MAPPING NEUTRALITY

CRITICAL GEOGRAPHIES OF THE HAGUE

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ABSTRACT: Mapping Neutrality

Critical Geographies of The Hague

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This thesis takes the reader on an emotional journey, through offices, buildings, streets, cities, countries, past and present, to explore what makes things neutral. It addresses a question currently lacking in the discipline, that if geographies are essentially emotional-affective, material, geopolitical and organised (if fluid), is there such thing as **a geography of neutrality**? Based on a case study of the World Forum Area of The Hague, and specifically a war crimes courtroom, headquarters building and International Zone, it shows how various forms of neutrality are peopled and placed. By doing so, it also confronts what constitutes "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice."

The research was autoethnographic, involving semi-structured interviews, walking tours, observation and texts. Developing current analytical debates in geography, including emotions and affects, architecture, critical geopolitics and organisational anthropology, the thesis reveals three distinct yet overlapping socio-spatial forms, namely neutrality-as-competence, international-as-neutral and neutrality-as-(un)organised.

These three 'neutralities' matter politically since they fuel and challenge, liberal democracy, sovereignty and power relations. They also matter theoretically, as they uncover a complex relationship between absence and presence, in the constitution of a recognizable entity. Neutralities are an achievement of staged and *un*staged significance along with staged and unstaged *in*significance. Through the deliberate and inadvertent enactment of *a lack* of certain elements as much as a supply of others, intricate 'neutral' practices produce power(less) (un)organisations, that can justify political action and inaction, intimately and globally. With showcase trials performing emotional control, architecture downplaying its importance, and coherency that appears without strategy, 'The Hague International City of Peace and Justice' is one such multiscalar, organisational effect. Nevertheless, it contains people 'at the coalface,' negotiating neutrality's inherent contradictions, continually stretching its meanings and practices. Future work could tell their stories to enrich geographies of peace (McConnell, Williams and Megoran 2014).

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ABBREVIATIONS

The Hague ICPJ or HICPJ = The Hague International City of Peace and Justice

IZ = The International Zone

ICTY = The International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

OPCW = The Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons

ICC= International Criminal Court

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1) Overview of Introduction Chapter

In this thesis, I show why studying what neutrality is and does is useful. I start the introduction by offering four examples of its paradoxical nature, which illustrate not only how neutrality is so much more than *"the absence of decided views, expression or strong feeling"* and *"impartiality"* (Oxford Dictionaries) but also why it demands geographical attention. I then present the aims and objectives, followed by an explanation of why academically and personally, I chose The World Forum Area in The Hague as a case study. In particular, I emphasise why honing in on some of its micro-geographies such as a courtroom and a new building, as well broadening out to the "International Zone", allows me to consider neutrality across scales. I also explain how throughout the thesis, I explore "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice" through the lens of organisation rather than city. Finally, I provide an overview of the structure.

1.2) Four Neutrality Debates

The following section describes four significant scholarly debates (sometimes paradoxes) relating to neutrality. Their different takes on neutrality all point to its contradictory nature and geographical significance. Nevertheless, neutrality remains an under-explored concept, which could specifically benefit from recent, critical approaches in human geography. I start with these four debates, as they also underscore the autoethnographic element of this thesis.

The first debate centres on whether lawyers can ever be outside politics as they are often assumed to be, if they are always creating and maintaining polities. In 1609, Hugo Grotius sometimes regarded as the "father of international law" (Bull, Kingsbury and Roberts 1990:3) published "Mare Liberum", (The Free Seas). In 2009, its four

hundred year anniversary was celebrated at a conference at the Peace Palace in The Hague, where a cross-disciplinary group of academics discussed Grotius and his legacy. At the conference, there was a historian whose presentation suggested Grotius was a nation-builder, commissioned by the VOC (Dutch East India Company) to design legal concepts that would legitimize their involvement in the spice trade, and fund an army to secure Dutch independence from Spain and the Hapsburgs. He was "a wise man never merely a private citizen" (van Ittersum 2010:1) even when he went on to write "De jure belli ac pacis" (1625) (On the Law of War and Peace). To van Ittersum's critics at the conference in 2009, she answered "You lawyers must have your saints" implying that they severed a link between politics, sovereignty and international law, an idea supported by anthropologist, Engle Merry (2006). Speaking to a friend and expert on Grotius shortly after the conference, he assured me that the success of his ideas had nothing to do with Grotius being of The Hague, or Dutch. Grotius was part of an international community of lawyers, communicating in Latin, and his ideas were not unique. "He was just in the right place at the right time" (Gregor, ethnographic observation, 2010). That time coincided with the advent of printing technology and The Treaty of Westphalia (1648), when the world as a jigsaw of independent states started to develop (Ó Tuathail 1996). The contested representation of a 'neutral' lawyer in The Hague, detached from politics and place, yet creating international and 'neutral' space (the sea) and engaging in statecraft through the rule of law, is still evident today. Why and how legal '*saints*' are continuously constructed socially and spatially should matter to critical geopolitics, and any exploration needs to be done on the ground. They do not quite fit the wise men, intellectuals of statecraft or (screen) writers of classical, practical or popular geopolitical categories (Ó Tuathail 1996, Dodds, Kuus and Sharp 2013), so how and why are these agents co-produced with representational and embodied practices almost covertly, such that a certain type of neutrality is conveyed and experienced?

The second debate or paradox is based on the idea that one cannot be neutral about neutrality, at least when it comes to state governance (Zelletin 2009). Alexa Zelletin (2009) suggests neutrality is a two-fold concept containing elements of 1) hands-off

and 2) hands-on, ensuring equal treatment of all conceptions of what is a good life. Zelletin argues that being neutral, one must not be detached from violations of rights but at the same time one must not interfere in any expression and practice of what is good. This implies that the notion of neutrality is upheld by a dichotomy between what is right and what is good. However, in order to define rights, one is promoting a particular conception of what is a good life, so neutrality involves a moral value, and it is liberally biased towards autonomy, respect and equality. Zelletin goes on to illustrate how the two sides of neutrality contradict each other in practice, and argues the balance between them is always contextual. This suggests that social, spatial and emotional factors are always involved in the choice of hands-off or hands-on neutrality in the state versus the individual, and this depends on what serves best liberal democracy and the sovereign state system. A geographical perspective adds to understanding of how this paradox works across scales and through embodied practices.

The third paradox is that the quest for neutrality produces peace *and* violence. Neutrality might also be a desirable goal of the modernist project, a rational approach to social order that relies on classification to understand and manipulate things in a way that doesn't privilege one side over another (Bauman 1991). However, contradiction and indifference may also be its consequences. The task of defining and organising is never-ending because there are always things that remain ambivalent. Bauman argues that this is no accident. When it comes to people, stragglers are assimilated in order to support the task of order, but they must always lag behind a little, to maintain the concept, construction and consolidation of nation states since the Enlightenment. Nobody is meant to be assimilated too effectively, otherwise it would threaten the notion of homogeneity and dominance of those that lay claim to a territory (ibid:70). Outsiders fail to mutate to their surroundings, as they ultimately cannot change blood or history. Whilst they accept the invitation to lose their stigma, they never do. The result is ambivalence towards these not-quite conformists, those who don't quite belong, except in extreme circumstances, either when a dominant group decides to eliminate them, or there is indifference to their suffering. This is

Bauman's explanation of the Holocaust. Hitler's barbarism was not a flashback to pre-modern times but an outcome of modernism (ibid:19). Likewise, for Zizek (2009), the classification of rights is both reliant on and productive of people stripped completely of bodily integrity and political identity. International, ethical codes and 'rights' justify political, economic, cultural and military intervention *and* indifference to violations, in the maintenance of the international system. When Western powers did not get involved militarily during the siege of Sarajevo in the mid 1990s, media focus on humanitarian effort around the city, smoke-screened their support for the importance of sovereignty (in this case, Serbia's) (Zizek 2009:339). These emotive philosophers present a third, paradoxical neutrality, that appears *both* as a utopian blueprint that drives geopolitical practice, *and* a process that sustains terror. Surely, geographers and other social scientists have an obligation to empirically explore the possibility of networks of places, communities, skills, meanings, emotions and affects, that might be continuously enacted and legitimized through this process, and also agents in perpetuating it. The co-production of peace and violence has recently become a theme in geography, which will be explored in the literature review. A geography of neutrality would contribute to this.

Recent research in international relations on neutrality is the final debate or paradox. It involves polities being represented or parading themselves as outside a world enacted as an anarchic system yet actively shaping and benefiting from it through active involvement and/or passivity. In "The Social Construction of Swedish Identity", Christine Agius (2006) challenges perspectives on state neutrality. For her, it is neither a realist 'aberration' (2006:4) by a weak polity, or an unnecessary stance in a system based on the achievement of liberal idealism, it is a strategy based on both. In the absence of being able to defend itself militarily, a neutral country can still provide 'good offices' to belligerents in realist terms, but also strategically promote an overarching authority that makes violating its sovereignty morally impossible. However, neutrality is not simply a reaction to external factors but "a component of what constitutes nation state identity and actions" (2006:5). This has stimulated a debate about the persistence and possibilities of neutrality in an era of liberal peace,

and the diversity of elements that constitute neutrality across space (Agius 2011, Goetschel 2011, Agius and Devine 2011, Dreyer and Jesse 2014). This approach lends neutrality a performative perspective, that also defines people and places that are 'not neutral' and has implications for how the geopolitical world system is enacted. It also suggests neutrality cannot be simply switched off on the basis of a change in foreign policy, just like the contested debate about Britain being 'part of' Europe (Agius 2006). The paradox is that neutrality enables a community and its territory to consolidate and survive by attributing power and problems elsewhere, when it has considerable agency in its own right. The question for geographers should be how the spectacular and everyday socio-material, diplomatic practices of 'neutral polities' like these, both reinforce existing geopolitical categories and create alternatives.

1.3) Aims and Objectives

An explanation for choosing The Hague to study neutrality follows shortly (in 1.4). Firstly, I outline the purpose of this thesis and how I will approach it.

AIM 1) To investigate neutrality geographically, relationally, emotionally and materially,

AIM 2) To interrogate the relationship between neutrality and The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice, and explore its geopolitical implications,

OBJECTIVE 1) to scrutinize the co-production of 'neutral' embodied practices and the ICTY courtroom, the ICTY building and the international zone, and why they matter.

OBJECTIVE 2) to explore the presence and absence of practices, symbols, discourses, emotions and affects that produce 'neutral' architecture and interiors.

OBJECTIVE 3) to critically analyse what constitutes "The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice" as a 'neutral' organisational effect and its implications for law, diplomacy and peace.

1.4) Why study The Hague?

1.4.1) How The Hague became known as an "International City of Peace and Justice"

For a detailed political geography of The Hague, I point the reader to the invaluable work of Hermann van der Wusten and his colleagues (van der Wusten 2005, Mamadouh et al 2015, Mamadouh and van der Wusten, 2016). In this section, I give a brief explanation of how the city has become associated with international peace and justice. Many believe The Hague in The Netherlands, began its journey as (International) City of Peace and Justice over a century ago, though some may argue a lot earlier (ibid, van Krieken and Mackay 2005). In 1899, the city was chosen as the site of a Peace Conference, initiated by Nicholas II of Russia, more by process of elimination than anything else. Most European countries were rejected by their rivals, and others didn't care enough. However, "The Netherlands was as neutral as it was insignificant" (Eyfinnger 2003:16) as a place to rekindle interest in the laws and customs of war. The Hague was its seat of government and accommodated the Supreme Court; it had been the home of Hugo Grotius two hundred years ago (the 'father of international law'); a Dutch king had fairly recently married a Czar's daughter; and it was geographically easy to get to from most places. There had also been a successful meeting of international minds on international private law in 1893, instigated by Dutchman, Tobias Asser.

The Peace Conference itself was highly significant in organisational terms, even if it did not prevent the outbreak of war in 1914. It spawned the Permanent Court of Arbitration, The International Court of Justice and 100 years or so later, The International Criminal Court. There are currently numerous judicial, executive, legislative, academic and non-governmental organisations associated with international peace and justice here. They involve disarmament, peacekeeping and conflict prevention as well as laws (see list on http://www.haguejusticeportal.net/eCache/DEF/50.html) In more concrete terms, the peace conference also spawned a temple, aided by philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie.

The lofty, expensive and unfinished Vredespaleis (Peace Palace) looms over the Archipel district, where the streets are named Malaccastraat, Surinamsestraat, reminiscent of the Dutch empire. Even if the courts and tribunals nowadays "do not seek the limelight" (ibid:7) this particular building is distinctive. Although before 1945 the courts predominantly presided over European affairs, since the development of the UN, the dealings of peace and justice institutions in The Hague have gradually become more *international* (van Krieken and Mackay 2005).

Nowadays, the City Council, media and tourist industries persistently use the moniker "The Hague: City of International Peace and Justice" (Hulleman and Govers 2011: 150) highlighting the many organisations and people that serve this purpose, whilst consequently downplaying the city's numerous national and multinational employers, such as the Headquarters of Royal Dutch Shell. They imply that The Hague's family tree can restore global order, as the website of the Embassy of The Netherlands in London (2011) explained in the following extract

"The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice. Anyone who thinks that this is just a clever city marketing slogan, invented by smart advertising boys, is on the wrong track. If you should travel to Sarajevo, Nairobi or Kabul, you would discover that in these towns the name of that far-away city The Hague stands for hope. Hope for millions of people that the evil-doers who murdered their fathers, raped their mothers and took their children for soldiers will not go unpunished. Today, The Hague is home to no less than 131 international institutes and agencies - both NGOs and government institutions. The numerous institutions and organisations create a climate in which debate and the exchange of ideas can flourish. By accommodating such important institutions as the ICJ and the ICC, but also all those tiny ngo's, The Hague wants to create and maintain exactly this ambience of Peace and Justice. The Hague works hard to continue to be a beacon of hope for millions of people around the world."(Dutch Embassy, London, 2011)
http://www.dutchembassyuk.org/government/index.php?i=423:

The quote is perhaps mostly evocative of The Hague's role in international courts and tribunals, which consider individuals' responsibility for war crimes, comprising categories such as genocide and crimes against humanity. These include the International Criminal Court (ICC), The International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) The Special Tribunal for the Lebanon (STL) and more recently the Kosovo

Specialist Chambers and Specialist Prosecutor's Office. They are distinguishable from the practices of arbitration and adjudication that take place at the Peace Palace through the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) and International Court of Justice (ICJ), respectively. The former (PCA) involves the settlement of differences by judges elected by the parties involved, such as states, private individuals and commercial entities. The latter (ICJ) deals mostly with issues between states through an international judicial body with standing judges.

Although "The Hague as an International City of Peace and Justice" has started to stick, The Hague has many names. Over the last twenty-five years, it has also been described as "*The Legal Capital of the World*" by Boutros Ghali in 1993 (Hulleman and Govers 2011:150, van Krieken and Mackay 2005:25), "*The Hague: City of Peace, Justice and Security*" (in "A Walking Tour of The (Inter)national Legal Institutions in The Hague" published by the Gemeente/Municipality between 2009-2012 but undated). It was also envisaged by the Gemeente/Municipality as a *"World City by the Sea*" (www.wereldstadaanzee.nl) in their vision for the city at that time. Most recently it was presented as "*A City without Walls*" in its bid book for the European Capital of Culture (2018) http://www.thehagueonline.com/news/den-haag-2018-presents-bid-book/2012-11-12. The cities practices have stimulated theoretical and academic work in city branding and diplomacy (van der Wusten 2005, Mamadouh and van der Wusten 2016, Hulleman and Govers, 2011:150). Whatever is in the name, there is a sense that neutrality at some scale has played a part over time (van Krieken and Mackay 2005, Eyffinger 2003, 2005).

1.4.2) Personal motivation to study The Hague

From 2005 to 2012, I lived in The Hague. When I arrived with a baby and a toddler, I was intrigued by the city and the origin of its label, as well as trying to settle in at a practical and emotional level. I learnt Dutch (badly), read the numerous books explaining how I should 'get on' with 'the Dutch', and attended a talk by a historian and culture expert, who emphasised the value of egalitarianism and not sticking out

(van Ditzhuyen 2009). I read about the history, politics, culture and architecture of The Netherlands, and was continuously confronted with representations of past, present and future concerns with neutrality in various forms, both at a national level politically and culturally, and also specifically in relation to the '*village-like*' Hague.

As the children got older, I started to perceive two sides to the city. I was travelling to different places and engaging with different communities, on the basis that my children attended both 'Dutch' and 'expat' playgroups and schools. Yet, my enthusiasm for the 'local industry' was not matched by either of the groups around me. Even, the employees of the organisations of global order, that I met in public and school playgrounds, seemed politely modest, and revealed little about their jobs. Initially, their work bore no relevance to evolving friendships, until I decided to carry out research.

There was also an assumption that the presence of thousands of international expatriates was not an issue for the city's inhabitants. The story went that (although the public did not seem interested in the trials themselves) everyone benefited from cultural integration in the city's affluent areas, and it made people, wherever they were from, *better*. The consequent purported advantages for the children, seemed like an everyday topic of conversation. There was an aura about these neighbourhoods as if they had in their possession, the very expertise, neutrality and goodness, to underpin the promotion of peace, and the trial and conviction of those accused of war crimes. Families were visible everywhere as they travelled to and fro, by bike or cargobike within the green, residential areas of the city. Nevertheless, it didn't always feel perfect. There were moments when body language or comments provoked feelings of doing things wrong.

1.4.3) Academic approach

It is for these reasons that The Hague: City of Peace and Justice presented an interesting context to explore some specifically geographical, and to some extent

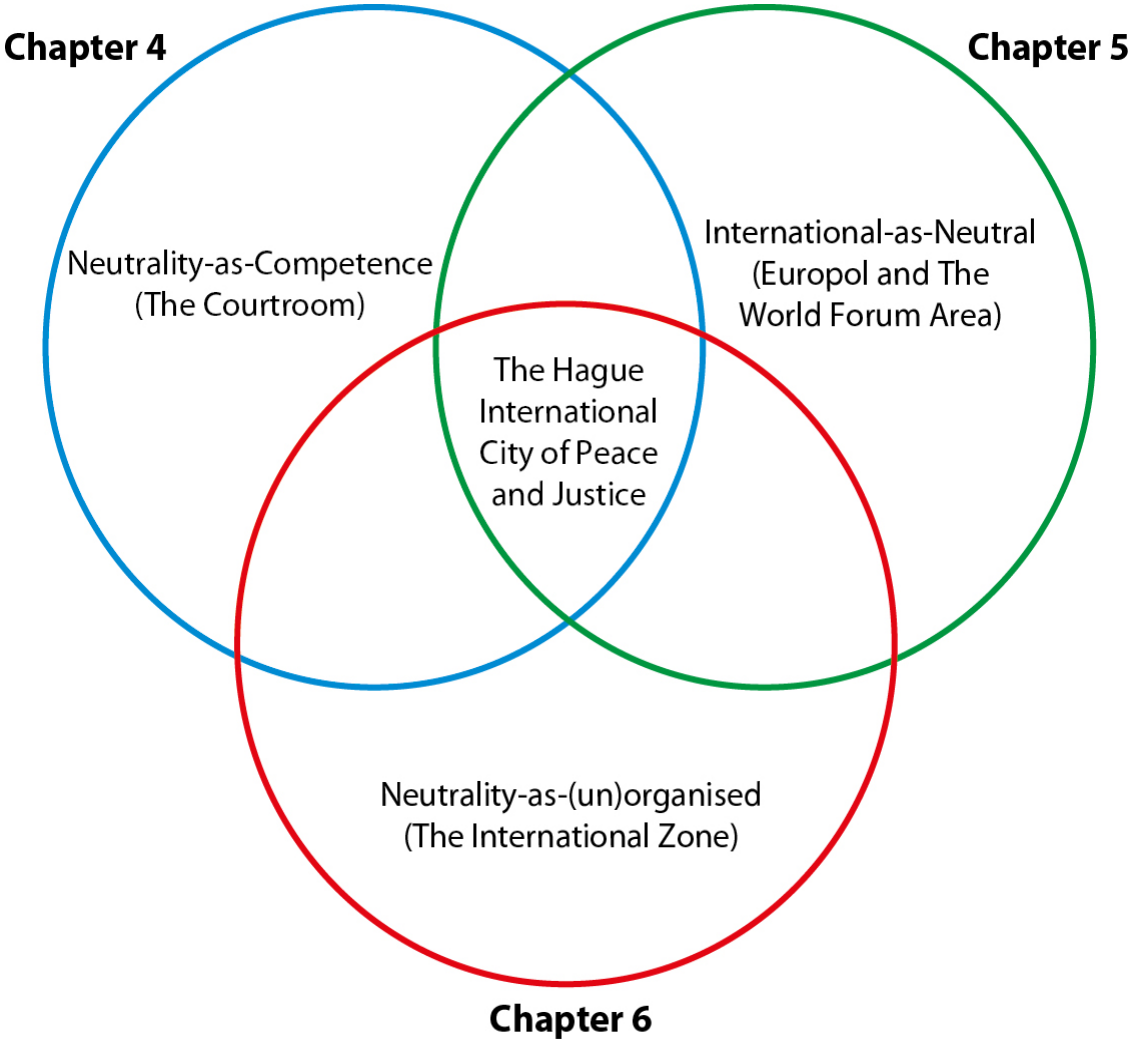
anthropological themes. Firstly, there was the question of the disjuncture between global order and the people of The Hague, which begged questions about boundaries, and the absence of socio-spatial and scalar connections. This seemed particularly relevant to the academic research in critical geopolitics and organisational anthropology. Secondly, it presented a public image of harmony, which begged further investigation into the 'aura' of The Hague and how people actually felt, which tied into the geography of emotions and affects. Lastly, it raised questions about what actually constituted neutrality, and whether it could actually be emplaced through a continuous networking process of representations, practices and space-times. This idea linked generally to geographies of place. However, given the area under scrutiny was characterized by a built environment of workplaces, it spoke most to the contemporary geographical studies of architecture.

Critical geopolitics, organisational anthropology, and the geographies of architecture, and emotion and affect, all overlap to certain extent in their methodology and theory. Their distinctive qualities and commonalities are outlined in the literature review in Chapter Two, where gaps are also identified. What seemed to be lacking almost at the outset, however, was a specific *geography of neutrality*, which explains why the main aim of this PhD is to explore it, spatially, materially, emotionally and relationally. It was important and useful to combine these with the research on neutrality I had picked up from the other disciplines (see 1.2), which revealed it to be somewhat Catch 22 in nature.

Methodologically, it seemed appropriate to study the relationship between geography and neutrality qualitatively, and to a certain extent, autoethnographically. I felt that although The Hague might be unique, it was still useful to explore it empirically, and for broader theoretical relevance. It is also important to clarify that the ideas for this research were driven by socio-spatial practices in only about one third of The Hague, and therefore only represent one version of the city. The methods, ethical considerations and analytical tools, as well as reflections on the research process, are summarised in Chapter Three.

As already suggested this PhD was a case study. As, it was not going to be feasible to study the relationship between neutrality and The Hague across the entire city, "The World Forum Area" otherwise known as the heart of the international zone, was selected as 'the field'. The heart of the International Zone is an area (500 metres by 200 metres approx.) of The Hague, which accommodates The ICTY (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia), The World Forum Convention Centre; Europol; and The OPCW (The Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons) and soon Eurojust. It offered an example of a clustering of organisations with the same goal, and allowed me to explore the ongoing process of neutrality through the organisation of social and material space for international peace and justice. As geographers and anthropologists are particularly interested in exploring the relevance and production of spatial and organisational boundaries, it was also necessary to hone in on some tiny spaces within the World Forum Area, and also step back and consider the 'heart' in relation to the broader, body of the International Zone as a whole, that includes other Peace and Justice organisations. This included an investigation into the embeddedness of the zone both within the city and the country. The Hague therefore supported a multiscalar approach. The three analytical chapters of this thesis offer a layering of neutralities and their geographies from the micro to macro level. Their relationship is illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 1a), which depicts how I perceive the co-production of The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice as an organisational effect and various types of neutralities and their geographies.

Figure 1a: Structure of Thesis



Before I describe the structure of the thesis in more detail, I quickly explain how I use various terms and acronyms to describe The Hague, and provide some maps (*Figures 1b and 1c)* to give the reader some bearings.

