an outside, of suggesting that time is still allied with the free and indeterminable. Doane says:

"Contingency and ephemerality are produced as graspable and representable, but nevertheless antisystematic. The isolation of contingency as embodying the pure form of an aspiration, a utopian desire, ignores the extent to which the structuring of contingency, as precisely asystematic, became the paradoxical basis of social stability in modernity. The presence of the contingent, the ephemeral, and the unintended are all aspects of cinematic time, and the challenge of the moving image as archive is the recovery of lost time, but within the cinematic". [16]

If we compared the filmic moment with an older history of print history, we find many resonances. Adrian Johns, in his history of the book, argues against what has traditionally been seen as the 'typographical fixity', which was established by the print revolution. Earlier scholars had argued that scribal cultures were marked by all kinds of mistakes of the hand and the book was therefore not a stable object of knowledge until the emergence of print technology. Johns demonstrates the fallacy of this assumption by looking at the various conflicts that erupted with print technology, and far from ensuring fixity or authority, the early history of Printing was marked by uncertainty. For Johns, the authority of knowledge is not an inherent quality, but a transitive one. It is a question that cannot be divorced from technologies that alter our senses, our perception and our experience of knowledge. Rather than speaking about authority as something that is intrinsic to either a particular mode of production of knowledge or to any technological form, John's work demonstrates how it would be more useful to consider the range of knowledge apparatuses which come into play to establish authority. Thus, the preconditions of knowledge cannot easily be made the object of knowledge. It is a matter of making evident or making known the structures of knowledge itself, which emerge in ways that provide definitive proof of the imperfectability of knowledge.

Similarly, while archives are apparatuses of time, which engage our experience and perception of time, the traditional understanding of an archive as a space that collects lost time, sees the experience of time as somehow being external to the archive itself. It loses sight of the fact that the archive is also where objects acquire their historical value as a result of being placed within an apparatus of time. The imagination of a video archive then plays with multiple senses of the unfolding of time. The recovery of the lost time of cinema and of the contingent can be captured through an experience of cinephilia, for what cinephilia names is the moment when the contingent takes on meaning – perhaps a private and idiosyncratic meaning, but one in which the love for the image expresses itself through a grappling with the

ephemeral. Negri speaks in Insurgencies about the love of time. These registers, of love: of time, and of cinema, allow us to think about the cinematic and archival apparatus of time, and the way they shape our relation to our time and the time of the image. The archive is therefore an apparatus of time, but its relation to time is not guaranteed or inherent, it is transitive and has to be grafted. The archive of the moving image grasps this problem in an erotic and sensuous fashion, grafting the experience of time as an act of love.

But if cinema holds the possibility of enabling access to the image in and of time, there is also a danger that this image may never materialize from the virtual realm that it exists in. From films that are made and never released, to films that have been lost and to films that are not accessible, the virtual archive of cinema remains an untapped potential. But cinema remains only one of the various possibilities of film - and we started with the mind-boggling fact that there are billion hours of videos produced annually, most of which is subsumed within the realm of information. Laura Marks makes a distinction between the world of the sensuous [to which images belong] and the rational bureaucratic [to which information belongs] and argues that in the regime of images, we witness a seismic shift from perceptual to information culture. Following Deleuze, she argues that all images exists within the realm of the virtual - a plane of potential - to emerge or to be subsumed into information, and while historically, all cultures have had ways to codify the perceptible, in order to discriminate in favor of those aspects of the world that are useful as information, Marks suggests that what is unprecedented in contemporary culture is the dominance of information as a plane that shapes what it is possible to perceive.

For an image to emerge from the plane of information, using a flowering metaphor, Marks says that it has to unfold and push through a plane of immanence, and this competing force is the source of the effect that accompanies every movement of unfolding, or refusal to unfold. But in addition to her question of where images come from, pertinent to

our debate is, where do images go to if they do unfold from their plane of immanence? We have focused on the question of home and dwelling as tropes to think of the afterlife of images or their condemnation to the residual. If we were to return to Williams' suggestion of the emergent and think of it via the idea of unfolding, we get a picture of the archive as the realm of the virtual through which images are condemned unless they push through into the realm of the actual. This is very different from the self-description of archives as the repositories and the safe vaults that preserve the culture of the moving image. Henry Langlois, the father of archiving, argued that the best way to preserve films was to show them. For Langlois, "films are like Persian carpets, they have to be walked on".

1. The author is a collaborator along with Camp, Mumbai and oxdb, Berlin of two open video archives www.pad.ma and www.indiancine.ma. This article is an outcome of conversations and debates on Archives that we have had over a number of years.

2- For a historical over and its relevance to the 21st century see Mike Featherstone and Couze Venn, Problematizing Global Knowledge and the New Encyclopaedia Project, Theory, Culture & Society, Vol. 23[2–3]: 1–20

3- The decentralization of means of archiving is simultaneously accompanied by massive projects of centralized archives of daily life, often owned and controlled by large corporations such as Google and Facebook.

4- Williams, Raymond. Marxism and Literature. Oxford England: Oxford University Press, 1978

5- Derrida, Jacques. Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996

6- Steedman, Carolyn Kay. Dust: The Archive and Cultural History. Rutgers University Press, 2002.

7- Jules Michelet, "Preface de l'Histoire de France" quoted in Steedman

8- Raqs Media Collective, With Respect to Residue in Raqs Media et al. Raqs Media Collective: Seepage. Sternberg Press, 2010

9- There are many competing statistics claimed: For a representative sample see Greg Jarboe, How to Visualize the Ridiculously Big Numbers Representing Global Online Video Usage, http://searchenginewatch.com/sew/study/2133244/visualize-ridiculously-representing-global-online-video-usage Last Visted 22nd June 2015

10- Susan Jarosi, Recycled cinema as material ecology: Raphael Montañez Ortiz's found-footage films and Computer- Laser-Videos, Screen 53:3 Autumn 2012

11- Youngblood, Gene, and R. Buckminster Fuller. Expanded Cinema. 1st edition. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1970

12- Benjamin, W. Arcades Project

13- Toward a Phenomenology of Nonfictional Film Experience

14- Doane, Mary Ann. The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002

15- Doane 2002: 223

16- Doane 2002: 230

Archiving the garbage: On 8mm film archiving
by Ege Berensel

"Historians have merely interpreted the Archive. The point however is to Feel it."[1]

In the beginning of the 1960's, Marc Ferro of the Anneles School suggested to examine films as documents, and thus, to turn to the idea of a counter-analysis of society. As film evacuated the written archives to some extent, which are nothing more that the institutions' protected memories, it would also serve in the formation of an informal counter-history; becoming 'a doer' of history in spite of 'the official' history. The age of a reversal in the relationship between text and image was opening in this way. The idea was arising that visual imagery was neither an assistant nor an illustrator of the text, but doing the work of the text by other means and by different coding.

The 1980's led to a found footage tradition becoming widespread due to the advent of 8mm film. In a way, found footage was trying to make the art intervention mentioned by Marc Ferro. 'Found footage' in a sense, means analyzing films with other films by passing them through a semiologic intervention without using a camera in hand; by bringing images shot by others back together, by giving them new meanings and different interpretations other than their intended ones, and by re-making, identifying and reviewing the meanings created by a visual world and transferred messages in order to make previously created images more visible. 8mm film was produced for amateurs in the 1940's, as a version of 16mm film, and later on, Super-8mm film was introduced in 1965. In Turkey, 8mm film became widespread in the 1960's, and Super-8mm in the 1970's. They were later replaced with analog video technologies such as Betamax, VHS and analog video recorders like S-VHS, and Video 8. Coincidentally, 8mm film started to be used during a relatively free social environment of the 1960's, lodged between two coup d'états and a testified third; for example, times in which women became more visible in the public sphere; the Second

New Poetry Movement emerged; and a production boom was experienced in novels and stories resulting in a modernist, innovative form of literature.

Moreover, this was a time when electronic music was born within the environment of the Helikon Association, and when new political movements were sprouting, starting with the 1968 social movements. The change of social periods also witnessed a transformation in video recording technologies. Kodachrome 8mm film, a technology first developed in the 1960's, which includes a lot of data with dark, pixilated and grainy video images of the 1980's, is like an allegory of the period. While 8mm filmmaking was a technology acquired by the upper class, including elite bureaucrats and Kemalist soldiers who filmed in order to save memories of their travels abroad, it became more accessible during the 1970's, and turned into an activist tool within political movements.

Now we begin to encounter the spools of images created by these preceding generations, including the ones filmed by those who lost their lives in the 2000's. It is no coincidence then that the images by the Kemalist elites who were expunged from the bureaucracy become visible at this time. Suddenly, the past emerges in the flea markets when an ideology starts to become extinct.

"Time is not Outside of the Archive: It is in it."[2]

I started to collect 8mm films about 10 years ago. I found an 8mm archive of "Devrimci Yol" (Revolutionary Path, Dev-Yol) from a storehouse. After I cleaned it up and created a rough edit, I made a telecine transfer; this 8-hour footage includes the occupation of Yeraltı Maden-İş Yeni Çeltek mine, May 1st demonstrations, Fatsa Festivals and the protest of Dev-Yol abroad.

These are the remaining images in the montage. The 8mm films had been first shot and then sent abroad for developing, and then films that were selected from the incoming ones were edited, and the remaining parts of the film were

deleted. The 12 September regime had confiscated these completed films that had entered into circulation within the country for propaganda purposes; some archives and films were taken abroad by some organizations; especially, the archive at the Institute of Social History at Leiden University. Well, these films that the institute had received were the leftovers. Moving forward, when I was working in the Mesken neighborhood in Bursa, to explore a story about the closing of the Dinamo Mesken Football team because of its name and whose players were tortured and imprisoned, I started to collect photographs and 8mm films of the neighborhood from private archives, or in junk markets. During a conversation about a sloping football pitch protected by weapons on a telpher, I recorded a story that came to me as 8mm film. It was exhibited side-by-side with a film about the 1st of May 1978, as one of two main screens for an exhibition. Later on, I started to work on recalling and thinking about images as a study in oral history by filmmakers from various organizations who had recorded political protests before the 1980's, by comparing them with today's video-activist movements.

These pursuits helped me to open some private archives. In fact, beyond the existence of films confiscated or taken out of the country by the military government of the 1980's, films witnessed by the political world before the 1980's were still waiting somewhere.

As Marc Ferro said, if the 1970's all of a sudden proceeded to another phase with the emergence of Super-8mm cameras, society would be merely an object of analysis in accordance with the interests of a new colonizer of the cameraman-militant, and cinema would be 'the doer' of a social or cultural awakening more effectively to the extent that it isn't just about the object filmed while performing in its own way. Well, the transition from films of the militants to the militant-films was looming in such a way.

"The Direction of Archiving will be Outward, not Inward"[3]

What were the reasons behind the sudden appearance of this kind of waste -- the waste of 8mm films never to be seen so intense in this region? Was it because of an imaging device used, that it acquired much more information than it seemed to know? Was it an indication of the curiosity for new imaging devices by the people living in this land? Was a new public space or sphere constructed through this imaging device during the 1960's?

I began to spend my days in the junk shops of Itfaiye Square, and in Cebeci flea market, which no longer exists, and in warehouses in İncesu, the junk shops of Küçükesat, and in Bahçelievler. I knew almost all of the waste paper and scrap collectors in Küçükesat and Aşağı Ayrancı. Whenever they found 8mm film in the garbage, they were calling me. Over the years, I have acquired all kinds of devices in order to digitalize images, and to telecine films and restore them. I have pursued 8mm films sold by PTT (Postal Service of Turkey), exceeding 30 years old, as they could not be delivered to their addresses. A film related to the post-12th of September period was one that appeared among the films stored by the PTT, as they could not be delivered to the address after having been shipped abroad for developing; the footage was shot from a curtain pitch on the top of a wall in Kabataş.

Soldiers were stopping vehicles, making identity checks and taking people into custody. A banner hung for Ahmet Karlangaç and Ekrem Ekşi, two architecture students from ITU (Istanbul Technical University), who died because of the torturing that followed September 12, 1980, was taken down and buried by the soldiers. These could have been the last images, probably recorded by someone with a political orientation who could have been forced to change their address, for example, fleeing abroad, or perhaps, they were arrested. The images were interwoven, militant images mixed with images of everyday life.

One day, I bought a suitcase previously belonging to a well-established family from a junk store in one of the back streets of Beyoğlu, Istanbul. It had belonged to an ambassador of an

important capital city in the 1960's, and was full of films. All the images were well framed and edited; there were about 30 films totaling 6 hours on subjects ranging from archeology trips in Turkey, to daily life abroad. Thus, an idea presented itself to me. The spouse of the deceased family member who shot the images was still alive and she was suffering from a kind of amnesia. Could images help her to remember?

Then I realized, in general, that 8mm films belonging to families are usually taken aside at auctions and held until after death, and then junked if a remaining family member does not retrieve them. Therefore, I started to collect the entire corpus before they fell apart. An 8mm film archive project thus started, and is ongoing, focused on converting film into hundreds of hours of digital data. Even now, there are thousands of boxes of film consisting of military expeditions, an 8mm film diary kept by a teacher in the 1960's, 8mm film of architectural details shot by an architect during his overseas trips, and so on. The totality of images provides important information regarding all aspects of the daily lives of elite Turkish bureaucrats, and soldiers' families; including military ceremonies, reading festivals, domestic scenes, public spaces, parks, picnics, entertainment events, New Years' celebrations, birthdays, habits of posing, vacations and tours, and overall visual information regarding Turkish cultural habits.

