There is no concept in architecture that comes close to either Donna Haraway’s ‘situated knowledges’, or to the more processual notion of situatedness. Perhaps ‘context’ offers some acknowledgement of architecture’s assemblage of dimensions: historical context, social context, cultural context, planning context, and so on. While these are useful in focusing a spatial project, context fails to capture the complex entanglements of figures and discourses, of things and processes, and, to what Haraway calls, ‘[…] a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a “real” world’ with which her situated knowledges, and situatedness, engages. Through the questionable Cartesian notion of space as that which is always already present to receive other spatial things, architects (like others) tend to understand contextual complexity in a rather Newtonian way, considering contexts as ‘atomistically’ separable that make up a pre-existent site within which a building will find itself. This writing responds to the problem of architecture’s (students’ and practitioners’) oft rather shallow understanding of ‘site’, and develops the position that a site comes to be and is not just found lying about. It is a complex entanglement of relations of a variety of participants (people, things, processes, institutions, discourses, etc.) and their predilections; sites are made, not given. Referencing one of the refrains from a pedagogical ‘choreography’ I developed for a two-year Master’s course (ARB/RIBA Part 2 equivalent) in Sweden at the University of Umeå (which I co-delivered between 2011 and 2016), this article draws on Haraway’s situated knowledges, Karen Barad’s further work along that trajectory through her agential realist framework, Bruno Latour’s matters of concern (extended through Maria Puig de la Bellacasa’s matters of care), and Adele Clarke’s situational analysis to develop a choreography of engagement with sites-in-the-making that, with Haraway, argues for ‘politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating’.  

Context?
One of the underlying tenets of this article is that our modes, methods, methodologies, epistemologies, and ontologies need to resonate with architecture’s extraordinary complexity and its transformative and performative role in the unfolding of the world. As de la Bellacasa says:  

Ways of knowing, theories and concepts have ethico-political and affective effects on the perception and re-figuration of matters of fact and sociotechnical assemblages, on their material-semiotic existences. Ways of studying and representing things can have world-making effects. But how to engage with this complex situation that is architecture and with the knowledge that architecture makes ongoing differences in the world, that it has effects, that it has duration? What indeed are the ontologies, the modes, the frameworks, the scores, the choreographies, through which we might think and do spatial practice?  

When designing places, architects can struggle to account for all that ought to be considered in light of this complexity and architecture’s embodied responsibility as a performative participant in the active creating of the world as we go, or ‘worlding’. One way that they attempt to include a variety of dimensions is through the notion of context. Indeed, the concepts of context and contextualism have long histories and various expressions in architecture, including Christian Norburg-Schulz’s genius loci, Ernesto Rogers’ preesistenze ambientali (translated as ‘surrounding pre-existences’ by Adrian Forty), Lewis Mumford’s regionalism, Colin Rowe’s Cornell University studio, and the critical regionalisms of Kenneth Frampton and Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis. These attempts to reconsider, and indeed for some authors, to rescue architecture in light of the abstractions and ‘homogenising’ of modernism have further developed into attempts against globalisation, neoliberalisation, and a McDonaldization of buildings and places.
While for some what might be considered to be a contextually sensitive architecture is often limited – for instance, to its relation to physical variables such as the forms and materials of surrounding existing buildings and landscapes (usually from a historical perspective), or the weather (microclimatic) conditions of the location, or the path of the sun, or views – many architects do explicitly expand these variables to consider social, cultural, planning, demographic, and even ‘everyday’ contexts. This more inclusive set of variables does go some distance in expanding our purviews with respect to engaging with the complexities of buildings and places, and expresses a desire to be commensurate with, and draw upon, the ecologies and lived situations in which built constructions are conceived and produced.

This article argues, however, that the notion of context as a modality of operating is limited and limiting. While the roots of the word refer to ‘a weaving together’, which is about the making of something, in use it is often rather fixed. As a noun, context is ‘out there’, it exists to be observed and consumed, but it is not often understood to be an active, co-evolving participant.