- *The Hague* = the city
- *The Hague International City of Peace and Justice or The Hague ICPJ* = the title given to the city by the City Council and used in city branding and public diplomacy.
- *The International Zone or IZ* = the working and residential areas described by the City Council in numerous publications, which incorporates buildings related to organisations involved in international peace and justice (See Figure 1b)

- *The World Forum Area (or the heart of the international zone)* = the area of office buildings containing (mostly) organisations related to international peace and justice, and area used for a case study in this research. (See Figure !C)

Figure 1b: The International Zone of The Hague

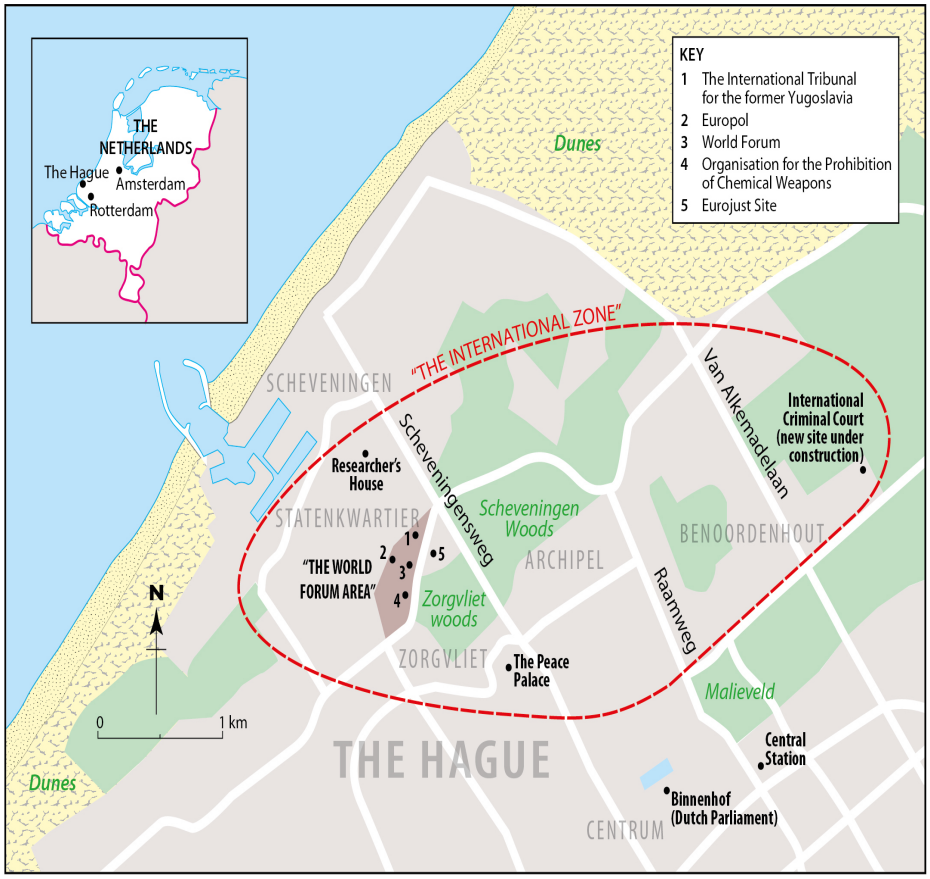
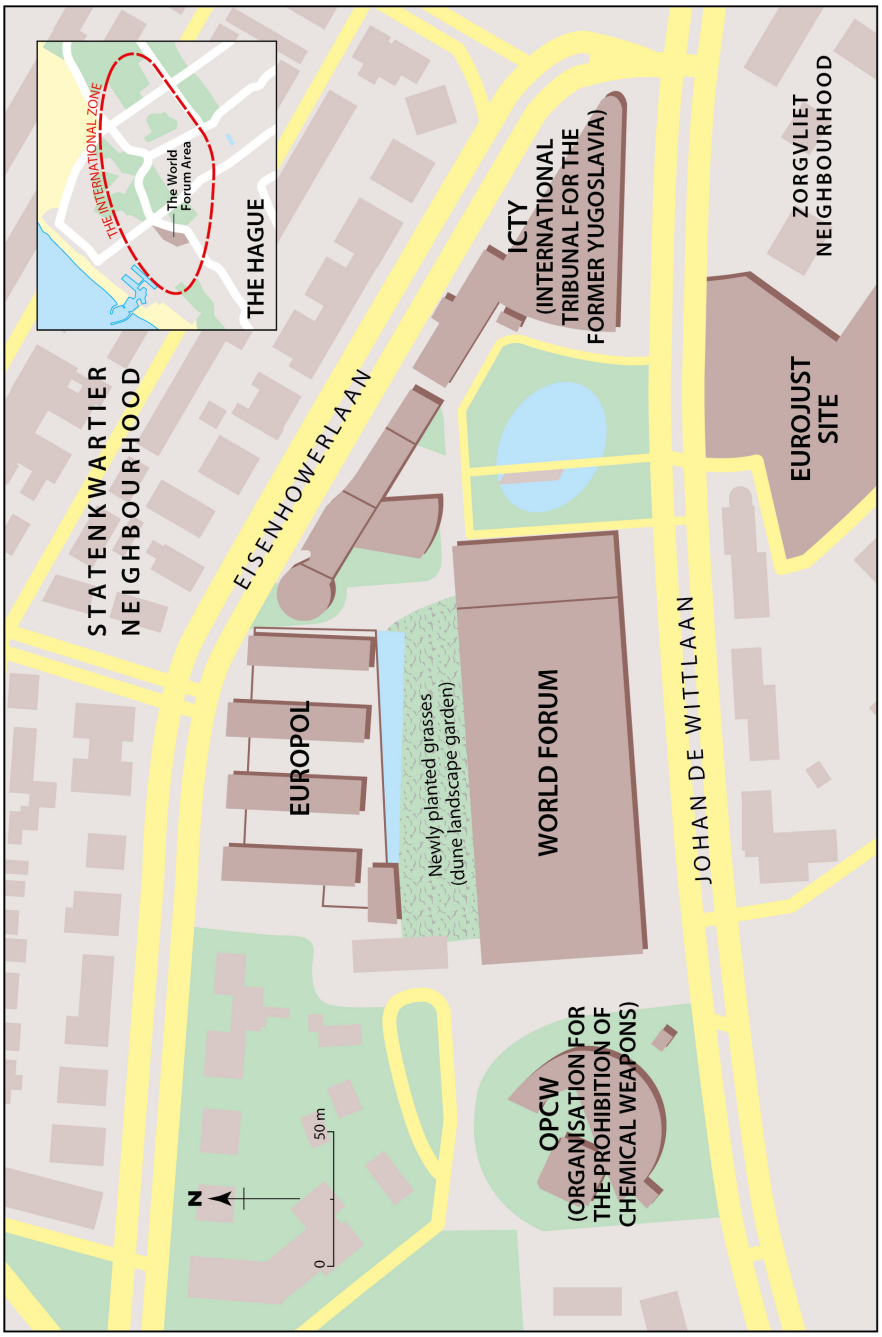


Figure 1c: The World Forum Area (or the heart of the International Zone)



1.5 Structure of thesis

1.5.1) Chapter Two: Literature review

In chapter two, I consider theoretical and methodological ideas in the following areas

- Geography of Emotions and Affects
- Geography of Architecture
- Critical Geopolitics
- Organisational Anthropology

I focus on specific themes and how these areas of research overlap, in order to consider how they might help my studying neutrality. I also identify possible gaps in the literature and consider how a *geography of neutrality* might contribute to the discipline. Firstly, it adds to literature on emotions and affects by scrutinizing their role and broader purpose in the constitution of emotional neutrality. Secondly it adds to the geography of architecture by considering the embodied experiences of the staged presence and absence of specific features and its geopolitical implications. Thirdly, it expands critical geopolitics by considering the multi-scalar role of neutrality in diplomatic practices and processes of peace and justice. Fourthly, in terms of organisational anthropology, it offers a more positive outlook by illustrating empirically that the structural, organising effects of neo-liberal, socio-spatial practices are continuously checked and negotiated by people managing the process of becoming and belonging. It also answers the call for a "more-than-representational geographical approach" (Lorimer 2005) to the study of organisations.

1.5.2) Chapter Three: Methodology

In this section, I explain my methodology and justify why I chose to do qualitative research through a case study. I explain why my approach was epistemologically and politically underpinned by autoethnography, which was also one of the qualitative data collection methods I used to obtain a broad understanding of neutrality. I then

describe how and why I conducted 22 semi- structured interviews, 19 walking tours, (auto)ethnographic observations and textual analysis and how I analysed them using thematic coding. The chapter also includes measures that I took before and during the research process to ensure it was ethical including how I perceived and managed positionality.

*1.5.3) Chapter Four: **Neutrality-as-competence/** The ICTY courtroom*

In Chapter Four, I particularly focus on the courtroom and the building of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). This is simply because many people assume, or at least desire legal practices to be neutral, making the ICTY an ideal venue to explore what neutrality *is* and *does*. Not only that but the development of hybrid legal practices are youthful there (as one participant put it), combining elements of domestic common-law (adversarial) and civil law (inquisitorial), currently applied in most countries of the UN. This presented a useful opportunity to consider how the socio-spatial ingredients of neutrality might be assembled, and how people related to them. From a critical geographical perspective, given the so-called drama of a courtroom, it seemed suitable for the exploration of the relationship between spectacular and everyday embodied performances, the geographies of skill and emotional labour, and the geographies of emotion and affect in the production and consumption of neutrality. Reading the courtroom in this way revealed that neutrality is enacted as a competence, and some people are better placed to perform it than others.

*1.5.4) Chapter Five**: International-as-neutral**/ Europol and The World Forum Area*

In Chapter Five, the interiors, architecture and landscaped garden of the heart of the international zone are particular areas of consideration. Specific attention is paid to the Europol building because it was erected during the period of study, and the Chief Government architect even suggested it was supposed to "emanate a welcoming neutrality"(Coenen quoted in Smaak Magazine, July 2011). The production of specific

architectural features and numerous artworks during both its construction phase and final form, begged the question what was being represented here, and yet it only seemed to stage its own *in*significance. Seemingly caught at the crossroads of everyday and spectacular, the building could unlock the code in terms of what neutrality was supposed to mean and feel, and how it was supposed to be done. This involved probing the ideas of geographers of architectural symbolism but at the same time, given that current perspectives are more-than-representational and processual, it was also important to pay attention to embodied practices, emotions and affects in the production of what might constitute neutrality. As the buildings accommodated organisations, it was also important to consider how the socio-material processes at this particular scale might enact neutrality, integrating them and distinguishing them from others.

*1.5.5) Chapter Six: **Neutrality-as-(un)organised**/ The International Zone*

In Chapter Six, the International Zone is considered as the space of enquiry. The International Zone incorporates the majority of peace and justice institutions in the city, and the homes of their employees. This chapter builds on the other two, to explore whether the international zone, its embodied practices and representations actually constitute an organisation, namely "The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice". This question also explores the relevance of Dutch foreign policy and identity, and the socio-spatial performances of international law. Using mostly organisational anthropology and ideas from the critical geopolitics of diplomacy, law and peace, it considers whether The Hague ICPJ is an entity with its own agency, that reinforces the Westphalian system and protects the nation state, including the one in which it is embedded. Alternatively or as well as that, it considers whether the processual enactment of neutrality opens up possibilities for post-liberal forms of peace (Richmond 2011).

1.5.6) Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Finally in the concluding chapter (Chapter 7), I bring together all the elements of the preceding chapters to argue how the aims and objectives have been achieved. I then outline how the argument I have made contributes to geography. I also reflect on how my theoretical and methodological perspectives robustly supported the aims, research process and argument but nevertheless contained some limitations. Finally, I offer suggestions in terms of what next for a geography of neutrality, with an eye to opening up multiple neutralities to enrich geopolitics, rather than closing it down as either idealist or divisive.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1) Introduction

In order to examine the relationship between The Hague and neutrality 'critically', it is necessary to interrogate what they *are* and what they *do*, rather than using a preconceived notion of neutrality to test whether or not The Hague is neutral. This chapter broadly sets out a diverse set of knowledges, skills and geographies, illustrating and integrating strands of theory and sub-disciplines that both stimulated an interest in the research and its methodology, and proved useful in the analysis of the data. The first section outlines the geography of emotions and affects, especially in combination with various theories of practice and performance, and empirical studies of skilled performances. The second section considers the geography of architecture, both symbolically and materially, and also its influence on the understanding of emotions and affects. The third section hones in on critical geopolitics, especially how geo-political assumptions are embodily performed, and particularly in relation to the themes of diplomacy, peace and law. Finally, the fourth section discusses organisational anthropology. There is an argument that essentially all social anthropology is fundamentally about organising. This section hones in on research that highlights the relationship between bureaucratic and neo-liberal practices, emotions and architecture, and the production and maintenance of organisational forms and their scalar hierarchies. Here it meets critical geopolitics in the study of statecraft. The literature review is presented in this order as although the geographies overlap in each chapter, the thesis weaves together neutralities and specific themes as it moves from the micro to the macro. It initially emphasizes emotions and affects in relation to the courtroom, it then highlights the architecture of Europol and the World Forum Area, and finally it accentuates organisational anthropology and critical geopolitics in a critical examination of the international zone.

2.2) Geographies of emotion and affect

Geographers of emotion and affect may approach the geography of neutrality with the following theoretical tools and questions. To start with, they might be interested that neutrality is often associated with 'professional' and 'rational,' often cast in binary opposition to emotion. Given many believe all human geographies are emotional and affective, only with different levels of intensity (Anderson and Smith 2001), they might challenge any people, place or practice (and whatever else) that claimed to be devoid of emotion and affects and ask 'how and why'? In doing so, they might deliberately seek out relational, fleshy, (inter)subjective, experiences of the field (Bondi 2005, Bennett 2005). In other words, they might explore the affects and emotions, emergent and constitutive of the researcher, participants, non-human elements and their practices. As such, their ideas have as much methodological as analytical relevance to this research.

The following research themes in emotional and affective geography are applicable to neutrality, which in turn, makes a contribution to this area. Firstly, geographers have conceptualised emotion and affects, and the relations between them in diverse ways. They have featured in feminist, cultural geography (Thien 2005), non-representational geography (McCormack 2003, Thrift 2008) geographies utilizing theories and methods of psychotherapy (Pile 2010, Bondi 2014) and geographies of social practice (Brown and Pickerill 2009), to name but a few. Approaches that emphasise the distinction yet inter-relationship between emotions and affects have stimulated different articulations of the 'self,' to that of the individual, autonomous and self-knowing agent (Ahmed 2004, Simonsen 2014, Roelvink and Zolkos 2015, Simpson 2015). Consequently, reasserting the body has probed investigation into connections between emotions, affects and the broader material environment, acknowledging that geographies might influence and be produced by "more-than-social" emotions and affects (Kraftl 2013) even neurological *materials*, involved in processes such as maternal attachment. A specific relationship between emotions and affect and the

material environment will be addressed in the section on the geography of architecture.

2.2.1) Emotions

Relevant to a 'neutral' place and community, is an understanding of emotions and affects through theories of performance. Exploring identity and social interaction, metaphorical theories of performance have most often focused more on *emotions* than affects. Before I continue to describe their work and its relevance, it is important to define emotion as a feeling that can be consciously recognised and described, and understood as belonging to oneself and/or shared with others (Greco and Stenner 2008, Anderson 2009a).

Performance theories have been developed *with* a rational actor controlling 'their' emotions through Goffman's dramaturgical notions of front and back stage performances (1956) and *without* by Butler's (1998) Foucauldian-driven performativity. Both have been modified by geographers in different ways. Taking Butler first, geographers have emphasised the importance of the co-production of spatial and bodily identity (Gregson and Rose 2000) and marginalizing effects (Blumen 2007). Accepting that a relatively stable subject position is constructed by a script and there is nobody 'real' behind the costume, they ascertain that the stage *set* influences the actor's subject position as much as the subject position gives the set *its* identity.

Geographers in this vein have empirically explored how the social and spatial positioning of bodies and their relationship with emotions, produces identities and denotes people and places as "us" versus "them," or "in" versus "out" (of place) (Sharpe and Gorman-Murray 2013, Pain 2009). Geographers and others have also considered these themes in relation to more specialized skills such as skateboarding (Borden et al 2001) and football fandom (Weed 2007), focusing as much as on the emotions of consumers as producers. Importantly, this research often incorporates

somatic affects, for example, of music, and their relationship with meanings and emotions (Revill 2000).

As all these examples of academic research bolster confidence in the belief that emotions are essential to geography, it suggests that neutrality cannot really entail an absence of emotion. But if that is the case, what is the role of emotion in the co-constitution of 'neutral' places and people? And if emotions are omnipresent, how do they marginalize in a 'neutral' context? This warrants an exploration of how and if emotion might be controlled, and the theme of emotional labour.

Unlike Butler, geographers took their time to consider the work of Goffman. Given one implication was that people must (and can) learn to 'manage' their front-stage emotional behaviour by taming their unruly gestures, his views chimed with positivist management theorists, whose ideals were influenced by Weberian bureaucracies and Taylorist scientific management models. These have not diminished even as organisations have come to be conceptualised as systems, organisms, or cultures (Burns and Stalker 1961, Adler 1991). Organisational training consultants still suggest effectiveness is down to better agency (Laurier and Philo 2006). Another implication at the time was that there were *real* selves to find, but this was contracted out to psychologists and psychoanalysts. From the 1980s, concerns both sociological (gender discrimination) and psychological (dissonance) were raised about the status of emotion in the workplace, the former picked up by feminist geographers (Rose 1993). Hochschild (1983:7) coined the term "emotional labour" to describe "the management of feeling to create a publically observable facial and bodily display" and to emphasise it had exchange value. Since then, social scientists have explored deliberately emotive performances that involve eliciting caring or fearful atmospheres or reactions in others. However, they rarely consider if 'neutrality' is an emotive and emotional performance, and even more rarely what are the broader, societal ramifications of this.

Geographers have challenged the production of emotional labour from spatial perspectives, questioning Goffmannesque notions of individual control and clearly demarcated personal and public space (Dyer et al 2008, Askins 2009). They have muddled notions of front and back regions, and struggled to locate the authentic person, where the performance of 'being oneself' is the expectation of employers (Crang 1994:694). Material and environmental elements are key to Hochschild's transition from "surface" to "deep labour" described in reflexology training as a

"process of skill, discipline and reiteration, of training the mind and body to work together with the body of another. Embodied knowledge at this stage points to deeper learning and acting process" (Wainwright, Marandet, Smith and Rizvi, 2010:87).

Emotional now incorporating affective labour, is thus currently perceived as a co-production of embodied practices between human and non-human objects, and their environments, and this has stimulated geographers' interest in emotional and affective contexts (Dyer et al 2008, Askins 2009, Major 2008). Nevertheless, the general acceptance that technical and bureaucratic practices do not involve emotions and affects has lead to a dearth of social research in these areas, with the exception of management studies (Smith and Kleinman 1989, Ward and McMurray 2016). Exploring NHS administration roles (Ward and McMurray 2011) and music producers from a spatial perspective, (Watson and Ward 2013) have highlighted "emotional neutrality" where "suppression of emotion is the performance" (Ward and McMurray 2011:1585), as a somewhat forgotten aspect of emotional labour. This invaluable clarification of emotional neutrality as both emotional and emotive work, tends to consider what it performs, like trust and tolerance in music production (Watson and Ward 2013), and protection and care in prisons (Ward and McMurray 2016). It also highlights how these evocations are the product of combining contradictory values of bureaucracy and customer care (ibid). Nevertheless, this work could be enhanced further by greater appreciation of 'emotional neutrality' as *an achievement in its own right.* Considerable further theoretical and empirical work is needed to explore how associated terms like emotional neutrality and professionalism "*have come to be populated by practices, how this population changes, and with what consequence for*

these frames of meaning?" (Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012:55). It is not easy to observe the absence of emotion empirically (Ward and McMurray 2016), as it has to rely on participants' accounts. Nevertheless, it is essential to consider how this *"emotional neutrality"* comes together through elements within and way beyond the workplace.

2.2.2) Affects

Returning to emotion and affect in performance theory, there is another body of work that has highlighted *affect* more than emotion, owing more allegiance to De Certeau, Latour, and Deleuze and Guattari's workings of Spinoza, than Foucault and Bourdieu. Affects unleash or incapacitate the body's creativity to change practices and social relations, without operating through consciousness (Thrift 2008). They may be manipulated to produce a certain type of conduct but the outcome is always specific to the time, space and elements involved (Thrift 2004). Through the push and pull between bodies and things that instigate thoughts, feelings and actions, the circulating and stabilizing effects of power are simultaneously consolidating and perpetually questioned by excessive becoming. Geographers here have turned to "performance as action" (Richardson 2013:127) to explore the implications of a dynamic co-constitution of sensing bodies and spacing, such that materialism is emergent rather than the influence of static, physical phenomena on social processes (Crouch 2003, Anderson and Wylie 2009). With regards to this thesis, it begs the question how relations between bodies and environments might be manipulated so that they produce neutral 'atmospheres,' (Kraftl and Adey 2008, Anderson 2009b) and whether such interventions are successful. At the same time, the thesis interrogates whether neutrality is an affect in itself, or an absence *or* suppression of affect, which is supposedly impossible.

Stimulating research on the production and consumption of specialized skills, and more recently everyday habits, geographers using notions of affect have destabilized ideas about who owns skills, and negative perceptions of ingrained habits that rule

over people (Middleton 2011, Sharpe and Gorman Murray 2013). They have ascertained that habits or mastery, belonging to practices not people, are continuously converging and diverging (Bissell 2013), fragile and innovative. Furthermore, anthropologists of skill, following Ingold's (2000) notions of taskscapes and dwelling, have emphasised the integration of materiality, emotion and affect, and challenged ideas about a conversion *from* conscious, academic knowledge and practical skills *to* embodied practice (Portisch 2010). Organisational anthropologists, who have argued that assumptions of linear and unconscious competence are tainted by economic imperatives to present skills as personal and everlasting, now have allies (Yanow 2013). Organisational anthropology is discussed in the last section of this review. In relation to this research, it is essential to explore the relevance of mastery to neutrality and its implication for the relationship between power and affects.

2.2.3) Emotions, affects and practice

As well as through theories of performance, some geographers have studied emotions and affects as they arise through *practices* and instigate action (Pickerill 2008, Brown and Pickerill 2009, Horton and Kraftl 2009). This perspective is important here because it not only illuminates the links between emotions and affects, mastery and neutrality discussed above but emphasises the ongoing nature of the production of neutrality. A practice may be conceptualised as an interaction *between* an entity, which requires the constant integration of specific elements (competence, materials, meanings, and emotions) *and* continuous unique 'performances' involving fluid, material relations between bodies and environments (Reckwitz 2002:249 in Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012:7). As this relationship is propelled by "teleoaffective structures" (Schatzski 2002:181 in Shove, Pantzar and Watson 2012:23-24), it is possible to see why social practice theory and emotional and affective geographies, should be central to each other's methodological and analytical concerns (ibid)(Everts and Wagner 2012, Jensen 2012, Orr 2012, Pratt 2012, Watson 2012). As geographers attend to feelings of appropriateness and inappropriateness in the practices with which they are engaged, "emotion becomes the focus of analysis and the embodied

tool through which research transpires" (Everts and Wagner 2012:175). This explains the autoethnographic approach to studying neutrality in this thesis, directed somewhat towards practices, people and places understood to be neutral, such as law, lawyers and courtrooms.

The spread of a practice (and its elements) and the dominance of some over others, depends on how much time and energy communities devote to performing them (Pred 1981). Here, social practice theory does not imply human agency but it does imply human 'hosts' of competence, positioning them as more influential than their non-human counterparts. Where practices and communities survive long-term, the effort to combine the fundamental elements diminishes over time and across space, giving their connection a natural appearance, a nod to Butler's (1993) performativity or Latour's (2005) black box. The visibility and palpability of the practice and its elements fade, making it difficult to determine its boundaries and goals. Conversely, massive changes in the composition of elements produce 'atmospheres' (Anderson 2009b), affects and emotions that potentially suggest the practice is off-course, with implications for social life. The development of new practices or existing ones carried across space, therefore offers ideal opportunity to explore *what* exactly the goal of a practice is, *how* it is organised and its implications. For this reason, a micro-geography of emerging international criminal law is considered to address one of the fundamental objectives of this thesis. It is to explore how neutrality is constituted through practices, and the emotions and affects they must entail, in order to build a picture of what neutrality is and what it does.

In this section, geographers' theorisations on emotions and affect have been explored in relation to theories of performance and practice, which are key to the understanding of social relations. Given that they imply *all* geographies and practices are saturated with emotions and affects, one of the main points of this research is to explore from a theoretical and empirical perspective, what makes things 'neutral' and why does it matter? In order to address this, it is important to methodologically reflect on how a geographer researches neutrality through emotions at the same time

as considering it as an object of study. From an analysis point of view, it involves further exploration of the erstwhile binary between emotional versus rational, by unpacking places, practices and people involved in work commonly perceived as professional and emotionally neutral. Given, the theoretical expectation that emotional control and mastery itself may be on shaky ground, this critical inquiry may help to uncover why neutrality and emotions and affects matter to geography.

2.3) Geographies of Architecture

Arguing that landscapes and built environments should not be taken for granted as 'containers' of human activity with little significance (Kraftl 2010a: 403-404) research in the geographies of architecture offers a second, significant suite of approaches for a critical examination of neutrality. Specifically, such approaches enable much deeper consideration of what *makes* a building look *neutral* and how this might affect (and effect) societal relations. Whilst geographers of architecture assert that all buildings produce identities and power relations, this thesis is concerned with an alternative set of considerations: how a building might be designed *not* to enact particularly obvious identities or power relations. How could a building exist yet purportedly *not* include/exclude certain people and groups, through the symbols of its location, its architect's values, and its intricate representations of political, economic and cultural prerogatives, thereby constructing cultural hegemony (Goss 1988)? How could an identifiable type of building *not* be produced by a combination of discourses, technologies and materials, sourced from near and far, and not help construct an imaginary binary between local and global (King 1984, 2004 in Horton and Kraftl, 2014: 94, Jacobs 2006, Jacobs et al 2007)? How could a building *not* be forever in a stage of convergence and divergence through the embodied practices and associated emotions and affects of its users, no matter what was in the heads of its designers or owners about the ways in which the building should be understood and used (Lees 2001)? In addressing these questions, this project asks some profound and unsettling questions of contemporary geographies of architecture.

At the same time, these theories and ideas have considerable use value in elucidating what exactly neutrality is and does. A clear understanding of the history, current themes and future directions of the geography of architecture is provided by Kraftl (2010a) and Horton and Kraftl (2014). They provide a helpful 'story so far' to kick off this section. Following this introduction (and developing the themes in the previous section), I outline architectural geographers' specific attention to emotions and affects, with their emphasis on the role of embodied practices and materiality.

I then pick out the relationship between architectural and political geography, particularly critical geopolitics. One aspect of this has been an interrogation of mobility, both in terms of the construction of scale, and also the embodied experiences of moving through architecture. This links to research on the production and consumption of buildings, commonly thought of as geopolitical (e.g. embassies), and those that are sometimes, perhaps forgotten as such, (e.g. courthouses and courtroom architecture). These are particularly pertinent to this case study. Finally, I address architecture through the lens of organisational anthropologists with a spatial perspective, but this will be reviewed in Section 5.

'The story so far', maps the geography of architecture from its epistemological conceptualization as a "referent" (Kraftl 2010a: 405) of economic and political processes (Goss 1988) and contestations over cultural meanings (Goss 1988, Domosh 1989) to ontological, non-representational perspectives, that make no assumption about pre-formed groups, subjects or objects, and assert that buildings have an impact on social life in their own right (Kraftl 2010a). They ask instead what makes a building cohere in the first place and how does it become taken for granted? (Jacobs 2006). What do consumers *do* in buildings to give it meaning? (Lees 2001) And how might a feature of a building acting as an "unwritten code of conduct" (Kraftl and Adey 2008:224) for bodily movement, and together with changing technologies create atmospheres or affective states, such as homeliness (Shove 2003) or more politically-oriented and prescriptive ways of welcoming or relaxation? Importantly, they add this is not a deterministic argument but a question of relationality, between materiality

and affect in any socio-technological achievement, that has become a recognizable building. Geographers of architecture now equate the importance of physical, non-human and social, human attributes, using actor-network (Latour, 2005) or assemblage theory (Anderson and McFarlane 2011). Buildings are deemed to be continuously performed by an assortment of ingredients (including space and time) adapting relations as they travel.

'The story so far' also suggests that a more comprehensive understanding of architecture, based on a combination of these approaches, has produced broader political perspectives, particularly via the themes of mobility and scale. The study of complex relationships between architects and users (including children) in design (Den Besten et al 2008, Kraftl 2010b), and activism around contested architectural sites (Lees 2001, Kraftl 2010b) has also continued the project of questioning the central role of the architect. Pushing further the notions of users as producers *and* consumers, who engage in embodied practices inside and outside buildings, extends the reach of a building's meaning making (Kraftl et al 2013) and also what makes it cohere. Recently, the relevance of building sites (Sage 2013, Kraftl et al 2013) has been considered. All these developments continuously probe what broader power relations a building produces or is part of. Finally, Kraftl (2010a) in relating the last couple of decades to the Berkeley School from the 1950s to 1970s, summarises how the geography of architecture has addressed

"how political negotiations, political ideals and political contexts are woven together in the form and use of buildings" (2010a: 408) and refreshed "*what is really a longer standing interest in the ways which buildings refer to or produce broader politics of cultures." (2010a:408).*

2.3.1) The relationship between architecture and emotions and affects

In the last decade, a debate has developed between geographers considering emotions or affects or both, in what constitutes a building. They have addressed this theme not only in relation to a building's social, economic and political contingencies but also its physical and technical attributes and its associated embodied practices. In

other words, they are *as* interested in building materials and multi-sensual experiences of what people typically do in buildings when it comes to analysing emotions and affects relating to architecture. This is largely due to their interest in actor network and assemblage theories and the suggestion that building are 'actants' that can define space and what happens in it.

