

ARCHITECTURE AS A CLASS SOCIETY

Text: Paola De Martin



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

The widest gender pay gaps between male and female architects are recorded in Cyprus (50%), Romania (43%), and Slovakia (33%). Croatia (8%), Sweden (5%), and Denmark (3%) have the narrowest gender pay gap. €65 is the average hourly rate for partners and directors in Europe. Adjusted for purchasing power parity, the highest hourly rates are found in Luxembourg (€99), Austria (€96), and Denmark (€95), with the lowest in Romania (€35), Poland (€30), and Greece (€17).

By failing to define architecture in relation to society—that is to say, as the spatial reification of social relations—we are doomed to overlook fundamental questions crucial to its understanding: Who gets to study architecture and who ends up practicing it? Whom does architecture design for, and how? Drawing on her own experience, Paola De Martin maps out the social landscape of the design and architecture scene from the 1970s to the present, highlighting how intersectionality shapes the way we experience it.¹



Fig. 1 Paola De Martin with her uncle in the Zurich apartment where she spent a year as the undocumented child of a seasonal worker, protected from the immigration police.

**“I don’t stand on the sidelines
and nod silently; I talk, and
I don’t stop.”²**

■ Tupoka Ogette

Locating Perspectives (Not Casting Them in Concrete)

Coming from a working-class family, I became a primary school teacher and later a textile designer. In 2020, I completed my PhD in Design History at ETH Zurich’s Department of Architecture. My father was a bricklayer foreman and later a site supervisor. He was a skilled craftsman and adept at reading and executing plans. However, he kept flaws in construction plans secret from his superiors, as he confided to me shortly before his death, because they did not trust him—the *muratore* from Italy—to make competent assessments. My mother performed various roles: wood and water carrier, maid, nanny, laundress, ironer, housewife, factory worker—but above all, I saw her working as a cleaner. She read everything I shared with her; her favorite book was *Orlando* by Virginia Woolf. Throughout their lives, my parents were massively underestimated—including by myself at one point, I admit it openly. Reflexes taught by socialization led to such judgments, side effects of my own educational advancement. My father reacted as one might expect: His acquired hostility toward intellectuals grew proportionally to my acquired disdain. My mother grew resigned. Such experiences of alienation are typical for those ascending the educational ladder, dividing families and influencing their members’ actions. They perpetuate and cement social inequalities.

What also shaped our situation—in addition to our class—was the experience of being “migrantized.” The impositions we were subjected to as a working-class family without Swiss citizenship extended into the intimate sphere of reproduction. The seasonal worker status limited the duration of any foreign worker’s stay to a few months per year, restricted their independence and access to social security benefits, and prohibited family reunification. These racist regulations were enacted in 1934; their repeal only came in 2002.

The interwar period was also the era of the classic modern avant-gardes, such as the CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne) and the SWB (Schweizerischer Werkbund, lit. Swiss association of craftspeople). My research has shown that their avant-gardist habitus of distinction—the reflexive and legitimized demarcation against those perceived as less “developed”—was entangled with colonial racism and eugenics, a connection that remains barely examined.³ As a working-class family, we, along with hundreds of thousands of others, had to endure the effects of this exclusionary attitude long after the interwar period.

We, the migrant workers, have been taught a lesson without a textbook through the application of violent laws, urban segregation, forced living in barracks, verbal abuse, systematic educational discrimination, contempt for our lifestyle, mockery and amusement at our expense, and tangible violence.⁴ Those affected by poverty have no right to exist in this country except as single, working “others” who—as soon as the work is finished or the economy demands it—are expected to discreetly disappear.

Well, I have not disappeared. I am here. I deliberately break the polite silence because dropping out of the “leaky pipeline”—or might we say: “educational mortality”—is the norm for “parvenus” from working-class backgrounds, especially for migrant, working-class daughters. I take an explicit stance and make it transparent in order to avoid the continuous internalization of society’s judgment, which has caused irrevocable damage to many people close to me.⁵

Living with the Power of Habit

At some point, the architecture of the social that reflexively divides classes and milieus into high and low becomes second nature—

one might say, “common sense.” Our lifestyle is the sensual manifestation of this symbolic force of habit. Living, inhabiting, *abitare*, *habitus*. As the term implies, we inhabit historically created inequalities; we settle into them with our innermost being, as we are *habitually* disposed to doing by the practice of our class, rehearsed over decades or even centuries.