This is in part because context can be seen as yet another potentially lively, vibrant entity, or mattering – Karen Barad’s term for how material-discursive phenomena come to be,13 which has gone down the route of ‘scientific’ Newtonian atomisation in which thingness and causality are classified, described, compartmentalised, and fixed. Architects have the problem, or rather ‘condition’, of fixity at any rate. The designs, the ‘scores’, for constructed spaces which will be matter (and will matter) at some point in the future need to be set out far in advance of the building being materially and haptically present. They need to be set out ‘factually’ (though one could argue that they participate in scoring not matters of fact but matters of concern, a notion I return to below). This always already proleptic nature of a design that needs to be fixed prefigures the deferral of architecture’s being-in-time, its being in the process of worlding and mattering. Thus the contexts architects might refer to are typically snapshots of conditions at certain moments in time and are not typically understood to be processes themselves. In addition, contexts, as used by many architects, are separated from each other through particular material-discursive practices16 of representation, which often reduce complexity to variables drawn or modelled.

Some proffer the potential of the ‘datafication’ (and its representations) of our lives and all we encounter to afford possibilities to include a more complex set of dimensions in our computationally turned world. The potential, and critique, of what is being called ‘nD modelling’17 in architectural design and construction processes (as developed, for instance, through Building Information Modelling) should not be underestimated. Indeed, the notion of deep mapping in the humanities processes (as developed, for instance, through Building Information Modelling) makes the potential of what is being called ‘nD modelling’17 in architectural design and construction processes (as developed, for instance, through Building Information Modelling) is critical to situatedness, contributing to its modal sense (see below).

Drawing on the work of the physicist Niels Bohr, Barad explains that, 

\[ \text{[the notion of intra-action (in contrast to the usual ‘interaction’, which presumes the prior existence of independent entities/relata) represents a profound conceptual shift. It is through specific agential intra-actions that the boundaries [...] of the ‘components’ of phenomena become determinate and that particular embodied concepts become meaningful.} \]

In order to develop sites and situations as emergent active participants in the design and construction of built form I have been employing modalities, particularly in my pedagogical practice (see below),

\textbf{Sites are made, not given}

My argument here is that context fails to capture the entanglements, relations, and movements of things, processes, figures, and discourses through which we might exercise, ‘[...] a critical practice for recognizing our own “semiotic technologies” for making meaning, and a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a “real” world.’18 in my teaching, I have been using various ways to engage in this situation of the knotted threads of architecture’s complexity, its performativity, and its need for fixity in the face of its requirements to set out (typically) unchanging, ‘closed’ instructions (that is, minimal room for improvisation) for construction. A phrase I often use to support these teaching practices is, ‘sites are made, not given’.

These made sites echo the phenomena of Barad’s agential realism,19 which sets out an understanding of how the world comes to be, how it comes to matter. Barad, who brings a feminist, theoretical physicist diffractive reading to the world, puts forward an ‘epistemological-ontological-ethical framework’ in which she moves,

\[ [...] \text{toward performative alternatives to representationalism shifting the focus from questions of correspondence between descriptions and reality (e.g., do they mirror nature or culture?) to matters of practices/doing/actions.} \]

For Barad, ‘[...] phenomena are the ontological inseparability of agentially intra-acting “components”’. That is, phenomena are ontologically primitive relations – relations without pre-existing relata.20

Understanding sites as phenomena, as relations, in Barad’s sense, students (en)counter and question the well-worn Cartesian notion of space, one in which architects often perceive contexts as already and unchangingly there, making up a pre-existent situation within which a building will find itself. In this way, contexts are seen as ‘matters of fact’ rather than ‘matters of concern’ a distinction made by Bruno Latour to which I return below.

As the tenet sites are made, not given states, we are designing and making, or intravening, in and with the very analysis and definition/delineation of the site, the situation, with which an architectural intrusion21 is entangled. My use of intravening and intrvention reprises Barad’s intru of intra-action, staying with her phenomena of participants in relation rather than in separation. This intra is critical to situatedness, contributing to its modal sense (see below).
which both trace and construct the relationships between material and discursive practices, between figures and discourses, between things and affects/effects. This concurrent tracing and constructing echoes Barad:

[... our ability to understand the world hinges on our taking account of the fact that our knowledge-making practices are material enactments that contribute to, and are part of, the phenomenon we describe.  