Their contribution, I would argue, has pushed forward both emotional-affective geographies and 'more-than-representational' (Lorimer 2005) geographies. By pursuing the experience of human feelings "in, of and about" a Milton Keynes Shopping centre, to explore "what makes the building what it is to them" (Rose at al 2010:335) or the consideration of "movements" (Kraftl 2010b), either emotional or bodily, that produce utopian moments in and around Hundertwasser-Haus, or emotional "events" like fear (Lees and Baxter 2011) as constitutive of architecture and subjectivities, these papers suggest buildings might be emotional and affective, pertaining to the past, present and future, spectacular and everyday, compliant and resistant, relational and proximal, fluid assemblages. As it is not possible to be confident about identifying its relational elements, it is impossible to determine whether a building (or any entity for that matter) is cohering or not. Therefore, it is perhaps easier to consider a building as a loose configuration of multiple ways of 'doing' a building, that emerge through material-discursive processes (Kraftl 2009). This research and its associated methodologies that elaborate the relationship between materiality, embodied practices, emotions and affects and subjectivities, may aid understanding of the geography of neutrality, and conversely, add another perspective to other themes in geography.

In my opinion, the experimental methodologies of geographers of architecture have fostered new interpretations of the relationship between discourses and materiality, through a focus on embodied practices, both in terms of the locations of bodies and multi-sensual experience. Geographers of architecture and the broader built environment have used vignettes (Lees 2001, Kraftl 2009), go-alongs (Rose et al, 2010), walking and cycling in a curious exploration of the (in) coherence of place,

physical objects, meanings, emotions and affects, and researchers themselves. They have emphasized the "virtual newness" (Kraftl and Adey 2008:226) of Massey's (2005:140) "throwntogetherness" without discarding the usefulness of the 1980s and 1990s cultural geographers' interpretative perspectives. These methods integrate the geography of architecture with geographies of the broader built environment and (geo)politics (Jones 2005, Sidaway 2009) and in my view also allow for a cross-fertilisation of their theoretical developments.

A significant element of these ideas and methodologies is that they are cautious about boundaries as is organisational anthropology (which will be considered later in the chapter), and they touch on absence and presence, although this may not yet have been exploited fully by geographers of architecture. They have, however, been lightly considered by geographers of built forms and mobility (Merriman 2007). In an empirical piece about the construction of the M1, Merriman describes the attempt by landscape architects to blend or at least soften the impact of the road cutting through the beauty of English countryside. Unfortunately, the study does not extend to people's experience of the rural once the M1 was built, given the effort to conceal its form. Jones, Robinson and Turner (2012) in their appeal for greater interrogation of what presence entails, might argue that just because the motorway is visibly absent, it doesn't imply there is no impact on meaning and emotion, especially if one knows it is physically there.

Both Jones (2005) and Sidaway (2009) suggest being confronted with past and present features on their journeys, underlining the inter-relationship between absence and presence (Jones, Robinson and Turner 2012). Geographers have drawn attention to "absence being conspicuous" (Jones, Robinson and Garner 2012: 262) and unpacked assumptions about presence and belonging (ibid). They importantly ask "How are various practices employed to conceal/silence particular groups?" (Jones, Robinson and Turner (2012:259) and "How do issues of absence/invisibility/silence relate to experiences, conceptualisations and the production of landscape" (ibid).

In order to explore neutrality and so-called "thrown-togetherness" (Massey 2005), and to throw light on the relationship between physical stuff, ideas and experience, I employ go-alongs, guided walks and vignettes in my thesis. However, I also bear in mind that certain elements might be 'absenced' in this ensemble, like the motorway example above, or emotions in the 'emotionally-neutral' form of emotional labour, described in the first section of this chapter. In other words, I consider how certain characteristics of a building *or lack of them* might be produced and consumed as 'neutral' yet still be immensely powerful.

This is a new direction for the geography of architecture even if it re-engages significantly with architectural symbolism and iconography. The thesis deploys the original idea of overlapping texts in the sense that specific architectural features might be both read *as* texts or codes, conveying and producing particular values and power relations, and represented *by* texts e.g. books and magazines (Duncan and Ley 1993) as well as considering how texts might be interpreted *through* bodily negotiation and practices.

2.3.2) Architecture and the critical geopolitics of diplomacy

It could be argued that the recent trend by geographers of architecture to address politics through both representational and non-representational theories of mobility and scale, make their work highly relevant to the study of critical geopolitics. The spread of features of 'modern' architecture (Gruffudd 2001), and ritual ceremonies that integrate architectural grandeur and bodily movement to producing a sense of awe and belonging (Hagen and Ostergren 2006) both appear to do geopolitical work in constructing categories of the state and the global. Given that neutrality is often regarded a diplomatic concept or policy, it seemed applicable to consider where the literatures of the geography of diplomacy and architecture meet.

Critical geopolitics research (defined and considered later in this chapter), perhaps modest about its importance to the geography of architecture, nevertheless

contributes by making embodied practices and movements in and around specific buildings, central to their empirical work. For them, architecture and the built environment is implicated in the creation of geopolitical subjects. Craggs (2014) illustrates how The Royal Commonwealth Society building (1868-1913) and its practices of formal and informal hospitality in 1950s London, were co-produced with an atmosphere of racial harmony. Embodied practices of formal hospitality and informal drinking performed unity and belonging but simultaneously reinforced existing power relations between states, given its location, and conformity to Western formal diplomatic practices. Similarly, moving between the building and their homes in London suburbia, induced feelings of exclusion, potentially cast some Commonwealth diplomats and their countries as outsiders and inferior members. Buildings are also central to Bachmann (2013a, 2013b) who explains how the Embassy Compound in South Sudan was key to performing The European Union, not just by clustering diplomatic missions and The European External Action Service, but also through informal games of football. McConnell (2013) discusses how Tibet is performed as a state through the erection of embassies with flags, and also by Tibetan 'diplomats' strategically placed to mingle with 'real' ones in lobbies of hotels, next to geopolitical events. This was also evident in her research on the Unrepresented Nations People's Organisation and its shadowing of the UN in The Hague.

Lately there has been a trend in foregrounding architecture in the critical geopolitics of diplomacy. Geographers have explored the materiality, symbolism and location of bespoke and customised embassy architecture and locations in The Hague and London, and their role in performing new versions of international relations, at the same time as their impact on a urban geographies through gentrification and security (Van der Wusten 2013, Mamadouh, Meijer, Sidaway and Van der Wusten, 2015). Also Jason Dittmer (2016) has very recently explored the architecture of the British Foreign Office (1839-1874) arguing that "we can begin to speak of a more-than-human diplomacy" (2016:82) and "think of diplomatic power as emerging from particular contexts in which the human and non-human enable one another" (2016:84). He outlines the role of paper, light and air in the development of simultaneous state and

transnational governmentality through bureaucracy, thereby situating fluid human agency and political subjectivities within the buildings that created them.

This thesis continues to push together geographies of architecture, specifically those that relate to emotion and affect, and the critical geopolitics of diplomacy using autoethnographic methods from the micro to the macro. It does this to interrogate whether neutrality might be a material, powerful and context-specific 'thing', despite its reputation as quite abstract and apolitical.

2.3.3) Architecture and the critical geopolitics of law

Finally, it is important to illustrate that geographers have shown specific interest in courthouse and courtroom architecture, although a Professor of Law, Mulcahy (2011) would argue not enough. Law also connects critical geopolitics and architecture. As enactments of state power, Dovey (2010) explains how courthouse architectural design has always wrestled with the paradox of hierarchy and democracy, nowadays reflecting and constructing values of openness, transparency and respect for codified rules of behaviour, with security. In her opinion, glass, natural light and balconies offer only an illusion of openness, given the necessary seclusion of various legal practices. She calls for more work on how these impact on the perception of justice, which I address through this first systematic study of courtroom architecture deploying the geographies of architecture, emotions and affects, critical geopolitics and organisational anthropology.

Mulcahy (2011) is particularly concerned about the mundaneness and dematerialization of the courtroom and "considers whether the trial loses its potency as a public ritual when stripped of its physical surroundings" (2011:163) through technology and the prevalence of journalists. She wonders if this is no bad thing since in Victorian times, the symbolism of UK classical courthouse architecture legitimized state power over a newly industrialised workforce. But she asks what is lost or gained? In this thesis, I address this question by interrogating what dematerialization (of things

and bodies) entails in a courtroom in The Hague. Then, by exploring the complex relationships between absence and presence, and their importance to neutrality, I consider what it means for the legitimacy of power.

Focusing on non-humans, performance artist and writer, Radul (2007) explores the impact of technologies on the constitutive elements of law such as the built environment, performative elements and scripts (e.g. testimony and judgement). She argues how courtrooms transformed into studios start to double and treble representations through video recordings of evidence and trial proceedings. Specifically, she is concerned how filming 'heads' and the medium of glass, distinguishes audiences, and objectifies types of individual, as opposed to highlighting embodied performances and relations. Her worry is that justice becomes more repressive as a result, in the technological reshaping of court theatre and her work specifically references the ICTY. Addressing a similar theme, recent research in critical legal geopolitics, has considered hybrid (non-human and human) embodied performances in a war crimes courtroom in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Jeffrey and Jakala (2014) illustrate how the location and mobility of bodies and the requirement to act emotionally, belittle prosecution witnesses in relation to the accused, which has implications for the healing of a fragile, nascent state. This thesis adds to this thought-provoking research with an emphasis on embodied performance, by specifically focusing on the relationship between the micro-geography of the courtroom, emotions and affects and neutrality.

Geographers of architecture have considered architecture in terms of embodied performances and have already collapsed the distinction between the spectacular and the everyday (Kraftl 2009). The spectacular emerges from a jolt in common sense as opposed to simply being present (Jones et al, 2012), such as the combination of social housing, daily chores and the bizarreness of Hundertwasser-Haus (ibid). There is, however, significant room to explore the spectacular *and* everyday, absent *and* present features and practices of buildings in the realm of critical geopolitics a little further. After all, McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer's (2012) Tibetan embassy presents

a physical building of an absent or imagined state. How might these inter-relations work to produce neutrality and alternative geopolitical imaginaries?

2.4) Critical Geopolitics

2.4.1) What is critical geopolitics?

An understanding of critical geopolitics should also be fundamental to interrogating what neutrality *is* and *does*. Likewise, an epistemological and ontological understanding of what 'neutral' comprises, through representations and embodied practices of geography and politics, might be interesting to experts in critical geopolitics. Does neutrality, for example, imply there must be certain people, places and practices *outside* the processes of statecraft, legitimizing and maintaining the autonomy of the sovereign state in an anarchic world system, and Westernised tools of diplomacy, designed to address relationship troubles (Neumann 2013). By combining interpretative and performance-oriented tools of analyses in critical geopolitics research on individual bodies, places, and practices that are 'known' as neutral, it might be possible to explore whether they produce subjects, boundaries and power relations, especially if they are explored within the context of research on diplomacy, peace-making, and law-making practices. Finally, given that neutrality has recently been reconsidered in critical IR (see introduction), it is useful to explore how these studies might be progressed by and inform an understanding of a critical geopolitics of neutrality.

In their "Introduction to The Ashgate Research Companion to Critical Geopolitics", Dodds, Kuus and Sharp (2013) illustrate how geopolitics is fundamentally concerned with the exploration of potential threats to the survival of a nation state and strategies designed to protect it. It has traditionally involved assessing global politics in a pessimistic way such that military defence is often deemed the only option. It has a dark and concerning past, associated with the imperial rivalries between Britain and Russia, and with 'Lebensraum' and 'Nazi' policies of Germany.. Although, it fell into

disrepute during World War Two and its aftermath, it was revived during 'the Cold War' and continues with 'The War on Terror', always echoing a deep suspicion of other people and places, a disbelief in the peaceful possibilities of international law and diplomacy, and commitment to securing vital resources such as oil and gas. It has generally been perceived to be the realm of academics, politicians and foreign-policy makers and is often depicted as 'statecraft'. Geopolitics also involves security through imposing and managing "a liberal peace" (Richmond 2011) in parallel. It institutionalises democratic norms and values, for example through peacekeeping and legal missions to 'vulnerable' places whose markets might be messed up by conflict (McConnell, Megoran and Williams 2014). Nevertheless, this aspect is not usually perceived as belligerent or geopolitical. For example, the European Union has been envisaged as an "anti-geopolitical project" devoid of power politics, geographical designations and self-motivated, national agents in spite of its overt economic practices and benefits (Kuus 2014:12).

Over the last two decades, a 'critical' geopolitics has shown that culturally-specific understandings and practices of both geography and politics, have produced 'facts' and 'commonsense' views about what the world consists of, and how it should be run (Dalby 1990, Ó Tuathail 1996). Acceptance of leadership based on 'rational' arguments around maps and geographical designations e.g. East versus West, and emotions around nation state identities, cements nations and their relations with others, and justifies any action, peaceful or violent, that preserves them (Kuus 2008). Critical geographers have marveled at such achievements, and promptly dismantled them, to reveal how they contribute to boundary-producing between individuals, communities and scales, and therefore uneven power relations. Initially, there was a focus on how formal, practical, and popular rhetoric and representations fuelled geopolitical imaginations and policy (Ó Tuathail 1996, Sharp 2000, Dodds and Dittmer, 2008) whilst later work has tuned into the roles of bodies, practices and space as co-constituents of statecraft (the processes of production and legitimization of the autonomous sovereign state and preferred models of international relations).

2.4.2) Practices in critical geopolitics

Examples of the above "follow Gerard Toal's suggestion to develop a localized and grounded critical geopolitics through place" (Bachmann 2013a:779, Ó Tuathail 2010) and also acknowledge Hyndman's "subjective, partial and particularist" approach (Kuus 2008:2069, Hyndman 2004). They focus on the mundane (Dowler and Sharp 2001), even when it is the 'intellectuals of statecraft' engaged in the practice of policy-making (Neumann 2007, Kuus 2008, 2011). Just because they appear from nowhere, they are still carriers of possibly diverse, national, professional and academic discourses (Kuus 2008). Cohesion and identity isn't there in the first place, it is made through formal and informal, mundane practices across a variety of spaces. Geopolitics is not an object created by a bounded subject or entity. States and geopolitics are mutually and continuously produced, through 'sites' that integrate space, people and practices across territory (Dodds, Kuus and Sharp 2013:11). Norway and Europe, for example, are not pregiven, they are (re-) constituted in the intricate dining and speech writing spaces and practices of the Norwegian foreign ministry (Neumann 2013), or by carriers of diverse assumptions of geography and politics, crafting The European Neighbourhood policy in the European Quarter in Brussels (Kuus 2014). In the latter case, far from being anti-geopolitics, the EU "represents a particular kind of eurocratic, geopolitical reasoning" (Kuus 2014:30)

Particularly interesting for this study is whether Brussels may be somewhat analogous to The Hague and its own brand of intellectuals of statecraft. According to Kuus, Brussels and the EU, are the messy enactment of Europe, which "involves geographical tropes that are as explicitly invoked as conspicuously avoided (Kuus 2014:29)". This thesis bears these ideas in mind as it considers neutrality and the 'international' in the context of The Hague, both in terms of its representation and practice, within and beyond formal organisational practices and places. It also combines Kuus's idea of an ambivalent geographical depiction of Europe with the complex relationship between absence and presence and the more embodied approach, I have already discussed regarding emotions and affects, and architecture.

Embodied approaches to critical geopolitics do already exist within empirical and theoretical work based on materiality (Coole and Frost 2010, Anderson and Wylie 2009). This has involved examining *"the changing enactment of bodies, things and contexts that constitute 'the landscape' of geopolitics*" (Squire 2015:148) pushing to understand objects, bodies and subjectivities as always 'becoming' through an understanding of emergent materialities (Ó Tuathail 2003, Dalby 2007). See also Muller (2008, 2015), Dittmer (2014, 2016) and Squire (2015). Whilst this thesis does not directly address actor network or assemblage theory, it pays attention to the role of non-human materials such as architecture, interior design, as well as the actual materiality of the body, in the production of neutrality, and supports the contention that non-human elements especially buildings can have a relational effect, or change space and behaviour without intention (Mol 2000, Latour 2005).

Others, perhaps influenced by more feminist strands of critical geopolitics have advocated exploration of geopolitics at the margins (Bachmann 2013a) and the relationships between centres and margins, through embodied experiences (Nicley 2009, Sharp 2013). They ask what separates a geopolitical agent from a non-geopolitical agent, or privileges one over another? What illuminates some spatial conceptualisations and scales over others? And how do people not usually recognised as geopolitical agents, appropriate and amend concepts and practices to change or reiterate what is being performed? (Kuus 2008, McConnell 2011, McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer 2012). I have used these ideas to ensure my case study considers a broad range of people that might constitute neutrality and The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice.

Some geographers have foregrounded emotion such as fear, to answer why a certain type of geopolitics persists (Pain 2009, 2015), highlighting its role in integrating agency and endorsing violence at multiple scales. Pain also urges new ways of combining academic engagement with geopolitics at the margins to bring about change. Her work is addressed in more detail in Chapter Six. Similar is Williams and McConnell's (2011) suggestion that peace might be construed and done differently, albeit within

the constraints of hegemonic discourse (See Laliberte 2014). In this thesis, I consider the relationship between neutrality and emotion, how it is enacted relationally and whether it reinforces and/or offers something beyond mainstream geopolitics.

2.4.3) The critical geopolitics of diplomacy, peace and law

Recently, critical geopolitics has illuminated and expanded some particular themes (deploying and adding to the tools of analyses described above), namely diplomacy, peace and law. They are highlighted here in turn, because neutrality is pertinent to all three. Firstly, neutrality is often portrayed as a diplomatic stance, albeit an aberration (Agius 2006). This was explained in the introduction to the thesis. Secondly, it is often related to peace in the sense it denotes an absence of participation in conflict. Thirdly, it is a concept that underpins legal practice, which is supposedly divorced from politics, in the organisation of the state.

In terms of the research, geographers have begun to consider diplomacy in relational ways, whereby attention is paid to diplomacy as a *"translocal network of practices"* (Dittmer and McConnell 2015:6) involving a diverse set of inter-related actors, times and spaces (Sending 2011). Through performativity, dramaturgy (McConnell 2011, McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer 2012, Jeffrey 2013, Craggs 2014) and the concept of sites (Neumann 2013), diplomacy has recently been understood in much broader socio-spatial ways, revealing both its consistency and capacity for change, and the consolidation of old and new geopolitical subjects. Neumann for example, argues that the essential practices, e.g. representing a polity and negotiating with others remain essentially the same, even if sites, actors and protocols change. Sites for Neumann are key to diplomacy, emphasizing the 'aura' (Neumann 2013:152) of diplomatic work, both spectacular and everyday, that must be done to convert and maintain a place as a recognizable diplomatic stage, where events happen. Here he includes 'third party' places and practices, relevant to neutrality that predate sovereignty. Neumann's work is discussed further in Chapter Six. A related body of work has considered what is

performed by conferences, and their interconnected mundane and informal, spaces and practices (Craggs 2014, Craggs and Mahoney 2014).

The critical geopolitical study of diplomacy has also focused on the multiplicity of actors and the relationship between those that are state and non-state (Dittmer and McConnell 2015). Attention has been drawn to different types of mimicry in unofficial diplomacy (McConnell 2011, McConnell 2013). In a case like Tibet, practising diplomacy like a nation state both "elevates 'official' state diplomacy as ideal and dilutes distinction from other 'unofficial' diplomacies" (McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer 2012:806). Some of these may be forms of "paradiplomacy", a term used to describe how non-state actors conduct external relations beyond the state in which they are located (Mamadouh and van de Wusten 2016). Cities, regions and organisations are not replicants. Their work both compliments and differs from the diplomacy of the state they are in.

The last reference employs The Hague itself as a case study, and is part of a broader research agenda by Herman van der Wusten and his colleagues, who have considered diplomacy as a spatial practice (van der Wusten and Mamadouh 2010) and the city from a political, economic and urban perspective, for well over a decade. Van der Wusten's (2006: 253) piece explores "its political-centre formation" over time, and stresses the twists of fate in its development, and the difficulty branding experts have experienced since the beginning of this century, in managing its physical and conceptual ambiguity. It represents a city as shaped socially and physically by the relative urgency and importance of mostly external, international determinants. The authors go on to argue in 2016, that The Hague currently involves an entwining of diplomatic culture of IGOs, the Dutch state, the city/municipality and its mayors, and NGOS (Mamadouh and van de Wusten 2016).

In this thesis, I intend to add to this body of work by exploring the city through emotions and affects, and both representational and non-representational embodied practices, lending it a more visceral, and performative perspective. In other words, I

foreground bodies in The Hague's diplomatic and paradiplomatic practices such that they illuminate the entwining of the different scales, van der Wusten and Mamadouh speak of. I also contend that through the various relations between neutrality and The Hague, it becomes something more than a city with geopolitical agency.

The second emergent theme in critical geopolitics that is relevant to neutrality is peace (Megoran 2011, Williams and McConnell 2011, McConnell, Megoran and Williams 2014). These authors note and encourage a shift in mapping the geographies of war to a broader examination and acknowledgement of the relationship between geographies of peace and violence. They also wish to extend peace, both in conceptual and processural terms, as well as the geographies invoked to explore them. In line with IR theory and 'post-liberal forms of peace' (Richmond 2011) and ethnographic methodologies, their latest edited volume produces empirical, embodied examples of peace-making, which offers glimpses of 'emancipatory' practices, emotions and affects, even if they are somewhat embedded in powerful discourses of 'liberal peace,' and its associated statecraft (McConnell, Megoran and Williams, 2014).

Richmond's (2011) argues that a liberal peace extended through international organisations, although perhaps well-intentioned, is more oriented towards producing a Kantian, civil society through external norms and laws, rather than addressing people's needs and lack of rights. Tied up with the maintenance of the state system through the practices of governmentality, it appears a monolithic and dominant, successful solution, rather than the messy, negotiated, problematic process that it is (ibid). This is reminiscent of Bauman (1991) and Zizek (2009) although perhaps not so extreme, in the sense that classifications and codes, seemingly benign, might produce starker contrasts in power relations as opposed to alleviate them.

Richmond argues more attention is required towards critical agency, if processes of peace are to reduce physical and structural violence. His *"post-liberal"* forms of peace require a rethink about scale and resistance. Refering to Scott (1990), he argues that

small, local, individual and marginal agency makes an impact not because it is mobilized through large-scale force, with a counter "meta-narrative" (Richmond, 2011: 420) but because agency penetrates through scales. As geographers know, the local and global are inextricably linked (Massey 2005, Jacobs 2006). Through Foucault, he implores academics to make visible how individuals deploy their own networks to define 'civil' or related concepts like peace for themselves, and how it might influence the institutional 'liberal imaginary' (2011:434). This includes people within or connected to institutions and international organisations espousing liberal peace, which can be affected by the critical agency of individual employees too.

One of the fundamental questions raised by Williams, Megoran and McConnell (2014: 10) is "how liberal peace is perceived, implemented and legitimated" especially on the ground. For this reason, I would argue it is valuable to consider the relationship between critical agency and the 'liberal imaginary' at one of the latter's possible sources, The Hague International City of Peace and Justice. Furthermore, how does the enactment of neutrality, as a response to the call for a broader development of the concept of peace (Williams and McConnell 2011), in its various forms, impact on this contested peace-making process? How might it both substantiate and secure 'liberal peace'?

Finally, it is important to consider the emergence of a critical legal geopolitics. This body of work implicates international law in the production of geopolitical imaginaries such as the 'international' (Elden 2009). This area is increasingly utilizing more-than-human geographies and performance in its exploration of processes of power that underpin law's so-called independence from politics (Jeffrey and Jakala 2014). Particularly, attention is drawn to dramaturgy and the distinctions drawn between types of people, spaces and things (Pottage and Mundy 2004, Latour 2004, Blomley 2008, Vismann 2008, Mulcahy 2011, Jeffrey and Jakala 2014).

"*The focus on hybridity, then, draws attention to the plural, material, bodily, and imagined practices through which legal processes assert their authority. The significance of space is not simply a backdrop…..Instead we see certain imaginaries of*

space and place as crucial to the achievement of legal authority, rendering visible spatial frameworks often erased through legal discourse." (Jeffrey and Jakala, 2014:658)

Especially useful to exploring and developing the concept of neutrality, is that these social scientists, geographers included, are beginning to consider the "performance of legal detachment" (Jeffrey and Jakala, 2014:658). From another angle, critical legal scholars are also, if not empirically, heading in the same direction. However, they argue it is difficult for legal professionals to embrace law's rhizomatic, ongoing, creative and untamable nature, as they are locked in a mindset (for survival purposes) of either linear or cyclical models of international law (Koller 2012).

In conclusion to this section, I argue that studying neutrality and The Hague not only enriches understanding of the themes described above but also throws light on how the interplay of actors and practices of diplomacy, peace and law imbues certain groups, spaces and scales with power in particular moments (Hocking 1999 in Dittmer and McConnell 2015:14). At the same time, by considering neutrality through embodiment in its broadest possible sense, incorporating, emotions and affects, practices and habits, stable and fluid performances, it underlines the unstable nature of any form of neutrality and its relationship with geopolitical hegemony and exposes the possibility of alternatives.

As well as a focus on individuals and states, there is also a need for critical geopolitics to consider *organisations* as geopolitical agents of (para)diplomacy, peace and law in their own right (Muller 2012, Dittmer 2016) as opposed to channels of state power. Whilst this has been considered in International Relations by Bartlett and Finnemore (2004), and to some extent already in critical geopolitics (Megoran 2006), perhaps more work could be done to consider the emotional-affective, architectural and discursive elements of organisations. Muller argues that organisations must be unpacked in order to consider what makes them greater than the sum of their parts and gives them geopolitical agency, acknowledging that a particular source cannot be determined.

2.5) Organisational Anthropology

2.5.1) Introduction

For the reason above, I now turn to organisational anthropology, which in my opinion has been underutilized in geography so far. It is also a useful field in its own right because academics in this field have already linked the scale of organisation and neutrality. Organisational anthropology is particularly relevant here because of the link between professionalism and emotional neutrality described in the first section of this review, and also because work practices are often designed to appear neutral, in the sense they are supposed "to serve others rather than exercise power" Garsten and Nyqvist 2013:9) (See also Strathern 2000 and Bartlett and Finnemore 2004). In this section, I will elaborate both work on private and state-run organisations that specifically tie into other the areas of interest already mentioned, such as emotions and affects, architecture and critical geopolitics.

Firstly, however, it is important to stress at this stage that organisational anthropology is more than a subdiscipline of social anthropology, tuning into organisations and employees and their impact on society and space. In a sense, all social anthropology is organisational in that it scrutinises the *process* of organising and the establishment of different recognisable *forms* and *scales* in a hierarchy, where organisations at different scales have authority over others (Neumann 2013, Garsten and Nyqvist 2013). Lives are saturated with organisations, such as families, schools, clubs, companies, and nation states, to name but a few and each are continuously maintained in overlapping ways. For this reason, the organisational anthropologist, although focused on organisational practices and representations of private corporations and state-run organisations, is rebellious when it comes to sticking to any pre-conceived notions of types of organisation or boundaries between them (ibid).