My parents always desired a better life for me. When I informed them that I—an experienced primary school teacher with a permanent position—would be resigning to pursue a degree in textile design at an art school, their reaction was an awkward silence; it was a step they could not comprehend. Conversely, one of my most influential lecturers in the textile design program often confided to me, full of ennui, that she had actually aspired to become an architect. However, her wealthy father had vetoed the idea, deeming her wish presumptuous as a woman—end of discussion. The practice of textile design, her second choice, was a dream come true for me. Our perspectives on the same subject differed vastly due to differences in social backgrounds.

Anecdotes like these help us to understand the origins of judgments of taste about what is “beautiful” and “good” that determine our practice. The issue at play is not so much the difference in itself but rather the fact that the perspectives of the heirs to the cultural hegemony are considered legitimate and universal, while others’ viewpoints are deemed “particular.” It is up to them to explain themselves—a lonely position that can lead to the educational exclusion of the underprivileged, which then appears as if it were a conscious choice. Those who have inherited the self-evident codes of the ruling classes can dispense with self-reflection; they take to the legitimate habitus of any field like a duck to water. From this perspective, it is logically always the “others” who have the problem.

Taking the Invisible Seriously

When “parvenus” fall out of their habitus, silent, habitual ruptures occur. This can be painful, but—if the silence is willingly and collectively broken—these ruptures are an endless source of historical knowledge. It is nothing other than the sudden emergence of erased structural history.

I vividly remember the first painful irritation I felt in the 1990s at Christa de Carouge’s fashion boutique at Mühle Tiefenbrunnen in Zurich’s Seefeld district—once the working-class neighborhood where I had to live in hiding (though no longer separated from my family) in my father’s employer’s apartment at just three years old—in hiding from the hands of the immigration police.

Christa de Carouge’s chic store, with its formwork panels, rusty scaffolding, and raw concrete, were all the rage in the 1990s. But when I read the store’s name, my mind immediately turned to Switzerland’s largest barrack settlement on the outskirts of Geneva, in, well, Carouge. These slums of the 1960s and 1970s, *baraccopoli*, as they’re called in Italian, ceased to exist when the oil crises hit. Today, nothing in Carouge reminds us of this chapter in Swiss architectural history. The neighborhood and the space it occupied in our minds has been thoroughly gentrified. One might argue that this is simply the natural course of things. But shouldn’t we fundamentally take an interest in those who run things and how they run—and ruin—them?

I was irritated by the surrounding discourse’s strange obliviousness to history, lacking any architectural-historical analysis to counterbalance the marketing-speak. There were no objections to her romanticizing terms like “the leitmotif is the construction site,” or the “ascetic” lifestyle where everything she needed could “fit into a suitcase.”⁶ Or to her fascination with the “southern flair” in Carouge, the sublimated, exoticizing, meridional Blackness of her fashion. Dealing with the incomprehensible feeling triggered by this postmodern appropriation of working-class aesthetics was far more challenging for me than coping with explicit acts of violence and discrimination. Historical consciousness becomes all the more urgent in the postmodern

age. As Stuart Hall puts it, “it is exactly the term ‘postmodernism’ itself which tells you of the tension of having to recognize what is new, and of struggling to mobilize some historical understanding of how it came to be produced. Postmodernism attempts to close off the past by saying that history is finished, therefore you needn’t go back to it.”⁷

Quality of Life: Accounting, Counting, Recounting

In hindsight, these examples are embedded within the context of profound structural economic transformations that have taken place since the early 1970s. Zurich has seen its cultural elite grow notably over recent decades. In 1970, only 9 percent of Zurich’s adult population held a university degree; by 2017, that number was 47 percent, the highest anywhere in the country. Since the abolition of border controls with the EU in 2002, 80 percent of all migrants who have relocated to Zurich possess a university degree, with 10 percent even having completed a dissertation. In 1970, 33 percent of Zurich’s population had not completed secondary school; by 2010, that share had dropped to 19 percent, trending further downward.⁸ The new migratory movement is therefore accelerating the structural changes that the old migration—which included my parents—had somewhat held in check.