Elsewhere I have outlined an architectural (pedagogical) 'choreography', which is shaped through various often intertwined modes, including the body's role and development as a performative and implicative force in making, and the role of interventions of bodies and materials and constructions in live situations. Here I develop another phrase in the choreography: the transformative power of an expanded purview in the process of site making in architectural pedagogy and practice. I must, however, note that the differentiating of phrases or modes is a concession to a pedagogical efficacy for which complex processes might be momentarily 'bounded' in order to clearly articulate different methodologies and techniques of engagement. But these different expressions are really without names and boundaries within the ground of situatedness, a fact to which the range of expressions in the examples of work presented here attest.

Haraway's situated knowledges, further honed as situatedness through this mode, provides a more commensurate and creative concept than context with which architects can engage in complex situations and develop work. Alongside Barad's new materialist conception of 'phenomena' (particularly her understanding of 'apparatus'), Latour's matters of concern, and Puig de la Bellacasa's matters of care, Clarke's situational analysis is used to support Haraway's situated knowledges and as a tool to engage with the knot of architecture's complexity, performativity, and fixity through situatedness.

Site making and Donna Haraway's situated knowledges

I have employed various ways to expand the set of dimensions (aspects) with which architects should be engaging as part of the making of sites and built interventions, and to understand their activity and performativity. These include my notion of configurations of the object (developed at the Technische Universität Berlin in the 1990s), actor networks, Félix Guattari's three ecologies, meshworks, Lawrence Halprin's resources (in their RSVP model – Resources, Scores, Valuation, Performance), and Adele Clarke's situational analysis. In the development and delivery of the Master's of Architecture (the 'Laboratory of Immediate Architectural Intervention') at Umeå University in Sweden, these modalities began to be more explicitly joined, and be diffraeted through what have been labelled new materialist feminist practices and theories.

For reasons I have noted, in one sense, contexts just don't cut it in that they fall short in being able to engage with the multidimensional, processual, situational nature of sites in the making. In Barad's sense, however, as a set of particular apparatuses that include/exclude certain material/discursive practices that participate in producing phenomena – partial, non-relativistic, and observable – they of course indeed do make cuts. A specific intra-action for Barad, one

[... involving a specific material configuration of the 'apparatus of observation', enacts an agential cut [...] effecting a separation between 'subject' and 'object'. That is, the agential cut enacts a local resolution within the phenomenon of the inherent ontological indeterminacy. In other words, relata do not preexist relations; rather, relata within-phenomena emerge through specific intra-actions.  

But contexts do not participate in the production of the phenomena of complex site making in ways that resonate with those knotted threads to which I refer above. Haraway's situated knowledge, further evolved and articulated as situatedness, however, does.

For a site making that is commensurate with the complexity and responsibility of making worlds with materials and constructions, the 'problem' can be summed up in Haraway's words:

[H]ow to have simultaneously an account of radical historical contingency for all knowledge claims and knowing subjects, a critical practice for recognizing our own 'semiotic technologies' for making meanings, and a no-nonsense commitment to faithful accounts of a 'real' world, one that can be partially shared and that is friendly to earthwide projects of finite freedom, adequate material abundance, modest meaning in suffering, and limited happiness.  

Towards these 'faithful accounts of a real world', an objectivity (unlike that of Newtonian male-gazing science) for Haraway means situated knowledges. She questions the

[...] Western cultural narratives about objectivity [which] are allegories of the ideologies governing the relations of what we call mind and body, distance and responsibility. Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see.  

She argues, [... for situated and embodied knowledges and [...] against various forms of unlocatable, and so irresponsible, knowledge claims. Irresponsible means unable to be called into account.

And that,

Situated knowledges require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not as a screen or a ground or a resource, never finally as slave to the master that closes off the dialectic in his unique agency and his authorship of 'objective' knowledge.  

