

The builder who
»travels for the
sake of travel«

Pioneer railroad
(1948-1954-
2019-...)

Danica
Sretenović

REMEMBER TO FORGET TO REMEMBER

To write about the Pioneer Railroad was and still is a frustrating task. The fact that the Pioneer Railroad was listed as a Nonument states that $x=z$. What is a Nonument anyway? The fact that the Pioneer Railroad was situated in Yugoslavia introduced yet another unknown. What is Yugoslavia anyway?

As a result, I have started but never finished a number of texts, trying to define at least one of three unknowns in order to try to answer the pulsing question: why should we investigate the long lost Pioneer Railroad territory? What is there to be opened, questioned or problematized on a piece of land in Ljubljana's woods, where everyone – clueless about the site's history – uses it as a recreational road? What is there to be remembered anyway?!

When compared to other Nonument studies in Slovenia, the Pioneer Railroad appears insignificant. Common to all Nonuments, with the exception of the Pioneer railroad, is the survival of their physical structure upon the death of their primary function. Seemingly, Nonuments are useless. On the other hand, visible physical decay materializes operations that normally stay hidden: political and financial forces which occupy and create of space. In that sense, Nonuments are anomalies which resist being categorized as luxurious assets in the spatial trade - their visibly imperfect state functions to obstruct "the order of things".¹ Even without an assigned patron, without an architect who could repair anomaly and without public approval/glorification, Nonuments are actors in space. This particular function indeed lacked terminology. The term "ruins" implies the state of the object, while Nonument's territories act more like a subject – with their imperfect presence Nonuments repetitively interrupt the context in which they are placed, regardless of what their prescribed function should be.

The Nonument function is not that of a romanticized decay but is connected to its unfinished state. It is this state which initiates the rebuilding process and triggers the moments when passers-by

¹ Nonuments are here understood as the interruption to the "order of things" in Foucauldian sense of counter spaces.



start to think about what could or should be there instead. Reconstruction and public debate arise out of dissatisfaction with the “ruin’s” unfinished state. The emancipation is in the potential of a ruin to be anything else but a ruin (if corrected, repaired or finished). The ruin belongs to everyone the moment one imagines its reconstruction. Nonuments are thus conflicted ground and open spots, open for occupations and the extension of a public territory.²

The Pioneer Railroad, however, lacks disturbing visibility of other Nonuments. Both conceived and concluded in Yugoslavia almost seven decades ago (1948-1954), it comes across as a closed folder. It was a replica of Pioneer railroads in Soviet Union,³ which aimed to educate youth on railroad technology and socialistic values. There were Pioneer railroads functioning in Belgrade and Zagreb when Mladinska organizacija (The Youth organization) initiated the project in Ljubljana. The plans were made for Maribor’s pioneer railroad simultaneously but were never realized.

The most fascinating was a collective engagement in the project – it took only three months to construct three station buildings and a 4 km long railway while repairing a locomotive and teaching 10 to 15-year-old pioneers how to self-manage the entire railway system.⁴ Few newspaper texts from the time mostly reported on the Youth brigadiers enthusiastic effort to finish the work before the set deadline.⁵ Typical story was about a seven-year old boy Petrček who desperately wanted to work with brigadiers in order to deserve the accolade for the best worker, so called “udarnik”, even though he wasn’t allowed to work at all due to his young age.⁶ On the opposite, I have not encountered any critique of the project from that time. Not a single text back then problematized the children’s premature engagement with responsible and potentially dangerous tasks. The archive photographs captured the work from the construction site and the crowded

2 This argument is further developed in two chapters Three objects at the null point and Heterotopy: how theory constructs spaces in master thesis: Sretenović, D. (2019) Acting architecturally, Faculty of architecture, University of Ljubljana, (mentorship: Ddr.Petra Čofarin).

3 The first pioneer railroad was built in Tbilisi in 1935. Source: Maruša Pleterski article.

4 Pleterski, M. (1984). Pionirska proga. In: KRONIKA. Časopis za Slovensko krajevno zgodovino. št.1. letnik 32. pp.44-56.

5 I Slovanski pioniri imajo svojo prugu. In: Časopis Transport. Beograd, 30.6.1948.; also Manifestacija delovne volje za patletni plan. In: Tovariš IV, št.13. Ljubljana, 24.03.1948.; also Zaključna dela na pionirski progi. In: Tovariš: 04.06.1948.; also Pionirska proga, svečano izročena prometu. In: Tovariš: 18.06.1948.