Starting with the image, the images, said Ferro... it is not merely a search for sublimation, for validation or refutation, but a devotion to another way of knowing beyond the written tradition of the image. The idea of 'thinking-images' is whatever it may be; the task is necessarily opening up in front of me to make images accessible to another way of knowing.

1. Pad.ma, "10 Theses on the Archive", https://pad.ma/texts/ padma:10_Theses_on_the_Archive/100

2. Pad.ma, "10 Theses on the Archive", https://pad.ma/textspadma:10_ Theses_on_the_Archive/100

3. Pad.ma, "10 Theses on the Archive", https://pad.ma/textspadma:10_ Theses_on_the_Archive/100

On the Necropolitics - Decolonizing Archiving
by Pelin Tan

How do we define the term "decolonizing archiving"? It seems impossible to properly translate this term into Turkish language. It may be incorrect English but it presents a discursive concept that points to both an active practice and an emancipatory practice; an archive that is an action itself rather than simply a container or database; an archive that aims to convey a multitude of actions where heterogeneous narratives exist, and by re-assemblage they emancipate each other.

The practice of archiving that is related to writing history, to the organization and categorization of society's artefacts, has also been related in the past to a practice of hegemonic colonial control. An image, either photographic or moving image, is always in dispute with testimony and evidence. The question remains, provided recent collective practices including open-source materials and many cases of human rights violations in public spaces – how is it possible to create archives that present an on-going action as well as a collective resource of videograms that claims an autonomous instituent structure?

In 2014, the Director of the Human Rights Association's Mardin Branch, who has been working on forensic investigations of extra-judicial killings in the region for the past 15 years, asked me to edit the archive of their research [1]. The archives consist of images and documents that he describes as complex to deal with. What could such an archive tell us? How could this archive function as evidence of the testimonies of violations of human rights cases in the region? Could such an archive function in the future as an effort that works towards the decolonization of the state and the society? These questions were occupying me and also prevented me from dealing with the archive. Additionally, since the Gezi struggle there was a similar concern to figure out how to structure the "bak.ma" archive, which is an open-source site hosting video clips from Gezi, as well as other movements. The content of an archive

as such, demonstrates social and political movements of civil disobedience through videograms. However, the idea of having content itself is not enough for a claim that open-source archival material of civil disobedience is working within an autonomous and decolonized structure. What makes an archive an autonomous and decolonized structure is its collective assemblage of production (editing, recording, montage) and its shifting representation in different political genres and via display.

If we look at the discourse and definition of the contemporary meaning of "decolonization" in the context of a regime of image discourse and politics, the term is more complex and beyond the dualistic structure of colonizer/colonized and its formation of subjectivities. Techno-politics based infrastructural colonization is more complex where extra statecraft is involved. Thus, discussing the practice of decolonization is already a confusing concept. How moving-image archives are utilized and how they function in a process of decolonization not only regards the sharing and use of open-source digital tools. It's also about the storage and management of a database of continuous demonstrations, actions of resistance and civil struggles. According to Tuck and Yang, "decolonization" is a metaphor: "Decolonization as metaphor allows people to equivocate these contradictory de-colonial desires because it turns decolonization into an empty signifier to be filled by any track towards liberation" [2]. For them, an anti-colonial critique and decolonization are slightly different things. I think their critique provides a better understanding of the term, yet the dualistic structures of colonizer-oppressed subjectivities are more complex today and relative from territory to territory. In my opinion, using the word as a metaphor still grants us emancipative power to reconsider our methodologies in the complex realities of conditions. Furthermore, on decolonization, Mbembe defines: "…Decolonization is the elimination of this gap between image and essence. It is about the 'restitution' of the essence of the image so that that which exists can exist in itself and not in something other than itself, something distorted, clumsy, debased and unworthy" [3]. African writer

Mbembe often wrote on describing necropolitics as a "life to the power of death". Necropolitics is about the reconfiguration between resistance, sacrifice and terror, and as he claims, all conditions are more blurred under necropolitics. For him, "… to exercise sovereignty is to exercise control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power" [4]. "I have put forward the notion of necropolitics and necro-power to account for the various ways in which, in our contemporary world, weapons are deployed in the interest of maximum destruction of persons and the creation of death-worlds, new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of living dead." [5] The power of death as explained and claimed by Mbembe, is also discussed by Braidotti in defining the differences of bio-power and necro-power. In Schmitt and Agamben, power is exercised through a state of exception and further colonization of the judicial status of territorialisation. However, both Mbembe and Braidotti suggest theoretically, that we can read the relation between politics, sovereignty and subjectivity as inherently different from the philosophical discourse of modernity. Both thinkers, whose theoretical arguments stem from a colonial non-western past (Mbembe), and technological post-human gender (Braidotti), offer insight and analysis of contemporary human destruction. Braidotti claims:
"…the politics of death is the new form of industrial-scale warfare, the privatization of the army and the global reach of conflicts, specifically the case of suicide bombers in the war on terror. Equally significant are the changes that have occurred in the political of bearing witness to the dead as a form of activism, from the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo to humanitarian aid." [6]

Currently, it is clearer to see the necropolitical readings of conditions of destruction and spatial colonization by hegemony in Turkey since the post-Gezi struggle. The politics of death in public struggles, urban warfare, and amongst the sieged towns and borderlines of Syria and Greece force us to reconfigure the relations between biopower and "bare life". Thus, I think "decolonization" is possible not only through

analysing the necropolitics, but also in decolonizing not only us as subjectivities, but in the mechanism of necropolitics itself as well. Archiving practices such as exhibited by Artıkişler Collective and the structure of "bak.ma" [7] need to be understood in the frame of necropolitical decolonization, which is through the image itself. The "bak.ma" archive includes not only video records of the Gezi struggle by several video activists but also existing video archives from the May 1st demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul, Queer movements, Tekel workers strike, January 19th memorial demonstrations for Hrant Dink's assassination, feminist account of everyday life in Cizre and other towns, demonstration for peace, etc. These videos that also provide the residuals of each of the subjectivities that create everyday assemblages.

These assemblages are videograms of residual waste, as in Mbembe's words: "...something distorted, clumsy, debased and unworthy" [8] and a surplus of the image of resistance, future revolution and attempt of decolonization of the image regime. The assemblages are being created constantly in each visit and use "bak.ma", which makes it a continuous practice of decolonizing archiving.

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2. Tuck, Eve and Yang, K. Wayne (2012) "Decolonization is not a metaphor", Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society 1(1): 1–40.

3. Mbembe, Achille (2015) "Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive", A public lecture given at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg). p.15

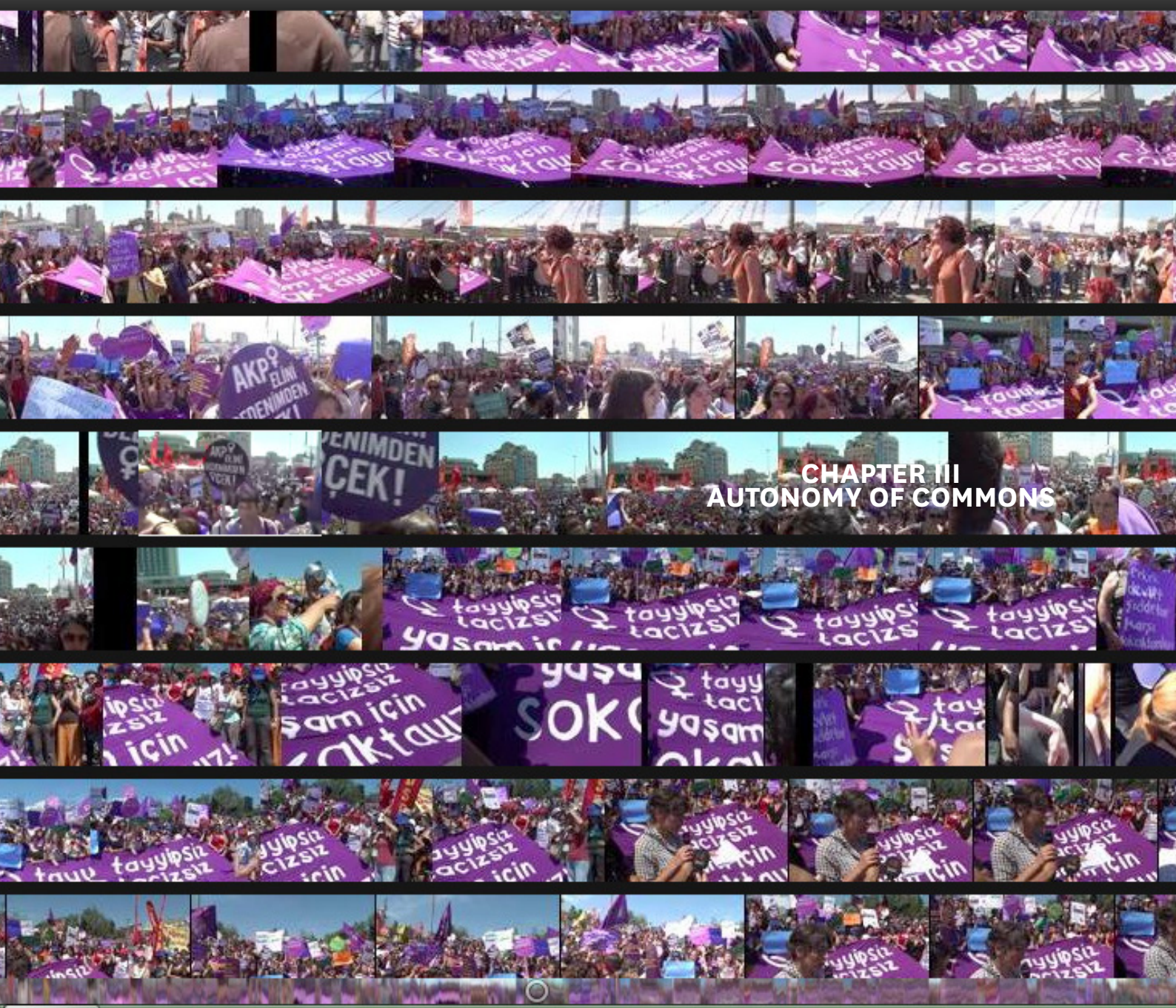
4. Mbembe, Achille (2003) "Necropolitics", Trans.L.Meintjes, Public Culture, 15 (1): 11-40, Duke University Press. p.12

5. Mbembe, 2003, p. 40

6. Braidotti, Rosi "Bio-Power and Necro-Politics, Reflections on an ethics of sustainability", www.springerin.at/dyn/heft_text.php?textid=1928&lang=en (visited, 26.04.2016)
Also in 'Biomacht und nekro-Politik. Uberlegungen zu einer Ethik der Nachhaltigkeit', in: Springerin, Hefte fur Gegenwartskunst, Band XIII Heft 2, Fruhjahr 2007, pp 18-23 (visited, 26.04.2016)

7. https://bak.ma/

8. Mbembe, Achille (2015) "Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive", A public lecture given at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg). p.15



CHAPTER III
AUTONOMY OF COMMONS

When Seeing is Belonging: The Photography of Tahrir
by Lara Baladi

Photographs of Cairo's Midan Tahrir taken on the "Friday of Victory," a week after a popular uprising forced President Hosni Mubarak to relinquish power, represent a better tomorrow—the birth of a new Egypt. These images portray Liberation Square as an oasis of peace and justice, a paradise regained, an icon of freedom and renewed Egyptian identity. Have these photos of Tahrir Square replaced pictures of the pyramids as the ultimate Egyptian cliché?

In August 1990, herds of Kuwaitis sought refuge in Egypt. These tourists-in-spite-of-themselves flocked to the pyramids every day. I too was there on the Giza plateau, photographing the pyramids. My debut in photography coincided with this migration provoked by Saddam Hussein's first invasion of Kuwait.

That winter, Operation Desert Storm became the first war to be broadcast live on television. The perversity of how this invasion was represented reaffirmed Guy Debord's premise in The Society of the Spectacle: "All that once was directly lived has become mere representation." The dark image in the convex screen was filled with occasional explosions in the night sky of an obscure city, CNN's big fat logo ever-present in the lower left corner. As this "clean," "bloodless" war was broadcast minute by minute to the world in an instantaneous mediation of unfolding events, America's overwhelming military response and its new, elaborate surveillance technologies became subject to much criticism and analysis. Jean Baudrillard, in his controversial and often-cited essays on that period, went as far as to suggest that, "The Gulf War did not exist."[1] And, indeed, the images that saturated our TV screens were perceived as surreal by many and inspired a whole new market of video games where soldiers, tinged by the green glow of night vision, crawl the terrain.

The “Friday of Victory” after Hosni Mubarak’s fall, Tahrir Square, Cairo, Egypt.

Photo © Lara Baladi, February 18, 2011.

A decade later, in 2001, the “casualty-free” representation of the Gulf War achieved in 1991 by CNN was turned on its head by a new generation of documentary photographers and filmmakers. 9/11 was the first major historical event to be documented by thousands of people with digital cameras, more thoroughly and effectively, as it happened, than by the mainstream media. They recorded the horror of people jumping out of windows, people covered in ashes running through the debris and carrying the wounded—trying to escape hell. But beyond recording, those who witnessed and photographed the attack on the World Trade Center in New York City contributed to the breaking of a long established monopoly on the representation of reality. Citizen journalism was born.