As for the social makeup of the architectural field, there are no statistics on long-term trends. However, data from the neighboring field of design can serve as proxy variables for architecture. The situation at Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK), for instance, is essentially the opposite of what we observe in Swiss society overall. Among students in the design department, only 6 percent have parents with less than a secondary school diploma (compared to 14 percent of the overall Swiss population). Additionally, 28 percent have parents who completed high school, a vocational diploma, or an apprenticeship (compared to 42 percent of the overall Swiss population). In contrast, 60 percent have at least one parent with a university degree (compared to 29 percent of the overall Swiss population). The minority of students from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds consists almost entirely of the post-migrant second generation. Their numbers are dwindling in the face of the growing majority of international students who come to Zurich specifically to study design. The latter primarily hail from EU countries and are well-equipped with cultural heritage.⁹

Concurrently, the growth of the creative sector as a whole is striking. In the three years prior to the 2008 financial crisis, the number of people working in the creative industry in the Zurich metropolitan region grew by 8 percent.¹⁰ Starting in the mid-2010s, the architectural profession represented the highest share in terms of employees in the entire Swiss creative industry at 20 percent.¹¹ In 2016, 15,404 companies were registered in the sector, with a total of 44,168 employees (converted into full-time equivalents), as the most recent creative industries report indicated. Part-time employment in this field is notably lower when compared to other sub-categories of the creative industry, such as music or graphics. The gross value added in the architecture sector amounted to 5.8 billion Swiss francs, with total sales reaching 11 billion Swiss francs.¹² The pace of development demonstrates a robust upward trend across companies, employees, gross value added, and sales.¹³

Working on the Social Fabric: A Web of Relationships

The remarkable growth of the creative industry is often celebrated as part of an enthusiastic discourse that distracts from the precarity faced by most of those working in the field. Only a small minority of designers is able to make a living over the long term without cross-subsidizing their practice with another job or an inherited financial cushion. And what about architects? How societal inequalities are perpetuated within the field of architecture remains largely unknown; our insights are limited to qualitative observations. The response from a sociologist with the Institute for Architecture at the University of

Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland (FHNW) to my inquiry about the various social backgrounds of architecture students at ETH and FHNW is characteristic in this regard: there is no data. This source had a hunch that students from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds seemed to be overrepresented at FHNW—where the subject can also be taken as part of a vocational baccalaureate—and underrepresented at ETH, though the sociologist found the topic all too delicate and did not want to inquire specifically about their social backgrounds.

An internal inquiry conducted at ETH Zurich’s Department of Architecture revealed widespread unease regarding the lack of socioeconomic diversity within the department. “It was mentioned that the professors mainly come from affluent backgrounds, have financial security, or belong to families with historical ties to architecture. Students or assistants who do not share similar backgrounds often feel intimidated, out of place, and pressured to feign assimilation and conform. ... Trying to blend in and hide one’s non-privileged background, dealing with recurring financial stress, or having to work full-time while studying pose significant risks to both mental and physical well-being and impede academic success.”¹⁴

Current discussions on classism overlook the field of architecture with disturbing consistency.¹⁵ Architectural sociology, which developed starting in the 1970s, focuses on what happens outside the field and is predominantly a sociology *for* architects.¹⁶ The sole book explicitly addressing classism within the field of architecture is Garry Stevens’s *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*.¹⁷ Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptual framework, Stevens delves into the distinctions that are part of a class habitus and the mastery of cultural codes within the architecture scene. He describes the workings of an invisible selection process that operates unbeknownst to the actors involved. Recent studies from the UK reveal that the field of architecture indeed constitutes a “favored circle” as one of the most privileged and exclusive domains within cultural production.¹⁸

Other accounts, such as Douglas Spencer and Marianela D’Aprile’s “Notes on Tafuri, Militancy, and Unionization,” a contemporary rereading of Manfredo Tafuri’s *Architecture and Utopia*, make precisely the opposite argument.¹⁹ They lament the powerlessness of creative architects in the face of economic and bureaucratic forces. Recent studies on the unionization efforts of architectural workers in the US also paint a grim picture of a scene in which exploitation and self-exploitation are the order of the day.²⁰ However, architectural practice, at least in Switzerland, maintains a certain level of dignity, with a definition of precarity that might sound like a first-world problem to other creatives.²¹ While ETH Zurich—which, in principle, is accessible to all, irrespective of an ability to pay for tuition—may seem only moderately exclusive when compared to elite universities in the USA, that perception is misleading. Factors like early academic selection in primary school, self-censorship influenced by one’s environment, and internalized feelings of exclusion take effect long before individuals contemplate university studies. The perception that ETH is not for them—too ambitious, too difficult, too pretentious—is especially prevalent among children from economically and educationally disadvantaged families.²²