6 Stermecki, V. (1948). Na pionirski progi. In: Tovariš IV, št.26, Ljubljana: 25.06.1948

opening ceremony but there were no reportages on what happened after, as if the interest in everyday voyages decreased.⁷

Interestingly, the railroad was demounted in 1954 as readily as it was mounted in 1948 due to a significant decrease in passengers.⁸ Official reason for the disassembly was insufficient financing for maintenance of the Pioneer Railroad, while the further investment - the connection with Polhov Gradec or a development of the sports and cultural program along the road - was estimated as too costly.⁹ The project was labelled as useless and it was abandoned - in today's terminology - due to its lack of self-sustainability. The self-sustainability is a measure of progress nowadays, but it was obviously decisive factor in 1953/1954 too. The future that was built by pioneers gained exact definition - it is to be self-sustainable. The principle which terminated the project is in contrast with values which the Pioneer Railroad was built to promote. So the project ended. The Pioneer Railroad, according to reports, failed to meet expected goals of aspiring youngsters to become railway workers.¹⁰ Today, the route that connected Ljubljana's districts Koseze, Rožna dolina and Podutik, is hardly recognizable - the former station "Jelenov žleb" still stands, but has been transformed into a private residence,¹¹ while the other two station buildings ("TV-15" and "Trnovski gozd") have been destroyed.¹²

Had it not been for the four unpretentious memorial plaques along the route, only a very careful observer would have seen the mound in the forest¹³ as a peculiarity worthy of detailed analysis.¹⁴ It may be due to the successful transformation of railroad embankment to the Ljubljana's recreational culture - bicycle road

7 The Archive of Slovenian Railway Museum and The Archive of Railway Museum in Belgrade, photographs found with kind assistance from Jurij Komel (LJ) and Vukica Vukas (BG).

8 Pleterski, M. (1984). Pionirska proga.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Land Registry, Republic of Slovenia.

12 Rižnar, F. in Pleterski, M. (1998). Pionirska proga v Ljubljani. Ljubljana: samozaložba.

13 Only after the suggestion of the editor of this publication, architect and author Miloš Kosec, I saw what should be obvious - Pioneer railroad landscape presence is the mound in woods. It recalls excerpt from Adolf Loos text *Architecture*, published in 1910 by Neudruck Press: If we were to come across a mound in the woods, six foot long by three foot wide, with the soil piled up in a pyramid, a somber mood would come over us and a voice inside us would say, "There is someone buried here." That is architecture.

14 Architect Miloš Kosec writes about the site-specific memory of the Pioneer railroad in his article *Nonumentalna proga v prihodnost*, <https://outsider.si/nonumentalna-proga-v-prihodnost/>.

runs over former railroad. According to Maruša Pleterski this was the first cycling track in Slovenia built on the abandoned railway route, following the strategy from 1960s.¹⁵

The assimilation that took place may persuade the passersby that there is nothing left to be repaired or rethought on this particular place. It may also suggest that the short-lived Pioneer Railroad, together with the volunteer effort that was put in its construction were better off forgotten.

It is no surprise that 70 years later in a survey among architects and artists, only two people have been informed about the project. Yet alarming collective oblivion and frequent vandalization of quite unnoticeable memorial plaques redraw the confrontation territory. What is more, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia keeps no record of the railroad.¹⁶ The memory is suppressed. But why is such memory-loss worth mentioning if the project has already been neutralized and abandoned within the system that produced it?

The conversation about the Pioneer Railroad was inevitably a commentary on Yugoslavia, which was consequently an opinion given on either "good" or "evil" socialism. Confusing responses I have received during interviews go to two extremes, one about economic stability and companionship and other on repression and dogmatism. Writing about the Pioneer Railroad appears to be taking sides - oppressive regime or "good old times". The false dilemma hides paradigm conflict that was overwhelmingly larger than my education on the matter.