In a little corner shop in London, the image of a plane exploding into the twin towers flashed on TV. While gathering my groceries, I asked the shopkeeper sitting under the screen what this was. She glanced at it fleetingly over her shoulder and said, with a shrug, “It must be a film.” Never in the history of cinema had a scene of this amplitude been shot. Action movies have been trying, and failing, to catch up

ever since. Reality had surpassed fiction.

So the Gulf War turned warfare, for many, into a computer game. In the Wikipedia entry for “Gulf War,” for example, a header reads: “’Operation Desert Storm’ redirects here. For the video game, see Operation: Desert Storm (video game).” But ten years later, the photo and film amateurs documenting the collapse of the 110-story towers in lower Manhattan re-humanized reality.

The first step toward the democratization of photography was George Eastman’s invention of the Kodak camera. In 1888, with the slogan “You press the button, we do the rest,” Eastman transformed a cumbersome and complicated procedure, into something easy and obtainable. Photography, until then affordable only by an elite, became even more accessible after 1975, when another Eastman Kodak engineer, Steven Sasson, came up with another major invention: the digital camera. By 2001, a majority of people in the West had one. Snapping photos was no longer the hobby of amateurs but a fully integrated aspect of most people’s daily lives.

In the following decade, as cameras made their way into mobile phones (smart or not), webcams were embedded in laptop and desktop screens and people uploaded millions of images to social media sites, the global democratization of photography took on a new dimension. With the emergence of social media, mass media lost even more ground on the distribution of information. Social media, in which the user could participate in the process of selecting and distributing information and make images instantaneously available worldwide, overshadowed traditional visual media. It competed with mainstream media, thus further sharing the power by shifting the hands holding it. “The power of letters and the power of pictures distribute themselves and evaporate into the social media such that it becomes possible for everyone to act instead of simply being represented,” observed the influential media artist and theorist Peter Weibel, in a recent article, “Power to the People: Images by the People. ” [2]

The shift was felt worldwide. When Israel attacked Lebanon in 2006, Lebanese online activists and bloggers attracted enough of the world's attention to put international pressure on Israel and help stop the war. Short-lived but devastatingly destructive, this war lasted long enough to spark the beginning of a new trend of online political activism in the whole Arab region.

On the 25th of January 2011, I was at home in Cairo with a few friends. None of us knew, beyond the unusual, eerie silence in the street, how unprecedented the protests were. To distract ourselves from the growing tension outside, we played a game of Memory, illustrated with black and white photographs from the archive of the Arab Image Foundation (AIF). As I played with these past images from the Arab world, little did I know that the history of the region, of Arab photography and of photography at large, was about to take a quantum leap.

Photographing in Egypt was prohibited in many areas during the Mubarak era; I was arrested no fewer than seven times over fifteen years for taking pictures in various parts of the country. Fear-mongering propaganda made people paranoid, feeding an ever-present and general suspicion of the camera, and by extension, of the "other." Complicit as societies become under dictatorship, Egyptians had for generations bowed to routine police humiliation in broad daylight, and worse brutality in the darkness of their torture chambers. Very few images of these crimes had gone public. The 2008 Mahalla protests by textile mill workers revived the notion that we had a right to see and be seen. Egyptian activist Hossam el-Hamalawy, blogged that, "the revolution will be flickrised," pointing to the need to document and disseminate the regime's repressive procedures. Seeing would mean believing and revolting for those blinded by the national media, which had concealed this repression persistently for 30 years .

This was never truer than in Tahrir Square during the 18 days of the 2011 revolution. Here, and in the whole region during the Arab uprisings, the act of photographing became not only an act of seeing and recording, it was fully participatory. At the core of the Egyptian uprising, photographing was a political act, equal in importance to demonstrating, constituting a form of civil disobedience and defiance. In the midst of the emergency, all theories on the subjectivity of photography suddenly became irrelevant. During the 18 days, people in the square took photos because they felt the social responsibility to do so. Photography became objective; photography showed the truth—yes, a Truth made of as many truths as there were protesters in the square, but nonetheless one that urgently had to be revealed at this turning point in history. The camera became a non-violent weapon aimed directly at the state, denouncing it. Photographing implied taking a stand against the regime; it was a way of reconquering territory and ultimately the country. Photographing meant belonging.

In his classic BBC series, Ways of Seeing, John Berger tells us, "The images come to you. You do not go to them. The days of pilgrimage are over." Commenting on our experience of images in the digital age, Slavoj Žižek argued that, "what goes on today is not 'virtual reality' but the 'reality of the virtual.'" A media revolution also took place in Tahrir, when the reality of the streets reached the reality on our screens. The images coming to us through our screens, finally, were "reality."

Thousands of people moved, photographed, and stood together in solidarity against totalitarianism. Protesters held above their heads signs and slogans by day, and the blue glowing lights of mobile phones, iPads, and even laptops, by night. While signifying the demand for social justice and freedom, these devices were not merely emanating a light of hope reminiscent of the dancing flames during the protests of the 1960s; they were simultaneously absorbing the ambient light, thus recording from every possible angle, in every possible quality and format, life in Tahrir.

Protesters during a speech in Tahrir Square, April 8, 2011. Photo © Mosa'ab Elshamy

Around the world—except in China, where the government banned the word "Egypt" from its Google search engine—images of Tahrir spilled into living spaces. Transcending computers, televisions screens and other virtual channels, the images inexorably spread the energy of the square. As Žižek said when interviewed about the Arab revolutions, "It was a genuine universal event, immediately understandable... It is every true universality, the universality of struggle." People all over the world identified with the protesters in the square. Tahrir became everyone's revolution. Arab uprisings and Occupy movements followed in a chain reaction. Was image-making impacting the world and shaking its order by helping people rethink their relationship with political power?

The mainstream international media grabbed the event and sucked everything it could out of it. While it supported the crowds in Tahrir, it also diminished the revolution's momentum by referring to it in the past tense after the 18 days and moving on to other news, thus confirming McLuhan's theory that "you can actually dissipate a situation by giving it maximum coverage." At this point, ordinary people had embraced the power of online images to such an extent that television news, often way behind the news on the ground, started broadcasting videos shot by amateurs or activists that had already gone viral on the web. Never, since the invention of the camera, had a historical event been so widely documented, with more videos and photos than there were protesters in the square.

The new economy brought about by digital photography has exponentially amplified photography's intrinsic factory-like quality, which is both its greatest promise and its greatest threat. On the one hand, anyone who owns a camera can produce limitless images for free. On the other hand, the abundance of rapidly distributed images is accompanied by a lack of critical distance; for example, images altered in Photoshop are mostly taken at face value. This contributes to a general desensitization to reality. Vilém Flusser, in his 1984 book Towards a Philosophy of Photography, rightly warns us of the dangers of this hyper-democratization of photography in the digital age: "Anyone who takes snaps has to adhere to the instructions for use – becoming simpler and simpler – that are programmed to control the output end of the camera. This is democracy in the post-industrial society. Therefore people taking snaps are unable to decode photographs: they think photographs are an automatic reflection of the world."

During the Arab uprisings, a great number of shaky and blurry mobile phone videos shot in Syria, Libya and Bahrain, uploaded every day onto the Internet, were not "decodable." Many battle scenes, highly pixelated and graphic, resembled each other, yet nothing in them was clearly definable or recognizable in itself. Only the titles revealed the videos' content. Viewers easily disengaged from following or attempting to understand how these uprisings were evolving and, if they did, once again they relied on the mainstream media, thus handing the power back all over again.

How long will the most extensive, multi-vocal documentary ever made—that is, this extraordinary and unedited portrait of Egyptians in Midan Tahrir one finds online— survive in the ephemeral virtual archive? With most of the images of the 18 days vanishing into a bottomless pit thanks to Google's PageRank algorithm, will the vision of a possible new world people glimpsed in the Square die along with its digital traces?

Although the endless proliferation of images in Tahrir was produced for our own national consumption rather than that of a Western audience, images from the midan almost instantly turned old clichés of Egypt on their heads. The angry Arab terrorist became a dignified peace warrior. "Egypt! Help us. One world, one pain," read banners in the protests that erupted in Wisconsin in the U.S. three weeks after the Egyptian uprising. The once "dirty Arab" had transformed into a politically and socially conscious citizen. President Obama even declared in a television speech he gave after the Battle of the Camel in the midst of the 18 days: "We should raise our children to be like Egyptian youth."

In French, the word cliché means "photograph"; for the rest of the world it refers only to a stereotype that, while familiar, conceals more truths than it reveals. The most enduring Orientalist Egyptian cliché of them all, the Giza Pyramids, has been upstaged by the bird's-eye picture of a million people in Tahrir. Images of people circumambulating the tents in the center of the square resonated, at times, with images of people walking around the Kaaba in Mecca. For about a year after the revolution started, Tahrir itself was a pilgrimage site for revolution tourists.

One of the oldest debates in photography is about its relationship with death: "Photographs are a way of imprisoning reality," writes Susan Sontag in On Photography. "One can't possess reality... one can't possess the present but one can possess the past." The fear of loss—the fear that the vision born in Tahrir would vanish soon after President Hosni Mubarak stepped down—may have been another reason why people took images incessantly while they were there. Ultimately, photographing in Tahrir became an act of faith. As if recording the ecstatic reality of the present would remind us, in the future, of the Square's utopian promise, and help us to keep hope once the real battle began.

After January 25, 2011, the Square continued to be the center of protests, a synonym for political power and the barometer for the revolution's failure or success. Images of the square became part of our daily visual consumption routine. At times Tahrir appeared to be a parody of itself; at times the center of renewed hope.

Whether it was the revolutionaries, the Muslim Brotherhood, or the Salafis who took Tahrir, owning the Square meant owning the revolution and by extension, Egypt. As the battle for the Square worsened, Tahrir came to represent a divided nation. Rifts between Egyptians intensified during and after the first presidential campaign that followed Mubarak's toppling, in which the Brotherhood's Mohamed Morsi won under dubious circumstances and with a markedly small mandate. In the midst of economic free fall, he issued a constitutional decree granting himself virtually unchecked power. Hence, Egyptians took to the streets again, having lost all trust in his promises to support the revolution and Egypt's interests at large. Only six months into his rule, Egyptians were more bitterly divided than ever.

On June 30, Tahrir Square filled with an unprecedented number of protesters. As many other public places around the country were also being occupied with people demanding the removal of President Morsi, new bird's-eye views of Tahrir flooded the Internet and the mainstream media in ever-renewing iteration (the same but never the same). Alongside this poignant illustration of the experience of the overwhelming majority of Egyptians who, if only for a moment, united again in a common goal and spirit, a NASA photograph of Egypt from the sky—showing the Nile illuminated with a Photoshopped caption, "Egypt lights the way for the world revolution"—emerged and circulated on social media. This image, at a striking remove from the euphoria experienced on the ground, this iconic image of the Square's punctum archimedis, spread the global significance of Tahrir once again through the media.

Nasa shot photoshopped circulating on Facebook during the June 2013 Egyptian protests (copyright unknown)

Egypt was now defying the very core of the democratic process. Messages like the following one circulated on people's Facebook walls:
Know that almost every democracy in the world has now been dragged into this public debate about what is democratic legitimacy... Yes, Egyptians have questioned [the] ballot box legitimacy, and YES, we asked our army to intervene when we found our political opponents bringing out their militias.

In the early days of the June 30th uprising, many Egyptians used social media to voice their anger against Western media, who were labeling the removal of President Morsi a "coup" rather than seeing it as military intervention in support of and responding to mass mobilization against his divisive and decidedly undemocratic rule.

In the days immediately following this new turn of events in Egyptian politics, 22 Al Jazeera journalists resigned, accusing the Qatar-based network of airing lies and misleading viewers. Reporting for Al Arabiya, Nada Al Tuwaijri characterized these resignations as "criticism over the channel's editorial line, the way it covered events in Egypt, and allegations that journalists were instructed to favor the Brotherhood." Meanwhile, CNN's broadcasts recalled its biased coverage of the Gulf War; the network's coverage reflected its own narrative rather than the reality on the ground. CNN not only naively confused images of pro-Morsi with anti-Morsi demonstrations, but was also bluntly oblivious to the voices of the majority of the Egyptian people expressing their will. CNN's crew was thrown out of Tahrir Square, along with many other foreign journalists, because protesters refused to be misrepresented; from the start, this revolution had been about self-determination, in media as in society.

The Egyptian army regained control over the national media and gave President Morsi an ultimatum to resign. He refused. Arrested by the army, he underwent what many people would call a "show trial" and eventually received the death sentence. But as time passes, the current ruling regime imposes an increasingly aggressive form of repression against freedom of speech and a stranglehold on the media even tighter than Mubarak's.

In the wake of the uprising, the power of the image was supposedly handed back to the people, for the people. Someone even tweeted that a meteorite should fall on Tahrir. Did this message imply that Tahrir should officially be the sacred pilgrimage site for a redefined Egypt? At the time, it felt for a moment as if Tahrir could become the Mecca of a rebirthing Arab world, one in the process of seeking a new political practice and redefining democracy in ways the West has yet to imagine. Five years later, the last revolt turns out to be more like a popular movement co-opted into a full-scale counter-revolution—perhaps one more stage on Egypt's long and painful road to representative politics.

When Napoleon Bonaparte addressed his army before the Battle of the Pyramids, he said, "Soldiers! Forty centuries behold you!"

The full-force return of the military regime and the increasingly restricted spaces of resistance available to citizens have only reinforced the significance of the bird's-eye image of Tahrir.