The step of moving from contexts to situated knowledges is an important one in relation to the making of sites. It focuses our attention on the inherent both/and nature of the dimensions we are using to describe the locations of built interventions, on the construction of knowledges as both actors and agents, as both ‘things’ and modes. Understanding the making of sites as an entangling of situated knowledges that are already a part of the world coming into being, is to understand that the choice
and analysis of such material-semiotic actors and dimensions are modes of engagement that are both partial and creative (‘only partial perspective promises objective vision’). In what is a seemingly boundless array of possible situated dimensions that architects might consider in making sites, we instead delimit our scope and create boundaries. And, while we must decide (which has the same root as cut) what to include or exclude in our purview, these boundaries, as Haraway says, ‘[…] shift from within; boundaries are very tricky. What boundaries provisionally contain remains generative, productive of meanings and bodies.’

But another step is needed. Haraway’s generative
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boundaries, together with Barad’s mattering-making cuts, leads me to honing ‘situatuated knowledges’ to ‘situatuatedness’ in order to replace the notion of context. Whereas ‘situatuated knowledges’ label the complex products of specific, but always partial and non-innocent knowledge construction, ‘situatuatedness’ focuses less on knowledge as noun but on the activity and quality of those dimensions of sites-in-the-making with/in which we choose to engage. The quality of being situated (the -ness suffix) is its boundary/cut making operation; its mode. This conflation of a quality and an action indicates the performativity of situatuatedness, making it a fruitful term with which to make sites.
Situational analysis

One of the frames I have been using to help architecture students engage with complex locations while setting some boundaries is Clarke’s situational analysis which, as she says, takes grounded theory through the ‘postmodern’ turn and pulls it ‘away from its positivist roots’ and also ‘regrounds’ it ‘in the broader symbolic interactionist concept of the situation of action, assuming the situatedness of all knowledges and their producers’.44 In her book *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn*, Clarke explicitly references Haraway’s concept of situated knowledges, drawing upon it to develop a method that strives to attend to situations (sites) in their complexity and understands that, ‘There is no “god’s-eye view” position from which to write up research. Knowledges and knowledge productions are situated and noninnocent.’45

Clarke, like Haraway and Barad, is interested in the comings together of a complex of discourses, bodies, and materials and the ways they participate in constituting situations (Barad’s ‘phenomena’). Further, she moves grounded theory on from pursuing ‘substantive or formal theory’ to ‘grounded theorizing through the development of sensitizing concepts’.46 She is concerned here with the problem of aspiring to do theory as something finished; she quotes Herbert Blumer who contrasts definitive concepts and sensitising concepts: ‘Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look.’47

Clarke uses three ‘maps’ in her analysis: situational, social worlds/arena, and positional. In my work with students I have concentrated on situational maps as part of a method to open up what is included in our purview of the complexity of locations, and to focus on the situated knowledges that comprise the site-in-making. Situational maps, ‘lay out the major human, nonhuman, discursive, and other elements in the research situation of inquiry and provoke analysis of relations among them’.48

 [...] paralleling Geertz’s (1973) ‘thick descriptions’ [...] [4] [hick analyses take explicitly into account the full array of elements in the situation and explicate their interrelations.49

Rather than the limited contexts architects tend to include in their ‘site analysis’, the situational map can help the architect to prod and probe a variety of contingent conditions which, as Clarke says, ‘[...] are in the situation. There is no such thing as “context”. The conditional elements of the situation need to be specified in the analysis of the situation itself as they are constitutive of it, not merely surrounding it or framing it or contributing to it. They are it’.50

Clarke’s situational map contains the following ‘headings’ that assist the architect’s analysis (and therefore development) of the site-cum-intravention: individual human elements, collective human elements/actors, discursive constructions of individual and/or collective human actors, political/economic elements, temporal elements, major issues/debates (usually contested), non-human elements/actants, implicated/silent actors/actants, discursive construction of non-human actants, sociological/symbolic elements, spatial elements, related discourses (historical, narrative, and/or visual), other kinds of elements as found in the situation.51

By shifting from contexts to Haraway’s situated knowledges (of the sort in Clarke’s array), to situatedness, architects – practitioners and students – can better understand and participate in the making of complex sites for their built intraventions (whether projected or ‘performed’). Through the use of situational maps, we can better attend to the possible situated knowledges ‘as found’. While being aware of how we are contributing to the making of the site through our choices and mappings of particular (that is, *these* and not *those*) dimensions of analysis, that is, through situatedness.