Born at the moment of Yugoslavia's death, I lack formal education on communism or socialism. Schools history curriculum barely addressed 1945-1990 Yugoslavia - "self-management", "communes", "common property", "cooperation" are unfamiliar terms. Similarly, peers from Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia confirmed that vague idea about 1945-1990 Yugoslavia is dependent on family memories and media.¹⁷

15 Pleterski, M. (1984), pp.44-56.

16 A year later, fellow researchers Neja and Barbara Tomšič found extensive material in a private archive of Mr. Tadej Brato, who despite being a harsh critic of a Yugoslav regime collected most of the valuable evidence and artefacts missing from institutions.

17 For instance, an exhibition "Concrete Utopia" in a Museum of Modern Art in New York, created an overview on architectural inventions in the region, not the programme in architectural schools. The research on modernists' heritage from SFRY period has not been included in the curriculums of the Faculty of architecture in Ljubljana or the Faculty of architecture in Belgrade.

We thus belong to a transitional generation that has experienced second-hand socialism, via what remained visible of socialist iconography, dramaturgy and cultural production. Being subjects to systematic construction of oblivion, which in turns enables (and favours) "bad" or "good" judgement on recent history, I rely on family narratives. For me, SFRY recalls instances of elderly reciting strange verses of pioneer pledge¹⁸ or making fun of catchy songs where Tito was "white violet".¹⁹ Or looking at the photo-album filled with half-naked companions working on construction sites on Youth Work Actions. Grandparents' golden accolades, awarded for outstanding contribution on work jubilees. Also, legend about grandparents' 70m2 apartment which was, without a glimpse of doubt, voluntarily returned to the workers union after they moved into a self-build house. And an air filled with bitter disappointment when Yugoslavia's disintegration was mentioned. Much like Neverland, SFRY arose from childhood memories as a utopian place, "a fantastic untroubled region, with no real locality".²⁰ The lack of education must have created room for imagination; as a result, I formed weird identification with the place that I have never experienced. Not to be rejected a priori as artificial nostalgia, how is this relevant for a research?

Dr. Tanja Petrović argues that "positive memories of life and work in socialism are dismissed as nostalgia while the memories of those who testify about crimes and violence conducted by the communist authorities prevail in media discourses and are taken



18 Pioneer pledge:

Today, as I become a Pioneer,
I give my Pioneer's word of honour -
That I shall study and work diligently,
respect parents and my seniors,
and be a loyal and honest comrade/friend.
That I shall love our homeland, self-managed
Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
That I shall spread brotherhood and unity
and the principles for which comrade Tito fought.
And that I shall value all peoples of the world who respect freedom and peace!

19 Partisan song (chorus) "Druže Tito, ljubičice bela, tebe voli omladina cela. Tebe voli i staro i mlado, druže Tito, ti narodno blago." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TFRzbcTja2k>

20 "Utopias afford consolation: although they have no real locality there is nevertheless a fantastic, untroubled region in which they are able to unfold; they open up cities with vast avenues, superbly planted gardens, countries where life is easy, even though the road to them is chimerical." Vidler, A. (2014). The troubles in theory part VI from utopia to heterotopia. In: Architectural review: <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/troubles-in-theory-part-vi-from-utopia-toheterotopia/8670494.article>

as objective testimonies with the legitimacy of historiographical sources".²¹

This was the exact mechanism I experienced during research. When I suggested that the Pioneer Railroad is a Nonument to a collective act, the reply was "repressed individualism". A Nonument on a materialized utopia was rejected with "failed project", a Nonument to enthusiastic construction of the future with "enforced labour". Again, a Nonument to cheerful childhood memories was denied with "silly nostalgia".

From the perspective of a precarious worker and an architect in front of shrinking territories of public space, I find solidarity, common building and companionship, as well as the ability to resist and to overcome the unbearable WWII (and its consequences) with unstoppable vitality, very relevant today. However, the rejection I have received when mentioning the Pioneer Railroad, almost made me embarrassed to ask why socialist practices are so readily regarded as totalitarian but capitalistic are not? Dr. Petrović argument is again relevant: "Today, in debates over public space, common and public resources and property, and in the struggle to retain basic elements of the welfare state, citizens are unable to make references to their own experience of different social relations because they are a priori delegitimized."²²

What troubles me is that ready-made rejections such as "failed project", "repressed individualism", etc. classify the people living in socialism as apolitical,²³ as a vague brainwashed mass. Consequently, such approach objectifies pioneers and their experience.