Imprinting deeper into our psyche the fact that the revolution happened; re-truing the fact that fundamental social change has been taking place in an ongoing process, against all odds; penetrating our collective memory as time passes—that image of Tahrir distilled from the mass production of images that took place in 2011, has come to represent in a way not only Egypt's uprising but all the social movements that have since followed worldwide. The bird's-eye view of Tahrir Square has become, in this way, a collective watermark of democratic longing. Even though the road to freedom seems long, this digital-age icon, by dethroning the pyramids, has brought Egypt back to the present, hopefully enduring, reiterating, and propelling it into a better future.

[1] The Gulf War Did Not Take Place is a collection of essays by Jean Baudrillard published in the French newspaper Libération and British paper The Guardian between January and March 1991.

[2] Power to the People: Images by the People, by Peter Weibel, Blog post 2012. ZKM, Center for Art and Media, Karksruhe, Germany, 2012.

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Vitality and Atemporality
by Eric Kluitenberg

This text combines materials from two sources that seem at first absolute opposites: A consideration of the affect-driven spatial dynamics of contemporary urban protest gatherings, combined with a short excursion to the atemporal logic of the 'Archive'. However, also the immanence of vitality in these protest gatherings requires a memory to direct the life-force towards some identifiable horizon of what some generations before us still dared to call 'progress'. In more modest terms, a sense of memorising will still be required to figure out where we might be heading.

The context of this collage-text is set by the recurrent urban spectacle of massive protest gatherings in urban public spaces, suddenly and usually unexpectedly erupting out of subterranean tensions that might have built up over years or even decades. Particular to these gatherings is their deep permeation by self-produced and mostly internet-based media forms and the massive use of mobile and wireless media in public space, pervaded by an uncanny depth of affective intensity. Remarkably these protests seem to dissolve as easily and suddenly as they constitute themselves, creating a paradoxical logic that is strangely at odds with conventional understandings of political protests.

What's more the almost inherent ephemerality of these new protest formations creates a particular problem for building longer lasting alliances that might bring about desired political changes towards a more sustainable political ecology. Part of this problem is the need for new forms of 'political design'. Another part of it is the need for appropriate forms of tracing the ephemeral, of somehow capturing these vital processed without freezing them into the 'Archive' of the classic authoritarian politics these protests seek to engage.

Affect Space

The emergent techno-sensuous spatial order of Affect Space is characterised by three constitutive elements: [1] the massive presence of self-produced media forms, [2] the context of (occupied) urban public spaces, and [3] the deep permeation of affective intensity. While not 'invented' by anyone, the complex dynamics of the interaction of these three elements became clearly visible in the extraordinary series of popular protest gatherings in public space that have dominated world news from early 2011 onwards: Where in each case the local context and 'underlying issues' were remarkably diverse (Tunis, Caïro, Madrid, Barcelona, Athens, New York, Sao Paulo, Haren. Kiev, Hong Kong, Ferguson, Paris...), the pattern of simultaneous mobilisation in the media and physical space was highly consistent, as well as its ephemeral dissolution.

This dynamic is certainly not limited to these protest gatherings, much rather their intensity revealed the emerging pattern more clearly. Equally, the emergence of this striking pattern of sudden collective mobilisation and dissolution in public space cannot be explained exclusively by the technological component. Nor can it be reduced to the contested political, ideological and economic issues at stake. The diversity of context, incitement, and participants was simply to great to account convincingly for the recurrence of a virtually identical mobilisation / dissolution pattern.

This point was perhaps illustrated most tellingly by two markedly different events: the massive protests for a free and fair election for a new governor of the Hong Kong administrative region , staged under the name Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP), and the 'Project X Party' riots in the academic suburban town of Haren in the north of The Netherlands.

OCLP

Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP) filled the streets of Hong Kong, for me as part of the global media audience, an uniformed and uninvolved spectator with virtually no local knowledge, this came entirely unexpected. The campaign, originally launched by three elderly academics, aimed "to strive for the election of the Chief Executive by universal and equal suffrage in 2017" . In essence asking for the right of the Hong Kong population for an open process of entry of candidates not a priori vetted by the Beijing Communist Party headquarters, into the election process for a new governor for the Hong Kong region.

Underlying to this was a concern over the (non-)democratic governance of the region and its waning exceptional status within the Chinese empire after decolonisation from the United Kingdom. This underlying issue was of course well known, widely documented, and extensively discussed in world media and beyond. The slumbering subterranean tension therefore came as no surprise for us uninformed members of the global media audience. However, the massive response to a student demand not to wait for lengthy negotiations with authorities and to take to the streets, to 'occupy Central' (-Hong Kong) did come as complete surprise.

What started as an almost private initiative of three well-behaved and highly literate members of the academia, seemingly overnight grew out to one of the most massive popular protests (perhaps the most massive protest) ever staged in Hong Kong's history. Perhaps it was only when we, as global media audience, witnessed the incredibly impressive drone video's of the protests, showing the swarms of protestors against the backdrop of the impeccable sterile hightech architecture[4] of Hong Kong's corporate high-rise architecture that we became aware of the exceptional events happening at the other side of the planet.

However, as mesmerising and unexpected the massive protest formations in the streets of Hong Kong seemed to us, so incomprehensibly elusive was the dissolution of the protests. After a series of significant clashes with police the 'occupation' of 'Central' ended as paradoxically as it began;

rather than being evicted it evaporated, almost literally, into thin air. No political settlement was ever reached, the election process was left unchanged, completely closed, allowing in only the vetted candidates approved by the party headquarters in Beijing (i.e. no political result).

After the massive unrests the three academics who had supposedly been at the root of the protests decided to hand themselves in at a local police station to accept responsibility for the consequences of their action. Apparently those consequences came for them similarly unexpected as fort us as a distant uninformed media audience. The police officers at the local station, however, also had no idea how to respond to this (unprecedented) situation and needed to confer with their higher authorities. They were instructed to register the data of the three and send them home (no arrest). This farcical end to the protests fittingly turned OCLP into the most massive non-event in recent history.

Project X, Haren

In the case of the Project X riots in Haren, a facebook invite to a local girl's 16th birthday party (accidentally posted 'public') was picked up and transformed into a 'Project X Party' meme. This went viral on facebook and beyond, generating enormous traffic and (mass media) attention.

In response to the immanent public order disturbance local authorities deployed a massive police force. At the designated date police and a large crowd of 'Project X Haren' participants clashed over a party that never existed, leading to the devastation of the city centre's public space and massive damages to private properties.

A national investigation produced a thorough multi-part report.[5] Most intriguing was the media analysis by media researchers of the Utrecht University: They concluded that the massive build up of a potential crowd happened almost exclusively via social media channels. Mass media exposure had only a negligible influence on the scale of mobilisation.

While the mobilisation pattern was virtually identical to the large protest gatherings since 2011, any kind of underlying contested social or political issue was completely absent.

How to account for these remarkable phenomena?

In my essay "Affect Space"[6] , written late 2014 for Open!, the online publication platform for art and the public domain, the contours of a model are suggested that may be better able to account for this dynamic. This model builds on three constitutive elements:

- A technological component: Internet, but in particular the massive use of mobile and wireless media perform a crucial function to mobilise large groups of people around ever changing 'issues at stake'.

- An affective component: A recurrent characteristic is the affective intensity generated and exchanged in these mobilisation processes. Reasoned argument seem to play much less of a role than affective images, suggestive slogans ("We Are the 99%!" / "Je (ne) Suis (pas) Charlie") and vague but insistent associations with things that are felt as highly desirable (the mystique of a Project X Party in (sleepy) Haren, of which actually nobody really knows what this means or whether it actually exists - as in this case it did not).

- A spatial component: Particularly the affective intensity generated in the mobilisation process cannot be shared effectively in disembodied online interactions on the internet and via apps. This lack stimulates the desire for physical encounter, which can only happen in a physical spatial context paradigmatically in (urban) public space.

The massive use of mobile and wireless media changes the nature of public space dramatically[7]. Ever-closer feedback loops between the physical and the mediated are generated, turning the streets and squares into media channels and platforms in near real-time. As wireless networks speed up, the tightness of these feedback loops is only intensified

(Wifi, 3G, 4G and beyond). The tightness of the feedback loop between the physical and the mediated precipitates affect related forms of communication and exchange. In these kind of densified intense environments exactly those messages, images, and impulses are registered that generate the strongest affective effect - not the most well thought through argument, the most delicately composed visuals, or the most eloquent exposé.

Beyond the square: spaces for action

In the so called 'movement(s) of the squares' the three constitutive elements of Affect Space, technology, affect, and hybridised urban (public) spaces link up in a distinctive connective pattern that creates intensive feedback loops between embodied and electronically mediated exchanges by previously unrelated social actors. This pattern has been able to produce massive forms of popular protest across a bewildering range of geographic, cultural, and political contexts, addressing a variety of heterogeneous issues. The unpredictability, the repetitiveness, the diffuse organisational structures and ephemerality of these 'public gatherings in dissent' carries important political implications.

The activists involved in staging (or perhaps rather initiating) these protest-gatherings seized upon the affective registers very effectively, to which both the speed of mobilisation as well as their characteristic affective intensity testify. For the activist this involved the creation of 'resonance objects' that resonate particularly strongly with the semantic openness of affect (visual, textual, auditory), using an experiential and experimental method of in essence trail and error to arrive (only half conscious) at their proper shape (aphoristic slogans, affective images, human microphone rituals, public urban encampments, dense embodied gatherings). The semantic openness of affect played a crucial role in transcending political, cultural, ideological and religious divides in these gatherings.

In adopting the protest and mobilisation patterns from one to

the other local context, the activists engaged in what Saskia Sassen has described as the 'knowing multiplication of local practices' (Sassen, 2006 - "Public Interventions") drawing on the increased capacities for establishing horizontal translocal connections via electronic networks (primarily internet based communications) on a de facto global scale, while bypassing vertically nested transnational institutional hierarchies. As a result local practices could be constituted on a transnational scale, Sassen refers to this spatial principle as a 'multi-scalar local' (Sassen, ibid.).

Besides practical exchanges of tactics, literature, visuals and online communication resources, the new forms of self-mediation enabled by the distributed media infrastructure of the internet and wireless communication networks allowed for the constitution of mediated presence by a multiplicity of ordinary citizens who enacted themselves as protestor in the networked media space. This created a specific form of recognisability. Self-mediation not only allowed these citizen-protestors to become present towards the political context they were contesting, but crucially also towards each other. They thus established a translocal presence that was recognisable and able to precipitate active linkages and increased interaction. The affective dimension of these linkages acts here as a powerful 'incipient connective force' establishing connections across a wide variety of localities.

However, the emergent political formations resulting from affect-driven mobilisation processes are inherently unstable, first of all because of their heterogeneous make up. Secondly, as argued earlier, both collectively articulated emotional dispositions as well as strategic political formations can never provide for a complete capture of affective intensity. This imperfect capture leaves behind an affective residu (Massumi's 'autonomic remainder') that generates a steadily growing potential for future affective mobilisation which can erupt unpredictably and seemingly spontaneous, and thereby lead to continued instability.

Thirdly, not the claim that there would be no content, no

demands, no matters of concern in the 'movement(s) of the squares' is problematic for their political efficacy, but exactly the opposite that they are overfull with content, demands and matters of concern is deeply problematic. This overabundance of content and issues carries with it the inevitable fractious make up of these emergent political formations. Hence the fruitless debate over a politics of consensus, which has been particularly strong in the US occupy 'movement', which did not lead to any identifiable political results.

It would seem then that the paradox of simultaneous succes in mobilisation and apparent lack of political efficacy of the 'movement(s) of the squares' is mirrored by a split between content and effect in the process of mobilisation. This raises a final question, which is how to imagine the type of 'progressive political interventions' into this complicated context that for instance Nigel Thrift is calling for (Thrift, 2004, 58)?

Two distinct approaches present themselves to address the complicated logic of this new techno-sensuous spatial order, which for sake of convenience we can refer to as 'Affect Space'. These two approaches might seem in contradiction to each other, but I propose that they must be considered in conjunction and not necessary as complementary approaches. If they produce contradictory results and insights then these contradictions should be accepted and explored.

The first approach aims to better understand and create a subjective awareness of the complicated logic of 'Affect Space'. Predictive unifying theories are of no use here. Like the activists - who developed their tactics in situ through trial and error - stumbling onto new forms that revealed themselves to them rather than that they were deliberately created, so too should we rely on experiential and experimental methods to further explore this new spatial order in a an attempt to find its progressive political potentials.

Luckily we do not have to venture blindly into 'Affect Space' - a vast repertoire of experimental and experiential methods is readily available to us - but this time not coming from the domain of political activism. I am thinking here primarily of the psychogeographic explorations of the Situationists outlined by Guy Debord in his texts "Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography" (Debord, 1955) and "Theory of the Dérive" (1956). These ideas have received something of rejuvenation through the exploration of psychogeographic explorations in locative arts. But also the artistic / aesthetic explorations of network culture in the net.art movement of the 1990s come to mind here. These artistic procedures deliberately mix up online and embodied cultures and offer a rich repository for staging exploratory urban interventions to intensify and make subjectively present the operation of the affective registers of urban space and their malleability.

Still, it would be fair to contend that in so far as affect is semantically and semiotically unstructured, its experiential exploration is a cognitively 'blind' process. This is true, and it suggests an inherently complicated relationship to progressive politics. Also true. However, Massumi emphasises that the relationship of affect to language is 'differential' and not so much in opposition to it. Particular linguistic structures resonate strongly with affective intensity and are able to amplify it forcefully (as discussed above), while others dampen affective intensity. Concentrated forms of articulate deliberation and its linguistic expressions in philosophical and political discourse certainly belong to this latter category, and they are the final instruments that we should turn to.