Organisational anthropology has not ignored the role of space. Organisational ethnography with a geographical slant has been popular since Orr's (1996)

autoethnographic account of his working relationships with a Xerox machine and other repairers. He focused on the places and practices of informal learning, and the physical and social boundaries of responsibility. His relationship and conversations with individual photocopying machines coincided with the development and influence of Science and Technology Studies that also made non-human actors central to organisational anthropological research. There has been a switch from *actors performing* with symbolic language, acts and artifacts, to *actants enacting*, with a focus on materiality, like office buildings. Organisations have been considered as networks and assemblages for sometime (Czarniawska 2012) in the same way critical geopolitics research explores statecraft.

Research in the field mostly now concerns where things are happening (Strathern 1995) and how an organisation is lent power by all the tiny things it consists of (Latour 2005). Organisations have an "appearance of external structures" that is "the counterpart of the production of modern individuality" (Mitchell 2006:179-180) because their form is more like the "metaphysical effect of practices that make such structures appear to exist"(ibid). For example, an army produces a 'two-dimensional' effect of both a machine and a group of individuals simply based on

"*the organised partitioning of space, the regular distribution of bodies, exact timing, the co-ordination of movement, the combining of elements, and endless repetition, all of which are particular practices"*. (ibid)

Organisational anthropologists and the geographers of critical geopolitics of organisation mentioned earlier are therefore interested in the elements that make up these organisational forms or effects, and the former study their impact through ethnographic research. Whilst ethnography is popular across the social sciences including human geography, it has historically been associated with social anthropology. A focus on the relationship between organisational processes and their forms has led to innovation in ethnographic approaches that follow people, practices and objects (including bodies) within and across organisational boundaries, up and down hierarchical arrangements, 'front and back stage' (without allocating

authenticity), addressing broader social and material processes of meaning-making and power relations (Wright 1994, Gellner and Hirsch 2001, Ybema et al 2009, Garsten and Nyqvist 2013).

"Engagements with the field tend to combine fieldwork methods in order to 'alternate extreme close-ups' that show detail by portraying persons with particular facial expressions, talk, gestures, and clothes with 'wide angle' or 'long shots' that show panoramic views of the institutional context, the historical background, power relations and societal discourses" (Ybema et al 2009:7).

More recent ethnographies include embodied perspectives of going to work, following 'policy' and 'audit' as 'actants', engaging with networking methodologically and theoretically, and doing ethnography at the borders of organisations were so many elements are secretive. Whilst this research does not specifically add to this debate, it was guided by organisational anthropologists strict attention to detailing the advantages and pitfalls of engaging with organisations.

Recently, the discipline has turned to the study of organisational serendipity to determine what it might entail. There is a somewhat different, somewhat complimentary yet alternative field that studies organisations, namely Management and Organisational Studies, which has traditionally been positivist in nature and associated with Business Schools, treating organisations as stable, cultural entities that must adapt to external circumstances. Its focus on successful, organisational design and change has kept the two areas apart in the past but the gap between Management and Organisational Studies and Organisational Anthropology has been closing over the last twenty years. In a recent special edition of the journal "Organisation Studies", they have come together to consider whether surprises can be managed, and/or whether design, serendipity and (mis)fortune might be narratives to manage anxiety or coherency (Gabriel, Muhr and Linstead 2014, Jalan et al 2014, Wilner et al 2014, Izak 2014). Fans of the Princes of Serendip, some of these authors suggest not only researching serendipity but researching serendipitously, in other words being on the look out for 'accidental discoveries and meaningful connections' (Gabriel, Muhr and Linstead 2014:340)

I have been influenced both methodologically and theoretically by these themes. Yet, instead of choosing to study a particular organisation, my focus has been on the process of organising neutrality relationally, through emotion, affect, architecture and geopolitics. This has enabled me to switch from the micro to the macro, without reifying any scale, organisation or culture at the outset. It has also pushed me to consider organisational forms (or effects) on the make, things that look like socio-material-spatial, stable and fluid "legitimised social groupings" where neutrality plays a central role, and has broad influence on the way people think, act and feel (Douglas 1970). As it is shown below, organisational anthropologists have long since argued that organisational practices at professional and organisational scales are political and interact with those of other scales. My contribution is to show how neutrality is multiple and multiscalar, and contributes to intentional and unintentional organisational agency.

2.5.2) 'Neutral' organisations and emotion and affects, architecture and critical geopolitics

I now highlight where organisational anthropologists cross over with other themes of the literature review and how they contribute to a study of neutrality, starting with how emotions relate to organisational practices. The theorists below suggest that positive and negative emotions both produce and derive from practices of organising accountability, or expressions of responsibility, and therefore are key to an organisation's status as an entity.

Organisations always involve friction because they demand acceptance of authority through certain rules and procedures, from a membership that derives its own status and protection, from the conversion of individual into social action (Garsten and Nyqvist 2013). Bureaucratic organisations in liberal democracies are one example. Herzfeld (1992) suggests that complaining about organisations is relevant to interrogating what makes them coherent and their symbolic meaning and power. He therefore attends to the frustration and solitude people sometimes encounter through practising and experiencing bureaucracy, relating to the indifference or

'emotional neutrality' refered to in Section 1. Herzfeld argues that expressions of negativity produce a collectivity, that highlights shared understanding of moments of imperfection in what is otherwise constructed as a perfect world of government administration, both formative and derivative of liberal values.

Bureaucratic, organisational practices perform a *rational* organisation in binary opposition to a religious one, in spite of the fact that they both demand total faith, and present themselves as orderly and above evil, in contrast to the behaviour of their faulty human membership (Herzfeld 1992). This *"secular theodicy"(*Herzfeld 1992:7), which he borrows from Weber, is achieved through the co-production of "indifference" (Herzfeld 1992:1) described above, *and* specific Foucauldian disciplinary practices of classification, that not only delineate who is in and out, but simplify what life entails, diverting attention away from its messy, unruly and contradictory, representational and emotional elements (Scott 1998). These practices, increasingly more salient, make the organisation and its members more bounded and legible, and therefore more manageable and loyal (ibid), increasing the structural effect of unity and power, described above. Furthermore, as classification is inherently ambivalent and divisive as Bauman (1991) suggests, some people and places are inevitably unable to perform the requisite membership requirements, never quite able to act as rationally as expected. On the other hand, there are others whose belonging is guaranteed by specific practices, in specific places at specific times.

As organisations and their members endeavour to produce and acquire evidence of rational practices based on the values of liberal democracy including neutrality, Herzfeld argues they are simply ensuring organisational and individual survival. Through maintaining the visibility of bureaucratic practices of accountability, the necessary amounts of insecurity and frustration are assured, yet enough evidence of liberal values such that they don't boil over. Such practices might have evolved over time for example, to include neo-liberal financing, compliance and human resource management practices, that streamline costs. They exert even more control by prescribing and measuring behaviour aligned to organisational goals, to combat

perceived threats of globalisation (Sparrow, Schuler and Jackson 1994) though some geographers may argue to produce it (Massey 2005). Nevertheless, they are still practices of rationality and accountability that enact a coherent, rational membership and organisation.

In this regard, anthropologists have noted the rise of an audit culture derived from financial accounting and moral reasoning (Strathern 2000) and its relationship to other practices of ethics, policy-making, 'being oneself' at work (Fleming 2013) 'transparency' (Krause-Jansen 2011) and 'continuous improvement'. These are analogous to the drive to keep bodies mentally and physically healthy and immune to threats (Martin 1994:16) and have led to presentations of the self and organisations (Giddens 1991), whereby performances of checking flexible adaptability, and openness and honesty, become proof in themselves of accountability (Strathern 2000). Nevertheless, their 'opaqueness' signal efforts at organisational and individual survival again, productive of and created by just enough feelings of insecurity (Fleming 2013) and practices of even greater secrecy (Krause-Jansen 2011), that enable organisations and their scales to cohere. Anthropologists have struggled themselves considering these practices in universities, and reflecting on their positionality and performance (Shore, Wright and Pero 2011, Shore and Wright 1999).

All this suggests an important role for emotions in driving accountability practices that sustain organisations, and also how they might stabilise them as entities imbued with liberal values such as neutrality and the associated qualities of truth, balance, openness and moral principles, even if they don't feel that way to everyone. However as it has been shown, anthropologists tend to portray organisations as closed and circular processes and forms, blurring reality and image. In spite of appearances of separating and maintaining a balance between planning versus evaluation (Strathern 2000), records versus law (Vismann 2008), peace versus justice, (Koller 2012), these dichotomies are inextricably linked in organisational practice. However, it is enough to create a practitioner's blindness to the messy, multiple ways of organising, and openness to disciplines beyond law, IR and organisation and management studies,

which may account for why Anders (2007) and Kuus (2011) both ethnographers of bureaucratic and legal organisations, testify to difficult access, or interviews with employees sounding party-line.

Whilst, their arguments helpfully point to a relationship between emotions, organising and rationality, organisational anthropologists do not explicitly address the emotional *geographies* of organisational practices of accountability. Furthermore, they pay little attention to *affects* or the relationship between multiple emotions, affects and geography in the vicious, cyclical performance, that stubbornly maintains certain organisational forms such as the legal profession, a government agency, a liberal-democratic nation state and more. In this study, I explore this further by focusing on the social, emotional and spatial elements of some specific legal and management practices in particular places. I argue that whilst the geography of emotions and affects contributes to organisational coherence, such coherence is never guaranteed.

Recent anthropological work on documentation (Riles 2006) and legal records (Vismann 2008) testify to the agency of non-human objects in the bureaucratic processes of emotion and power described above. Unfortunately, there is no space to do them justice here. Instead, I stick to the general themes of the literature review and turn to buildings in order to consider how they are party to the production of neutral practices that enable certain forms of organisation to cohere. In this regard, researchers following Foucault, Latour and Lefebvre, Kornberger and Clegg 2004, Dale and Burrow 2008, van Marrewijk 2009 and Hancock and Spicer 2011 have argued that architecture and interiors are complicit in neo-liberal, organisational practices. Openness, honesty, teamwork and transparency are represented and enacted through building features that mimic neighbourhood communities and city streets through glass walls and open spaces, with atriums, trees, cafes, banks and contemporary artwork. This not only emphatically performs the disappearance of the former workplace of hierarchical corridors and small offices but it seduces employees to devote more energy and resources to organisational survival, blurring boundaries of individual and organisational identity, time and space. These authors also suggest

employees may be both supportive and resistant through their lived experiences but others have argued that this view is too rigid, pushing for an organisational geography that is more-than-representational (Lorimer 2009), attending to Lefebvre's work on the everyday and Deleuzian affects (Daskalaki et al 2008, Beyes and Steyaert 2011). Although this broadens the scope, they have been criticised for ignoring collective memory and treating organisational space as if "the historical context of a society didn't matter" (Decker 2014:518).

Organising then might entail overlapping socio-material configurations that are both restrictive and continuously evolving in novel ways. In these ways, organisational anthropology's spatial turn starts to blend theoretically with human geography, albeit not quite with the breadth of methodologies and emotional and affective perspectives of the geography of architecture. By bringing them together through the theme of neutrality, this thesis hopes to extend ideas about the fluid relationship between organisation forms and architecture, through emphasizing the absence and presence of certain material features, and foregrounding their emotions and affects.

This section has already hinted at the shared interests between organisational anthropology and critical geopolitics, especially in terms of the social construction of the nation state (Sharma and Gupta 2006). Both focus on how it is represented and the ways in which it is 'done' through everyday practices and the relationship between epistemology and ontology. Both consider the disciplinary technologies of both state and non-state actors, and their impact on the construction of states and 'the other,' and the fragile boundaries between the two (ibid). Neither assumes that current trends in international relations and globalisation necessarily 'weaken' the nation state. Instead, they emphasise how the agencies of different organisational forms interact, reinforcing old and introducing new geographical and social categories and power relations (Ahrne 1994).

Returning to Muller (2012), there is an argument that more needs to be done in exploring geopolitical agency at the scale of organisations, through a focus on practices, embodiment and representation of actants, that perform as an entity. He

cites the work of political theorists, Barnett and Finnemore (2004), who turning to sociology and anthropology, found that practices legitimized and lent power to international organisations rather than the nation states that underpinned them. As bureaucracies performing democratic accountability to combat accusations of hypocrisy, the IMF and UNHCR enacted distinct, geopolitical entities. Perhaps again, this nods to a performance of rationality and indifference for the mutual survival of the individual and the organisation, and illustrates how organisations link individuals enacting liberal democratic principles to multiple and larger structures. For this reason, anthropologists relish the complexity of organisational study, often focusing on the boundaries between organisations and scales (Garsten and Nyqvist 2013). This could be pushed even further to consider organisations 'on the make'.

In summary, organisational anthropologists who focus on practices of accountability might find it very difficult to consider neutrality as something outside any socio-spatial-scalar conceptualization of organisation and power. Emotions and architecture themselves are also fully co-opted in maintaining rational and neutral practices that produce (neo-) liberal values of truth, balance, moral principles and openness, and sustain existing hierarchical power relations between nation states. Nevertheless, as recent theorists have tried to incorporate the unpredictability and playfulness of architectural affects and serendipity in theories of organisation as described earlier, their relationship with neutrality deserves attention. From this perspective, 'neutral' organisational forms or effects would not be the product of the design and implementation of rational practices but the fluid and precarious outcome of spontaneous practices, emotions and affects rather than deliberate strategy. Their coherence would be derived as much from accident as self-interest and might therefore not be stable enough to exert geopolitical power or maintain stability. On the other hand, the neutral organisational form or effect might be a product of both. In this case, the very portrayal of *un*organistion, accident and contingency combined with overt rational, neutral practices might be strategic and immensely powerful in their own right.

2.6) Conclusion

In this literature review, the geographies of emotion and affect, architecture, critical geopolitics were discussed as well as organisational anthropology. These areas were helpful in stimulating questions about a new geography of neutrality, which broadly addresses what constitutes neutrality or neutralities and their implications for wider societal relations. It was also felt that the theme of neutrality would add to these bodies of literature given that neutrality somewhat implies an absence of emotion, affect, representation, organisation and politics, and it is difficult to conceive of geographies *without* them.

More specifically in this thesis, I contribute to the geography of emotions and affects by ascertaining whether neutrality is one or the other or both, or a lack or suppression of them, constituted through meanings, skills, practices and the physical environment. I also consider whether neutrality can be produced, given that theory suggests 'emotional neutrality' and the 'neutral' atmosphere of the interiors and exteriors of buildings are always converging and diverging. Finally, I address the question if emotions and affects are indeed everywhere, how are certain places and people across scales enacted as neutral and to what purpose? I suggest that emotions and effects are instrumental in the production of geographies of neutrality, elevating and marginalizing specific groups, and creating and reinforcing certain geopolitical categories.

Secondly, in terms of the geography of architecture, I address how it is possible for building exteriors or interiors to enact neutrality and yet still produce geopolitical imaginaries, particularly through the scale of organisation. I illustrate the symbolic characteristics of a 'neutral' architecture as well as its embodied practices and related emotions and affects. I also extend the idea that architecture is constituted by the juxtaposition of spectacular and everyday, by suggesting it involves the creation of certain beliefs, feelings and power relations, through *the absence or deliberate concealment* of certain elements.

Thirdly, I interrogate how geographies of neutrality are created by and produce the geopolitical practices of peace, (para)diplomacy and law. I consider whether these relations open up possibilities for change and/or preserve the existing world system of nation states and the hegemonic power of liberal democracy. I achieve this by considering the representational, emotional, affective and architectural and interior elements of neutrality across these practices, again paying attention to absence and presence, and I explore how they are negotiated and integrated across scales and groups, to produce and sustain identities, coherence and strategic survival. These themes are useful in that they add to knowledge about how power relations are maintained but also illustrate how architecture, emotions and affects make it possible to produce multiple versions and spaces of neutrality, which might have implications for diversifying peace, as Williams and McConnell 2011 suggest.

Finally, I consider how organisational anthropology and critical geopolitics might be integrated to explore neutrality and vice-versa, particularly given the suggestion that organisations need to be unpacked more to explore their geopolitical potency. It appears that organisations retain their cohesiveness at least partially through practices of accountability and the mixed emotions of belonging and resentment they produce. It is also apparent that organisations derive power through the reiteration of practices that lend them a structural effect or form. Academics must therefore continue to respond to the call to interrogate organisations at any scale, and particularly organisations themselves, to explore the practices that might make them powerful entities in their own right. What this thesis adds, is a slightly different approach in that it explores a possible geopolitical imaginary that is apparently 'neutral' (The Hague International City of Peace and Justice) and considers if it still produces a metaphysical effect of organisation, and if so in what form and at what scale? It therefore addresses the role of neutrality in organising.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1) Introduction

In order to achieve the following aims,

- to investigate neutrality geographically, relationally, emotionally and materially and

- to interrogate the relationship between neutrality and The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice, and explore its geopolitical implications,

I employed an autoethnographic case study approach. This involved myself, twenty-three participants, twenty-two interviews, nineteen walking tours, (auto)ethnographic observation at formal and informal events, and some textual analysis. It took place between October 2011 and July 2012.

I used a case study approach to explore a complex phenomenon in its context. I believed that an empirical study that explored neutrality holistically, through the practices, places and people that engage with it, could be useful both academically and politically. I used autoethnography to push this as far as I could. I wanted to use personal experience to probe neutrality and its abstract, rational and objective associates, and to bring The Hague, fast becoming a geopolitical imaginary, down to earth.

Using autoethnography as a guiding principle as well as one of my methods, I decided to combine it with in-depth, semi-structured interviews and walking tours to explore the meanings, feelings and behaviours that constituted neutrality and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice. My intention was to look at these 'things' neither from an insider or outsider perspective but to straddle the best of both worlds as part of a network. Through (auto)ethnographic observation, I deployed representational, embodied, emotional and affective experiences to make sense of

The Hague's practices and environments, whilst I used the interviews and walking tours to illuminate the social, material and spatial aspects of professional and organisational elements of neutrality. Finally, I used textual analysis to probe further who it was all for and its inherent power relations.

In this chapter, I first describe autoethnography as something that underpinned my overall approach to the research rather than a discrete method. Secondly, I describe the research tools I integrated under this banner (See Table 3a below), including (auto)ethnographic observation. Thirdly, I outline the analytical process. The analysis was based on thematic coding of transcripts, walking tour notes, observation notes and specific texts, and intent listening for emotion and affect. Throughout these descriptions of the process, I reflexively consider each aspect of the research. Finally, I describe the ways in which I ensured the research was ethical including a brief exploration of positionality or subject positions, given their significance to the methodology.

Table 3a: Overview of methods

<table>
<tr><th>PARTICIPANTS: 23</th><th>SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: 22
WALKING TOURS: 19</th></tr>
<tr><td>ICTY: 6 (+ 2 pilots)
EUROPOL: 4
STL: 2
GL Events: 1
NGO: 1
ICC: 1
Urban planning/Architectural/Landscape Gardening Companies: 3
Dutch government organisations: 1
Not working/Residents of Statenkwartier: 2

(Professional Backgrounds)
Lawyers including Managers: 6
Intelligence Analysts: 2
General Management, Finance, Admin (incl. interpretation) and IT support: 8
Architects, Landscape Gardeners, Urban Planners: 4
Journalists/Writers: 3</td><td>Interviews: 22

Walking Tours: 19

a) Inside the public and private areas of the organisational buildings (ICTY, Europol, World Forum) in the World Forum Area: 10

b) Walking around the public space of the World Forum Area: 6

c) Inside public and private areas of other organisational buildings in Peace and Justice (ICC and STL): 3</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">(AUTO)ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATION</th></tr>
<tr><td>Pre-planned attendance at formally organised events
Grotius Conference at Peace Palace (1 day)
Civil versus Common Law Hybridity Conference at Asser Institute (2 days)
Asser Conference at Peace Palace (½ day)
“Open Day” in World Forum Area (1 day)
City Council Meeting/neighbourhood about Europol Building (2 hours)
City Council Meeting/neighbourhood about Eurojust Building (2 hours)
Visiting Court at ICTY – 10 times (1-2 hours)
Guided walk to the placing of The Mandela Statue in The World Forum Area (1/2 day)
Attending the opening statement of Mladic’s trial at the ICTY (2 hours)</td><td>Pre-planned visits to World Forum Area
Walking through - 20 times (5-30 minutes)

Incidental visits
Informal lunches with friends at ICTY canteen (3 hours)

Going to theatre at the World Forum (4 hours)

Walking, cycling or driving in or around the zone – daily (5-10 minutes) for 6 years</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">TEXTUAL ANALYSIS</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Magazines and Pamphlets, Book Chapters

Rijksgebouwendienst & Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (Government Building Agency and Ministry of Internal Affairs); (2011) “Smaak Magazine: Europol, July Edition”.
Gemeente den Haag (Hague City Council/Municipality) (2009) “Nieuwsbrief International Zone” (Newsletter, International Zone)
Deutinger, T. Pandolfi, C., Maeno, N., Jansen, B and Thoele H. and Jansen, H. (undated) “Architects vision of The Hague: International” commissioned by Maarten Schmitt and Bregit Jansen to be published in the fourth book of “Schmitt’s Favourites”. Stroom Publishing.
Van Krieken, P and Mackay (2005) “Introduction” in P. Van Krieken and D. McKay eds “The Hague: Legal Capital of the World” TMC Asser Press
Eyffinger, A. (2005) “Living up to a tradition” in P. Van Krieken and D. McKay eds “The Hague: Legal Capital of the World” TMC Asser Press
Lagerwaard, B. (2005) “The Hague in the World – The World in The Hague” ” in P. Van Krieken and D. McKay eds “The Hague: Legal Capital of the World” TMC Asser Press</td></tr>
</table>

3.2) Autoethnography

I begin this methodology section with a discussion on autoethnography because its underlying principles underpinned my approach to the research. “Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience” (Ellis, Adams and Bochner 2011). According to Ellis and Bochner (2000), autoethnography is attractive to those who wish to challenge the perspective that research can and should only be objective, and foreground the importance of subjectivity, emotion and positionality in their quest for understanding. Autoethnography is a process, which derives from both autobiography and ethnography. It combines “epiphanies,” that are events and ideas that illuminate and linger (Bochner and Ellis 1992) and ethnographic methods such as participant observation, “observant participation” (Thrift 2000), interviews, and analysis of texts, artifacts and spatial practices (Makagon 2004). In summary, it is a product of thick description (Geertz 1973) reflexivity (Clifford and Marcus 1986) and showing and telling, that are evocative of both experience and emotion, and present abstract ideas and understanding of the story unfolding (ibid). Finally, it is distinctive from ethnography in that it deliberately highlights and exploits the researcher’s experience in addition to acknowledging and questioning its impact on the production of knowledge.

It is not without its political, epistemological and methodological risks (Butz and Besio 2004). Politically, Crang (2005) citing Bourdieu, points to concerns about post-modern autoethnography’s self-indulgent, introspective nature and its tendency to distract attention away from an understanding of power relations. However, solutions have been offered. Crang advocates the non-representational project, even against the criticism that methods exploring the notion of affects and becoming, contain no political force. The last decade of ‘more-than-human’ and post-humanist approaches have followed his lead (Jones 2005, Cook and Harrison 2007, Sidaway 2009). Buzio argues autoethnography can be political in a post-colonial context, through the process of transculturation and the co-production of texts by researcher and

researched, even though Besio warns that autoethnography as a kind of successful intervention is down to the researcher's own positionality (Butz and Besio, 2004).

Epistemologically, there is the perceived problem that either 'personal' reflection has little value, or that autoethnographers might reify themselves (Rose 1997). However, this problem has been addressed by Law (2000) who draws on Foucault's discourse and Althusser's notion of interpellation to explain that the constitution of oneself as 'knowing subject' and something else as 'known object', is an instantaneous embodied act, rather than anything *either* rational *or* personal. Unlike the 1970s postmodernists who suggest these simultaneous matches are created by monolithic blocks of combined power and knowledge, that are both produced by and govern everyday practice, Law insists discourses (or what he calls modes of ordering) are multiple and overlapping, and that their alignment or conflict is integral to research. According to Law, it is important to be sensitive to these clashes when investigating phenomena and writing up, given this is a relational, not rational *or* personal process.

Methodologically, autoethnography often involves long-term fieldwork in one place, erstwhile classified as 'insider' ethnography because of the perceived lack of distance between the researcher and the researched (Hayano 1979). However, as it has become impossible to define the scale at which activities happen (Marston et al 2005) and to which cultures belong (Czarniawska 2012), identifying a place to study 'them' is problematic. Not only that, 'the field' is no longer perceived as abstract space, and recently the distinction between what constitutes home and the field has been challenged, as one develops a greater sense of belonging throughout the research process (Watson 2012). Some have advocated multisite ethnography as the future. They offer the potential to understand how places and cultures reveal themselves and their meanings, through their connectedness (Crang 2005, Cook and Harrison 2007, Czarniawska 2012). In a way this piles on the pressure to 'be everywhere' not just 'there' but also offers more freedom to explore novel ways of unearthing social phenomena autoethnographically.

More generally, autoethnography often falls between a rock and a hard place in the sense that it either not scientific or artistic enough (Ellis et al 2011). It is often criticised for not being systematic, for not employing enough research participants who are also not 'different' enough (ibid). Otherwise, authors are accused of simply being devoid of stylistic talent or imagination. Ellis et al suggest that arguing whether it is a valid research tool misses the point. What is necessary is to ask if autoethnography produces nuanced understandings of people and places, that make writers and readers think how they might be similar or different to them, and how they might engage with the world differently as a result?

In spite of the potential pitfalls described above, I was determined to research *auto*ethnographically, foregrounding and exploiting my personal experience to understand the phenomenon of neutrality. I felt that autoethnography could elaborate how the evolving subject positions and relationships of the researcher and researched impacted on the production of knowledge. Especially in a context which involved a muddled relationship between 'home' and 'field' even at the outset, a focus on the "convergences and divergences" between myself and the participants (Voloder 2008) could illuminate my themes. My research questions had been generated by personal surprises and it seemed important to continue to register resonance and dissonance whilst conducting fieldwork, as well as during the analysis and write-up.

Ethnography is in itself reflexive, and pays attention to situated knowledge and even multiple positionalities in its detailed analysis and generation of theory (Clifford and Marcus 1986, Abu-Lughod 1991, Bourdieu 2003). However, in its presentation, it doesn't always evoke the emotional and affective, or the messy and fluid effects of trying to employ oneself as both participant and researcher, which I believe sometimes warrant narratives of the self and an emphasis on positionality. Given I actually wanted to study emotions and affects through participating in specific 'neutral' practices and use my own feelings as research tools, I believed I would be highly visible in vignettes throughout the thesis. As long as this produced some

interesting abstractions and concepts (Anderson 2006), I could defend myself against criticisms of self-indulgent autobiography.

To summarise, autoethnography was a guiding principle as well as a textual genre. It meant that understanding neutrality as a complex phenomenon could be implicitly informed by reflecting on researching neutrality and any unforeseen issues of proximity and distance.