While the official historical narrative addresses the programs' disciplinary and rigorous character – children were indoctrinated to practice ideology – there were not many facts to support such claims in interviews done with (former) pioneers. "In order to become a suitable object of history, Yugoslavia is reduced to a linear and flattened narrative, cleansed of any affective or emotional investments and ruptures, and thus deprived of the capacity to make an intervention in the present."²⁴ This capacity of the Pioneer

21 Petrović, T. (2016). Towards the Affective History of Yugoslavia. In: *Filozofija i društvo*, XVIII (3). p.509.

22 Ibid. p. 509.

23 Ibid. p. 514.

24 Ibid. p. 514.

Railroad to make an intervention in the present via affection and emotional investments becomes obvious during interviews.

The interview²⁵ I have conducted with Alojzija Eržen, a pioneer on the railroad, was positive, energetic and intense – there were no traces of forced labour or dull atmosphere. On many occasions during the interview she screamed »Bilo je lepo! Lepo je bilo!«, »It was beautiful! Beautiful it was!«. She lively reproduced train sounds and recited the Morse code used to communicate along the road. She also described to the detail the design of the big book received as an award and some older boys that jumped in and out of the train. Her focus was far from obligations that needed to be completed along the road, it was instead, on the beautiful pioneer wardrobe and sensorial experiences. Aesthetic categories, she used to describe her »working experience« recalls Jacques Ranciere's writings²⁶ on workers' letters exchange from the end of 19th century. What Ranciere expected in those letters was testimony "on working conditions and the forms of class consciousness". Instead, the workers' narration was about leisure time, e.g. a voyage to a pleasing landscape, for the sake of aesthetic experience, not as a »productive« pause which enables further work. The letters denied presumption that "those who work do not have time to let their steps and gazes roam at random, and that the members of a collective body do not have time to spend on the forms and insignia of individuality." The work and the leisure time - contemplation of the nature - were not exclusive. Workers affiliation with a collective body does not exclude their individualism, "these two workers were themselves intellectuals". Alojzija Eržen's testimony, indeed, was not compatible at all with normative narrative of the Pioneer Railroad as an infrastructure, a tool, mechanism and instrument for mass control of socialist subjects.

AN IGNORANT THEORIST

Now, after we have detected current techniques and operations that negate the Pioneer Railroad, we are to discuss internal rupture within the project. To set a discussion on Ljubljana's Pioneer

25 An interview with Alojzija Eržen, MoTA.

26 Ranciere, J. (2009). *Emancipated spectator*. In: *Emancipated spectator*. London: Verso, pp. 19-20.



Railroad apart from a colloquial ideological discourse which fails to distinguish communism from socialism, or Eastern bloc states from Socialist Federative Republic Yugoslavia,²⁷ the focus of the following paper is not to list the exact chronology of the short-lived Ljubljana's Pioneer Railroad, but to think about Nonuments in their potential to rupture (each given) present condition. It means that Nonuments are never true representatives of "how things were/ how things are", but act as anachronistic territories which rupture seemingly enclosed realities. In that sense we will observe the presence of the Pioneer Railroad in both periods; 1948-1956 and 2018-2019, as a discontinuity from the general order of things. The paper intentionally stays away from less interesting interpretation of the Pioneer Railroad as "a tool" of "ideology", "repression", "indoctrination" and a mere infrastructural "instrument" of a "totalitarian" political system, simply as such conclusive definitions prevent further thinking.

The focus on ruptures could be justified with a moment in time when the Pioneer Railroad was inserted in Ljubljana. Namely 1948 marks the year of the Tito-Stalin Split and initiation of Yugoslavia's "third way", balance between Eastern and Western blocks. The exchange of letters between Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Soviet communist party escalates in Yugoslavia's expulsion from Cominform (e.g. CPY letter from March 27 states that "socialism in the Soviet Union has ceased to be revolutionary").²⁸ This occurs simultaneously with the organization and execution of the Pioneer Railroad in Ljubljana. It is an interesting misbalance, since the Pioneer Railroad was an educational model imported from Soviet Union, to promote progress and present railroad technology to youth. As we can see, from the very beginning of its existence, the Ljubljana's railroad project holds internal tension – it was a model of practicing socialism, copied from a country with which Yugoslavia just broke ties.