New progressive political movements in becoming that have emerged in the wake of these remarkable translocal protest-cycles should engage in deliberative forms of political design. If the progressive moment of the 'movement(s) of the squares' was to signal the possibility of a new type of politics, beyond current restrictive and repressive codings of collective political formation, then the obligation for those who envisage the type of progressive political interventions that Thrift is calling for is to engage deliberately and

consciously in new forms of political design.

In the wake of the prolific 15M mobilisations, Spain can be regarded as the most interesting 'laboratory' right now for such new ventures into the practice of (progressive) political design. This needs to move beyond the new political parties that have emerged in Spain (Podemos) and Greece (Syriza), who play on and within the traditional domains of institutional representative democracy. It extends into the invention of radically new forms of representation, new modes of democratic composition, as evidenced in post 15M citizen-network models of democracy such as the X-net civic[8] network and the internet-driven Partido X[9] in Spain.

Beyond this 'merely human' perspective these new ventures into political need to embrace the complicated questions of how humans and non-humans can engage in the 'progressive composition of the good common world', raised most insistently in the recent work of science philosopher Bruno Latour.

The challenge is to invent new forms of the political locally and translocally that are suitable to address the specific conditions of the bewildering range of localities that have fallen into crisis since 2011.

Atemporality and the Living Archive

In the immediacy of the 'living moment' of protest gatherings, activist practices, and the production of Tactical Media[10] in response to urgent social crises the dimension of memorising these events is most often overlooked, if not considered redundant or irrelevant. However, a deliberative engagement in new forms of political design is difficult to imagine without some reference to events past and their legacies. Shunning this dimension of documentation / memorising runs the risk of being 'ruled' by implicit, tacit assumptions about the shape and structure of the past rendering these unavailable to critical scrutiny and re-articulation.

In the context of our on-going efforts to document the legacies and progenies of Tactical Media we created an online documentation resource in 2008 called Tactical Media Files [11] as an extension of the festival series The Next 5 Minutes (1993 - 2003), which gave Tactical media its name. More than a mute resource we use this online tool as an instrument to gather materials from the past and present and convene gatherings at irregular intervals, when opportunity and urgency begs for it, to discuss this open ended effort.

This a typical low key minor media enterprise, virtually without budget and without institutional aspirations. As it were an anti-archive set up to prevent enshrining tactical media into the mausoleum of the authoritative 'Archive'. To think through this paradoxical task of tracing the ephemeral, documenting that which only wants to exist in the momentary vitality of its own urgency, that which shuns and resists institutional and archival capture, we loosely suggested a term for this effort and the resource, and called it a 'living archive' (a term incidentally which since has gained some currency elsewhere, a regrettable but ultimately unavoidable inevitability..).

Our resource does not meet our own criteria. In fact we are sceptical these criteria can ever be met. We also resist writing up comprehensively what a 'living archive' might be, even though we consider it as more than simply an anti-archive. Instead, below I offer some considerations that we feel play into the function and precarious position and existence of such a 'living archive', whatever form it may ultimately take, and not knowing how long it can still evade institutional capture:

Vitality and Intensity of the living moment

Tactical Media, activist practices and gatherings find their vitality in moments of crisis, through the participation of the body of the protestor in them, and the affective resonance patterns they generate.

Atemporality of the 'archive'

The 'archive' (as a system of rules governing the appearance of definite and clear statements), in its function of capturing living moments and turning them into historical events, constitutes the very opposite of this dynamic.

The temporality of the living moment is contained in the intensity of its immediacy.

The temporality of the archive is atemporality.

Foucault on the 'archive':
(Archaeology of Knowledge):

The archive in Foucault's own words is "the general system of the formation and transformation of statements", (..) "the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events", and simultaneously it is that which "determines that all things said do not accumulate in an amorphous mass".[12]

The archive is the system that groups 'all things said' together in distinct figures, (..) which at the outset and at the 'very root of the statement-event' defines what can be expressed in clear and definite terms ('enunciated').

Rewriting the 'archive':

Thus the traditional idea of the archive as a repository of documents and objects is rewritten as a system of rules governing the appearance of definite and clear statements that these documents and objects embody. Archiving, then, is seen as a primarily discursive practice.

The archive can, however, be engaged (discursively) by actively uncovering the rules that govern 'the appearance of statements as unique events' in the archive and modifying them.

The 'Living Archive' is a conscious and active engagement

with these systems of rules.

The Living Archive:

The Living Archive aims to create a model in which documentation of living cultural processes, archived materials, ephemera, and discursive practices are interwoven as seamlessly as possible, utilising advanced on-line database and content management systems, and digital audio and video technologies.

Archiving here is understood as a dynamic open ended process that acts upon present and future events and is simultaneously acted upon and rewritten by these events and their outcomes.

The Living Archive is less concerned with physical memory objects as it is with an active engagement of living cultural processes.

Cultural Memory as an active political principle:

The concept Cultural Memory as developed by the Egyptologist Jan Assmann, is extremely useful here. Assmann speaks of cultural memory as a connective structure founding group identity through ritual and textual coherence. [13]

The past is never remembered for its own sake. Its main functions are to create a sense of continuity and to act as a motor for development.

The present is situated at the end of a collective path as meaningful, necessary and unalterable.
Cultural Memory as an active political principle:

A critical engagement and possible deconstruction or intervention into the narration of cultural memory is an important tactical imperative for the construction of Living Archives.

Living Archives actively engage the construction of mythological cultural narratives to emphasise the contingency and open ended character of historical development, and the possibilities for active involvement of a variety of actors in their determination.

Final Considerations

We found early on that kind of critical discursive engagement of the 'archive' we required cannot be organised solely online. Therefore, offline encounter and debate is a necessary part of the 'Living Archive', where the kind of critical reinterpretation that is required can take place.

As such we see this activity of continuous debate and reconsideration of how the narratives of this 'living archive' are written and rewritten as an essential part of the 'progressive composition of the good common world' (Latour) that is the object of the new forms of political design.

We believe that currently the 'Living Archive' does not exist - no existing model (including Wikipedia) meets the most basic requirements for it.

Perhaps this never to be fulfilled demand for the impossible is the point?

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2. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19684708 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KEmQ3W5-xLI (footage)
3. http://oclp.hk/index.php?route=occupy/eng_detail&eng_id=9
4. http://www.tacticalmediafiles.net/videos/31561/OCLP-Hong-Kong-Drone-Video
5. NL Government research website (Dutch only): http://commissieharen.nl
6. http://onlineopen.org/affect-space
7. This change of how public space is mobilised by wireless media was explored in a theme issue of the Open print journal, #21, November 2006, co-edited by Jorinde Seijdel and Eric Kluitenberg. Texts are available here: http://onlineopen.org/hybrid-space and a pdf is available for download here: http://www.tacticalmediafiles.net/mmbase/attachments/4920/Open11_Hybrid_Space.pdf
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Commons and digging tunnels

by Sevgi Ortaç

Ghosts that avow each other can at least go haunt a house together.

Jan Verwoert

Through a critique of oppressive forms of memory making – of museums, of monuments, of archives, of martyrdom – we look for an emancipated witness and articulation of affect, to 'co-create the reality of the other'. To save, to keep, to protect, to archive or to record provides risk of enclosure such as in the conservation of heritage, as an intervention to an existing body that can freeze it to death, narrate it, to enclose or transform it to shape... "In the field of representation what constitutes capital is visible identity and the power to command the desires of others," Verwoert suggests that we extend our criticism of representation by looking at the invisible affective forces instead of getting stuck at the conflation of feeling with manifestation.[1]

It has been a long time that we have been overdosing ourselves with images and a vast flow of data, to co-create a reality to inhabit together demands new grounds on which to meet. Verwoert writes: "(...) we'd have to face a radical ethical demand at the heart of the exchange we enter into (...) the demand to work towards a society in which we could unconditionally share the joys and pains of others: a republic of liberated witnesses."[2] Because of the fact that it would obviously drive all of us insane we look for a more digestible but still emancipatory form of bearing witness, while keeping in mind that the manipulation of collective sentiments are "the efficient way to elicit love and gain authority."[3] To co-create the reality of the other, 'an other place' to meet, we produce images, videos, sound recordings and testaments and look for collective processes to produce, reproduce and re-appropriate them. But to what extent can this process become inhabitable itself?

In the field of social struggle, art is popularly stigmatized – more than many other professions such as academia,

journalism, NGOs – for being disingenuous, for co-modification of causes and strategies. Artists have their own shortcuts, they guzzle social capital, fame, recognition, social status and of course, money. It is again the artists, who shall have enough free time to take it serious enough to reflect on those concerns, to create new strategies and to produce the appropriate criticism for themselves. The outcome of a practice or a profession can be blamed for seeking profit or benefit in different contexts that stigmatize the position for not being true to the cause. As I am writing this text, those processes are already in operation and they should be taken seriously, because it's not just a rigid judgment regarding who benefits from what, but also a question of how to build those grounds in order to confront each other, to co-create a reality deriving from our participation.

However, when it comes to taking a position and defining the cause and subjectivity for the sake of a struggle, it is not a matter of art or artwork, or an artistic intention anymore, or of any profession and its institutions; but a matter of confrontation derived from a specific action. We need to let the question haunt us but also to get out of our nests, to talk it over. Where do we stop working and enter the field of action? Is it possible to shake it so well that autonomy does not depend on certain identities or professions anymore?

I have been producing and gathering material on the ancient Land Walls of Istanbul for a decade now; images, texts, video and sound recordings... I enjoyed very much walking around in the neighborhoods surrounding them. The walls were a labyrinth, a complex architecture, and a real defense structure, which still functioned as an ungovernable spatiality. It was an urge to capture, to keep, to record, to save, to archive a moment which I see a passage through to something else, something better; an idea, a potential for the future, a solution, or somewhere to meet... also we shall call it a heritage; the net of meanings and experiences turning into songs, objects, sentences, memories of small incidents, faces, a combination of colors, patterns, certain materials and textures, even smells... but also, a repressive

sense of nostalgia with a touch of sweet home - which we suffered from and struggle to escape. So the heritage needs escape routes and tunnels when necessary and a complex enough spatiality where we can get lost all together and meet somewhere else. The closer I looked into the walls, the more complicated the relationships and practices among them became, and finally, the more critical my position was to be articulated.

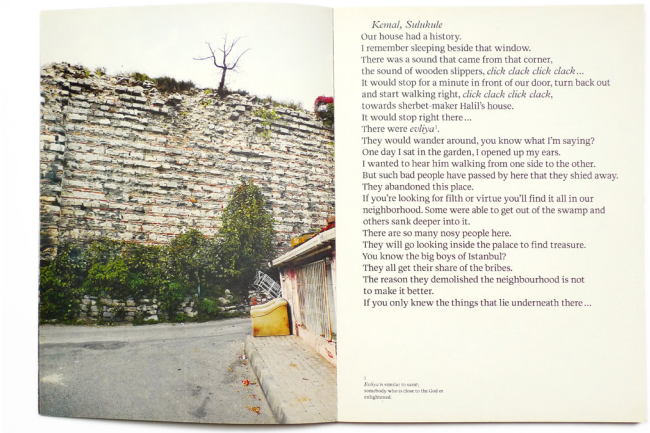


Image 1, The Monument Upside Down, Sevgi Ortaç, 2010

In 2013, there came a moment when the municipality decided to banish a part of the urban gardens (bostans) and to evacuate the gardeners along the walls.[4] The question became bold then: When does the work finish and the action begin? When does a field of research or a subject of art quit being one and become a habitable place itself?

The eviction of the gardens was to make way for a park in the neighborhood, more specifically, for a 'decent' view for the newly constructed gated community across from the walls. It was a moment of decision, calling a confrontation of different subjectivities and profits-interest groups ready to practice their excessive power and authority. The area of "The Land

Walls", which I supposedly know very well, became a totally unfamiliar ground. We should also mention that it was just after the occupation of Gezi Park and its partial oppression; the air was heavy with polarization in politics and everyday life. When you have no masses surrounding you to march with, or time for organizing a local resistance, you end up as a bunch of people who want to 'Save the Bostans.' What can you rely on in the moment of urgency? Laws? Using institutional conservation policies or the given political packages? Our creative ideas? Throwing ourselves in front of the bulldozers?

A new realm was set, demanding a different kind of work to be done. It involved paperwork, the organization of people, institutions, bureaucracy, court cases, and a lot of negotiation and fighting. "Who are you?" I heard from a woman yelling at us on a tense day at the bostans. "Where do you come from? Who sent you? Who are you working for?" It is the sound of enclosure; the enclosure of a public space and life from politics; the categorization of professions, positions, and abilities, until they are totally clear of politics. Everybody go mind their own "business"!

However, these facts don't make the questions less disturbing. Being an artist, or an activist, or a citizen, doesn't change much when a stone is thrown to your head, or doing what needs to be done even if it is not your job – you still enter a very unexpected zone of experience, I should say. But how long you can continue like this? Acting in the field of our profession and knowledge provides patterns to keep us hanging on; hopefully, an income and also recognition in society which is not limited to conservative forms of tradition or social-institutional networks; there is also friendship. To survive out of that sphere we need another ground to feel under our feet; a reality deriving from our participation not as artists or academics or whatever, but as some bodies with hands to build something. Helping, supporting, keeping or protecting something imposes a distance where politics is again segregated from everyday life acts and practices. As we try to sustain it; autonomy, making a living, the struggle, the work, the job, the profession crash and pile-up on the highway.