The inclusion of *this* but not that depends upon what Barad, drawing upon Niels Bohr and others (including Foucault), defines as apparatuses, which ‘[...] are particular ... arrangements that give meaning to certain concepts to the exclusion of others; they are the conditions that enable and constrain knowledge practices such as conceptualizing and measuring; they are productive of (and part of) the phenomena produced; they enact a local cut that produces “objects” of particular knowledge practices within the particular phenomena produced. [...] [The apparatus] calls into question the dualisms of object-subject, knower-known, nature-culture, and word-world’.52

In Barad’s ‘agentinal realist’ mode, ‘[...] the apparatus specifies an agential cut that enacts a resolution (within the phenomenon) of the semantic, as well as ontic, indeterminacy. Hence apparatuses are boundary-making practices’.53

Attention to this cutting is vital for a critical engagement with making sites and built interventions. The made site, the assemblage of situated knowledges, is both a defining of place in the most complex sense and an apparatus through and with which we engage. We need to ask the questions that reflect what is always an ethical and political positioning: What are we including, and what are we excluding? Which cuts are enabling, which are constraining? In our cuts, are we engaging in a ‘re-distribution of the sensible’ (to use Jacques Rancière’s term), or merely mirroring the given distributions?54

While Clarke’s situational map helps students and practitioners of architecture focus their site analysis/making through various categories of dimensions (which are Baradian apparatuses), which in and of themselves are of course political,55 other interests reflect – or, better, à la Haraway and Barad, ‘diffract’ – our engagement inwith the world and worlding. These affinities, these concerns, are part of the larger apparatus, which participates in delineating boundaries of our sites-in-the-making.

Matters of concern

Haraway’s desire is to be committed to, ‘faithful accounts of a “real” world, one that can be partially shared and that is friendly to earthwide projects of finite freedom, adequate material abundance,
matters of concern, some of the ones they have been given are: the other/co-existence, performative/projective, body/apparatus, agency/structure, transversals/micropolitics, aesthetics/the political, affordance/gift, fragility/affinity, diffraction/representation, documentation/judgement, and making/sense. In the work of the student Tobias Westerlund, for example, a situational analysis in the form of mapping takes the issue of ‘other ways of eating’ though an investigation of food waste and distribution (including ‘dumpster diving’). Several matters of concern come to the fore, including agency/structure (with respect to food distribution), transversals/micropolitics (with respect to food waste), and other/coexistence. In another expression, Anna Misharina situates her work through matters of concern and built interventions, which are simultaneously analysis, design, and making in her development of a non-figurative urban commons. Focusing on various concerns, including enclosure/intimacy, incompleteness/play, informality/involvement, centrality/diversity, and remoteness/freedom, she built situating affordances, including an air-filled intimate space for movement and a transportable dance floor installed in various public spaces, including several community halls.

The slash (virgule) that separates these pairs should not be understood as a demarcation between binaries; as noted elsewhere, I consider, [...] this slash as the ‘gap’ in which ethics, the political, and values coalesce and move. Like two dancers, the two
terms and their in-between not-excluded middle are together but not ‘one’. The two terms accept, as Laplantine says, ‘the gap between each [other’s] respective sensibility [...] and in so doing resist [...] uniformisation’. The slash is a Baradian cut, signalling the creation of situated knowledge. And the slash is an index of a productive tension: the Janus-like double sidedness of the ethical dimension of care.

On the one hand, care can result in the separation that is aware of autonomy in relations, with the slash as a gap that respects and frees, and the gap as the necessary distance for responsiveness and co-responsibility: care as separation, discontinuity and mediation. On the other hand, care can be seen as the fidelity and affinity with the situation/phenomena/movement, a willingness to come closer and to listen and to remain that speaks of closeness, continuity and affect.

These matters of concern (the list is not exhaustive) provide us as makers of architecture with an array of ‘functions’ (as in f(y)=x), of choreographic terms that move us (through Clarke’s analysis) to map ‘situationally’ particular overarching areas or issues. These concerns may or may not be explicit in locations, contemporary issues, or cultural and philosophical debates. However and wherever they arise, these concerns keep us situated as we make sites.

Sites made through matters of care

It matters what matters we use to think other matters with; it matters [...] what thoughts think thoughts, what descriptions describe descriptions. It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories.