The power of distinction also manifests itself in the relationship between sub-disciplines. As someone who commutes between Zurich University of the Arts and the Department of Architecture at ETH, I can attest to the prevalent impression shared by many colleagues in the design field: Architecture is more powerful than design; the former holds sway over aesthetic discourses that span both domains. An architect-turned-design theorist whom I interviewed for my research remarked that only those who can’t study architecture opt to study design instead—but only as a second choice. From what I gather from the participants in my seminar at the Department of Architecture, ETH students are encouraged to see themselves as generalists, capable



Fig. 2 Until the mid-1970s, thousands of seasonal workers endured squalid conditions in the barracks of Carouge on the outskirts of Geneva.



Fig. 3 In 1978, fashion designer Christa Furrer adopted the artist name Christa de Carouge—the name of the Geneva suburb where one of Switzerland's largest barrack settlements once stood, and where she opened her first boutique, contributing to its gentrification and, simultaneously, to the erasure of its history.



Fig. 4 Zaha Hadid as a child in front of the Trevi Fountain in Rome, circa 1958

of addressing a wide range of topics with eloquence and wit. Examining self-assured “starchitects,” architectural theorist Philip Ursprung contextualizes this phenomenon sociologically, situating it within the context of late capitalism, which fosters the rise of this type of person²³—or rather, which *once again* fosters the rise of such figures, because ever since Giorgio Vasari’s *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, i.e., for nearly half a millennium, a common narrative has been to portray (mostly male) architects as iconic figures, akin to secular saints. Even their struggles are sometimes meticulously documented.²⁴

In other words, you are not born an architect, much less a star; you are made into one by the material conditions of your time—and today, those are the material conditions of neoliberalism. Cultural sociologist Franz Schultheis calls this the winner-takes-all principle,²⁵ while Swiss inequality sociologist Ueli Mäder invokes the biblical Matthew effect: To those who have, will be given. In theory, talented and driven children from working-class backgrounds can also reach the top by overcoming both external and internal barriers.²⁶ However, unlike in past years of economic prosperity when many ambitious individuals from humble origins could achieve success in cultural fields—at least in industrialized, Western countries—today, they’re the proverbial needle in the haystack. Cultural theorist Mark Fisher, in an afterword to the German version of his *Capitalist Realism: Is*

There No Alternative? suggests that neoliberalism intertwines fate with social class. Fisher notes that individuals can still “rise from the working class, but not along with it.”²⁷ But for children and young people from impoverished backgrounds and “developing countries,” no amount of talent or ambition seems to offer a viable pathway. Moreover, refugees face significant hurdles in overcoming the systematic declassification imposed by current refugee policies.²⁸ Successful architects of color, such as Zaha Hadid, Wang Shu, and Balkrishna Doshi, predominantly hail from families with substantial inherited economic, social, and cultural capital—a fact that aligns with sociological observations. Diversity has a class bias.

How can we reconcile the reliance on big money in the fiercely competitive world of architecture with its profound cultural influence? Overall, one might say, using Bourdieu’s terms, that practicing architects hold the highest intermediate position within the cultural production sphere. Yet, in a way perhaps rivaled only by the great intellectuals, they ultimately remain the ruled among the ruling.²⁹

Conclusion: Collective Dream Work

Those who make it into esteemed architectural institutions arguably start out their career with the most advantageous capital: cutting-edge technical know-how, cultural sophistication, influential networks, and legitimate charisma. That, at least, is what we might

preliminarily conclude. But what happens next? In order to sustain success in the architectural field, one must endure periods of hardship, which can be more severe than those faced by designers, who can often bridge financial gaps relatively easily. Architects, therefore, face greater risks. On the flip side, aspiring architects can look forward to better financial prospects in the long run. However, inherited predispositions are a different matter altogether.³⁰ They tap into deep emotions, giving rise to boundless dreams. Boris Blank, the son of a working-class father and one half of the successful music duo Yello—alongside Dieter Meier, a multifaceted figure from Zurich's bourgeoisie—expressed this sentiment in an interview with *ZEIT Magazin*:

“My dreams often feature stairs that lead a long way up. In one, a staircase ascends along the side of a house, higher and higher, but it only begins a few meters above the ground. I have to jump to reach it. In another dream, I am sitting in an airplane taxiing up a mountain meadow, attempting to take off. But it doesn't manage to take off. I leave my seat and go to the front. The cockpit is empty. Turning back, I see that the cabin is also empty. I am the sole person aboard the plane ... In these dreams, it's always important for me to show others

that I can levitate. Coming from a working-class background, I was never encouraged to draw attention to myself as a child.”³¹

While working on my dissertation, I often dreamed of letters and words floating in space, wielding them as instruments shaping my destiny. In these dreams, I beckoned others to join me, eager to share the game with them, but did they hear me? The outcome of these dreams remained open-ended. Dreams are concrete emotional work toward a different future. A dream comes true when we begin challenging the boundaries of expectation. In my waking hours, I yearn for rigorous research scrutinizing architecture *as* a class society, addressing previously untold—and unheard—realities. I've often found this to be more than just a solemn endeavor. Discussing architecture, design, art, theater, and literature through the lens of class, without social shame, hasty judgments, or inhibitions, I often feel like I'm part of a group of enthusiastic dilettantes learning a new language together. *Dilettare*, in Italian, means to inspire, to bring pleasure. Creativity means more than shaping the built environment; creativity is a social practice. Today's dilettantes are tomorrow's experts. *We* don't just stand on the sidelines and nod silently; *we* talk, and *we* don't stop.

1 Paola De Martin, *Give us a Break! Arbeitermilieu und Designszene im Aufbruch* (Zurich: Diaphanes, 2022).

2 Tupoka Ogette, “Ich stehe nicht am Rand und nicke stumm, sondern ich rede, und ich höre nicht mehr auf,” *ZEIT Magazin* 27, June 25, 2020.

3 See Christina Cogdell, *Eugenic Design: Streamlining America in the 1930s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Patricia Purtschert, “Weiße Waren: Die Erfindung der Schweizer Hausfrau,” in Patricia Purtschert, ed., *Kolonialität und Geschlecht im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Geschichte der weißen Schweiz* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019), 71–183.

4 Recently, a formerly undocumented child of a migrant laborer told me that his father, who worked on the construction of the runways at Zurich Airport in the 1950s, faced insults and frequent beatings with sticks from Swiss supervisors who had been specifically recruited from the italoophone Swiss region of Ticino.

5 See *Schwarzenbach Komplex*, accessed June 5, 2024, schwarzenbach-komplex.ch/cms/; *Tesoro e.V.*, accessed June 5, 2024, tesoro2021.ch.

6 Jenny Keller, “Ein Leben lang,” interview with Christa de Carouge, *swiss-architects.com*, accessed June 5, 2024, www.swiss-architects.com/de/architecture-news/meldungen/ein-leben-lang.

7 Lawrence Grossberg, “On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10(2), 50.

8 Cf. Daniel Fritzsche, “Zürich, die gebildete Stadt,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, February 1, 2017.

9 Cf. Catrin Seefranz and Philippe Saner, *Making Differences: Schweizer Kunsthochschulen* (Zurich: ZHdK, 2012), 38–45, accessed June 5, 2024, blog.zhdk.ch/artschooldifferences/en/preliminary-study; Philippe Saner et al., *Art.School.Differences: Researching Inequalities and Normativities in the Field of Higher Education* (Zurich: Institute for Art Education, ZHdK, 2016), 150–63, accessed June 5, 2024, blog.zhdk.ch/artschooldifferences/schlussbericht.

10 Christoph Weckerle and Hubert Theler, eds., *Dritter Kreativwirtschaftsbericht Zürich. Die Bedeutung der Kultur- und Kreativwirtschaft für den Standort Zürich 2010* (Zurich: ZHdK, 2010), 6.

11 Christoph Weckerle et al., eds., *Von der Kreativwirtschaft zu den Creative Economies: Kreativwirtschaftsbericht Schweiz 2016* (Zurich: ZHdK, 2016), 7.