Image 2, Destruction of the gardener's huts, 2016, Silivrikapı, Istanbul. Photo: Uygar Bulut

How does the action itself become a habitable space? "Lived intensity is self-affirming," writes Massumi, "Autonomy is always connective, it is not being apart, it's being in, being in a situation of belonging that gives you certain degrees of freedom, or powers of becoming, powers of emergence."[5] He suggests, "caring for belonging," as an ethical statement. A common ground to avow each other...

In 2015, "Dürtük"[6] was founded as a food commons initiative; an informal co-op that brings together local, small-scale producers and consumers in Istanbul. This was another phase for approaching the positions and causes. We started to get vegetables from the bostans every week and to distribute them to a growing collective, while trying to provide grounds for gardeners and ourselves to meet and redefine the needs and roles to operate out of the market forces. Conventions attack you as you do things over and over again, such as the accounting of the collective, logistics and so on; but you see each other, you are in a constant recognition as you build together. For some gardeners, we are still some weird whole-seller who doesn't add a profit share

to their lettuce, and for some of us, it is still weird that the gardeners don't go organic. But we are here, in the middle of the traffic, to see how it really does work. Defining the needs and positions is a continuous process and it is a lot of work still, but when the act of bearing witness is not directed to a given fragile body anymore but to each other, and the action is not to save, to protect or to support but to build together, it might be possible to co-create that ground that we need under our feet.

Image 3: Silivrikapı, Istanbul, 2016

1. Jan Verwoert, 'You Make Me Mighty Real – On the Risk of Bearing Witness and the Art of Affective Labour' in Tell Me What You Want You Really, Really Want, Ohlraun, V.,(Ed.), Piet Zwart Institute and the Sternberg Press, 2010, pp.255-305 and Reading/Feeling, Baudin,T., Bergholtz, F., Ziherl, V. (Ed.), If I Can't Dance I Don't Want To Be Part Of Your Revolution, Edition IV, 2010-2012. 276
2. Ibid., p 255-256.
3. Ibid., p 275.
4. -Bostan is the local term for small scale vegetable gardens. Urban gardening is one of the main economic activities keeping a mutual existence with the Byzantine Land Walls in Istanbul and is as old as the walls, through Byzantium and Ottoman eras.
5. Navigating Movements, Interview with Brian Massumi, Zournazi, M., Reading / Feeling, p 122.
6. DÜRTÜK is the abbreviation of 'Collective of Producers and Consumers in Resistance' (Direnen Üretici Tüketici Kolektifi). It also means to poke, the poked.

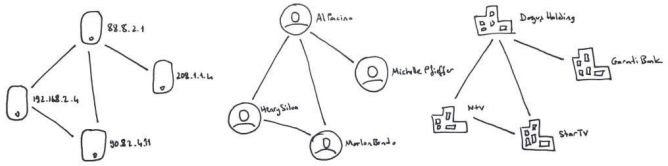
Creative and Critical Use of Complex Networks*
Design and understanding of complex networks through mapping and visual analysis

by Burak Arıkan

Understanding complex systems

Complexity is characterized as something with many independent parts interacting with each other in multiple ways. The signaling of neurons in our body, the messaging of devices through telecommunications infrastructure, the trading activity between agents in markets, and the social formations amongst people are some generic examples of complex systems, wherein small interactions together constitute a larger whole.

If we want to understand a complex system, we first need a map of its relationship diagram that is composed of nodes and links and makes a network form, which is by its very nature the fabric of most complex systems.



While the nature of the nodes and the links differs widely, each network has the same graph representation, consisting of 4 nodes 4 links.

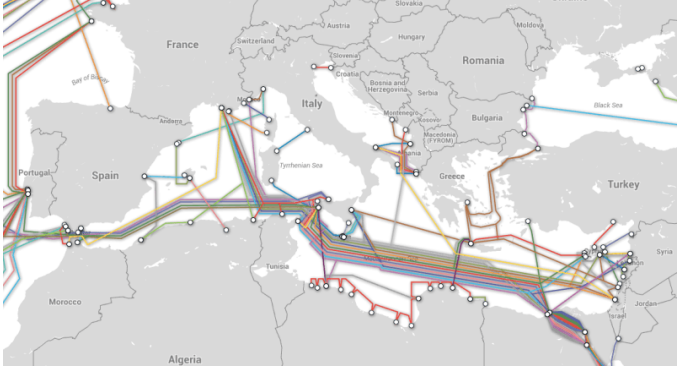
A network diagram offers a “common language” that is both visual and mathematical. So, from a network map we may get qualitative information by reading its actors and relations, as well as quantitative analysis by computing its connective structure. In fact, we can use this common language to study systems that may differ widely in their nature, appearance or scope. For example, three rather different systems; 1) devices sending messages to each other, 2) film actors connected by roles in the same movies, and 3) organizations connected

through partnerships may have exactly the same network structure. While the nature of the nodes and the links differs widely, each network has the same graphic representation, consisting of 4 nodes and 4 links. We can use this simple method to begin studying a variety of complex systems.

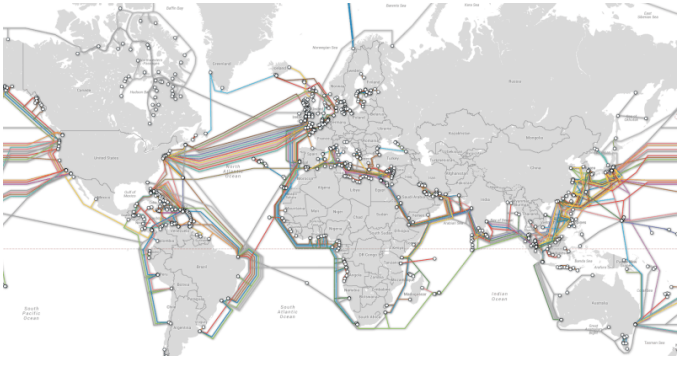
Why is network logic significant today?

Let us look at why networks matter today, although they existed in every society throughout history. It is known that approximately 3000 years ago the ancient Phoenician and Greek colonies formed their trade routes and built networks of harbors in the Mediterranean Sea, whereas today, in the same geography, submarine cables carry messages enabling a global communications system. What we have today is not just networks as analog or bare life happenings, but also networks that are digitized, like the way that many aspects of life are digitized. Thus, networks matter today because electronic and software based communication systems make networks measurable. Only in this day and age are networks able to reach a global scale while infiltrating every part of our life. With today's advanced information technologies the metrics of network effect have become trackable and measurable even in the course of one's daily life, at the same structuring of the social world as such.

3000 years ago Phoenician and Greek colonies formed the trade routes in the Mediterranean Sea.



Today, in the same geography, submarine cables are enabling a global communication system.



Only in this day and age, networks are able to reach a global scale and infiltrate into every part of our life.

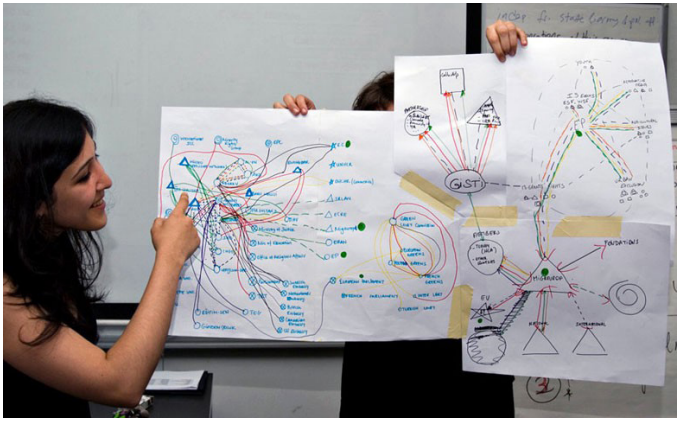
Use of complex networks

In fact, we all experience the network effect, from email to e-commerce, from social networking to banking, from telecommunications to transportation. We have all acknowledged the fact that the world is complex, more than ever. It feels both flat – one can email anyone any time, and chaotic – our inbox is inundated with information coming from all directions. Sometimes we are opportunistic about the internet, in talking about it as a global good, and other times we are pessimistic in knowing that we are all under surveillance, at all times. In such an antagonistic world that is at once flat and chaotic, the question arises again: Where does power reside and how does it circulate?

Additionally, the state's tactics in partnership with certain corporations to monitor its own citizens through what has been called "the big data", the NSA leaks and so on

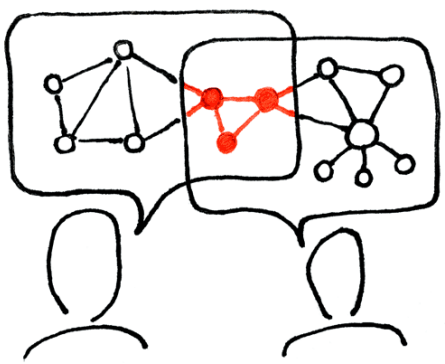
Photograph of Obama and NYPD experts investigating the links of the suspect of a bombing attempt in Times Square. Image from an New York Times article "Police Find Car Bomb in Times Square", May 1st 2010.

and so forth, have also attracted our attention towards an inaccessible, but quite magical tool of knowing and predicting what people want. This indeed was possible by understanding the interrelated or linkable structures of information generated by many, but as said, only open to the reach of a handful of institutions. In other words, network logic has been mystified in the eyes of the public. Only experts in certain fields have been able to aggregate large amounts of data and use scientific tools for mapping and analyzing it on a relational basis. Neither the relational data nor the mapping and analysis tools are accessible to the average user.



Photograph from a Graph Commons workshop with NGOs. Representatives from two organizations in France and Turkey present the shared links between their organizations.

However, it is a myth that common people have no access to data. We are the data for the governments and corporations who continuously sense our activity. In fact, today a wide array of people pursue projects containing complex data. All such people would benefit from structuring and interlinking their information. Connecting our discrete data sets would generate new knowledge, render complex issues visible and generate crucial discussions that impact us and our communities. The "Graph Commons" platform is a step that allows you to do so.



Conceptual drawing for the idea of Graph Commons.

Graph Commons

"Graph Commons" is the first collaborative online platform for making and publishing interactive network maps publicly. It is dedicated to investigative journalism, civic data research, archive exploration, creative research, and organizational analysis.

In "Graph Commons" you can collectively compile data about the topics you are interested in, define and categorize relations, transform your data into interactive network maps, discover new patterns, and share your insights about complex issues using a simple interface.

The platform serves both producers and consumers of graphs by linking entities together in useful ways and thereby creating a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. "Graph Commons" members collectively experiment in the act of network mapping as an ongoing practice: search across a variety of graphs, invite collaborators to their work and ask to contribute to theirs.

One project started using the "Graph Commons" platform that has attracted a wide audience is "Networks of Dispossession," which maps the power relations linking Turkey's government and corporations.

The "Networks of Dispossession" project was initiated during the Gezi Protests in June 2013, by a collective of volunteers including artists, journalists, lawyers, and social scientists. They asked what partnerships have been established between the state and corporations that dispossess the commons. How have certain corporations who gain the most construction contracts from the government, also get the major energy contracts, and own the mass media outlets? These were some of the questions to make the indirect power relations visible and discussible. The project also maintains an open contribution scheme, so that interested groups, experts, or volunteers can join and contribute with their data and labor.

As of December 2015, the database of this collective research and mapping project contains 625 companies, 51 government institutions, 38 media firms, and 500 projects ranging from issues of urban transformation to thermal power plants to giant shopping malls.

Every piece of data used to generate the maps are referenced to sources open to the public, such as the web pages of corporations, the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce database, Trade Registry Gazette and secondary resources like newspaper articles. With its capacity to clearly display indirect links and organic clusters of power, the project raises new questions and continues to become an information reference point as new corruption cases are revealed.

With the influence and publicity of the "Networks of Dispossession" project, we were invited to carry out "Graph Commons" network mapping workshops in Brazil with Amazon activists and workshops in Hong Kong with the local artist and activist communities on mapping Hong Kong power structures. These projects are now becoming civic data initiatives in their own regions and explore the complex issues that impact them and their communities.

Increasingly, network mapping and analysis is becoming part of the fundamental tool set of the new generation of journalists and activists around the world. We believe that "Graph Commons" has the potential to become an ever-growing civic knowledge base with a network-literate community flourishing around it.

** This is the introduction of a three-part guide on mapping and analyzing complex networks, published originally in the "Graph Commons" journal. View it at blog.graphcommons.com*

How do you define Seyr-i Sokak? How and why did you form these collectives and how did you come together?

Sevgi: We can say "made in June Resistance" for Seyr-i Sokak. While we were already interested in documentaries, video production, cinema, etc., the June Resistance allowed us to make an effort and to ponder on these issues in a more organized manner. The number of people who recorded in the streets began to increase every day with the resistance. There was a need for such a thing at that time and also, as people on the street we have a better understanding of how important it is. I think the opposition press, excluding the bourgeois media and those who were broadcasting, had increased the excitement of the resistance and were effective in increasing participation.

Sibel: We call ourselves a video activist group but we are not only shooting demonstrations, because our primary goal is to express the voices from the streets and actions. We are also sharing photos from our social media accounts in order to tell instantly what happens during the demonstrations, and beforehand, we are announcing the actions.

How many groups of people are working in other collectives? Are you divided into groups according to the medium that you use?