Now, if we assume that the project was not only infrastructural framework for ideological exercise from the early age, we may understand its less apparent aims or side effects. One

27 The last such example is the Guardian article *Left to rot: the new global effort to preserve lost monuments, on Nonuments*. "This article was amended on 1 August 2019, because while the former Yugoslavia was communist and allied with the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin, it was not part of the Soviet Union as an earlier version said." This is still incorrect, as the year 1948 marks the break of alliance. The Yugoslav socialism was characterized by self-management.

28 Clissold, S. (ed). (1975). *Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, 1939-1973: A Documentary Survey* (p. 172).

sentence from interviews left a lasting impact: "We travelled for the sake of travelling." What does it mean? It may have something to do with the cinematographic effect of the moving landscape and the modern subject. The view changes if we are on the train; one point perspective space becomes blurred space with no central reference point. Even though traveller sits still, they are passing a promenade of moving images. And even if the train could be a tool of centralised ideology, it has an opposite effect - the position inside the train and focus on the moving exterior made our socialist subject a futuristic subject, the one who is and loves to be in continuous movement, without a centralised reference system. Within an hour's journey and for a ticket that cost like one loaf of bread²¹, everyone became the subject of a modernist progress. Back then, the train ride was a tangible sign of modernization, visible progress that was promised in exchange for volunteer work.

It may be clearer now why the opening ceremony attracted 20 000 people. In a 4 km narrow gauge railway, one red locomotive, six blue wagons and three station buildings, all planned and built in three months, was a tangible physical record of ideals that, without visible evidence of modernization, may sound like an alarmingly empty promise. If modernization was the final product of a dedicated collective hard-work, what was there to be opposed, in a country devastated after the WWII?

Thus the Pioneer Railroad was not going from nonplace to nowhere, as may be thought from today's perspective; where the apparent lack of project aims appears disproportional with the extent of the opening ceremony. The truth is that the railway has never been integrated into a wider infrastructure strategy⁴ nor have train stations been located near attractive spots.⁴ Asked what travellers did when they arrived at the final train station, Alojzija Eržen answered: "Travellers went to collect mushrooms in the woods."²¹ Pioneer nevertheless remembers train travel as a favourite family weekend activity; the short distance and a very slow pace of 25 km per hour "have never reduced the level of excitement."²¹ In that sense, the project relevance lays in a discontinuity from utilitarian practices - the possibility of a ride was offered but there was no prescribed programme concentrated around the stations and no final agenda placed at the end of the road. In other words, there was no suggestion or prescription of how our futuristic subject should spend their free time upon arrival. It is another internal rupture of the project,

followed by the loss of a grounding referenced system within the train.

To understand the importance of such rupture better, let us visit territories where children play today. Since we now know that the Pioneer Railroad was a construction dedicated to children's education on technology and socialistic values, do we know what amusement parks are for today? Why would we categorize the Pioneer Railroad as the instrument of forceful indoctrination but the amusement park as a benevolent entertainment palace, when the iconography of amusement park is equally persuasive as socialism iconography? Clearly because in today's ideology children are meant to have fun (and not to be dulled with responsibilities of the adult world²⁹), but only after the adults pay the entrance to areas precisely programmed for fun. Amusement parks indeed often include a railroad; however the starting and the end point of the ride are set at the ticket kiosk. Isn't the repetitive activity of going up and down the loop as many times as possible, in paid term, the exact instruction on what fun is and what childhood is for?

On the other hand, as pioneers claim, the Pioneer Railway had the opportunity to involve underprivileged children together - when asked what was so special about the Pioneer Railroad, our interviewer screamed: "There was nothing in Ljubljana! We had nothing! This was the only place where we could meet and play!" - pioneers received special wardrobe, which they remember with special pride, free tickets to travel across Yugoslavia, free entrance to cinema, free excursions and a chance for practicing technology first-hand⁴. Above all, children from countries devastated by the war were not treated as inferior in the programme of constructing utopia. They did receive a share of responsibility and privileges for being an active part of modernization, but along the road, they encountered ruptures which allowed practicing childhood in a non-prescriptive way. Most importantly, the Pioneer Railroad travel for the sake of travelling was a program open to all - pioneers confessed that they often willingly skipped school just so they could socialise on the railway and their enrolment in the project was voluntary.

29 The rage that 16-year-old activist Greta Thunberg caused in 2019 illustrates inferior role assigned to the children in contemporary society.

