Public space is diminishing in many urban areas, and it has been claimed that this implies a major transformation of the contemporary city. At the same time, more than ever public spaces are being constructed, both inside and outside institutions by companies and corporations. Here I would like to discuss a contemporary tendency of inverting the relation between the public and the institution. Internal activities and programs, once hidden within organizations, are now uncovered and put on display. Thus, the re-organization of the institution affects the relations between public space and the workplace; two categories, traditionally separated, are intertwined in a kind of double bind. Both the worker and the public are captured by the visibility of the other.

Drawing on Michel Foucault’s notion of a “space of security,” as well as on some oft-neglected perspectives in Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon, this tendency to re-organize the institution will be discussed. Once both society and the “apparatus of the institutions” have been rendered more efficient, new forms of control begin to replace the regime of discipline. In his short but often quoted essay “Postscripts of the Societies of Control”¹, Gilles Deleuze claims that all environments of enclosure are in deep crises and are under continuous reforms. Deleuze concludes by remarking that he sees no future for such institutions: “Everyone knows that these institutions are finished, whatever the length of their expiration periods. It’s only a matter of administering their last rites and of keeping people employed until the installation of the new forces knocking at the door.”²

Foucault’s analysis of Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon as the iconic structure of discipline is often taken to be rather limited in its focus on architecture as physical elements – like walls, windows, doors etc – and where it is these elements that create the disciplinary regime. One fundamental critique is raised from those considering digital changes; this “dataveillance critique” focuses on consumer databases, personal privacy and other non-material mechanisms of control.³ Instead of turning the gaze towards non-material forms of control, however, I wish to focus on the material institution and ask: What is in fact happening to these physical places? Is it only a matter of administering their last rites? Rather, I would argue that institutions remain operative and, moreover, are developing new forms of regulations with new meanings.

To understand these new disciplining structures and their relation to control mechanisms we need to focus on the material arrangement in space, but to extend this so as to include also its immaterial aspects. Nigel Thrift criticizes Foucault for being too narrow in his reading of the Panopticon. One blind spot, Thrift points out, is “affect,” adding that “the obvious explanation [for this] is Foucault’s concentration on power, in contradiction to desire.”⁴ Instead one could foreground other aspects of the Panopticon, such as Bentham’s interest for construction materials (especially cast iron and glass) and the effects they create, the leasehold contract and

¹ Gilles Deleuze, “Postscripts of the Societies of Control”, October 59 (Winter 1992).
² Ibid., 3.
³ For more on this critique see Greg Elmer “A Diagram of Panoptic Surveillance”, New Media Society, vol. 5 (2), 2003, 232.
issues surrounding publicity. As known, Bentham made detailed explanations and drawings of different plans of the Panopticon; the built structure was supposed to have large windows and minimal walls – so to make it as transparent as possible with modern building techniques and materials.

In this respect the Panopticon is a true modernistic architecture, both in its constructive and functional organization – transparent machinery producing new, more efficient and healthier subjects and in this way rationalizing society. In certain institutions, such as the school, the walls could even be reduced to sail cloth, and, as the architectural historian Robin Evans points out, Bentham liked to draw attention to the similarity between the “apparent omnipresence” of the invisible governor of the Panopticon and the qualities ascribed to God. This theme is elaborated in one of Bentham’s last versions of the Panopticon where the inspectors were placed inside paper containers perforated by small holes, hanging from the ceiling in the center of the building like lanterns. Even though, on the use of materials and light, Bentham’s utopia for a “pauper management” is his most developed project, it is also a modulation of light that makes possible the guard in the prison to be absent and the self-disciplining of the prisoners.

Creating a milieu
I will offer some examples – broadcasting houses and factories – of how old forms of institutions have been re-modeled into new forms of control regulated by affect. What is common to all is the construction of a new milieu in which audiences, or the public, are connected with employees and workers. I choose to call this milieu an event zone, according to which the individual is trapped and controlled in a double bind: on the one hand, this zone connects inside with outside, public with private, work with leisure and so on, through visible connections; on the other hand, however, these different milieus remain separated through material and immaterial borders.

The current transformation of the original BBC Broadcasting House from 1932 (designed by Colonel G. Val Myer) from a closed monument into a transparent “platform” could serve as an example of such an institutional change. The old building had a massive façade constructed by heavy stones and an ornamented and decorated shell facing the public. The division between the street outside and the interior of the institution was clearly marked, and the massive door at the entrance set up a threshold between producers and consumers. Instead of being a screened-off facility for production, the new BBC-structure is open. The old building has been re-organized and extended with a new building and together those two parts create one continuous block.

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7 Ibid., 207.
8 First published as Outline of a Work entitled Pauper Management Improvement in Annals of Agriculture, 1798.
9 This is pointed out by Greg Elmer in “A diagram of Panoptic Surveillance”, New Media Society, 5, 234.
By setting up a new exterior space, Langham Place, which flows into the building, an in–between milieu—or event zone—is created, in the form of restaurants and shops, but one which is also intended to house temporary events. This public space is meant to serve as a stage for the BBC, with a display of “public art” to attract audiences, as well as a way to broadcast, “live” on stage. This could be described as a production of the public itself – and of consumers.