Sevgi: We can say that we have an organized structure. We are in constant communication and we know who will be at an action on which day, or who will be where and when. This makes it easy for daily planning. However, we do not have a binding way of assigning work or a hierarchical structure, of course. Everyone is wherever they want to be according to the place and time determined by their situation and condition, and if they do not want to be there. They may shoot or not, just participate in the demonstration or shoot, and then stop recording and become active in the

demonstration when it is necessary. All of these choices depend entirely upon the wishes of the individual.

Is there a difference for you between reporting, and keeping a visual record of resistance and political actions? Which one is a priority for you and why?

Oktay: The urgent one is to share news and to show what is not seen in the bourgeois media, to show a view from the perspective of the resistance. When you start to shoot with this purpose, naturally you are keeping a visual record of the resistance. When we move with the idea of creating a social memory, in keeping a visual record, this situation is reflected in the recording regime. We are taking images that increase the points of view, and are longer in duration and more detailed. As in the struggle against Tuzluçayır Mosque Cemevi project, we follow up on the matter with a camera until it is concluded; we do not even report all images as news. Making news is to use just one potential that is contained in the image.

Gözde: Seyr-i Sokak was established as we felt that making news is necessary; we all make an effort for it and are proud. What we do is to share in a call of action and record activities of the people who do not retreat from the streets, to record information instantly. Other than that, our videos are building a visual record of the resistance. They are not news quality but adding to a revitalization of the news. We know that activists like to watch these videos even more than us; sometimes they know better than us what is going to happen at each moment. While recording, the evidence that we are recording and the right to record is the major priority for me; thus, my camera turns automatically to what is being observed and what must be kept as evidence.

What kinds of changes have you experienced in your relationship with political movements and groups since you started video activism and reporting?

Oktay: Everybody who goes out to the streets for their

rights in Ankara, knows that Seyr-i Sokak is not a part of the mainstream media but of the resistances. They think of us as companions rather than reporters. Even in the absence of a press card or an ID around our neck, Seyr-i Sokak is a reference for activists to trust. The trust between activists and video activists is the most important handicap to overcome but it occurs over the course of time. Trust is confidence both in legal terms, the ability to assist each other during our challenges, also regarding our camera, photos and edits. For the relationship between the video activists and the activists regarding their ambivalent attitude of "being viewed"; it changes in favor of being recorded as becoming more positive and dialogical.

Gözde: We have friendships and trusting relations between groups. As Oktay said, groups that we record define us as their companions rather than press, actually we need to ask this question to them. These relationships are constantly evolving, of course. I witness that to see us there both fuels the excitement of actions and causes them to feel more confident. We often encounter questions like: "I broke my arm in an action on x date... one of you was there... I need that image for the case, can you look for it?" or, "You were there when I was detained... I need to find evidence for the hearing, can you find it?"

How do you find the existing digital activism platforms? Are there collectives or groups that you are in solidarity with?

Sibel: We are generally in contact with existing digital activism platforms. Indeed, since we act jointly with some of them, especially with İnadına News, we often hear the question: "Which one of you should we give as the reference?" We are communicating not only with digital activism platforms but also with revolutionary opposition presses, and even with the mainstream media in Ankara. "Ankara Free News Platform", which includes video activists, photographers, citizen reporters, and revolutionary and opposition presses enables us to communicate with presses, digital activism platforms, even with political

movements and groups; and allows the sharing of announcements and news. We have contacts with many digital activism platforms in other provinces. We are trying to follow and share what they do; also, they follow us and share what we do.

How do the people follow you? Are there news platforms or networks aside from social media sites like Youtube, Vimeo, Facebook, and Twitter etc., operating free from the hands of capital? Apart from these groups, are there open-source areas that you use?

Oktay: When we said "camera in the streets" and established the Karahaber video activist collective, Turkey's first video activist collective in 2003 or 2004; our choice was to publish it on an independent website. Before establishing Karahaber's website in 2005, we started to share our videos on Istanbul Indymedia website. As Seyr-i Sokak, we have never entered the discussion of areas created by the hands of capital. We are using all of them; YouTube and Vimeo for videos, and Facebook, Twitter for relations and networks. Our issue is particularly, the right to life, of fundamental human rights, and it is urgent. Our priority is in spreading our videos and news to the wider community as much as possible, as fast as possible, and at the least expense. Thus, if the bourgeoisie has open space for us, we use it. However, we care to keep our distance from the money and status, in other words, two negative elements that would arrive with the state of being popular in front of the public.

Sibel: We have Youtube and Vimeo channels for videos. In order to spread these and to share images and information from the actions, we are using the Facebook page and a Twitter account. Yes, these are areas created by the hands of capital. Especially for Facebook, they prevent or restrict our pages whenever they want to, and delete what we share. But on the other hand, the way to reach people is to use these social media accounts. There are alternative ways, but it does not seem very meaningful to use these unless people follow them. This is a subject that we discussed a lot on our own. With the birth of İnadına News there was an output of these discussions, when we said let's not only be dependent on social media.

Can we say that the number of detentions, the police violence against the press and video-activists has been increasing? What can you tell about your experiences? Do you have any strategies to protect and camouflage yourself?

Sevgi: For sure, the detentions and police violence has been increasing recently because now our cameras have become a threat and their existence has begun to disturb them. The bourgeois media is a "friend camera" for the police and their angles are always in favor of the rulers. The eyes of our cameras are on them, and watching them. This is, of course, is disturbing them because it reveals their crimes, pressures and violence. Their discomfort has a single meaning for us, and that means that we are on the right path. Other than this, we all take personal precautions for our own safety when recording. Our method is self-defense. We do not use such methods like camouflage, hiding or veiling.

Sibel: Oppression and violence against those who record in the streets has been increasing more and more. We see that the intensity of violence by the law-enforcement officers have been changing according to those who organize the demonstrations and in which neighborhoods. And the number has been gradually increasing from west to east. We are just getting threats of detention or we are taken into custody, but those in the East are having a gun held to their heads. They are taken into custody by being dragged on the ground and forced into rangers or military vehicles. For a long time, it is unknown where they are. We are creating evidence by recording the violence of law-enforcement. Especially, if they start an arresting process by using violence, they do not want it to be recorded. They try to prevent it from being recorded by building a wall of bodies. If we keep recording, they threaten us with detention. As a method of protection from police violence we are carrying

corporate press identity cards, or international press cards. We defend the right to record as citizens but there is no such situation in the streets to discuss this and to tell it. However, we can specify these things when we are called in for a statement during an investigation, or when we go to court. To mention of my own experience, I was detained in Eskişehir, when I was recording. During the NTV occupation, on the complaint of NTV workers that I had arrived with activists, I spent the entire day at the police station as they investigated my international press card and I gave a statement. I had been called five or six times to give a statement and was sued for two of them. I was only acquitted from one of them.

How do you protect the records and raw images that you keep? Do you have any plans for archiving?

Oktay: I think that the records we have kept are already an archive on the hard disks and tapes. By saying "plans for archiving", if you meant to say, "to make accessible our raw images on the Internet," I do not look at it positively. Edited action videos on YouTube and Vimeo present a list showing what we have in our archive as well as a kind of archive of Seyr-i Sokak. Since we are shooting resistance videos we care about the position and authority of the "activists" who are the original owners of the images. Videos are cut according to him or her and we make it visible. Those who need our raw images, I prefer them to contact us directly with reference to our edited video archives on the Internet.

Interview with İnadına Haber ('News Out-Of-Spite' Collective)

How do you define İnadına Haber? How and why did you come up with this collective, and how did you come together?

Onur: İnadına Haber (İH) is a platform that insists on making news and telling the truth in its simplest form. It is a group that consists of people who know each other from the street, from struggles in the streets, and who define themselves always as activists, sometimes as street photographer or video activist. Our gathering can be defined by a somewhat spontaneous process. However, we cannot deny the momentum gained by the public opposition sprouted from the Gezi Resistance.

Banu: Besides that, it is very important for us to record, to archive and to transfer what is happening today for the sake of the future. Our main concerns are to create an entire archive of recordings and documentation as an alternative to the history written and created by mainstream and ideologically biased journalism, and by all kinds of mediums, amongst the manipulation and cover of reality that we witnessed within the environment of pressure and violence which emerged via the coexistence of the apparatuses of political power and state, especially within the times we are living in. Actually, we would like to contribute to developing an alternative history of the people who have been struggling for freedom, equality, justice and many other things against the official history of the state. In order for this to happen, we defend everybody's right to record and to report everything that is happening in public spaces, and we fight for it.

How many people are working in the collective? Do you form sub-groups according to the medium you use?

Onur: At the moment, we have a team of 15 people at İnadına Haber, but this number may vary, of course. Apart

from the main team of 15 people, our friends may also send us their contributions for publishing on our website under the text contribution section. There is not a clear distinction between the mediums we use. We can all use the camera with all good and bad techniques, and we can write text sufficiently to convey the facts, as it is. Our aesthetic concerns are not as great as our political concerns. That's why it would not be right to say that there is a distinction of such sort. But, we still have special areas of interest. For example, I prefer to tell the news of an event via video. I believe it has a much more impressive appeal to the senses.

Do you think there is a distinction between news making and keeping a visual record of resistance and political action? Which one is your priority and why?

Onur: My primary concern is to keep visual records of resistances. The video of a demonstration can tell its own story, it can make its own news and could be transformed into a demonstration itself.

Banu: In order to document today and to keep it for the future holds a different importance than archiving visual records. In addition to writing news in an alternative visual and literate language for creating an alternative document of official ideologies, it is also very important to archive visual records for the formation of a collective visual memory.

Even at times when our political language and our news is unacknowledged by different political spheres of the society, visual records may become a tool for us to create a document by our own language. Anyway, we have to take into account that news, or any visuals by itself can be manipulated by different ways of expression.

What kind of changes have you experienced in your relationship with political movements and groups, since you started video activism and reporting?

Onur: First of all, I would like to indicate that I don't differentiate between journalism, video activism and being an activist of a political action. My introduction to video activism and my attempt to make demonstration videos in order to demonstrate, corresponds to the time when I was still a student at METU (Middle Eastern Technical University), and during the time of the anti-war social opposition that had been gaining power in universities, which the media either did not cover, or covered in the wrong context. I think that's why I thought that documenting an event with video while I was in it was what should be done. Otherwise, to approach the activists as a news-object such as the mainstream media does, is both something bad and not what I would want to do. In that sense, we are both activists and reporters. We can form connections with activists in the streets and in squares as well as in a scope outside of their activist identities.

Ulaş: Political movements – groups are made-up of individuals and we develop personal relationships with some of those individuals. We eat together and have conversations. They are not an 'in-front-of-camera-object', they are our friends and their numbers are rising.

What is your assessment of the existing digital activism platforms? Are there any collective groups that you are in solidarity with?

Volkan: Every platform is shaped by the time that we live in and witness. Old practices and stereotypes do not have a place in this new form. After all, only the platforms that can build dynamically and renew themselves can survive. Actually, these kinds of structures are much more trusted. It might be because the trust for old structures and models has been shaken due to the fact that their easily manipulated nature makes them exploitable.

Digital activist platforms such as Balık Bilir, Seyr-i Sokak and Parklar Bizim Ankara have a special place for us. They are platforms directly intertwined with İnadına Haber, and it is

not easy to separate them from us. Also, İnadına Haber is not that much of a corporate structure.

Ulaş: People who are involved in this business often know each other and develop direct personal relationships. We help each other because we think that most of the work we do is meaningful. Long story short, we are in solidarity with everybody who is open to solidarity. We have an organization named Ankara Özgür Haber Platformu (Ankara Free News Platform, AÖHP). AHÖP is a platform that digital activists formed against the state repression and censorship that was forced upon citizen journalism. Although, its main operating scope is a platform that shares news and photographs; where sometimes one person goes to a demonstration which others cannot attend and we realize that we are covering the same event at the same time through the eyes of 30, 40 people.

How are people following you? Aren't the social media and news networks such as YouTube, Vimeo, Facebook, Twitter etc., spaces created by companies? What do you think about this? Are there any open source spaces that you use apart from those?

Onur: Surely, spaces like YouTube, Vimeo, Facebook and Twitter were created by the hands of capital and have close connections with it, but we are actively using almost all of them. As İnadına Haber, we have a Facebook page, Twitter and YouTube accounts. I think that determining the content of the media published on these spaces is as critical as having ownership of it. From time to time, we face censorship and bans, but we have other spaces to expose such acts, too. Also, there is a "virtual public space" dimension of it. We may not have the power to tell our words on one of those TV channels that everybody watches but these other spaces are the types of areas that everyone can reach, read, watch and where they can hear our voices. Apart from this, social media is not the only broadcast arena that İnadına Haber uses. We mostly publish our news as articles on our website at www.inadinahaber.org. The copies

of our photographs are generally stored on the website, but we use YouTube for video because it is both fast, rooted and free, and because storing files can sometimes be a problem.

Can we say that practices like police violence and the detention of activists have escalated in recent years? Can you tell us about your experiences? Do you have any strategy to protect or cover yourself?

Banu: Violence against the press exists, if not as violent and in the same form as in Kurdish cities. But citizens who are taking their smart phones and recording what is going on as we do have a different place in the eyes of the state than the press. When the press is not there, somebody with a smart phone can display, record and share what is going on in places like social media; the violence of the state/military/police, and violations of rights. This may pose a threat for the violent party, which constantly tries to intimidate, retain or detain us. But despite every reaction that we face, instead of covering ourselves or wearing camouflage, we humbly defend the right of every citizen to record. The more they tell us that we cannot record, the more we resist in doing so.