3.2.1) An autoethnographic, case study approach to neutrality and The Hague

My research was triggered by living in The Hague and cycling past its institutions of peace and justice, on the school run for six years. The acquaintances made through this routine activity would later become or connect me to participants, some of whom would become friends. Construction work at the end of the street and public events around The Hague drew me into reading more about my new home. For these reasons, the decision was made to write autoethnographically, not particularly to give a voice to the researcher and participants to express a particular political goal (Butz and Besio, 2004), but more in the style of geographers, Ian Cook and Michelle Harrison (2007). Ideally, the aim was to produce an eloquent story about neutrality in conceptual, spatial, material, emotional and perhaps commodity terms, with quirky connections and literary characters that would gently push both author and reader to reflect their role in international peace and justice.

Cook et al (2007) use Haraway's (1991) term "cyborg" to emphasize researchers' personal connections to the material objects they study. Haraway insists any knowledge is partial due to objectivity being a physical as well as a visual thing. Researchers are not up there doing the "God Trick" (Haraway 1991:189 in Law 2000: 4) as she calls it but muddling around in the thick of it, just like participants, connected in the same network. Following this logic, I tried to identify the relations between researcher, people, non-human materials, places, times, concepts, practices, emotions and affects that combine to produce neutrality (or neutralities). At the same time, I acknowledged that this would be challenging. The research was about following an

abstract ‘thing’ not a material one, where half the battle would be trying to construct and map it, let alone trying to link its producers and consumers.

I wanted to ‘follow’ Cook but his work also implied multisite ethnography as well as a physical object, and travel was not an option. For this reason, I combined autoethnography with a case study in one location. A case study is an effective, qualitative way to consider an intricate social object, and tell a story about it by illuminating its relationships, contexts and boundaries (Yin 1984 in Tellis 1997). Case studies have the following advantages (Stake 1995 in Tellis 1997). Firstly, they are holistic even if they are confined to a specific area for practical reasons. They allow consideration of the same phenomena through a variety of methods, producing both breadth and depth of understanding. Secondly, they are empirical descriptions of ‘a field’, that deploy journalistic style and contain as little academic jargon as possible. Thirdly, they are interpretive and empathic, in the sense they consider the social object from the point of view of the people who engage with it including the researcher. Finally, case studies do not claim to produce generalizable knowledge, only knowledge that is contingent on its specific context. Dovey (2010:8), argues however, that given difference is central to the understanding of place and that “places are cases”, case studies can do more. They also offer an opportunity to consider the usefulness of ungrounded theories of place given that they must account for how places are unique.

As it was not going to be feasible to study the entire city, I used “The World Forum Area” as a case study as discussed in Chapter One. Picking a discrete geographical area also enabled consideration of neutral practices within some distinctive international organisations. It also presented the opportunity to explore how neutrality is produced by or creates the conceived and physical relations both *within and between* the organisations mentioned. This reflected both the interests of organisational anthropologists and geographers in boundary-making. It was therefore possible to consider how neutrality might be constituted through the landscaped environment and access routes between the buildings of the “The World Forum Area” used *both* by

employees *and* the public. In a way, this was my acknowledgement of multisite ethnography (Crang 2005, Garsten and Nyqvist 2013) in the sense that I honed in on a variety of organisational spaces and practices. Nevertheless, I didn't assume they were natural entities, in order to avoid the trap of reification of organisational culture, architecture and scale, in pursuit of exploring 'neutrality'.

3.3) Research Methods

In the above section, I described autoethnography more as a methodology more than a specific method. I now justify and describe the qualitative tools I integrated under that umbrella, acknowledging that (auto)ethnographic observation was one of these.

Between October 2011 and July 2012, I recruited twenty-three participants for my research, who were people involved in the daily operation of the World Forum Area. This was either through direct contact or snowballing. Their organisations and professions are listed in Table 3a above. I conducted twenty-two semi-structured interviews and nineteen walking tours. The following section explains how I selected participants for semi-structured interviews and walking tours, and why I chose and conducted these particular research methods. I then go to elaborate how I integrated these with ethnographic observation and textual analysis.

3.3.1) Participant selection

I chose interview and walking tour participants on the basis they were thought to have some material or conceptual influence on various neutralities. The twenty-three participants were deliberately not a cohesive group with a specific aim. Their lives overlapped across "The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice" and its contested physical counterpart "the International Zone" in different ways and all had some past or present connection with the World Forum Area specifically. They included lawyers, police, managers, support staff, planners, architects, landscape

gardeners and also local residents, who were concerned about construction issues with The Europol Building. I do not list specific job titles anywhere in the thesis in order to protect those who had requested anonymity. This is common when using experts in research.

In terms of recruiting participants, I asked some people directly, whom I knew as acquaintances. With their permission, I also contacted their friends and colleagues who had some connection with The World Forum Area. I also deliberately approached specific authors of, or interviewees in the academic literature or publicity material I had read, which described aspects of The Hague or 'The Dutch' as 'neutral'. Most participants did not ask for permission from their employers and were willing to partake in both tours and interviews as far as time allowed. They used their discretion to determine what was 'off the record' and the private or public organisational space, I should or shouldn't see. One participant did discuss the research with their line manager, and as a result the latter acted as a quasi-gatekeeper, granting permission for all those I had asked in her department to be involved.

3.3.2) Interviews

As mentioned previously, I undertook twenty-two interviews with the participants listed in Table 3a. One participant was willing to commit to a walking tour and an informal chat but not an interview. Interviews took place in a variety of places depending on the participants' choice. They took place in offices, public areas, meeting rooms, cafes and office canteens within or nearby to the World Forum Area, with the exception of some participants whose offices were based outside it e.g. the STL or ICC. They lasted between thirty minutes and two hours. I met several interviewees more than once in order to cover all the material. All the interviews were recorded apart from two, as the locations were not appropriate. In these specific cases, I made notes during and immediately after the interview.

The interviews were semi-structured to ensure some basic themes were covered for later conceptual organising but also to allow for spontaneity (Kwale and Brinkman 2009). Participants could then input what they felt (ir)relevant to a discussion about neutrality, the zone and The Hague ICPJ. Questions were intended firstly to illicit detailed broad descriptions of how participants experienced neutrality in what they saw, did, heard, and felt. Secondly, they probed both employment and personal life. The interview schedule contained both open and closed questions and one specific hypothetical prompt, which I used to provoke if possible, a stronger response about neutrality, as if to provoke participants to substantiate an argument with 'facts' (ibid).

Example interview themes and questions are listed below.

- Background personal info
- What prompted you to come to The Hague?
- How would you describe The Hague?
- How would you describe an ordinary (working) week?
- Is neutrality something that matters to you? If yes, what helps or hinders it?
- How does the physical environment relate to that?
- Does neutrality matter to your organisation? If yes, how does it constitute neutrality?
- Is neutrality important to the international zone? If yes, how?
- Is The Hague neutral in any way?
- A lawyer in the 1880s suggested that if international law was to be effective, it would have to be located outside a nation state, for example, a canton carved out of Switzerland. If The Hague's peace and justice organisations were outside sovereign territory, what difference might that make to neutrality?

3.3.3) Walking tours or "go-alongs"

I conducted nineteen walking tours both within the World Forum Area. Most tours involved walking inside an organisational building *or* outside depending on the connection the participant had with the place. The walking tours were usually conducted in conjunction with the interviews and took place afterwards unless the participant thought it was more convenient to tour first because of where we initially met. Each tour lasted between ten and forty-five minutes. Whilst I did record one tour, I usually made notes immediately afterwards. The walking tour was fully participant-led within the parameters of my request that they should take me wherever possible, to the places they frequent on a normal day. Sometimes, I asked open questions about layouts or objects.

Given the research intended to probe neutrality in geographical, emotional and affective ways paying attention to the practices of the participants and their relationship with architecture, the walking tour or the "go-along" method was appropriate to the research aims. Geographers have discovered for over a decade that walking and talking foregrounds place in identity construction and also produces more collaborative knowledge (Anderson 2004). Nevertheless, some have warned that there is perhaps not enough interrogation of the type of knowledge that is produced by the go-along, and the relationship between what is said and its specific location (Jones et al 2008).

Acknowledging this, Kusenbach's "go-along" was still pertinent in several ways. Firstly, it was possible to link the connections between my diverse set of participants to her idea of a ''parochial realm," in which people are bound by ''informal networks as opposed to strong social ties" (Kusenbach 2003:478). Secondly the "go-along" method offered the possibility to probe

"how individuals connect and integrate the various regions of their daily lives and identities and… make visible and intelligible how everyday experience transcends the

here and now, as people weave previous knowledge and biography into immediate situated action" (Kusenbach 2003:478).

I therefore thought it would stimulate more spontaneous, materially driven reflections and feelings about the geographical and temporal contexts of participant careers. Thirdly, in geography, Rose et al (2010) deliberately used 'the go-along' in a shopping centre to bring the complexity of being 'human' back in to ANT-inspired research. They insisted that

"Talk and memories reach out to other places and times, with other objects; emotions play with and against affects and each other; and judgments and reflections intersect with all these" (2010:347).

I therefore used walking tours to stimulate emotions, affects and meanings in relation to architecture and interiors and explore their relationship. I could then link this to how anthropologists understand the discourses, space and non-human materials, that are integral to organisational practices.

During the research, even though the "go-along" method *did* illustrate that walking through the physical environment stimulated more spontaneous, materially-driven reflections and feelings on daily life, it was a challenging method. Working out what 'participant-led' meant in practice was more difficult than I had anticipated. Participants differed in terms of how they acted as walking tour guides within a research context, some more comfortable than others. There was a sense that it was important for both researcher and participant to maintain a natural conversation and this meant I sometimes felt the urge to ask lots of questions and make comments, which put me in the driving seat. At the same time, I was trying to take in an unfamiliar environment, listen and remember everything said and felt. This had implications for writing notes, which provoked some ethical issues, which I will discuss in the last section.

3.3.4) (Auto)ethnographic observation

The research also contained elements of ethnography, in which I was an 'observant participant' (Thrift 2000), recording notes on, representations, embodied performances and emotions and affects, including my own. This is why I use the term (auto)ethnographic here. I sought out and attended official events open to the public, which were related to The World Forum Area. They are listed in Table 3a. They included attending war crimes trials, conferences and organisational open days. I also attended highly-publicised or extra-ordinary events such as Mladic's opening statement and the gathering around the erection of a new statue of Nelson Mandela. I chose these events as they were deliberately designed to stage the themes of peace and justice. My motivation was to explore their organisational geographies by participating in their practices and to experience spatially, emotionally and affectively anything related to neutrality and The Hague.

As well as seeking out staged events, I also made a deliberate effort to 'loiter' in the World Forum Area. I paced around exteriors and interiors, to record vignettes (Lees 2001, Kraftl 2009, 2010b) of any embodied performances I observed, whether I felt them to be significant or insignificant at the time. I also focused on myself, walking or cycling with the intention of integrating more-than-representational approaches (Lorimer 2005, Wylie 2005) and political geography and critical geopolitics (Jones 2005, Sidaway 2009), through specific attention to my responses to architecture and the built environment. I didn't engage in conversation, I simply noted what I saw and heard, immediately after the planned excursions.

Finally, I made incidental visits to the World Forum Area, meeting friends in office canteens or public cafes, or attending musicals and ballets. There was also the inevitable daily interaction I had with the zone, as I walked, cycled or drove around it on the school run or into the city centre. On these occasions, I might record snippets of conversation or things I saw or heard in retrospect.

Ethnographic observation proved interesting to note especially as an 'observant

participant' in conferences and the courtroom. I carefully tried to record affects and emotions within practices, practitioners and places but sometimes became confused in terms of whether I was a subject or an object, or part of the field, for that matter (Watson 2012). Being 'part of the network' still raised significant questions about whether I was inside or outside The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice and what kind of knowledge my research would produce (ibid). These will be discussed later in the positionality section.

3.3.5) Textual analysis

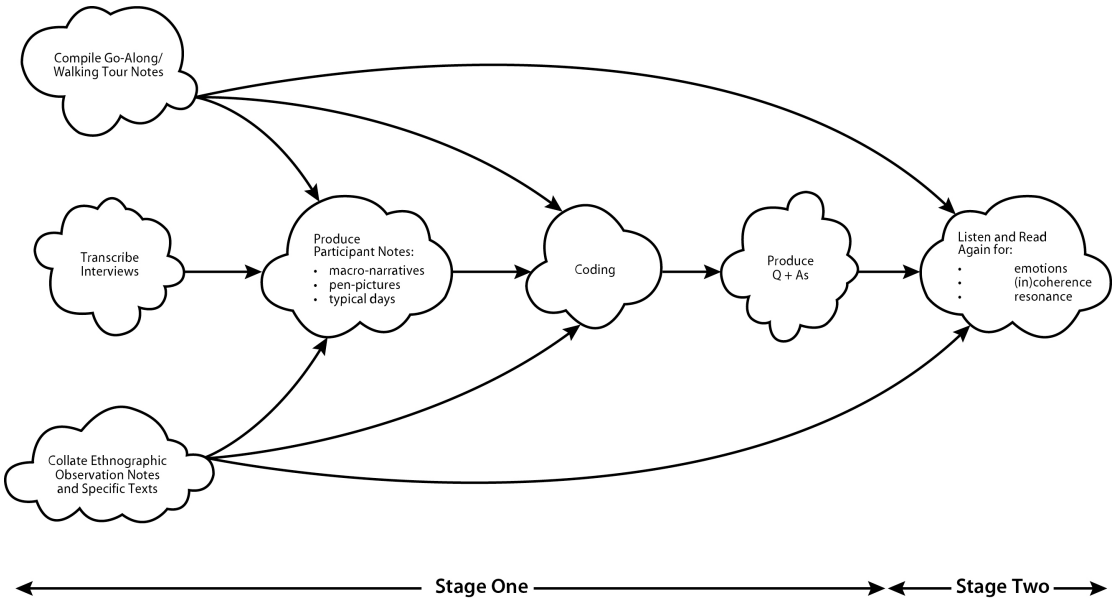
I also engaged with a small selection of texts that either very specifically discussed neutrality in relation to The Hague and also The Netherlands and/or also outlined the physical and conceptual development of The World Forum Area and The International Zone. These book chapters, magazines and publicity pamphlets are also listed in Table 3a. The purpose of textual analysing the "Smaak" Magazine on Europol, chapters of "The Hague Legal Capital of The World" and the publicity leaflets about the World Forum Area was to enable "me to situate myself in a way that brought them alive and opened their political subterfuge" (Aitken 2005:242). The methodology text books I consulted were not prescriptive so I made my own toolkit based on their take on the different theoretical frameworks that inform the analysis (Aitken 2005, Hoggart, Lees and Davies 2002).

Firstly, I scrutinised my texts to find language relating to neutrality and the "International City of Peace and Justice" paying attention to style and rhetoric. I also tapped into their micro and macro-narratives (Aitken 2005). I looked for binaries and pairings, considering whether the texts favoured or opposed one or the other and therefore certain groups or ideas. I also thought about how the authors and audiences were constructed by the texts themselves (and their publishers and readership), and I was able to embellish this understanding by recruiting as participants, one of the editors of one of the texts, and a featured interviewee in a magazine.

The textual data and analysis was very helpful in pointing me towards layers of textuality and their inter-relationship in cultural production and consumption. It was also easier than the other methods to get an initial feel for the key protagonists in the constitution of neutrality, and who and what wasn't there, before assembling and categorising the codes from the different methods. On the other hand, I probably would have missed a lot of the texts' rich detail if coding the interviews and walking tours hadn't made me want to analyse all the data again. A little shockingly, I could have easily forgotten to 'listen' to the texts emotionally and reflexively.

3.4) Data Analysis

Figure 3a: Analytical process



The analytical process is summarised in Figure 3a.

I first transcribed the interview data and then coded it thematically along with the walking tour, ethnographic and textual notes according to the techniques outlined by Crang (2001) and Crang and Cook (2007). This thematic analysis involves scouring the

transcripts and notes for things that are saying the same thing and producing codes for them. I wrote codes onto cards, with quotes shooting off them, and then picked out categories and subcategories across them, by grouping my cards into piles that related to the ideas, stories, spaces and events that constituted neutrality. I continuously revised and changed the categories, specifying those where neutrality was prominent, and also where it was emphatically absent. I produced pen pictures and 'typical days' from the more biographical and descriptive interview and tour data, and I compiled a list of macro-narratives that participants used to put their ideas and experience into context. I wove between these summaries and the codes, to re-contextualise the material when it became too abstracted. I then used them to produce a list of questions and answers that I thought might lead to more theoretical insights. This helped to integrate some of the power issues I had explored in the texts with the thematic coding analysis. By the end of this stage, the data revealed that the work people did, and the lives they lived across the zone, related to openness, principles, balance and truth, and had something to do with the socio-spatial performance or organisation of neutrality in the form of 'powerlessness'.

The coding of the research data was not straightforward as it was sometimes difficult to decide what to include or eliminate during the process. This was because, when it came to exploring 'neutrality', participants found it difficult to articulate what it was, how it was practised and where it was located, if it existed at all. In other words, participants could not really be described as 'knowing subjects' of neutrality (Crang 2005).

Given the attention paid to almost mapping neutrality for them, the analysis had not tapped sufficiently into emotional and affective geographies, or helped me consider the research process reflexively. I therefore listened carefully to the recordings again, and re-read the walking tour and ethnographic and textual notes to pick up sudden changes in mood, tempo or topic in relation to place and movement. I then reconfigured the categories. I also produced a new list incorporating what might constitute psychological, social and epistemological "ghosts" (Doucet 2008:73) that

influenced the research process. These included interrogating moments when everything almost sounded too coherent (Doucet 2008, Hollway and Jefferson 2000) and exploring macro-narratives that didn't resonate with me. This final stage of analysis helped me to clarify how neutrality was constructed emotionally and affectively in relation to specific places, for example the ICTY courtroom, office buildings and across the international zone. It also underlined how much the staged performance of neutrality *mattered* to people including me.

Analytically, through an integration of more coding and writing up (Crang 2001), I moved away from the general category of powerlessness and developed more nuanced and overlapping constructions of neutrality creating and produced by individuals, organisations and nation states relating to The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice. These were neutrality-as-competence, neutrality-as-international and neutrality-as-(un) organised and they form the basis of my chapters 4,5 and 6. The challenging aspects of the analytical process are detailed more fully in the final section on ethics and positionality.

3.5) Ethics and Positionality

As already hinted in terms of protecting anonymity, there were several ethical criteria to be met throughout the research. This final section in the methodology chapter discusses how I met ethical requirements and dealt with some unforeseen issues as they arose. It also highlights the positionalities of the research and how they may have influenced the research process, bearing in mind that one can never reflect neutrally (Rose 1997) and that there are multiple and evolving subject positions throughout every stage (Law 2000).

Ethical procedures within research are supposed to be alleviated by anticipation and forward planning. The three areas that were considered in advance and checked by the University of Leicester were as follows:

- Access and informed consent
- Confidentiality and anonymity
- Consequences of research

3.5.1) Access and informed consent

Gaining access and informed consent differed for each method. As far as obtaining interview and walking tour participants was concerned, there was immediately a decision about how much information about the research to divulge to participants, in advance. Initially, I sent out personal letters requesting their involvement to illustrate my respect and establish rapport (Crang and Cook 2007). I also attached a *participant information sheet (see Appendix 1)*. This discussed the research in quite general terms as it was anticipated that many interviewees working in organisations in the World Forum Area might be sensitive to the word 'neutrality', and perhaps highly skilled at representing themselves to the media. Furthermore, the purpose of the research was to explore what constituted neutrality rather than define it at the outset, and it was believed some key areas of interest might emerge after the research had begun. I then followed up with emails and telephone calls.

Once people had volunteered to take part, I discussed ethical issues at the beginning of the first meeting. They were asked to sign an *informed consent form* for interviews and the tours *(see Appendix 2)* before they began, so expectations between both parties were clear at the outset. The participants were informed that they were free to withdraw from the process at any stage, to read transcriptions, and to receive and comment on a copy of the first draft, if they wished to do so. They were also informed that the extent to which I was willing to change my analysis would be negotiated, if and when the occasion arose. There were mixed responses in terms of requesting and responding to feedback. The majority did not ask for transcripts or notes. Most did not make any comments, some clarified their comments and one requested a follow-up meeting to discuss concerns. This will be clarified later in the section on issues.

First drafts were sent to participants who requested them when the thesis was initially submitted in September 2016.

Access and gaining consent was also pertinent to methods of ethnographic observation as they included participation in some work-based and academic practices, which occur in both public and semi-public spaces. For example, court sessions allow access on the basis of an eligible passport and a security check and conferences could be attended as a student. I did not seek specific permissions for covert observation because I believed that individuals in those situations expect or accept their behaviour to be watched and evaluated by others. Even if consent was gained in relation to the court (ICTY), it could not grant permission on behalf of those accused of war crimes, who are palpably present.

3.5.2) Confidentiality and anonymity

The second ethical criteria involved confidentiality and anonymity, its possibility and desirability. Again the implications were different depending on the research method. Prior to interviews and walking tours, confidentiality boundaries were discussed with individual participants. It was agreed that names would be anonymised for more specific examples and anecdotes if required. Participants were also encouraged to flag up any stories that they would like to remain totally off-record during the process. For those who wished for total anonymity yet might have been identified through a combination of specific expertise, organisation, gender or nationality, I gave them generic rather than specific job titles as discussed earlier. I also gave them common names on the basis of my own culture, age, class and gender, which spoke more of me than them, unless they explicitly waivered anonymity

As far as my more covert observation was concerned, the same rules were observed. I used pseudonyms for non-consenting individuals observed in workplaces, courts and conferences and in textual analysis, I only used the names of individuals and organisations employed if the data was secondary and/or emerged from documents or websites that are generally available to the public.

3.5.3) Consequences of research

The ethical committment related to thinking through any potentially harmful outcomes of the research, through the manner in which it is conducted, or how the data is represented and distributed. There are many pitfalls that may arise from expectations about a researcher. (Kwale and Brinkmann 2009, Fine and Shulman 2009). Some might expect an 'objective' researcher, who discloses all their research goal and explains very specifically why their unit of analysis fits their goals. Others may treat the research process as more casual, dismissing the idea that issues like confidentiality and representation need to be discussed. They could also react sensitively to an informed consent form, which inherently suggests the possibility that the process creates problems between researcher and researched. This happens especially when participants are already acquaintances, if not friends.

I wasn't aware of clashes of values or disrespectful behaviour regarding the actual conduct of research. Nor did I experience any major differences between friends and other participants. An interview or walking tour that involves getting people to reveal something of themselves always involves establishing rapport. I am sure that sometimes I employed flattery, feigned ignorance or pretended to empathize (Fine and Shulman 2009) but I do not think that this occasional balancing between integrity and political astuteness created any harm.

In order to ensure accuracy, I produced very detailed and accurate descriptions of relations between events, people, material space and objects and scrutinised the data derived from the different methods, to pick out common themes and contradictions, and to try to explain them. Accuracy on the interviews and walking tours was achieved to some extent by going back to participants and checking that their views and actions were represented adequately. As it has already been described, participants were offered the opportunity not only to check transcripts and notes but also to read the draft thesis itself. As many of them were writers or academics of some form, it was felt that they would not have difficulty understanding the general arguments of the

thesis. However, it was important to carefully analyse their feedback rather than dismiss or accept it immediately, on the basis of unequal power relations. As can be seen from the following example careful consultation about representation with participants integrates ethics and quality control.

One particular ethical issue regarding representation arose from this process. One participant was very angry with my notes from the walking tour and requested a meeting to discuss their content. From their perspective, they were journalistic and subjective. What my notes *should* have contained were the specific meanings that the producers of the cultural artifacts we encountered on the tour, had meant them to convey. Due to the power relations involved, it was not possible to have a discussion about qualitative research or cultural geographies with the participant. Instead I had to be tactful and empathise with his positivist views on what research should entail. I therefore decided not to include the notes in my analysis. This was partly because I felt the meeting didn't really resolve the matter but also because it happened early on, and I was having doubts about the quality of conducting and representing the walking tours anyway. In retrospect, in an attempt to convey how the emotions arose between us, my notes might have appeared subjective to the reader. I then recorded two versions of the walking tour notes. One that reported my own reactions and the other that reflected what I observed the participants respond to. I then supplied the latter when requested.

This incident amongst others, also made me recognise the instability of my positionality not only during interaction with others in interviews, walking tours and observation but also during the analysis and write-up phases of the research process. For this reason, I kept notes about researching itself and endeavoured to track the inevitable twists and turns in the methodology. Given that the research involved numerous interactions between researcher, friends and family, consenting and unaware research participants, organisational representatives, PhD supervisors, the research community; and authors and protagonists in primary and secondary sources about peace and justice, dead or alive, power relations were bound to be involved.

The approach was to remain self-aware, assertive and respectful in order to reduce power inequalities but at the same time, recognising their inescapability, to record instances where they arose and interpret their impact on the study.

Finally as far as distributing research was concerned, I informed the research participants that the thesis might be published later in an academic journal or book, and that employers might receive copies. Participants were also tactfully reminded that writers cannot control the interpretations of readers, who interact with texts in unique ways.

3.5.4) Positionality

Positionality is a key aspect of reflexivity, which generally addresses how the researcher impacts on the research process and the findings they produce (Scholte 1999). Positionality has traditionally refered to how researchers describe the influence they have in terms of their subject position and location, using fixed social categories such as race, gender, age and national culture, and the power relations these entail. More recently, as implied by my reference to Law (2000) earlier, positionality is now regarded in much less personal and much more elusive, multiple and fluid ways (Robertson 2002, Smith 2006). This makes it even more difficult to assess its consequences on the process and outcome of research.

Unintentionally, my research produced numerous and overlapping, subject positions only realized, and then only partially with hindsight. One could argue that I manipulated available discourses to produce an acceptable subject position to carry out the study. The research was about 'neutrality' but I presented it as geographical, qualitative, and autoethnographic, which was perceived as quirky, by many participants. Additionally, the research involved such a wide range of participants, it perhaps made the prospect of participation, apolitical, harmless and irrelevant. Ironically, this might have been exactly what granted access to some participants, and brought the research to fruition.

It was never desirable or possible to define subject positions or whether I was either an 'insider or outsider' at the outset, even if the research was 'autoethnography'. There has been a long-standing debate in qualitative research as to whether it is possible to differentiate between the two, and the relative advantages of both (Mullings 1999, Giwa 2015). In this case, I deliberately placed myself at the margins of different forms, groups and scales of organising to consider how The Hague mattered to neutrality. On the one hand, I was interviewing and touring with affluent, professionals, mostly middle-aged like myself. However we came from three continents and six different European countries and (had) worked for different organisations. Yet all our lives temporarily overlapped through living in The Hague and had some association with peace and justice. The aim had been to exploit this complexity and remain reflective of how subject positions and insider/outsider status might have emerged and impacted on research on neutrality and The Hague.