The new public space, Langham Place, will be enhanced through an arcade that runs through the building. This provides an opportunity for the public to gain access to the interior without passing security controls. The public arcade will serve as a foyer for the Radio Theater and other public facilities such as cafés, exhibitions, and shops. In mixing functions and thus allowing the public space to encroach the space of media production, the clear demarcations between city space and interior, private and public, which had once existed, are now rendered more fluid. As a visitor, it is possible, without any preparation, to end up being engaged in a TV-show, a radio-interview or an art-happening. In this floating space of multiplicities, diverse schemes of functions are intertwined with multifaceted experiences. The older material borders, such as the thick walls, which had controlled the institution, are now substituted for effectual event-zones that instead control the visitor by and through engagement.

In which way could new forms of regulations and discipline in relation to these open and “enabling” urban landscapes be discussed? No longer are there any guards, instead there is entertainment. The entertainer is not, like the guard, controlling individuals, but rather, through creating attention, the public is captured; an open territory is organized by actions. It is desire, and not restriction, that regulates the individual’s movements and actions in this space. As the virtual world extends, and people spend more time in front of the computer, corporeal sensibilities, which today make architecture and the built environment central machines for subject production, become increasingly more exclusive.

Even in a non-democratic country like China we can find a similar strategy to the one adopted by the BBC, namely the endeavor to integrate the public and to create a milieu of amusement. The current headquarters of China Central Television (CCTV) has separated broadcasting from production. The tower dedicated to broadcasting is open to the public and works as a tourist attraction. Production, on the other hand, takes place in the closed environment of high-rise buildings surrounded by fences and guards. The new CCTV complex will contain all the facets of television production. The site will be open to the public, with the media park envisaged as an extension of the green areas planned in the area. But all the while as a site for production, the space can at any time be shut off and turned into private CCTV property once more, so that roads formerly integrated into the urban grid can be disconnected from the rest of the city. In this way we can speak of the temporary staging of a public space. According to the plans, the core of the building will be a “public loop”, offering the audience a multitude of experiences.

Spaces of compensations

Architecture is often used as a surface for projections of another real space, more perfect and better arranged, for it then to become actualized in reality. What our current situation appears to dismiss is in a certain way resurrected in architecture. As mentioned earlier, it seems that at the same time as the public space contracts it is

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11 For a more developed analysis of CCTV see Helena Mattsson, “The Real TV: Architecture as Social Media”, and Sven-Olov Wallenstein “Looping Ideology: The CCTV Center in Beijing”, in Media Houses.
with architecture re-staged once more, reemerging inside new projects (institutions). On the subject of labor, activities in the workplaces are themselves opened up and, through architectural techniques, become spectacles. This sense of spectacle is in direct proportion to the increasing invisibility and opacity of the structural logic of production and consumption in a global economy. Local production is dependent on abstruse global networks of suppliers, which make the whole process of production hard to overview. But instead work and production arises as spectacles.

Foucault speaks about the heterotopia of compensation – “a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled.”12 This could be seen as compensations for the gaps and losses in the real world. Some of the spaces discussed here could be described as heterotopias in Foucault’s sense, but they are not necessary separating themselves from either the spaces or situations they do indeed reflect. In these cases “the other space” could be understood as melted together with the space it reflects. The lack of public space in the city resurrects public space inside architectural projects, and privately owned and planned spaces. Here we notice no difference between private and public; such categories seem to have lost all meaning.

Publicity as a tool for creating a space of security
In his lectures at the Collège de France, from 1978, Foucault formulates an alternative technique to the disciplinary space: “space of security.”13 In this figure, spaces allowing multiple intersecting events to happen are considered, and even if desire is not elaborated explicitly it must be understood as a basic drive behind all non-predictable events and developments in the city. My aim here is to highlight architecture and its capacity to induce public affect, to stage a milieu, or—to use Foucault’s terminology—a “space of security.” A space that “lets things happen” in contradiction to the disciplinary space where events are regulated through divisions of space. In this milieu the traditional institution becomes a zone of amusement where labor, even, is perceived as entertainment.

In both these examples, BBC and CCTV, architecture is used to attract and capture the audiences; a milieu of affects is created. “The public” could be seen as a technique to stage a “milieu” in Foucault’s sense of the concept, according to which space is seen as a medium for events. Programs and activities, earlier hidden in the “machinery of society”, are opened up for the public. Through transparent surfaces or event zones the individual gets caught in unexpected, but still already staged, situations. When society, and the “apparatus of the state”, has been rendered more efficient, panoptic machines are re-built or re-organized – the tower is in reality opened to the public and the guard is substituted for the Entertainer, who, instead of controlling the individual, addresses “the public.”