Volkan: For protection, some of us have an international press card. In fact, both the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and international law already recognize the right to film and document, but this card can be used as a factor in legal facilitation, especially in conflict situations. It certainly cannot prevent detentions, but after an incident, during the legal or judicial process, it forces judicial authorities and law enforcement to work in compliance with the law, at least. One of our friends from Seyr-i Sokak was recently taken into a police car without any official reason and exposed to verbal intimidation by police. She was told that her address and her next of kin were known by the police and that she should be careful. Then she was dropped off in front of her apartment. Apart from this, as a protection against physical violence, we don't have any protection tools except simple masks or helmets. As a matter of fact, most of the time we

do not even have time to use these tools because we usually find ourselves in the middle of the police violence, tear gas or an attack. But, overall, we make news from the front line of the attack, not from the back of the police force, or from sheltered areas. Therefore, our discomfort would not be any different than that of the activists. Only, being able to find a proper position during the demonstration, or an attack, gains importance in order to document the incident properly.

Ulaş: I want to add something. Being present at numerous occasions or demonstrations allows you to gain experience. We remain calm when others may panic. We can foresee the timing, location, and type of police attack, where the gas canister would hit, where to stand, and where to go, but no matter how we protect ourselves from the attacks, it remains insufficient. Didn't Metin Göktepe, Hrant Dink, and Uğur Mumcu all have the press card?

How do you protect your footage, your raw images? Do you have any plans for archiving?

Onur: As an activist, I store my raw images on my hard disks and backup some of them which I see critical in different places, but for a person who records so many images, when the space required for the recordings increases, so does the cost. Another trouble is to save the content of the hard disk in case of physical harm. While I upload the raw footage of some of my videos at "bak.ma", a digital media archive of social struggles, the quality of the images is not as good as its original format due to the encoding required for the streaming format of the site. That's why, even though there is a backup video file for those who want to share it on the Internet, the original footage must be stored in cloud servers, which provides unlimited space, or in the mediums at hand. Just like video, we store photographs or voice recordings in external spaces, as well as in Internet backups.

Apart from the value of the labour put in, given their historical, social and political importance, every one of them is priceless. Imagine, there is the labour of the one who recorded the image, as well as the efforts, ideas, emotions and dangers that the people in those images have faced.

Interview with the members of Videoccupy and vidyo kolektif

You three met during the Gezi Resistance. Did you start your video-activism during that time? Have you transferred your previous experience to this area?

Belit: I met with Güliz and Hande during the Gezi Resistance with the occasion of Videooccupy. Until that time, I had already joined several video activist groups. I worked with different political organizations and followed their actions. Hande and Güliz, on the other hand, have been participating in different feminist organizations rather than video activist groups, and they are from the cinema and documentary field; therefore, they have totally different experiences than me. Personally, I can say that my previous experience has definitely contributed to the Gezi Resistance that I have been involved in lately, and I saw that period as an opening. However, now, people in a way feel an absence of the collective excitement of that experience, especially in lieu of the ongoing attacks in Kurdistan nowadays.

Güliz: Yeah, we all met in the process of forming the Videoccupy collective during the Gezi Resistance. That period was also the beginning of a time of production, sharing and friendship. I was introduced to the film sector when I was a director's assistant. I have worked on various films, documentaries and in television series for a long time. But, I was making recordings that were more practical whenever I had the camera. I was doing short interviews with people around me, and recordings of the city as well; however, the aim behind these was not to keep any record, but rather to learn to shoot, to practice. The practice of video activism in my personal history actually started after I was introduced to feminism. I thought that this was directly related with the fact that the history of women is invisible and that we should internalize the idea that we must write our history by ourselves. Now, I see that in the beginning of the 2000's, when I started to make documentaries, these two processes were intertwined.

Within the feminist movement, both being in action and documenting and recording these actions with a camera or photographic machine, in order to document the history of women and make it visible, are also political attitudes against the sovereign and male-dominated system. With other video activists and documentarian friends that I met during the Gezi Resistance, realizing a practice of collective production, which contains fewer experiences of frustration was actually a concrete reflection of the spirit of the Gezi Resistance.

Hande: I was started video activism during the Gezi times. My occupation is editing video and my relationship with the camera and with editing has developed in the field of cinema, both documentary and fiction, and in the advertising industry. I thought that I should remember what I saw and that I should commit each square meter of that rescued area to memory, because I know that official history writers will record these days from their dominant points of view. Also, I have no doubt that it will be a manipulative history full of lies. I started to record what I saw in order to save my memory. It might be funny, but I recognized that video activism covers the work I was already doing and that I became a video activist after I met with Videoccupy. I still do not have enough self-confidence to call myself a "video activist". I have only wanted to record reflexively and to have recorded. In the protests that I have participated in previously, recording did not come to my mind. I am still thinking about why this kind of reflex emerged during Gezi and not before.

When and how did the idea of Videoccupy start?

Güliz: Videoccupy was formed during the Gezi Resistance. I do not remember exactly how I was involved. I had been in Gezi Park since May 28, but I was not shooting yet. Meetings were organized in the park and we were talking about what was needed to record and to document this process, and then cameras were obtained from a few friends; therefore, we started to document our experiences in the park by its

natural course. We had met new friends and informed old friends. We also had support for technical matters. In the meantime, the idea of archiving images was slowly formed. Some of us collected images, while some shot, some edited and some of us did it all; there were no clear work definitions. Everybody was doing whatever they wanted to do.

What do you think about the reasons behind the practice of video activism as gaining so much importance and attention during Gezi?

Güliz: First of all, the Gezi Resistance could not find a place in the mainstream media nor could it be represented from the government's perspective, which created the reflex that we should keep a record by ourselves. There were so many smart phones and video cameras in the area. Everybody was recording for various reasons in order to document the state's violence and human right abuses, or to spread the spirit of resistance, or to show the daily life.

Hande: I think one of the major reasons is that the mainstream media gave no attention to the events. Think about it, a crowd that is expressed by a million is gathering in Taksim Square and the people who are staying in their homes do not know anything about this! And then, when hundreds of cases of police violence and abuse could not receive media attention, we were obliged to make our testimony with our own eyes and cameras. We had already learned not to trust the manipulative devices of the government.

How did you follow the process after Gezi? Can you tell us about vidyo kolektif?

Güliz: Our more systematic practice of video activism started during the Gezi Resistance, and has continued after Gezi. We experienced the process with the participation of more women friends. We were in need of both collective production and besides this the political atmosphere of

the country was already pressuring us to hold our position, therefore we have continued. However, why we have continued for a while was related to being women. There were experiences that we have shared; we needed to talk and think about these more, and more.

Hande: Nobody in the collective had the same experience and information about the knowledge in this area of video production, shooting, montage. Actually, this was the most attractive part; despite these differences, trying to maintain a non-hierarchical organization and solidarity. After June 15, when the police had occupied the park, the unity of Gezi continued in neighborhood forums and in the parks and public spaces in different districts of the city. We also continued to produce videos throughout that summer. When the summer ended, we began to attempt to make tangible materials in order to realize our idea of creating an online video archive, which would be accessible to everyone and consisting of the videos we recorded and that were sent to us by Internet. We started to hold long meetings and test out the structure of the archive, including how the videos could be transferred as online media and which tags we would use, and so on. During these times, the difficulties of acting collectively started to appear. Initially, this was a voluntary project and I guess our energy started to decrease. Probably, vidyo kolektif was formed as an extension of this process. At one point, we recognized that we were trying to do something for the collective and got stuck because we could not gather people to make decisions. As the work got harder, we said that we could continue this collaboration as a new organization with the people who still had enthusiasm for the work. Actually, when you look at it, vidyo kolektif was a collective of women. Most of us were already tired and bored of the male-dominated sectors in which we are working. Different from men, women must open that area for themselves by their own; it has never presented to them as ready-made. It is an area that we fought for, tooth and nail. We struggle for it; therefore, it is so valuable. We have a collective memory and experiences arising from being women. I think that's

why after the Videoccupy, the participants were all women and vidyo kolektif is a women's collective.

Can you talk about the Soma experience? How did the video shooting process go?

Belit: I went to Soma about 15 days after the massacre. It was always on my mind, however, I did not know how and in which ways. Should I go by myself or with someone? Knowing nobody there, I needed to think about it. Besides, there was a serious pressure against those who wanted to go to Soma. I did not spend time in the center of Soma, I went to Kınık and I stayed there with a very hospitable family. I met people who were very friendly towards new people, and in fact, they were showing great respect to guests. I spent most of my time in a coffeehouse in which many of the miners went. There were people taking me to the villages with their car. I met with many people during that visit. Almost all off them are miners or were miners, until the massacre. People were very open to the visitors but still there was fear, especially ambiguity over the situation and the promises made by the government, which was given in order to keep people silent and to suppress them, and of course, a promise that eventually would not be fulfilled was in the limelight. Women, especially those who lost a family member, were hesitating to say bluntly what they wanted, in case there was a possibility that the state would keep its promise to send their children to school. But, there was no such hesitation especially in Alevi villages, where everybody spoke frankly. Aside from the people who did not want to speak, there was only one woman who wanted me to delete what she told. Others were not annoyed. While making interviews in Soma, I only talked with women. I did not ask them any specific questions; I just asked them if they wanted to say anything. I left their expressions completely to them. I am not a journalist. I am not in a hurry, and I have no objective to find a story; the important thing for me is what was happening there and I was trying to learn something from these events. I am still approaching it like that; I am not obliged to shoot, nor do I feel like I cannot

return without 'material'. I have no intention of persuading anyone to talk with me and I do not have a boss to force me. So, I was there because I thought the interaction itself was worthwhile, and of course, in order to transmit what people told me. It is hard to say, "Soma was a good experience." However, interacting with people face to face, communicating with them and maybe just sitting quietly together and then to hug and try to share their experiences was quite important for me. Something that I know about trauma is that its recognition is important. We know that the state who created this trauma will not give this recognition to the victims; to create "resorts" that are able to give them this recognition, the sense of being not alone, or the effort of these "resorts" itself in order to stand with them, is meaningful for me. The only way to do this work is by following them, going back again and again, and of course, not leaving them alone.

You are also following the struggle in Kurdistan. Can you tell us about the political situation, or the process of working in Cizre?

Güliz: The resistance in Kurdistan has been on-going for years as conditions of war and occupation continue. There were demands like education, for example, in a native language; living without hiding or refraining from using their mother language or their own culture; or their will to self-governance at the local level. At the very moment that we became much closer to peace, everything was destroyed suddenly, and we started to live in days worse than in the 1990's. Especially, after the June election, the operations of extermination against Kurdish people have been continuing at top speed. Attacks against civilian people are at serious levels in Cizre, Silopi, Nusapbin, Şırnak, Silvan, Lice and Sur in Diyarbakır, where the resistance continues. With the on-going attacks against civilians, there were situations even against the laws of war such as targeting children and women to be killed, in particular, torturing the bodies of dead people, or preventing the burial of dead people. Ambulances could not take the injured, funerals could not

have burials, and the wounded people remained trapped in the basement for days. We have to witness this and to denounce it. Maybe these violations are more visible and different from the 1990's because of the production of social media, video activists and opposition presses. On the other hand, there is serious disinformation as the mainstream media is completely passed into the hands of the ruling party. However, despite everything, nobody is in a position to say that they do not know what is happening there; the issue may be that they just don't want to know.

How the did the interviews emerge that you made with women regarding their experience in Cizre - the videos you produced from these interviews and the models of solidarity that you produced as videographers?

Belit: I went to Cizre three times, in May, September and October. There were people I had one-to-one communication with and people I have communicated with during the curfew; however, I have difficulty reaching them lately. They cannot watch TV as there is no electricity, and the charge for their mobile phones is provided by car batteries, and limited. When I call them, I have been telling them what's going on in the news and how the experience in Cizre is mentioned to the rest of the country. Moreover, I am telling them about what the deputies are doing and the actions of the people; however, none of these things can exhibit a situation that will give hope to the people who experienced the massacre, unfortunately. I cannot find anything to say now, silence dominates the conversation. Cizre is in a region that has a politicization process that has proceeded in a very organic way, so the women I have met do not use dogmatic sentences and are politicized by everyday life. In Cizre, I also saw the resistance, the anger and the crusader spirit that I had felt before from the women of the Alevi villages around Soma. I uploaded 4 or 5 videos on the Internet, which I shot during my last two visits. Now I'm trying to keep in touch with them; however, it is a process that I'm so ashamed of, I cannot get rid off the feeling of helplessness and despair.

Güliz: Since 2009, I have been participating in both protests and campaigns within the Women's Peace Initiative in Turkey. On the other hand, we are trying to keep a record of the demonstrations of women as we are able to, and trying to create our own archive. Recently, we went to Cizre, in September 2015, with the call for peace by the Women's Peace Initiative in Turkey, and we prepared a video of our testimony regarding what women were living like during the 9 days curfew. Actually, our practice here was like the practice during the Gezi Resistance. Everybody was recording and we produced various videos either separately, or collectively. And, we still continue to work. Our experience was developed primarily by practice, by doing.

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As an institutional practice, archival practices often tend to serve the colonized, surveillance and discipline society of the modern world. However, during the last ten years, with [an upswing in] digital technology and the detection of social movements, the recording and accumulation of images has become a civil activity. Thus, actions of archiving videos and other types of visual images bring about non-institutional practices as well contemporary discussions surrounding the production of images, open source databases, collectivity, and forensics.Beside interviews with video activists; this book compiles several writers' articles on their practices and discussions of archives from several angles, including forensics, decolonization and commons.

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