A partial and possible sense of power relations was achieved by tuning into the emotions and affects of doing research during data collection and analysis (Watson 2012, Pratt 2012). In terms of interviews and walking tours, I have already described how sharing the walking tour notes with one participant produced such an angry response, that it provided a glaring reminder that there are multiple concepts of neutrality, tangible and elusive, and that 'neutral' research and neutrality like any other phenomena, can be a contest about who within the network gets to define and practise it. There were other moments of annoyance that helped illustrate this idea, e.g. when a participant thought I was bizarrely implying a liberal democratic country might influence the outcome of an international war crimes trial and therefore I obviously didn't understand international peace and justice. I quickly felt compelled to change the subject rather than engage in discussion about how the participant thought the independence of justice is actually constructed. On other occasions, I glowed with secret pride, as participants told me the research was thought-provoking in its original perspective, and one even said that I was 'like a lawyer'. I was so pleased I forgot to interrogate how. As quickly as I was dismissed I was enrolled again in The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice. Either way, I sometimes cut the

dialogue and interrogation of what constituted neutrality short because of the power relations involved.

Being an 'observant participant' also heightened my awareness of the fluidity of the insider and outsider status, I shared and didn't share with those around me. This relates to what I mentioned earlier about jumping between being a subject, object and the field. Particularly in court, I was aware of sudden emotions and affects, which made me question what produced the professional status I had assumed of myself, and that of the interview and tour participants. How could I reconcile being a neutral observer in a trial trying to balance the arguments like a judge at the same as being a neutral, critical geography researcher, paying attention to complexity, multiplicity, relationality and contradiction, which I also felt to be neutral? Without entering a debate about the neutrality of "the modest witness" (Haraway 1997) or post-modern "concern" in qualitative research (Peterson 2008), it was inevitable that my own ghosts (Doucet 2008) about doing neutral research about neutrality would crop up. In retrospect, I think this must have influenced the theme of neutrality-as-competence as an emergent theme.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge academic positionality itself is constituted by emotion (Askins 2009). For this reason, I now explain why neutrality and The Hague International Peace and Justice mattered to me and this probably relates to my professional background. As a language and learning consultant to multinational corporations in Vietnam from 1992-1994, I became aware of cross-cultural issues in human resource management (HRM). Following that, I did a Masters Degree in Training and HRM and worked as Management Development Consultant for the Scottish Prison Service from 1995-2002. My time there coincided with a massive restructuring exercise, and I was involved in rolling out performance management systems including designing and implementing personal development programmes, that were aimed to increase effectiveness and streamline costs. The complexity and dissatisfaction that this 'cultural change' entailed for prison officers, led me to question the very notion of culture, and the difference between what organisations

espoused and what they did. On a career break coinciding with the birth of my first child, I completed another Masters in Social Anthropology to address this question and encountered a course on the anthropology of human rights. I believe that this background perhaps led me to develop a critical and empathic inquisitiveness of things that purport to be universal and benevolent.

3.6) Summary

In this chapter, I have justified my choice of methodology and methods and explored what the research entailed in practice. I explained that I designed a case study to achieve my aims and objectives because I was wanting to explore a complex, social phenomenon in its context. I also emphasised that my PhD was underpinned by an autoethnographical approach. This was typical of my career to date where I had often used academic study to explore my experiences in and out of work. I used (auto) ethnographic observation as a basis, particularly to consider meaning, emotion and affect through embodied practice, but I also deployed interviews, walking tours and textual analysis to provide depth and breadth to my interrogation of neutrality and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice. This gave me insight into specific professional and organisational constructions of neutrality in discursive, material and spatial ways.

In this chapter, I have also explained how the data collection and analysis unfolded and how and why I sometimes had to make certain changes. Whilst I believe the choice of methods provided a way of considering neutrality geographically, from both representational and more-than representational perspectives, there were many things I didn't anticipate. In the interviews, participants found it even more difficult to articulate what neutrality was and how they 'did' it, than what I had expected. On the tours, I was challenged in terms of note-taking and how to share my notes, even though I had predicted it would be a more collaborative experience. The ethnographic observation was sometimes bewildering in terms of deciding what was important to write down, yet it hammered home what being part of a network felt like. Finally, notes on the texts were easier to compile but would have been coded perhaps too

clinically if I hadn't decided to analyse the transcripts, texts and notes all over again to tease out what emotions and affects were telling me. In essence, collecting and analysing the data systematically *and* flexibly, was a huge learning curve but I would still employ the same methodology and methods again. I believe they produced a situated portrait of neutrality and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice. The chapter also included the commitments and problem-solving, I undertook to ensure the research was ethical, including my probing of positionality. I considered access and informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, and the consequences of research beforehand, and I did my best to deal with issues that arose during the study with honesty and integrity. Throughout the chapter, I have emphasised the pragmatics of the research rather than its contribution to methodological theory. It may be useful in the future however to consider in more depth, the relationship between neutrality and subjectivity, and its implications for conducting research 'neutrally'.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEUTRALITY-AS-COMPETENCE: THE COURTROOM

4.1) Introduction

In my research, I ascertained that 'one' form of neutrality is a competence/habit relating bodies, practices and place. The practices (establishing and applying truth, balance, principles and openness) reduce the emotional and cognitive 'defects' of 'being human' rendering them and their practitioners neutral. As these practices are perhaps held most significant when they underpin a trial, in this chapter I intend to zoom in and out of a *courtroom*. I use the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), to explore how a sliding scale of neutrality-as-competence is constructed and what it does.

Some of my participants infer their competence or habit is acquired through a performance, sometimes cast as actors and the courtroom, courthouse and beyond as a stage. Yet neutrality as competence/habit for them is not an 'act' in itself, rather it is something they 'possess' by virtue of what they *do*, or their profession does 'naturally'. In other words, what they practise is both spectacular and everyday. 'Producers' of neutrality are careful to suggest there is never a perfect performance, yet neither do they suggest incompetence or a 'breach' of neutrality. In other words, they are masters *and* learners. However, interview and observation data suggests there is always an excess of feeling and thinking, with the potential to challenge the stability of practices and habits/competences at any time, if it was even there in the first place.

The main question in this chapter is what holds their competence together and how might it be possible to perceive all humans as neutral but some humans as more

neutral than others? What I intend to unravel is how geography plays a role - how the courtroom divides 'neutrally-competent' from 'human'. Bodies of 'masters' and those at an earlier stage of 'learning' are differentiated by spatial, material, emotional practices, inside and outside the courtroom. According to the data, the people involved are divided into three categories, which may be described as 'neutrals in the wings' like machines, 'neutral principal characters' almost like saints, and 'guest stars or extras' like humans with their natural faults.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Firstly, after justifying its use in this chapter, I show you the courtroom and its immediate environment, mapping out areas of relative neutrality-as-competence and humanness. Secondly, I zoom in and outside the courtroom to explain how types of people, including video directors, interpreters, judges, prosecutors, legal assistants, journalists and researchers are performed as 'neutrals in the wings', 'neutral principal characters' or 'human guest stars or extras' spatially, materially and emotionally. I also emphasise the action inside the courtroom by showing you specific actors as if they were on stage, highlighting the complexity of constructing 'neutral'. I then explore how neutrality and competence come to be linked, yet I illuminate such entanglement of registered and unregistered affect, emotion, knowledge and skill, it is difficult to draw boundaries around what neutrally-competent is. In further chapters, I explore how neutrality-as-competence is inextricably tied into the construction of 'neutrality-as-international' and 'neutrality-as-organisation'. I argue that different forms and scales of neutrality start layering up, consolidated by and consolidating The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice.

4.2) Why the Courtroom?

The courtroom was selected because the data analysis illustrated that it was where 'neutrality' might be in its most treasured and tangible form in the international zone. It seemed an ideal place to explore what neutrality *is* and *does*. Not only that but since the mid 1990s, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) has been considered a trailblazer in the development of the 'international' rule of

(criminal) law. Its hybrid legal practices are in their infancy, combining elements of domestic common-law (adversarial) and civil law (inquisitorial) systems currently applied in most countries of the UN. Legal practices under adaptation seemed to present a useful opportunity to consider how neutrality might be assembled.

From a critical geographical perspective, the courtroom and the trial seemed to encompass what geographers consider a 'spectacular performance', a tool they use to understand how meanings might be derived from practices (Harrison 2009). The trial is a 'nameable' practice, in a 'designated space' (courtroom) and is considered to involve 'professionals' (lawyers) and 'identifiable' doers (witnesses) (Horton and Kraftl 2014:141-142)(Debord 1967, Pred 1991, Kraftl 2009). It is also the most 'potent' type of 'spectacular' performance as it involves an identifiable audience or consumers (journalists, students, the public) physically and conceptually demarcated from performers or producers. The binary marks a deliberate attempt to elicit specific understandings and feelings by manipulating what an audience sees, hears and appreciates, and it is possible neutrality might be one of them. Mulcahy (2011:176) suggests that the phrase "courtroom drama" is "hackneyed" but insists that the performance aspect of the trial should still be interrogated in terms of its broader significance, especially in a spatial or material sense (See also Jeffrey and Jakala 2014).

Not only that, spectacular performances with defined audiences lend an opportunity to employ and explore theories of emotions and affects and their relationship to meaning. The courtroom seemed no less potent than places of musical performance, where emotions between humans are particularly intense and palpable, dictating the relationships within and between groups of producers and consumers (Small 1998). One of the issues addressed by geographers of performance is the push and pull of meanings, emotions and power relations enunciated by (human) bodily location and the creativity and openness that arises through multiple, overlapping human and non-human, embodied practices, through affects (Bondi 2005, Anderson 2009b, Roelvink and Zolkos 2014). By considering how the courtroom is produced by and produces performances, it is possible to ascertain whether neutrality is linked to emotion or

affect or both, is a type of intensity of emotion and affect or both, personalised or depersonalised or both, or something else.

The courtroom also presented a starting point for considering relations between 'neutral' performances by and of the courthouse, the International Zone and The Hague. Given that geographers are interested in how spectacular and everyday performances inter-relate (Kraftl 2009, 2010b, Craggs 2014), it seemed relevant to explore if and how neutrality travelled with the bodies of practitioners, and if it interacted with other practices, people, things and places, possibly created by or producing neutrality.

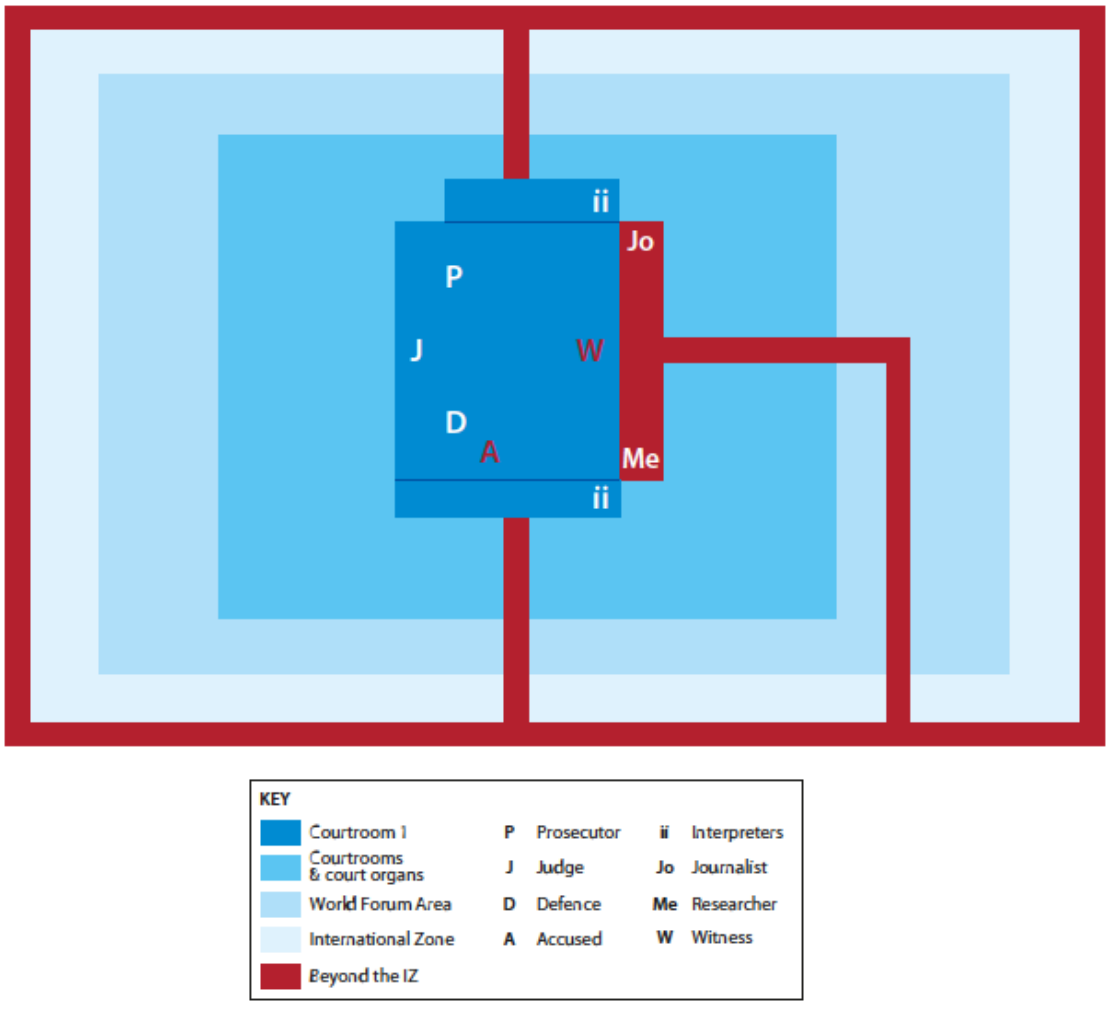
Finally, to repeat what was said in the introduction, this chapter does not judge whether the ICTY and its trials are neutral. It is an analysis of how neutrality is produced, through a courtroom and its practices, using theories of emotion and affect and their links to ideas about performance, skills and habits, and emotional labour. Furthermore, this chapter starts to probe *why* neutrality might be performed. This argument is pursued throughout the thesis, and ultimately illustrates what is gained by the performance of several, overlapping neutralities, including competence.

4.2.1) Courtroom tour

In this section, I introduce the courtroom and its surrounding environment in order to map out a sliding scale of neutrality-as-competence and also to illustrate where the main characters in this chapter are situated during a trial. Figure 4a below, illustrates the courtroom (dark blue) within the ICTY - the courthouse and court organs (medium dark blue) within the World Forum Area (medium light blue) within the International Zone (medium light blue). The data suggests that places marked BLUE enact *neutrality-as-competence* and the relative shades denote the relative competence. RED, on the other hand, shows what is constructed as *human* characterised by uncontrolled emotion and clouded representation. The question is how the trial and its associated practices of establishing truth and balance and applying principles and openness, divide 'neutrally-competent' from 'human' in spatial, material and

emotional ways. According to how I understand the data rather than how participants literally described themselves, people are divided into three dramaturgical categories: one) *'neutrals in the wings'* , two) *'neutral principal characters'* and three) *'human guest stars and extras.'* People in the blue areas are cast as 'neutral principal characters' or 'neutrals in the wings' both performing neutrality-as-competence but in different ways. Those in the red, the *'guest stars and extras',* enact less *neutrality-as-competence* and more *human.* In the next sections, I explain how. Finally, I emphasise the continuous *becoming* (qua Deleuze) of neutrality-as-competence through new embodied performances within international criminal justice, that are both resigned to, and contested. I also push for anyone ('neutral principal character', 'neutral in the wings' or 'human guest star or extra') who cares about what neutrality is and does, to engage more with the construction of international legal practices and spaces.

Figure 4a: Courtroom One at the ICTY and the scale of neutrality-as-competence.



4.3) Neutrals in the wings

This research suggests that neutrality-as-competence is derived from and generate the inter-related practices of a trial, such as establishing truth, balancing parties, applying principles, and openness, and the environments in which they take place. In this section, I consider how types of people, including judges, prosecutors, journalists, spectators, interpreters and interns producing and consuming these practices come to be constructed as 'neutrals in the wings', neutral principal characters' or 'human guest stars or extras'. The groupings that are produced, and to which people are assigned, depend on their connection and interaction with specific materials, environments and the flow between them. Not only that but their presence and absence in the private and public spaces of the ICTY, in the international zone, surrounding neighbourhood and beyond, determine whether or not these places themselves are enacted as neutral. This microgeography of neutrality, however, is not just down to spatiality and materiality but an interaction with how practice is experienced in affective, emotional and meaningful ways. In this section, I address what make people 'neutrals in the wings' to the extent it might be forgotten they are even there at all, and how this relates to a performance of 'emotional neutrality' (Ward and McMurray 2011) and establishing the truth.

4.3.1) Embodied spaces

Neutrals in the wings are those practitioners of the trial that the audience *does not see* (e.g. **ii** in Figure 4a). It *does not see* video directors, interpreters and transcribers. They are barely visible and cut off from the stage, carrying out their work in separate booths or small offices nearby. As components of their technology, they are not regarded as *re*presenting the speakers or the courtroom, they relay truth itself. As one participant said

"I think we try to create a courtroom for a video director to try to show as close as possible what the experience would have been if somebody was sitting in the audience….That's not the case in a TV studio, what you see on screen is a very slick

version ….you see what somebody wants to show you…the video director is trying to show the truth whatever that is" (Brian, interview, April 2012).

Video-directors are not to be seen as actors or artists (Radul 2007) and this could be extrapolated to interpreters, who are highlighted in this analytical chapter. The task of recording and interpreting is abstracted from the practice of establishing truth in the trial, by concealing both operators and technology as much as possible and thereby reducing the role of non-legal specialists to skilled machines or 'neutrals in the wings'. Both the 'neutrals in the wings' and their technologies are hidden from the stage. The same participant, involved in the architectural and interior design of the new courtroom at the Special Tribunal of the Lebanon (STL) (who had previously worked at the ICTY), had the monitors sunken into desks "to emphasise the legal process". (Brian, tour, April 2012)

Part of this construction of the concealed 'neutral in the wings' is about ensuring bodily comfort or bodily capacity e.g. hearing, to enhance competence in interpretation. Feedback that ICTY interpreters were disturbed by the sound of people typing on their keyboards transmitted through microphones, provoked specially-designed keys for the courtroom at the STL. These concerns about eliminating audible distraction help to establish interpretation as a purely technical and physical skill. Furthermore, at the STL, interpreters chose to have film on their booth windows because they didn't want the visual distraction of the public audience. The same participant continued to explain;

"Separation from the courtroom, specification on sound-proofing and individual temperature controls and visuality are determined by judicial best practice" (Brian, tour, April 2012).

'Judicial best practice' appeared to involve helping interpreters do their job to the best of their ability but it clashed with what a participant (Gregor, interview, February 2012) described as a 'figurative' expression of neutrality, through the balanced number and arrangement of chairs and desks in the courtroom. (Balance as aspect of neutrality-as-competence will be considered in more detail, in the section on neutral

principal characters). As prosecution and defence face each other from right to left, sometimes interpreters cannot see some of the speakers. This suggests that reading faces and body language is not strictly necessary when it comes to interpreting what a speaker in a trial has to say. Even if this does not threaten the quality of interpretation, it can be argued that this 'dehumanises' the interpreters.

It appears then, when it comes to competently conveying the truth, neutrality is co-produced by spatially and materially concealing the human being and reducing video-directing and interpretation to purely technical tasks. However, the architectural symbolism expressing the importance of balance, was not conducive to either the most skilled performance of interpretation, or the representation of that performance as 'establishing the truth'. Where architectural symbols and specific elements of a performance compete, it is harder to convey and stabilise meanings (Dovey 2010). I will return to the courtroom later but for now it is necessary to follow the interpreters outside.

The audience does not see interpreters outside the courtroom. In the ICTY building, they are also accommodated as little more than extensions of their machines. This is not a judgement about them or the quality of their environment but to emphasise that given the nature of their work, they are not expected to spend much time in the courthouse. Their position in the city and indeed, the country is also interesting in its spatiality and temporality.

The interpreter I interviewed and with whom I toured the ICTY, does not live in the international neighbourhood[1] so cycles from the red zone (in the Diagram 4A) to work. He enters the ICTY building through the main entrance and public security area (also red), then uses his pass to go into the staff area on the left of the foyer. The interpreters' shared office is just on the other side. It is impersonal, scruffy and airless. No-one has ownership of their own space but there are a few desks, computers and a small sofa to share. Interpreters spend little time here. They come into the ICTY for

[1] The interpreter hints politely that it is too expensive and exclusive.

their shifts in the courtroom (the blue-ist zone in the diagram) so the transition to 'neutral in the wings' is quite swift and discrete. The interpreter is not constructed as 'neutral in the wings' by his socio-spatial mobility outside the courtroom. In contrast to his staged insignificance that deems him 'neutral' in the spectacular performance of the trial, he is quickly reverted to possessing ' natural human bias', almost the minute he walks outside.

I know another interpreter who lives in the blue zone and his children go to an international school. I will explain how neutrality-as-competence inter-relates to performing *neutrality-as-international* in Chapter Four. However, whatever stability they have as individual families or whether they are constructed as 'local' and/or 'international', they may still be subject to the outcome of persisting debates about the right of people from the conflict region to remain in The Netherlands after the tribunal is over. This also goes for other staff in administrative roles. In 2010, their presence in The Hague was insecure, not only for this reason but due to the politics of Geert Wilders[2]. They are not lawyers who might cross the street to another tribunal/court when their contract ends. I am not suggesting that interpreters are constrained by the boundaries I have discussed above. They cross them physically and emotionally all the time. The point I am making is even if they do, and their contribution is highly valued by themselves and their legal colleagues, spatial and material practices have the potential to ensure that audiences of international criminal justice, near and far, do not see or hear these quiet machines as people.

As is explained in the literature review, it is by zooming in on 'spectacular' and everyday 'performances' that it is possible to grapple with *what* and *where* is being represented, *what* emotions and affects are stimulated, and/or *what* novelty is produced. So what then is being performed? Geographers perhaps pay less attention to those who are actually performing 'backstage'. Here I don't mean to use the term metaphorically in a Goffman way, just that the social interaction between an audience and people actually 'behind the scenes' needs further investigation. If Laurier and Philo (2006) illustrate how embodied gestures are central to the production of café

[2] The participant made explicit reference to possible changes in the positive perception of 'Eastern Europeans.'

conviviality (but importantly, also other complimentary and contradictory moods), it is important to think about how any link between courtroom and neutrality might be influenced by concealing embodiment, and what additional atmospheres are being produced. A theatre audience normally thinks about people in the wings enhancing the content in some way, therefore they are constructed as performers too. What is interesting about an international war crimes trial, however, is that the influence of those behind the scenes is totally denied. The audience is supposed to forget the interpreters and video directors are people and negate any 'human' interference. 'Neutral in the wings' is not a conceptual category. These experts are not classified as 'neutrals in the wings'. The point is they are barely acknowledged at all because, as extensions of their technologies, they do not appear subject to the foibles of emotion/representation. What is being enacted is the identity of *the trial and the courtroom.* Ironically from an ANT perspective on the geography of architecture (Jacobs 2006) the courtroom might be held together with some human beings *relegated*, not typically elevated aspects of a socio-technological network. They would be part of the technologies of the courtroom in a Latourian sense. Neutrality-as-competence is performed both by spatial and material practices creating 'an atmosphere', through *absenting* some if its fundamental, embodied constituents (Anderson 2009).

Outside the courtroom and the ICTY building, the interpreters and video-directors' identities are constructed as and perform 'everyday' and 'human' by their lack of presence and their slightly insecure status in the international zone and immediate neighbourhood. Geographers of performance and specifically performativity rightly question the relevance of differentiation between 'spectacular' and 'everyday' (Kraftl 2009, 2010b). In the spectacular performance of a trial, the practices of establishing truth, balance, openness and principles involve placing certain people and areas (even beyond the courtroom) in the limelight, whilst concealing others. 'Neutrals in the wings' contribute to the performance of neutrality-as-competence by remaining in the shadows of the courtroom, courthouse and city. Too much acknowledgement of their presence could undermine the construction of truth itself and threaten the

spectacular performance of the courtroom as a 'neutrally-competent' place. Perhaps an important issue in geography is how some places and people are staged as *in*significant and to what broader effect, than the outcome of the trial? This is addressed further in Chapter 5.

4.3.2) 'Neutrals in the wings' and emotions and affects

For now, it important to consider what else might contribute to or detract from such an atmosphere of neutrality and explore the research data that paints a picture of interpretation in action. In the following vignette, I bring interpretation to life from elements of the interviews and tour notes.

Johnny feels claustrophobic in the airless booth and the pressure of squeezing so much material into a tight timeframe. As Johnny interprets both interlocutors back and forth, he is challenged by the feedback of his own voice, he is interrupted by the noise of fingers on keyboards though their headphones, and he can't actually see one of the speakers, as he is blocked by a pillar. Nevertheless, as he tackles the process of understanding, words fall eloquently from their lips, his arms gesticulate wildly and their tone expresses the emotion of the people he is supposed to be. This is specific to him, he says. Others seem able and willing not to express emotion. It is particularly tough so he will probably only do ten minutes before he swaps with his partner, who at this moment is jotting down some numbers and facts on a piece of paper to help him. It is a good job, Johnny is not in the courtroom embarrassing himself and distracting everyone. In the fast flow of communication where every word is relevant to the construction of truth, there is always a risk he will be challenged for misrepresenting one of the speakers, even if it is to cover their own mistakes or incoherency. Johnny is suddenly surprised when a group starts pointing at him from the gallery. He feels uneasy so after the shift, he finds out what was happening. He discovers that his voice has become a bit of a celebrity for its pleasant tone and user-friendliness. The people were from the region and they were recently employed in The Hague to transcribe some old trial material. They were having a bit of fun matching the voice to a real person and this touched him.
(Based on interview and tour with Johnny, February 2012)

It's one of the better interpreters, one that expresses the speakers' feelings so as to make an event out of it. Some of them can sound so monotonous. *(Based on interview with Lee, June 2012)*

The interpreter signals the change of speaker with the word "Question" or "Answer" and I can't really understand the flow other than that the discussion is about mistaken identity and a harrowing account of people being shot in a wood. The interpretation

was strange and somehow didn't work for me[3]. *(Autoethnographic observation, October 2011).*

Surprisingly given the claims of the environment, in this extract, there is so much evidence to suggest that emotional, cognitive and representational issues (all aspects of being 'human') are *present* not absent, that it is questionable whether the 'interpreter' and 'neutral in the wings' hold together at all. "Feelings in, of and about" the courtroom (Rose et al 2010:346), suggest its own fragility as well as the atmosphere of accuracy and neutrality, and interpreters as cyborg-esque. The interpreter hints at the difficulty of 'the interpreted' answering back or the audience's attention, which suggests deliberate deployment of 'emotional neutrality' (Ward and McMurray 2011). The journalist imagines what a *good* interpreter should sound like, and I personally, am irritated that I can't follow who did what, even though it is in my mother tongue. This chimes well with practice-based phenomenology (Simonsen 2013, Ahmed 2004).