Already the doors of the liberal utopia, the Panopticon, by Jeremy Bentham were “thrown wide open to the body of the curious at large: the great open committee of the tribunal of the world.”14 To make the Panopticon open to the public was a way to guard the guards, and to control the possible misuse of power in the prison. In

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13 Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007). Foucault understands these different form of techniques existing in a complex relation to each other, but “there is not a series of successive elements, the appearance of the new causing the earlier ones to disappear”, p 8.
14 Jeremy Bentham, *Panopticon or the Inspection House* (Dublin: 1791), 33.
this way both entertainment and surveillance could be practiced at the same time, and a visit could, with Bentham’s words, “satisfy a general curiosity which an establishment, like the prison, may naturally be expected to excite.” The Panopticon was a structure that should have private ownership and be therefore organized as a corporation. The idea of private profit was crucial for Bentham in the construction of the correction institutions: “This is the only shape which genuine and efficient humanity can take. Every system of management which has disinterestedness, pretended or real, for its foundation, is rotten at the root.”

In recently constructed public event zones, like the BBC or CCTV, forms of private ownership create new power structures through a stronger interdependency between the state, the municipality, and the corporations. The “staging” of public space has been outsourced to consultants, companies and institutions. The municipality states this as a pre-requisite to be permitted to build, as in the case of Nike in New York City. At the same time we can notice a “becoming-amusement park” of the public space, in which companies, branding themselves through the creation of spaces, identify everyone as a possible consumer. These two tendencies seem to overlap in an efficient way. Public space remains as a staging of private space, which satisfies the public authorities. At the same time this opens up the possibility for producing consumers and audiences as an integral part of this staged milieu.

In 1998 Nicolas Bourriaud coined the expression “esthétique relationnelle”, and in the same year Kevin Kelly published *New Rules for the New Economy*, and the year after the Pine and Gilmore’s *Experience Economy* was published. These books established, if not individually but as a “cluster,” a close link between art and marketing. In this “new economy” consumers must be made active and entertained, and this occurs through the production of experiences – it was an “emotional or passionate economy”, which also meant highlighting aestheticization and performative qualities.

**Experience work**

As I mentioned earlier the relation between public and workers is also reformulated in these transparent re-organized institutions. In Taylorism and Fordism the link between work and product was severed and the product was transformed into a commodity with supernatural characteristics. This disrupted process could be understood in terms of the Marxian concepts of alienation and commodity fetishism. Displaying the commodity as a magic object in a shop window was meant to enhance its character as a fetish. The “dirty work” that preceded the finished product took place in factories closed to the consumer often located in the outskirts of urban space. Taylor’s “army of gorillas” was hidden from the public, together with the unfinished products, for both political and economic reasons.

Today, however, the scene is inverted, though again for reasons of both political and economic expediency. The factories are located inside the cities; the so-called site of production is open to the public and the commodity is on display all the way through the production process. If, before, it was *production* that took place

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15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
in Taylor-like factories, then today what in the modern “factory” takes place is the assemblage. In an experience economy the division between production and consumption is redrawn; it is not obliterated, even if it may seem so. In the late capitalism the production process is global, and if it was once the walls of factories that made the production invisible, then today it is territorial distances that divide the consumer from the largest part of the production process.

The so-called Transparent Factory (Die gläserne Manufaktur) in Dresden designed by Henn Architekten, is one modern factory located in the city and open for the public. Its slogan is “the only place in the world to turn production into a real experience.” They also speak of a “new transparency” as a surface of communication: We stage what usually takes place behind closed doors as a place of communication and exchange. The work on display is clean, almost clinical, and the workers all wear white overalls--the factory has been aestheticized to the point of appearing like an art gallery, and production is akin to art production. A similar organization could be found in the BMW factory in Leipzig, designed by the architect Zaha Hadid. This is a modern factory located in the city. In the factory, three central segments of the production chain – body shop, paint shop, assembly line – are opened up towards one another, “showing each one of the workers how their roles at BMW are interrelated.” BMW also offers a public tour through the various stations: “Take a look behind the scenes and experience live how a BMW is built.”

Conclusion
This essay shows how contemporary architecture produces new types of public spaces and workplaces as compensations for gaps and losses in our world. In these spaces of compensation, internal activities and labor are uncovered and turned into a spectacle. This also points towards a shift in the technique of controlling spaces – from surveillance to relational engagement. This tendencies in architecture, and society at large, are here discussed specifically in relation to the media institution and the factory..Before, what was emblematic of public space was space that was both open and empty, like Haussman’s Paris; what such open and empty space made possible was the control of large territores. Nonetheless, such space remained a potential stage for protests, demonstrations and revolutions. Conversely, today, the staged event zone is a “space of security”, wherein no one specifically has overall control as over-seer; event zones are instead spaces in which every-one is always part of a relation – in a staged milieu of affects.

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