“IRRELEVANT” REFERENCES

Last section is dedicated to the presence of the Pioneer Railroad in 2019. To move a focal point to functioning of anachronism discontinuities, we are to make a short excursion to Foucault's work on heterotopias.

The Order of Things opens with Michel Foucault citing a “certain Chinese encyclopaedia” quoted by J. L. Borges, in which animals of the world are catalogued. “Animals,” he says, “are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor (b) embalmed, © tame (d) suckling pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush (l) et cetera (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies.”³⁰

The bizarre taxonomy demonstrates, according to Foucault, the limitation of our own thought in comparison with the “exotic charm of another system of thought” and “threatens to collapse our age-old distinction between Same and the Other.”³¹

Foucault shows that there are two courses of actions in the face of the oddities/discontinuities. The first is to ignore the appearance of discontinuity, to annul anomalies that cannot fit into the general order of things. This would be to treat the catalogue of animals as simply irrelevant, incomplete and ridiculous. And this is exactly what happened with the inclusion of the Pioneer Railroad within a network of recreational tracks. Ideologically unfit spatial discontinuity is to be repaired, precisely because it exposes that what the world-as-it-is tries to preserve as unified. All, is in fact not-All. In that sense, a pleasant bicycle ride from Lake Koseze to Ljubljana's Zoo should be no more than a manifestation of Ljubljana's vision of greener future. Why should we interrupt such a pleasant ride with remembrance on other system thought? This is why only the rare know that they are cycling over the former Pioneer Railroad. The “fit-lifestyle society of personal perfection”

30 Foucault, M. (1966). *The Order of Things. An archeology of the human sciences*. London: Routledge.

31 Ibid.

overwrote the pioneer society as a “sustainable mobility strategy” replaced by socialist infrastructure.

Today's collective oblivion compared with collective enthusiasm from 1948 is, at least, surprising as we are only two generations apart. The oblivion may be a result of a process that Reiner de Graaf named the Century that never happened.³² In a photo-essay he depicted planned destruction of 20th century residential blocks, built for middle class workers from all over Europe. He added “With that, modern architecture's social mission—the effort to establish a decent standard of living for all—seems a thing of the past. Once more, architecture is a tool of capital, complicit in a purpose antithetical to its one-time ideological endeavour. Nearly twenty years into the new millennium, it is as though the previous century never happened. The same architecture that once embodied social mobility now helps prevent it. Despite ever-higher rates of poverty and homelessness, large social housing estates are being demolished with ever-greater resolve...the final undoing of the twentieth century, finds concrete proof in the methodic removal of its physical substance.”³³

Much like social housing, the Pioneer Railroad is an embodiment of what Foucault named “exotic charm of other system of thought.” Consequently, any physical traces and memories of “other system of thought” are to be removed, negated or distorted in order for the present system to appear as the only possibility. “Exotic” is certainly attractive (and may be addictive). When seen, it presents a real danger, a proof of a porosity of the system. So, to see the Pioneer Railroad as a Nonument instead of a bicycle road, recreational track and uncontrolled vegetation is an act of construction. Thus Nonuments are to be constructed. To see a Nonument in a place where it seems that there is nothing to be seen is to create discontinuity in contemporary spatial practices. It is a process similar to creating architecture without building. It is territorialisation of space by reconstructing it in the context other than the predominant logic of useful, productive space. The recognition of Nonuments is punching a hole in the

32 And what never happened? “Those who acquire wealth through work fall ever further behind those who accumulate wealth simply by owning it. Only in the three or four decades after 1945—following two world wars and under pressure from social unrest, revolutions, labour unions, and the daunting presence of a global alternative to the capitalist system in the form of communism—only during this unique capsule of time did ordinary laborers improve their economic standing faster than the owners of capital.” De Graaf, R.(2017). *Four walls and a roof. The complex nature of a simple profession*. Cambridge: Harvard university press, p. 415.

33 Ibid. p. 425.

financially commanded spatial practices and the “reality” that supports them. In the words of the philosopher Alan Badiou:

“However if nothing punctures a hole in reality, if nothing is an exception to the rule, if no point can be held on to for its own sake, whatever it costs, than there is only the reality and the submission to the reality.”³⁴

After all, do not forget to remember - the ruptures are to be seen.



34 Badiou, A. (2008). *The Meaning of Sarkozy*. London: Verso.