The myriad of these embodied emotions expressed in the vignette and in particular the affect produced by the audience pointing to the interpreter, jolts him into asking himself 'what about?' This must be a momentary rupture in the performance of 'neutral in the wings'. He is perhaps even confronted with the emergence of 'self' within the performance (Simpson 2014) as their bodily gestures insinuate the possibility he is the star of the show. Another time and place constructs him as "human" when he extracts the meaning of the encounter from the transcribers, and converts the captured affect to pride. This suggests that even if it is geographically and theoretically mediated, there is no 'human' *before* the courtroom performance, that regroups *after* the show, but that the 'human' and 'neutral in the wings' and 'the courtroom' as distinct from 'the ICTY building', are just "moments of representation along the way" (Pratt 2013:183) of spacing and embodied practice (Anderson and Wylie 2009).

[3] Now I understand (because I have spoken to an interpreter) that every second counts and the brainpower and additional time it might take to say the names of the speakers, would hinder the process of interpretation. He frames it as a cognitive task.

In one sense, then, neutrality does not appear to be an emotion or affect in itself, nor an absence or level of intensity. Instead, it appears to be a question of moments within practice, where emotions and affects do not dominate in one's overall awareness, to the extent that 'known' integrated, entities start to unravel (Portisch 2010). When they do loom large, there is the potential for meanings, practices and skills not to come together.

When affects and emotions take on significance in one's field of awareness in a practice like interpretation, and neutrality (represented as absence or control of representation and emotion) is one element that holds it together as a practice-as-entity (Shove et al 2012), both the stability of the practice and its inherent meanings are threatened. In other words, neutrality-as-competence as a thing, diverges when affects and emotions unsettle a performance that is supposed to support its meaning. These ideas stem from theories considering emotion and affect within social practice, and the geographies of anthropology of skill, which are discussed further in the next section.

4.3.3) Neutrality in the interpreter's toolbox

In spite of the suggestion that interpreting constructs 'neutrals in the wings' *and* 'guest stars and extras' and produces absences and presences of affect, emotion and representation, the interpreter did not suggest this impacted neutrality. He ascertained that material objects and human interaction both hindered and helped interpretation, but he also portrayed interpreters themselves as somewhat 'neutral' in the sense that neutrality was not compromised. He suggested that *he* was a neutral element of the courtroom, on the basis of *his* 'professionalism', and perhaps as a byproduct of the mastery of skills and habits of interpretation[4].

He says he is not neutral about the outcome of the trials but like the lawyers he can be professionally neutral, overcoming what he described as the natural bias intrinsic to human beings. Interpreters do challenge each other when they think their

[4] This is **not** a question about whether the interpreter is or is not neutral, it is about what makes doing interpretation neutral.

interpretations have been clouded by specific representations of events, perhaps formed in the actual space and time of the conflict. These debates are constructed as intellectual, professional debates. The interviewee later clarified "Instead of do, I'd say might challenge each other and it is really not happening often, not significantly often, mostly because we are too busy getting it right on all other levels". (Notes from tour with Johnny including his feedback in quotes, February 2012)

From his point of view, only a desire about the verdict, might threaten an interpreter's ability to convey what the speaker said accurately, and therefore neutrality. In other words, only this has the potential to construct him as 'human', subject to the problems of emotion. However, it very rarely rears its problematic head, and it is solved by professionalism, capable of controlling this urge. But what does he mean by 'professionally neutral', and how does it link to 'getting it right on all other levels', as here I understand him to suggest that most of the time, accuracy and a **neutrality-as-competence** is achieved, by his interpreting skills.

If he feels that neutrality-as-competence emerges from getting interpretation 'right', it is understandable. Many skilled people suggest their performances are automatic or pushed from "focal to periphery awareness" (Polyani 1962:55-65) yet as a learner, they are acutely aware of 'themselves' acquiring abstract knowledge, and fine-tuning motor skills, suppressing or faking emotion (Wainwright et al 2010). It is not surprising that interpreters believe in linear stages of competence or 'mastering' 'their' skill, and assume that their emotions and technical know-how have gone to 'the back of the mind'[5]. It is no wonder that neutrality-as-competence feels like part of the repertoire of *the interpreters'* skills. *Any emotions, '*theirs' or others' are deemed outside their skilled practice.

Ironically, or perhaps not to geographers of emotion and social practice, it is through the emotions and affects revealed by the interpreter's and others' accounts of interpretation in action, that show how the skilled performance of establishing the truth or interpretation may be tenuous. They demonstrate that neutrality-as-

[5] This perhaps starts to address Pile's (2010) question about how and why we compartmentalize the mind.

competence is always converging and diverging through the courtroom design, technology, skills and the embodied encounters of all the parties (the interpreters, the courtroom performers and the audience).

For this reason, like Bissell says, it is likely that "skilled performances are better understood as competencies that temporarily possess us" (2013:127). Habits and competence are not resources "owned" by people before a performance but an ongoing process of alignment between bodies, tools and environments, giving them geographical significance (Middleton 2011). Things could only ever be 'right' or 'mastered', producing an atmosphere of neutrality-as-competence, when moments of sublime integration render everything invisible to everyone. Portisch (2010) suggests learning and mastery involves

"entering into a skill-based, creative and evaluative dialogue with one's environment in the widest sense" …. and "*the development and expansion of one's field of awareness while at the same time weighing up all the components involved" (Portisch 2010: 576-577).*

When a practice in its broadest sense doesn't achieve its intended outcome, various elements assume more importance (ibid). These may be affects, sometimes translated into emotions, and if they reveal the interpreter's presence, the construction of 'neutral in the wings' and neutrality-as-competence fail, however long the practitioner has been a professional.

The emotional control aspect of work is often conceptualised as 'emotional labour', which involves

"*the management of feeling to create a publically observable and bodily display…. to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others " (Hochschild 1983:7).*

It implies deliberate emotional and emotive behaviour, which can even involve 'emotional neutrality', a "technique used to suppress emotions, whilst displaying unemotional behaviour, wherein the suppression of one's own emotion is the

performance itself" (Ward and McMurray 2011:1585). In my opinion, this is what the interpreter alludes to when he mentions he 'can' be neutral.

Concerns have even been expressed that people might lose themselves as 'their' emotions are disappeared in such mastery (Hochschild 1983). This chimes with the desired performance of interpreter as 'neutral in the wings'. It fits with the material and spatial performance of neutrality in which he is embedded, and also the way he talked reflexively about himself and the practices of which he was a part.

Yet if skills are precarious as Bissell (2013) suggests, is it really possible to manage emotions at all? It is not that I want to direct attention away from 'emotional neutrality' especially as it had been ignored for so long (Watson and Ward, 2013:1585). I fully agree with Watson and Ward (2013) that this *is* a performance in its own right and it is valuable to explore working bodies and environments that involve various efforts e.g. managing movement, facial expression and speech effectively, to prevent being emotive. I also try to continue their efforts to investigate

"the complex nature of the contexts and spaces in which it occurs; as material spaces (and often technical spaces); as spaces of emotion and performance constituted by social and emotional relations; as relational time-spaces actively made and remade by the practices of those working within them." (2013:2918).

They have illustrated in research on studio production how a 'raw' performance is co-produced with 'the right vibe' a precarious assemblage of the room layout, equipment, the musicians, and the technical skills and the emotional labour of *the producers* (Watson and Ward 2013). Whilst usefully highlighting combinations of emotional labours in bringing about trust and tolerance, Watson and Ward perhaps don't quite emphasise enough the precariousness of the whole performance including its '*emotional neutrality'*, or question if the final musical product is not characterized as much by its divergence as by its convergence.

In this section on 'neutrals in the wings', it is shown that, a 'neutral/truthfully competent atmosphere' is a perilous assemblage of the courtroom layout and materiality, its on-stage performers, and the technical skills and 'emotional neutrality'

of the concealed interpreters and their technologies. This is because neutrality-as-competence and the 'neutral in the wings' are always in the process of creation and undoing, by the circulation of emotions and affects.

In this section, I have illustrated that 'emotional neutrality' is twofold, as it relates to both what Watson and Ward convey as active suppression *but also* the disappearance of emotion through specific practices, and the relationship between the two. In this research, 'the neutral in the wings' and 'neutrality-as-competence' is co-produced through practices, materiality and discourses of mastery and professionalism. They also appear to be both influenced by, and to shape the interpreter's perceptions of their experiences. But the question remains as to why emotional aspects are underplayed in work like interpretation and video recording? If 'emotional neutrality' is linked to 'professional' and offers more status than other types of emotional labour (Smith and Kleinman 1989) how and why, in this context? If as Brian, the research participant said, video directors "try to show the truth whatever that is" (interview, February 2012), it could be that the construction of 'neutrals in the wings' and 'neutrality-as-competence' are some of the messy, physical, representational, emotional, affective elements involved, but it still does not answer, *why* this holy grail is pursued. This is addressed later in the conclusion to the chapter and thesis.

4.4) 'Neutral principal characters'

What is on show in the courtroom is a story of imbalance (in the former Yugoslavia), where order has been overturned by human shortcomings. The ICTY has even been described by some as "an attempt to restore equilibrium to a moral universe overwhelmed by evil" (Akhavan 2001:7 in Jeffrey 2009:393). Throughout the trial, this will be reversed and the binaries of mind/body, rational/subjective, cognition/emotion individual/state etc. established since the enlightenment (Williams and Bendelow 1998) reconstituted. Prosecution and defence lawyers perform people who have the composure and skill to provoke emotion and reveal the human imperfection and inconsistency in others. They do this by knocking them off their

scripts and converting 'facts' to 'fiction' (Radul 2007). Meanwhile, judges perform the principle-driven expertise to make decisions about culpability purely based on the 'facts' of the case. What is displayed through lawyers here is 'neutrality-as-competence', a mastery of truth, principles, balance and openness, in contrast to the 'human guest stars' of the 'floundering' witnesses or accused. In fact, perhaps the production of emotion and human error is precisely what draws the interest of outsiders, and constructs an audience. Without one, neutrality might never be felt or understood. The construction of 'neutral principal characters' (the lawyers) then is essential to this process, and their construction is also dependent on the practices and environments beyond the courtroom, which is what I elaborate here.

4.4.1) Embodied spaces

In contrast to 'the neutrals in the wings' discussed in the previous section, the audience does see the 'neutral principal characters' in the courtroom. Unlike the neutrals in the wings, the audience knows, and they know, they are kind of 'actors,' whose job is to perform the innocence or guilt of the accused. They are wearing costumes, following stage directions and a script (Radul 2007) and everyone involved recognises the importance of the balanced layout and bodily rituals of the courtroom. As it is a dramatic performance, the audience also knows the prosecutors and defence lawyers are sometimes using emotive-affective techniques. For example,

"You can kind of use body language and intonation. You know you see it in the movies" (Sam, interview, October 2011)

It 'knows' that prior to the performance, the scripts themselves have been honed and rehearsed for an adversarial process. The prosecutor's apparent support for 'one side' is professional representation only and does not suggest they are emotionally attached to their witnesses or repulsed by those of the defence. They are only 'acting' partisan. In this section, I try to illustrate how the performers and audience perceive the ritual of the trial like this, through the skilled performance of "neutral principal characters" and their relationship with neutrality-as-competence. Working to establish, apply and openly display establishing the truth, balance, and rules and

principles of justice, the trial performs the management of human issues of emotion, representation, and bias, and co-constructs 'neutral principal characters' and their neutrally-competent legal practices, courtroom and building.

Firstly, the spatial and embodied practices of the lawyers in the courtroom cast them as neutral. Their neutrality is constructed by their meticulous stopping and starting of the process, which involves debating over rules and procedure, in order to refine the truth and maintain balance in the trial. Their practices are more often than not paradoxically undramatic - to the extent, one journalist remarked,

"*These trials take months, years, the judgements take months, sometimes years so I don't…You know it's very procedural, sometimes it's so dry and boring, there are so many rules and everything has to be minuted. It is so long and tedious, it has to be neutral. …..Let's say Monday through Wednesday and they are really boring. Let's say they are looking at a map for 2 days, it happens. So then I'll have to watch on Thursday and hope there's a new witness*." (Lee, interview, June 2012)

Such performance of attention to detail and documentation conceals emotions, representations, or human fallibilities, (Vismann 2008), helping to construct 'neutral principal characters.' In the quote above, the journalist hopes for a new witness to arrive, suggesting a desire for an atmosphere characterised by something different. Later in his interview, he implies he does not mean an 'expert' witness (who probably did not experience the conflict first hand), as their interaction with the lawyers can rouse as little interest as discussions about legal process. As technical experts, they possibly perform an expansion of a judge's wisdom, adding to the 'neutral principal character,' who is in possession of all the facts. But this is not what the journalist wants, he yearns for a contrast, something more emotionally interesting. I will return to the specific relevance of emotions and affects later, when I consider 'neutral principal characters' in action. For now, I continue to focus on embodied spaces.

Judges and their legal assistants' offices are located close to the courtroom at the ICTY. During the trial, legal officers and assistants may flit back and forth between the courtroom and their offices within the same building, to prepare witnesses and

exhibits, deal with procedural issues and draft written decisions. The tension of any drama is interrupted by this constant mobility between the timespaces of the dramatic performance of the trial and its broader legal organisation. It intricately weaves the practices of ascertaining truth, balance, and principles of justice, between the courtroom (the blue-ist zone in Figure 4a) and the ICTY building. Through the spacing of bodies, the stage and the skilled performance are extended, and therefore expand the reach of the possible 'neutral principal character' and neutrality-as-competence (Blumen 2007, Crouch 2003, Craggs 2014).

In this way, the audience follows the performers outside, literally or through speculation about what lawyers 'do'. Even though the ICTY offices are closed to the public, it has the potential to imagine that skilled legal practices are taking place in the second blue-ist zone in Diagram 4a. It can imagine through knowledge of common law systems in national jurisdictions, that in an adversarial system like the one at the ICTY, there are rules of interaction between employees of the tribunal, which also extend into the International Zone and the city. Indeed, within the ICTY building, chambers, the prosecution and defence areas are physically and electronically segregated to ensure the division of information and the performance of balance. It is only in the cafeteria, where employees freely mix, that individuals are expected to monitor their own behaviour so not to reveal any confidential aspects of a case. Again, the public can imagine the neutrality of legal practices is assured, by guessing there are strict penalties for lawyers who break the rules.

On my tours and visits, the cafeteria appeared visually to be effectively performing *not* working, and therefore enacting neutrality. Although within the ICTY main building, it differs in its modern décor, (plastic and bright colours) and its convivial atmosphere, to the muted, beige tones of most of the building. The terrace overlooking the heart of the international zone has such a pleasant and sunny feel to employees, that one interview participant half-jokingly imagined running it as a public café in the future. It is not shown as a different blue on the map (Diagram 4a) but it should be the same colour as the World Forum Area, a slightly lighter blue. Here, skilled performance through adherence to professional ethics and organisation codes,

still constructs 'neutral principal characters', yet through a markedly different place from the environment of scrutinising testimony or reading and writing documents.

In this environment, the practice of balance and establishing truth and principles, were achieved in a slightly different way. The materiality of the offices performed the presence of "guardians of justice" (Justine, interview, November 2011), undistracted by representations of hierarchy or frivolous things. For example, these are my notes from one tour.

I saw a corridor in Chambers with little lights on the doors of the offices, which signifies if a judge is requesting silence so s/he can concentrate. Then, I peeped inside a judge's office. It looked unfashionable but tasteful with its 1950s wooden furnishings, lack of modern information technology and personal trimmings. It was lined with boxes of files. Just outside the courtroom, there was a kind of waiting room. It was sparsely decorated, with a small mirror to check one's appearance, and a chair or two to sit down. The combination of bodies, robes and interior design gives the judges particularly, a sense of simplicity and timelessness. (Notes from tour with Esther, November 2011)

Research participants also keenly recalled judges being actively egalitarian, beyond their offices and the courtroom. They pointed out how they cycle to work (not just because it was practical) and are often flocked by interns chatting away in the cafeteria. So the construction of neutrality could even extend beyond the cafeteria into the World Forum Area (the heart of the International Zone) and International Zone (the less blue zones in Figure 4a).

Here the lawyers' social life crosses over with the lives of other expats. Their high level of integration and isolation constructs the international community[6]. As I mentioned in the introduction, this is where my life overlapped with some of theirs. I never heard discussion about particular cases and was often struck by the polite modesty of ICTY employees. Many ICTY interview participants and I would go on to share the view that the international zone and neighbourhood itself, was quite, dry, calm, boring and

[6] Their children often attend the same English-speaking schools and activities within the same areas, they go to restaurants and each others' houses, and attend academic workshops and conferences together.

bureaucratic, but this could be in relation to the heightened emotion of the red zone, and remembered cities beyond, rather than in relation to the ICTY building itself.

Of course 'neutral principal characters' *do* cross over to the red zone all the time, and many have personal paraphernalia all over their offices, but then only some get to be *revered* as emotive/emotional people, *whilst* delivering skilled performances as lawyers. These particular lawyers are constructed as 'neutral principal characters' *and* "trailblazers" (Justine, interview, November 2011) "visionaries" (Gregor, interview, February 2012), or as van Ittersum (2009) puts it "saints". They are more-than average "guardians of justice". However, when this division is not recognised by audience members e.g. in parts of the former Yugoslavia, the performance of 'neutrals' fails and there is no distinction between their neutrality-as-competence, and that of anyone else. This questions the entire organising process of the ICTY and The Hague itself, and I explore this further in Chapter Six.

To recap a little, in contrast to the 'neutrals in the wings', the 'neutral principal characters' are visible. This time, the audience acknowledges (or has the potential to acknowledge) that 'what' is being performed is 'neutrality-as-competence'. The *presence* of particular bodies differentiated by dress, rituals and location, and their performance of establishing truth, principles, balance and openness is what makes the practice 'skilled', the practitioners 'competent' and 'front-stage' (Goffman 1956) and neutrality 'extra-ordinary' (Kraftl 2009).

For both 'neutrals in the wings' and 'neutral principal characters', their role in the dramatic performance is to perform the absence of representations and emotions through technical and legal practice. Instead of extensions of technology, the 'neutral principal character' is created by legal practices, ethical codes and mobility. I argue that neutrality is established partly because the drama metaphor for the courtroom does not extend outside it. Instead of the ICTY building being constructed as a drama school, theatre company or film studio full of 'creative' and 'emotional' scriptwriters and actors, it is the opposite. What is imagined instead by both producer and consumer, is the meticulous work going on to establishing "the" truth by constructing

and adhering to principles that ensure balance. The material practices of segregation across the organs, the *not* working ambience of the cafeteria, and egalitarian and modest environments and behaviours, perform the absence of characteristics of emotion and representation within legal practices. Lawyers are therefore constructed as 'neutral principal characters' and they, the courtroom and ICTY are performed as neutrally-competent.

The performance of neutrality-as-competence is attached to 'neutral principal characters' who carry it seamlessly into increasingly everyday spaces, which become less 'mundane' (by the performance of lack of human frailties) as a result, e.g. 'The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice'. Later, it can be seen how 'neutrality-as-competence' rubs off on the people who enter the ICTY courtroom. This skilled performance models, valorises and consolidates beliefs in the attainability of truth, through balance, principled behaviour and openness, through the production of audiences, who may or may not even acknowledge their own existence.

4.4.2) 'Neutral principal characters' and emotions and affects

As with the 'neutrals in the wings', the embodied practices of the courtroom and their relation to those outside, appear to construct neutrality-as-competence in a performative sense (Blumen 2007, Craggs 2014). Given that the location and practice of bodies performs neutrality-as-competence, it is now important to consider what happens affectively and emotionally in the courtroom and ICTY building, as legal practices unfold. Firstly, here are two vignettes of the prosecutor and the legal adviser in the courtroom.

Sam, **the prosecutor** has prepared meticulously for her chunk of the trial, alone in an office, checking the evidence so in her words, she can "truly understand from every perspective what happened". So imagine her in the courtroom now. Sam has a common law background and in this particular trial with a civil law bench, she's thinking this is all a bit relaxed. She believes a conviction could simply be down to the quality of her argument rather than the application of rules of evidence. It is only her ethical code and experience attached to a national system and jurisdiction, which prevents her using particular types of evidence she deems unfair. When I hear the words "he said'', I put the breaks on, Sam tells herself about hearsay. This is in spite of

the fact that this is a different system and there is no jury. Her usual skills of cadence and body language, are compromised given the witness she is cross-examining speaks a different language and she has to allow time for the interpreter. She maximizes the opportunity to stand really close to the witness box to compensate for this and she also has the delay whilst her own words are interpreted to buy her a few seconds. The defence cannot get this close to the witness in this trial because the accused is defending himself. She is not aware of the cameras, the public gallery or anything other than the task at hand. She can and must "wall everything out". It's her "professional obligation".
(*Based on transcript of interview and tour with Sam October, 2011*)

The legal adviser is slightly bemused by the silence of her judges and wonders about their contribution. She is half expecting them to do something, like talk to the witness spontaneously and directly. In her system, they do this all the time but not here at the ICTY, as it is mostly based on an adversarial system. Civil law judges are not referees in their own jurisdictions. They are assumed to have enough expertise to utilise all kinds of evidence from different sources to get the big picture, managing the risks of hearsay or other types of evidence that are not allowed in common law. Suddenly the judge stares at her, indicating that he needs something. She knows this because although she is sitting in front of him, they can see each other in the reflective glass designed to protect the anonymity of the witness from the audience.
(*Based on interview and tour with Esther, November 2011*)

In these vignettes, the lawyers are confronted by a sense of 'what is going on?' through sudden feelings of inappropriateness, revealing that they belong to something specific, a particular legal community and practice. The judges feel to them like 'human' in these examples because they do something different.

'What is going on?' is also felt through experiences of their own bodies. The prosecutor herself, changes her performance of questioning. The difficulty in using speed, volume and intonation in her speech used to calm or provoke a witness, as well as the mismatch of her body language and her spoken word through interpretation, pushes her body closer to the witness to achieve the same goal. She is adapting her pre-existing skill from her perspective, but it potentially reduces the emotive power of the performance and the figurative balance of the courtroom, therefore reducing the gap between 'neutral principal character' and 'human'. On the other hand, the reflective glass expands the judges' and legal adviser's view of the trial. It makes the communication between them more seamless, perhaps enhancing the qualities of 'neutral principal character', broadening the gap.

Again like the example of 'neutrals in the wings' in action, embodied legal practices produce absences and presences of affect, emotion and representation, suggesting neutrality is always converging and diverging. It can again be said that Schatski's 'teleological affects' (2002:181) bring what they are doing and who they are to the fore, every now and then forcing their identity as 'humans' not 'neutral principal characters', and in these cases, constructing a specific legal culture and community, and their membership within it (Pratt 2012).

But what about outside the courtroom and in the building, to which their courtroom performances were linked, where other legal practices took place? Was this characterized by representations, emotions and affects?

"Well unfortunately, when I first got here it was about 200 pages, which is still bigger than anything I had in ……. Now there are 700, 1500, Was it 2000? I think the highest was 1800 pages. It's ***ridiculous*** *and um, unnecessary. But the judges have kept publishing longer and longer judgments over the past couple of years. ….. Because cases often involve the same crime, same location, you know, different accused but the accused are kind of doing the same thing so…"* (Joe, interview, October, 2011)

"I think for me, I take quite seriously the notions of separation of the organs of the tribunal. It is important for OTP, chambers and the defence counsel to maintain that division of information which can be difficult not only when we are housed in the same building, eating in the same cafeteria, but also socialising together because as you know, the expat community is a highly interdependent community and for me having been in Chambers, I have retained friendships from those days. So some of my best friends are those that are working in another part of the court, so I think I am conscious all the time about the right line to draw about what we can talk about and what we can't." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

In these quotes, each participant reveals difficulties in enacting neutrality, that relates to establishing the truth, maintaining balance and adhering to rules. The embodied environment, highlights the difference between now and what they normally do, whether it is through building walls or physical, bound judgments, (one of which, a participant handed to me, so I could feel the weight). In contrast to Justine, lawyers from civil law backgrounds were less worried about segregation and all the organs being accommodated in one and the same building. For one of them, it provoked no

concern, as the professionalism of individuals would prevail. Yet another civil lawyer suggested, neutrality might have been better portrayed though housing the organs in separate buildings but this was only of representational value to an external audience. Again a sense of self and identity with a specific legal system pops up, which suggests that neutrality might always be continuously stabilizing and undoing. It also illustrates how a sense of things being right, depended on the inter-relationship between how they are practiced, how they are represented and if and how they produce subjectivities (Simonsen 2013).

4.4.3) Neutrality in a lawyer's toolbox

Like the 'neutrals in the wings', however, the lawyers saw neutrality as something more stable and personal than recent academia suggests, even if they rarely thought about it in terms of what it entailed. They explained:

We have codes of conduct, of course, the prosecution has one, and the defence counsel. You know, about the way you conduct yourselves when you are making argument, the way you treat the court and your opponents, all of those are standard tools of the trade. Sometimes you don't even notice them anymore. It's a good question, how are you taught that? I suppose it comes from your law degree, then I did a graduate diploma legal practice, certainly there was a focus on ethics, if you have good teachers, good mentors, you learn it through them and the people here. I've had excellent role models. (Justine, interview, November 2011)

Lawyers have an obligation to an ethical code, based on their national jurisdiction that has nothing to do with The Hague. You carry it wherever you go. (Sam, interview, October 2011)

They attributed neutrality as something they have developed and integrated through education, training, professional ethics and practice, and therefore something they possess and carry with them across territory. In other words, it related to competence again. It emerges as a result of what they do as professionals, as a skill or habit with moral undertones. With the following quotes, I make no attempt to cover the intricacies of legal practices or provide detailed job descriptions of research participants. Instead, I provide some examples of what their work entails in order to explore where this feeling of neutrality linked to competence as a lawyer comes from.

Firstly, in the office of the prosecution, and continuing with the prosecutor, she prepares painstakingly for her section of a trial. This involves pouring over previous or new witness testimony where

*"I **really** read it all and **really** know it inside and out….I need to understand what they all have to say so that I **truly** understand."* (Sam, interview, October 2011 – her emphasis).

This may be carried out whilst the prosecutor simultaneously grasps some of the procedural elements of the current section of the trial through a monitor on the desk. Once this is achieved she will prepare her witnesses for their day in court. As there are many trials covering the same crimes, prosecutors at an earlier stage will have already dealt with anything exculpatory to the accused, handing it over to the defence. This filtering process, which would have been a daily event in her old job, is spread over individuals working on overlapping cases at the ICTY. In the ICTY main building, 'facts', stripped of emotions and problematic memory are created by prosecutors accumulating and refining perspectives according to rules constructed by other lawyers' practices, for example, the prosecution's appeals lawyers.

In the following quote, a lawyer explains appeals work.

"You have to really know the judgement. There was a 30-day timeframe to file a notice of appeal. Sometimes because of size and complexity, it would be increased to two months to review. We have teams of people, who would try and get an overview with individuals focusing on different components. Up in appeals, very much part of the job is to stay on top of all the judgments coming out, particularly those of the one you are assigned to. But more generally the appeals lawyers are really the legal think-tank of the organisation. The trial people, at the coalface, they don't have the time to really sit and theorise, or contemplate what's going or keep track of the overall development of the case law. Whereas in appeals, that's really our function, it all funnels up to us. We need to be making sure that we appeal things that are going to be problematic from the point of view of development of the case law for the future, for legacy purposes as well as things that are going to affect the outcome of that particular case." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

The last quote reflects work in Chambers.