The use of matters of concern in the development of situated and situating architectural sites can be further articulated through the notion of matters of care. Maria Puig de la Bellacasa acknowledges how Latour’s moving from matters of fact to matters of concern extends the insight that ‘assemblages are not just objects but knots of social and political interests’. Puig De la Bellacasa appreciates that concern (as opposed to interest) has ‘connotations of trouble, worry and care’ and considers ‘things as lively’.

And matters of concern focus our attention on the ‘ethico-political dimension’ of an issue: [...] respect for the concerns embodied in the things we represent implies attention to the effects of our accounts on the life of things. [...] It is exhibiting the entanglements of concerns at the heart of human–nonhuman assemblages increases, the affective perception of the worlds and lives we study beyond cartographies of interests and practical engagements [...] is an ethico-political intervention in its becoming, its mattering.

In architecture, human–non-human assemblages of people and materials and things and regulations and constructions and discourses abound, and using matters of concern in the creation of sites is helpful in remaining focussed on the ethical and political effects (and affects) of our interventions. For Puig de la Bellacasa, however, care [...] involves [...] doing and intervening. [...] Understood as affective states, concern and care are thus related. Care, however, has stronger affective and ethical connotations.

Following Puig de la Bellacasa, I draw on Joan Tronto’s notion of care: [...] everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair ‘our world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all that we seek to interweave in a complex, life sustaining web.

Peg Rawes gives voice to the importance of the situatedness and relationality of Tronto’s ‘life sustaining web’ for architecture when she speaks about how we can,

[...] embed ecological thinking and practice into social, material and technological relations which may enable architects to develop more enduring and collective ‘architectures of care’.

Bringing the notion of care, alongside that of concern, into the task of making sites through Haraway’s more inclusive and fluid situated knowledges and into the active quality of situatedness, rather than architecture’s typical contexts, underscores the architect’s role in producing, as Barad would say, ethico-epistemological matterings. Caring, not in a grand moralistic sense, as in ‘we should care’, but in a sense of attention and co-responsibility for intravention in and with and making the world focuses the architect’s energies on things that matter.

By replacing context with situatedness as a defining term of engagement, we establish a shift in the ‘distribution of the sensible’, providing the architect with a deeply ecological mode to make sites of intravention through situated matters of concern and care. Choreographing thinking and making through situatedness, the architect engages with architecture’s potential to afford caring relationships among people, materials, animals, processes and concerns.
Notes

2. Ibid., p.89.
5. I use the notion of ‘scores’ to reference that which is both set out and enactable as well as allows improvisation and inherent difference. See Nelson Goodman, Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols (London: Oxford University Press, 1969) and Tim Ingold’s Lines: A Brief History (London: Routledge, 2007) for discussions about the differences between scores and scripts. See Gilles Deleuze for an extensive discussion about the differences between scores and scripts. See, for instance, Ghassan Aouad, ‘Performative Intraventions and Matters of Care: Choreographing Values’, cited in this text.
18. Ibid.
22. Barad, Meeting the Universe Halfway.
24. Ibid., 815, emphasis in original.
26. See Lieberman and Altes, Intravention, Durations, Effects.
28. Jean-Francois Lyotard, Discourse, Figure, trans. by Antony Hudek and Mary Lydon (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).
29. Barad, Meeting the Universe Halfway, p. 247.
30. See Lieberman and Altes, ‘Performative Intraventions and Matters of Care: Choreographing Values’.
36. See Lieberman and Altes, Intravention, Durations, Effects.
37. While I have chosen to focus on Barad’s work here, various other related discourses (for example, notions of speculative realism, vibrant matter, object-oriented ontology, etc.) provide background noise to the thoughts laid out in this article.
40. Ibid., 583, emphasis added.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., p.592.
43. Ibid., p.595.
44. Clarke, Situational Analysis, pp. xxxviii.
45. Ibid., p.57.
46. Ibid., p. 67.
47. Ibid., p. 28; see Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective
Illustration credits

60. Lieberman and Altes, ‘Performative Intraventions and Matters of Care: Choreographing Values’, 3.
64. Puig de la Bellacasa, ‘Matters of Care in Technoscience’, 89.

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