12 Ibid, 9.

13 Ibid, 40.

14 Department of Architecture, ETH Zurich, “Class: The Elephant in the Room,” in *Engage Parity Report*, internal PDF, 57.

15 See also Andrea Kempers and Heike Weinbach, *Klassismus: Eine Einführung* (Munster: Unrast, 2007); bell hooks, *Where We Stand: Class Matters* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

16 For a typical example of a detached view of society from the perspective of architecture, see Heike Delitz, *Architektursoziologie* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2009).

17 Garry Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge: MIT University Press, 1998).

18 Lizzie Crook, “Architectural Professions Top List of Elite Occupations in the UK,”

Dezeen, October 6, 2021, accessed June 5, 2024, www.dezeen.com/2021/10/06/architecture-privileged-creative-industry-report/.

19 Mariana D'Aprile and Douglas Spencer, “Notes on Tafuri, Militancy, and Unionization,” *Avery Review* 56, April 2022, accessed June 5, 2024, www.averyreview.com/issues/56/notes-on-tafari; see also Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge: MIT University Press, 1976).

20 See Marisa Cortright, “Death to the Calling: A Job in Architecture Is Still a Job,” *Failed Architecture*, August 15, 2019, accessed June 5, 2024, failedarchitecture.com/death-to-the-calling-a-job-in-architecture-is-still-a-job.

21 See Franz Schultheis, “Prekär auf hohem Niveau,” in *Gesellschaft mit begrenzter Haftung: Zumutungen und Leiden im deutschen Alltag*, (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), 375–78.

22 See Margrit Stamm, *Arbeiterkinder an die Hochschulen! Hintergründe ihrer Aufstiegsangst*, Dossier 18/1, 2018. Hans-Rudolf Fierz, an ETH student and son of a working-class father, provides unique insight into how exclusionary mechanisms can be internalized and passed on in the documentary *Die Früchte der Arbeit: Arbeit und Arbeiter in der Schweiz 1914–1974*, dir. Alexander J. Seiler, Switzerland, 1977.

23 Cf. Philip Ursprung, “Von der Rezession zur Stararchitektur und zurück: Der Architektenberuf seit den frühen 1970er Jahren,” in Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Der Architekt: Geschichte und Gegenwart eines Berufsstandes*, vol. 1 (Munich: Prestel, 2012), 229–41.

24 See Elahe Haschemi Yekani, *Privilege of Crisis: Narratives of Masculinities in Colonial and Postcolonial Literature, Photography and Film* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2011).

25 Cf. Franz Schultheis, “Kollektive Heuchelei: Tobias Timm im Gespräch mit Franz Schultheis,” *ZEIT ONLINE*, June 25, 2015, accessed June 5, 2024, www.zeit.de/2015/26/art-basel-kunstmarktpreise-franz-schultheis; Sigward Neckel, *Flucht nach vorn: Die Erfolgskultur der Marktgesellschaft* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2008).

26 Cf. Ueli Mäder, “Der Soziologe entzaubert den Mythos der Tellerwäscher-Karriere. Sein Schluss: Wer hat, dem wird gegeben,” *SRF-Club*, July 23, 2013, accessed June 5, 2024, www.srf.ch/play/tv/club/video/ueli-maeder?urn=urn:srf:video:d3fa1c59-febc-4d4f-a284-657227ac9b63.

27 Mark Fisher, afterword to *Kapitalistischer Realismus ohne Alternative? Eine Flugschrift* (orig. *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?*), trans. Christian Werthschulte et al. (Hamburg: VSA, 2013), 103.

28 Rami Msallam, “Dystopie im Provisorium, Utopie im Erinnern,” *trans* 41 (October 2022), 27–31.

29 Eva Barlösius, “Der engagierte Intellektuelle und seine Soziologie der Intellektuellen,” in *Pierre Bourdieu* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2011), 158–71.

30 A particularly apt fictional example of this can be found in Jackie Thomae, *Brüder* (Berlin: Hanser, 2019).

31 Boris Blank, “Es gelingt mir, vom Boden abzuheben—Zuerst nur wenige Zentimeter, dann höher,” *ZEIT Magazin* 44, November 12, 2016.