"In all languages, you can create constructive ambiguities …when it's too difficult and there are different views on the bench. Usually – language satisfies views or hides

bones of contention. You all agree on the solution but you may get there in different ways. In English you do that using the passive so it doesn't identify who. Passive, according to a colleague of mine is a sign that it doesn't address the issue. It can be used as a delaying tactic – so can be positive – you don't want to prejudge so that next time parties can argue the point. French is quite good in being vague. Ambiguity is not always bad." (Gregor, interview, February 2012)

These latter examples emphasise the sheer amount of reading, writing and thinking around establishing truth, balance and principles but there is also a hint of energy, creativity and interpersonal relationships in the process of making and applying law, if not the outcome (Latour 1986 in Vismann 2008). However, the lawyers barely talked about emotion as an aspect of their work, except of the shocking impact of war crimes material, and how terrible thoughts and nightmares eventually subsided through desensitisation[7]. Again there was the sense of things being pushed to the back of the mind and emotional neutrality emerging by default. Practices of truthfulness, balance, principles and openness didn't register as relating to emotional or emotive behaviour, and therefore 'emotional neutrality' as an aspect of neutrality-as-competence, was constructed as an indistinguishable part of mastering being a lawyer.

Interestingly, from an actor network perspective, Vismann (2008:10) a legal historian suggests that the process of legal filing actually prevents lawyers from reflecting on the fact that files contain the "life, the struggles and speeches that surround decisions" as they present themselves as epistemic objects, abstracted from authors, time and space. She explains that

"Law remains silent about its records. It works with them and creates itself from them. In other words, it operates in a mode of difference that separates it from the varying formats of files. Files are constitutive of the law precisely in terms of what they are not…They lay the groundwork for the validity of the law, they establish an order that they themselves do not keep. Files are, or more precisely make, what theoretically speaking, stands ***before the law****" (Vismann 2008:13)*

[7] This hints at a need to explore this phenomenon in broader cross-disciplinary ways Kraftl (2013)

There was no specific reference to emotional *labour*, although as can be seen in the quote by the prosecutor at the beginning of this chapter, she did acknowledge she was 'acting' in the courtroom. Theoretically, one could argue that she was using 'empathetic' labour with her own witnesses and 'anti-empathetic' in cross-examination labour (Korczynski 2009) for the purposes of extracting 'the truth' in the courtroom, and arousing interest in the viewer. Fascinatingly, at this particular juncture, she could be constructed as 'human'. However, because she is in costume or uniform (a symbol of competence) and she is standing in a particular place in the courtroom, there is a distancing effect (Wainright et al 2010) from the 'human guest stars and extras' on stage, and in the audience. The perception is that she is merely 'acting' partisan, in contrast to 'her' 'authentic' 'neutral' 'self,' implied by her legal work and place of belonging, elsewhere in ICTY building. This co-performs both a stable neutrally-competent person, and the ability to control one's own emotions in any way one chooses at any specific time or place.

The implication here is that emotions are under control, anywhere through legal professionalism. However, there is a distinction in terms of *how*. Seemingly caring and antagonistic behaviour are deliberately acted whilst emotional neutrality appears both controllable and a 'natural' product of being a lawyer. This is in stark contrast to Wainwright et al's (2010) participants who deem their caring skills in reflexology are intrinsic to them, given their roles as mothers. This counterproductively devalues their skills as professional (ibid). In this research, however, the link between emotional neutrality, professionalism and the workplace is consolidated by legal practices. In other words, the dichotomy between emotional neutrality and emotional/emotive behaviour is performed by specific types of work, as was illustrated in the section on neutrals in the wings.

4.4.4) Neutrality-as-competence as relatively stable

It is important to mention that although the research participants did not mention emotion in relation to their profession generally, they fully acknowledged, as described in the examples above, that the implementation of a new hybrid legal

system for the internationalization of criminal law was challenging. There was definitely a sense of normal practices (reading, writing, documenting and theorizing) gone into overdrive, which was experienced both positively and negatively. There was also far greater emphasis on having to work in teams, which was new.

However, although they recognised how physical and conceptual changes to legal practices affected them, there was no loss of confidence in their own ability to be neutral. They simply felt they were adding to an existing repertoire of skills. In spite of this, and the overwhelming complexity of an ICTY lawyer's work, there was a sense, that this wasn't a problem because the ICTY was simply merging two *already neutrally-competent* legal systems. The process was conceptualised as a personal and organisational learning curve, whereby mastery was achievable as before, through moderate adjustments of know-how, managerial and material design. It was evident in what participants saw as accomplishments.

For example, one research participant explained that although cultural and linguistic differences produce a variety of interpretations, for example, in the universal rules of a fair trial, it is "remarkable how little difference is expressed" (in judgements) even if "it shouldn't be underestimated in the practical workings." (Gregor,interview, February 2012). Justine, although perhaps not regarding the ICTY building as an achievement, acknowledged its existence for practical reasons. She explained that although it was novel, accommodating defence, prosecution, chambers, trials, and registry organs together in a single complex, as well as trials and appeals, had become an acceptable and stable characteristic of international criminal law (Justine, interview, November 2011). The persistent reference to the ICTY as "youthful" (Sam, interview, October 2011) and "a learning laboratory" (Johnny, interview, February 2012) meant there was also never a universal acceptance of the *incompetence* of the practitioners, courtroom or the ICTY building, even if practices broke down. This view was shared by a journalist.

"*I mean you know, there's always problems, you know, I mean with disclosure issues like the prosecution has to give all the materials they are using to the defence so in the*

X case, the prosecution has been really late doing that so by mistake, they did not disclose all these documents. But I don't see this as a malicious issue it was just more like a million documents, …" (Lee, interview, June 2012)

The implication was that those who questioned the neutrality of the tribunal as a result, simply failed to understand that these teething problems did not compromise the neutrality of the lawyers or their legal systems. Only one participant emphasised that merging two systems of law, might produce new forms of neutrality. However, she did not perceive that it might undo it.

A convincing performance of neutrality-as-competence, therefore became entirely dependent on the establishment of a learning continuum and change as good, where legal practices and practitioners were at the front of the marathon. Legal practitioners could still be held as 'neutral principal characters' as they were relatively faster runners than the 'human guest stars and extras'. Neutrality was still guaranteed through a belief in linear stages of mastery, including emotional neutrality, but now there was an explanation when things didn't go to plan or 'feel' right. Even if neutrality was no longer enacted through a dichotomy of the presence *or* absence of emotional bias, the enactment of 'a learning continuum' still differentiated 'the neutral principal character' and 'the human guest star or extra', constituting some people and practices as more neutral than others, and therefore allowing neutrality as a thing, to remain a premise for so many other binaries and practices. These will be explored in Chapter Six.

The crux of this is that neutrality-as-competence, including 'emotional neutrality' might not be in the service of building successful legal practices that establish the truth, balance, principles and openness to ensure a fair trial, but the other way round. The practices are about creating a population that believes neutral competence is in their hands as far as possible, even if it was established in the section on neutrals in the wings, that this is impossible. If this is the case it is unsurprising lawyers underplayed emotion in their roles in a similar way to the interpreters, as it suggests organisational processes at different scales are working on individuals, and building meanings and values. Social scientists are not immune either (Shore and Wright

2011). They also adhere to the assumption that once competence is mastered it retains a certain stability and status, not least for economic survival. Given what is at stake, i.e. membership of communities and the higher the scale the better, it is therefore not surprising that hiding incompetence behind learning, is performed.

It is here that understandings of organisational practices may be useful, relating to Weber's bureaucracy model of organisations and 'rational' behaviour (Herzfeld 1992) and also Strathern's (2000) notion of audit culture related to neo-liberal governmentality. Coupled with idea that organising as a process constructs communities and hierarchical scales (Sharma and Gupta 2006), it is possible to argue that practices that enact neutrality-as-competence and the construction of 'neutral principal characters' are essential to the building of powerful entities, such as the ICTY and the nation state. This does not necessarily imply an egalitarian world as Bauman (1991) insinuates. It produces communities of stragglers and those that must be banished. In this case, it is some of those in the dock.

4.5) 'Human guest stars and extras'

The final categories produced by the courtroom are the 'human guest stars and extras' which as I have already hinted, are characterised by their relative *lack* of neutrality-as-competence. The socio-spatial practices on stage, deliberately enact certain bodies and accounts as emotionally and representationally unstable and explosive.. It is the accused and non-expert witnesses who are constructed as 'human guest stars', whose emotional and affective identities are accentuated by the spectacular nature of the courtroom/trial. However, it is not only them. The audience members are constructed as 'extras' susceptible to the emotions and affects produced on stage but also to the aspirational role models of neutrality-as-competence.

4.5.1) Embodied Spaces

So there are not only 'neutral principal characters' on stage. The audience also sees 'human guest stars' distinguishable from the other actors by their normal dress, and

where and when they enter the stage and the ICTY building. For example, 'the accused' and the non-expert witnesses have separate entrances to the staff, and come directly from the red zone in Figure 4a. They display the characteristics of 'human guest stars' in distinctive ways. Firstly, in an adversarial system, two opposing groups of witnesses present two different versions of the truth, together highlighting the inconsistency of being human. A witness also faces a judge, emphasising the contrast in their neutrality-as-competence. Secondly, their embodied performance can enact the time and place of the conflict (the reddist of red zones), rather than the here and now. Thirdly, they are under fire, targets of the 'neutral principal characters,' who wish to convert their testimony to fiction, often leading to emotional display or mistakes, emphasising their 'humaness'.

'Human guest stars' are constructed as fallible and emotionally attached through what they do as performers (witnesses and accused) in the spectacular performance of the trial and the courtroom. *What* is being performed or co-performed is *the contrasting relation* between 'neutral principal characters' and 'human guest stars'. The 'neutral principal character' is at one end of the scale (high neutrality-as-competence) and the 'human guest star' on the other (low neutrality-as-competence). On stage, 'humanness' is performed at its very best (i.e. worst) by the accused (or accuser). In their extremes, the practices of the courtroom and its related spaces link 'human guest stars', chaos, notoriety, violence and victimhood, contrasting significantly with the association of competence, awe and the 'neutral principal character'.

Significantly, the ICTY courtroom (as per any criminal trial) constructs the relation between 'neutral principal characters' and 'human guest stars or extras' as an *individual* one, in which the 'neutral principal character' is performed as superior through the layout, costumes and ritual of standing up on the entrance of the judges, as well as the trial proceedings. Albeit through the creation of legal concepts such as joint criminal responsibility pertaining to organisational hierarchy, the individual is cut off from their (national) communities and territories. Likewise, the lawyers are also

performed as coming from nowhere[8]. Together, they enact a relationship of individuals answerable to an imagined Kantian 'international' community (Elden 2009). This overlaps with the architectural materiality of the World Forum Area (or heart of the international zone, that enacts international-as-neutral (Chapter 5) and neutral-as-organisation in Chapter 6.

In spite of this focus on the individual, this performance also constructs two distinctly different geographies and communities in terms of neutral capabilities. Based on the performativity of space, mobility and emotions (Butler 1993, Gregson and Rose 2000, Pain 2009, Gorman-Murray 2013), I argue that the 'neutral principal characters' and 'guest stars and extras' and the ICTY courtroom, re-construct 'the conflict zone', as a place emotionally-out-of-control and The Hague as a 'neutral' place, populated by practices and practitioners of truth, balance, principles and openness, necessary to rescue it. The relationship between lawyers, The Hague and the legitimising of an overarching international authority, is discussed in Chapter Six.

Returning to the trial for now, also coming straight from the red zone, the people in the public gallery are cast as 'extras'. It is important to emphasise they are as much part of the show. However, the glass wall between them and the courtroom, differentiates the 'guest stars' on stage and 'the extras' in the gallery, by enacting 'performers' versus 'an audience' (Radul 2007) and (un)skilled practitioners versus the members of the public. An ICTY video director informed me on an Open Day at the ICTY, that when "an accused" appeared for the opening statement, he deliberately did not show the aggressive, facial expressions and body language displayed directly by the accused towards the audience, or their reaction, as he did not deem that relation as important to the court proceedings. When he said it, I couldn't help thinking of the practice of representing the courtroom in the hands of the 'neutral in the wings', but the point I make here is that *like* the 'neutral in the wings', the audience's role in the performance of neutrality-as-competence is concealed.

[8] Justine told me they wear Dutch gowns and this had been important but she didn't know why, perhaps for practicality.

If they are concealed, why is the audience necessary? The courtroom audience must perform *something*. It could be that the 'extras' are co-produced with practising 'openness' as an element of neutrality-as-competence and the 'neutral principal character'. Without openness, neutrality-as-competence might not be distinguishable at all, let alone a cohesive and dominant force.

But openness is not enough in its own right and this is where the emotional relationality of the courtroom comes in. Usually there are not many actual bodies present unless, as a journalist said, they anticipate "a compelling witness or it is an important stage of the trial" (Lee, interview, June 2012). Therefore, it is the emotional performance on stage that draws in the audience. Indeed Jean-Luc Godard said that "cinema is like the trial" (Witt 2000 in Radul 2007) and maybe theatre too, not the other way round. Its supposed seeking of stimulation and the occasional surfacing of emotion in the gallery also constructs the audience as 'human'. It is a precarious relationship, however, as too much emotion and cognition in the gallery or too little (i.e. the absence of people) can disrupt the performance on stage.

The lack of active involvement and role of spectator-only can even convert the gallery into a kind of neutrality-as-competence 'learning space' where 'extras' may enact their emotional/cognitive control through mimicry. The layout of the courtroom at the Special Tribunal of the Lebanon, which some of my participants consider has learned lessons from the ICTY, has a gods-eye view balcony, mimicking the judges. McConnell (2011, 2013) uses this idea in an entirely different geopolitical context but the positioning and materiality of the audience and the judges could both reinforce the superiority of their skills but also collapse the difference between audience and lawyers, making them part of the same community. How this relates to a TV audience is perhaps even more significant, and warrants further work (Radul 2007, Mulcahy 2011).

These observations about the ICTY audience reflect Mulcahy's (2011) descriptions of changes to courtroom architecture over time, marking the gradual change from public

participation to spectatorship. During the Middle Ages courts were originally held outside around a circle of trees in Britain, so it was harder to distinguish a pure observer. Mulcahy and Radul worry that, as the courtroom dematerialises even more, and bodies do nothing or stay away altogether, the politics of law becomes increasingly less scrutinised, and the power relations it legitimises strengthen.

Importantly, a spatial and temporal perspective illustrates the difference between the guest stars and extras on and offstage but also within the gallery itself (Blumen 2007). The courtroom audience (near and far) performs 'humanness' although it is mediated by *where* its members come from and how often they visit, producing some audience members as more neutrally-competent than others, as discussed.

A 'human guest star or extra' is constructed either as a performer or audience member depending on where they enter the building. Obviously, there is a distinction. The accused enter the building by car. Some participants even imagined they might be held in the old insurance vaults of the former occupier of the building, Aegon. The audience, on the other hand enters the 1950s foyer, which is immediately reminiscent of an old cinema. The process also feels a bit like it. There are screens of the courtrooms and leaflets showing you who is present in court that day, and an overview of the plot so far. People queue for tickets and are shown to their seats.

The security process of entering the ICTY to visit courtrooms one and three, also constructs the audience as 'human'. It involves two electronic baggage and body checks, lockers for possessions and swapping a passport for a visitor's ticket. There is a convivial atmosphere (if you are not suspected of anything) at each stage, and a sense that the role of a disciplined spectator is appreciated. On the other hand, a visit to ICTY courtroom two, which requires an escort through the staff areas of the building, and where the public area is the size of an interpreters' booth can be experienced as unwelcoming, inconvenient and 'claustrophobic' (Lee, interview, June 2012).

Audiences may come from anywhere but there is an assumption that visitors are outsiders from the red zone beyond The Hague, either personally invested in the outcome of the case, members of the press, or 'tourists' (most often student) there for a single visit and/or an important moment. They are therefore produced as 'extras'. However, there is a difference between visitors on the basis of frequency, even though they have the potential to experience the materiality of the visits in the same ways. Those who visit regularly are co-constructed as part of the international neighbourhood (a blue zone) and as more 'neutrally-competent' individuals. Some types of regular visitor also deem themselves more 'neutrally-competent' by virtue of their work as journalists. As I am starting to suggest that considering embodied spaces warrants further interrogation of people's experiences of them, I now turn to some extras in action in the courtroom.

4.5.2) 'Human guest stars and extras' and emotions and affects

The journalist is struggling with the new ICTY website at his desk in the office in the city. He can't follow what is happening on screen and write a document summarizing the main points, simultaneously. He has specifically chosen this witness because they have a compelling story unlike the military expert witness yesterday. It's his favourite interpreter, the one that expresses the speakers' feelings so as to make an event out of it. It is not necessary to be present in the public gallery, as he has grown accustomed to the facial expressions and mannerisms of the accused. At first he had nightmares due to some of the testimony but he is now desensitised and it doesn't compromise his neutral portrayal of the trial because he is a journalist. He thinks some people might come for a one-off visit with a self-fulfilling prophecy. They see the accused face-to-face through the glass, shudder when their eyes meet, and proclaim they have seen the monster, they expected to see. *(Based on interview with Lee, June 2012)*

I am sitting in the gallery. The security guard has kindly led me to a chair with a table attached, like a cinema usher. I am ready to observe and take notes in a neutral manner but also reflexively like a 'proper' geographer/anthropologist. I remember

images of the conflict on TV but I have never heard of the accused. I suddenly realise I am bang opposite him. He is about 4 metres away behind the glass. The judges enter and I automatically rise. I know it is expected of me but because I am in such close proximity to the accused, I somehow feel self-conscious that I am automatically showing respect for this tribunal. I start to resent that he is flanked by security guards in uniform, and that he has a chair with metal frames that doesn't swivel like everyone else's. The security guard is free to swivel, which he is doing now, and his feet taps a rhythm. I am irritated. I am trying to concentrate on what is being said but the accused is reading a book and this is making me curious. The interpreter signals the change of speaker with the word "Question" or "Answer" and I can't really understand the flow other than that the discussion is about mistaken identity and a harrowing account of people being shot in a wood. I didn't know then that every second counts and the brainpower and additional time it might take to say the names of the speakers, would hinder the process of interpretation. The accused looks up from his book and I smile and then immediately start to stop myself. I didn't even register what *he* did. *(autoethnographic observation, March 2012)*

Surprisingly, these vignettes about these particular extras differ little from the construction of 'neutrals in the wings' and 'neutral principal characters'. They involve practices where the focus is directed away from the emotionality of the trial, i.e. observing and recording what is happening, even in my case, where emotions and affects are things I am trying to study. In other words, both journalist and researcher are enacting neutrally-competent 'professionals'. At the same time, both are responding to affects as they unfold, interpreting them and busy attempting to work out subjectivities in relation to others. They try to reinforce their identities as neutrally-competent 'professionals' in spite of the evidence of complexity and unpredictable forces around them, e.g. the specific tone of a voice or a glance at someone's face. In the process of analysis, I am suddenly confronted with what it might be like to be a lawyer or an interpreter, emotionally neutral *and* affective, emotional and emotive in the way I orient myself in the world, yet seeing and explaining all this behaviour through a 'professional' lens.

Meanwhile others in the audience have had much more fun, playing with the medium of glass and light. Performance artist, Ivan Grubanov found a place in the gallery of the ICTY courtroom one, where he could be caught on camera sporting different coloured shirts, representing different colours of the Yugoslav flag on different visits (Radul 2007). These switches from audience member to performer or 'extra' to 'neutral principal character' in the examples of the journalist and researcher, illustrate the potential for the courtroom and trial to be enacted in multiple and uncontrollable ways. It could be that affects and emotions produce both the writer and consumer of journalism, constructing them both as 'extras' and at the same time performing 'openness', and therefore highlighting the skills and authority of 'neutral principal characters'. However, affects and emotions could also produce embodied performances like those of the researcher and the performance artist, that deliberately try to mess up the binary between 'neutral principal character' and 'human guest stars or extras', and aim to move others to question the complexity of the courtroom performance as well.

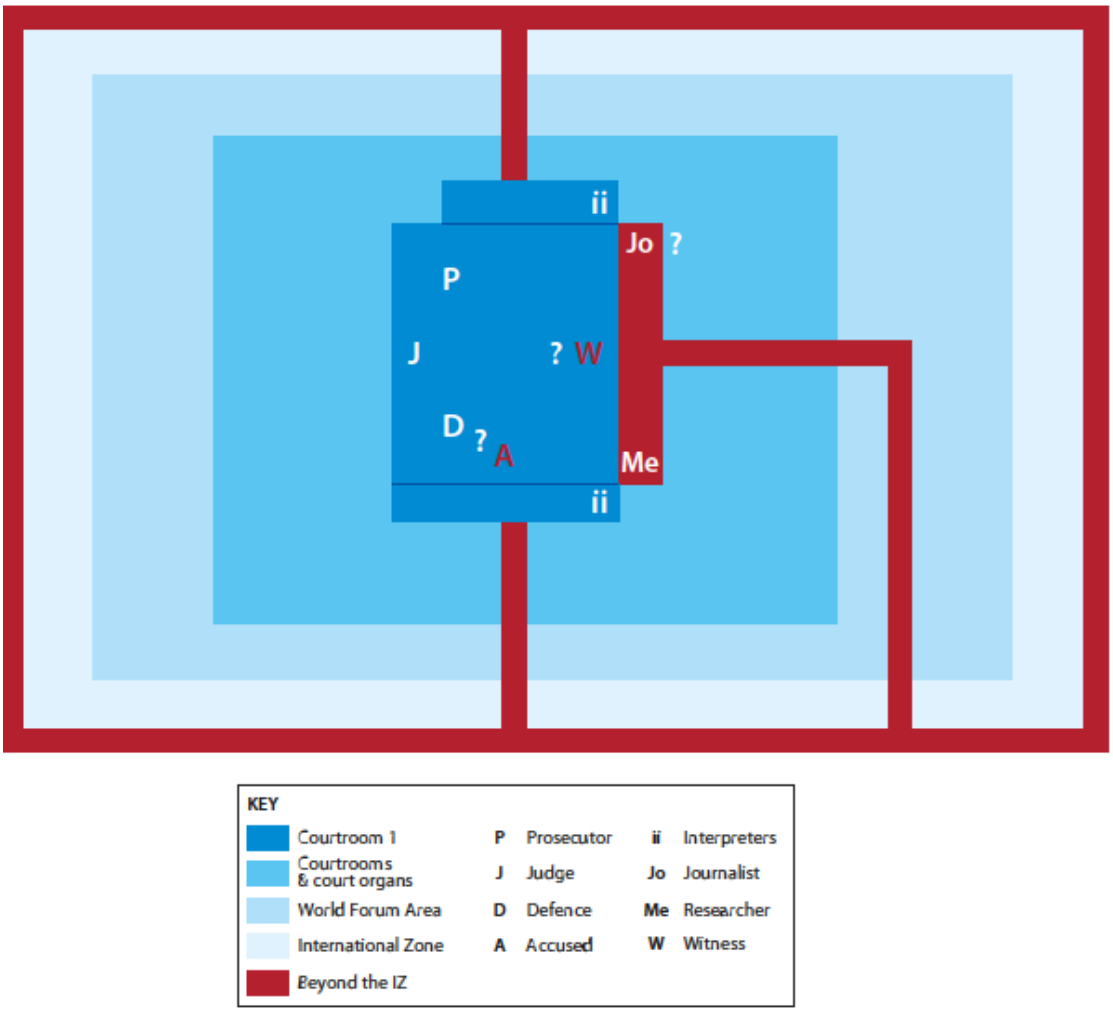
Unfortunately, I have no research data on the embodied experiences of those on stage. Nevertheless, there is other research in a very similar context that is invaluable to this argument. Jeffrey and Jakala (2014) interviewed witnesses at an international war crimes trial in Bosnia and Herzegovina, explaining how they felt almost compelled by others in advance, to ramp up 'their' emotions and even cry in the witness box.

4.5.3) Neutrality in everyone's toolbox?

In this chapter so far, it has been illustrated that 'neutral principal characters', 'neutrals in the wings', 'human guest stars and extras' and neutrality-as-competence are not as distinctive as the embodied performances of the courtroom might suggest. This supports the supposition that all geographies are emotional but it importantly adds that they can also feel emotionless or at least controlled from the perspective of individuals. In this last section, the heading is deliberately, gently provocative. It simply suggests that as 'human guest stars and extras' 'neutral principal characters' or

'neutrals in the wings', everyone has access to the courtroom. Therefore, it is possible for anyone to reinforce, or embellish the performances of 'neutral principal characters', 'neutrals in the wings' and 'human guest stars and extras' and neutrality-as-competence and therefore contribute in their way, to a more enriched international criminal law. Although the spectacular performance may be relatively stabilised by the persistent re-integration of its elements (Shove et al 2012), non-representational geographers would insist the process of constructing 'neutral principal characters', 'neutrals in the wings' and 'guest stars and extras', their interaction, and their geographies is always ongoing. The **three question marks** in the Figure 4b of the courtroom denote three out of five areas where, I would argue, relatively new elements of embodied performances of humans, 'neutrals in the wings' and 'neutral principal characters' at the ICTY are still very much contested, because they produce affects and emotions expressed by the participants and myself, that suggest neutrality-as-competence is diverging less than converging.

Figure 4b: Courtroom One at the ICTY: Bodies on the move



Firstly, in the ICTY, some well-known defendants (entitled the 'accused' in international criminal law) have defended themselves at their own trials. (See ? next to A, in Figure 4b). When these statesmen and/or military leaders step literally into the role and courtroom position of a defence lawyer, it is difficult not to be a little impressed with their performance sustained over considerable periods of time. They are doing what polite 'professional' lawyers do, often crossing the boundary between 'human guest star' and 'neutral principal character'. Conversely, lawyers' reactions to these people has had, or has the potential to shift judges from 'neutral principal characters' to 'human guest star'. The fact that they 'go to work' with the accused every day for sometimes years, and may be similar in age, presents difficulties in

remaining emotionally 'detached' (Gregor, interview, February 2012). Alex Jeffrey's work on the ICTY explores the mundane nature of Karadzic's work and experience of IT difficulties (Jeffrey 2009). Although he does not mention empathy (far from it), he does suggest that Karadzic's practices perform him as normal to an extent, as opposed to the media-image of an uncivilized barbarian from the past, that is not even on the scale of neutrality-as-competence. This links with to Bauman's (1991) idea that modernity is not outside the cause of violence.

Secondly, the ICTY have a mechanism known as 92bis/ter, the main purpose of which is to shorten the duration of the tribunal. In Fig 4b, there is a question mark next to W to denote that s/he might not be there in person. Written testimony can replace the live participation of a witness if they have testified and been cross-examined on the same facts in a different trial, as explained in the following section of an interview:

"So, I am working on Srebrenica, Srebrenica has been litigated before against different defendants who are in different positions, with different perspectives, and a different set of events but the base facts have all been litigated before. So it means, that these witnesses who come in, have likely testified before….When you have such a big trial, and so many witnesses you can't possibly get through every single witness and have them testify to every single detail. It would take way too long. It's just not, it could never ... it's not manageable, we'd be here for 50 years. There's no way it would work and then in addition, when you have people talk about the same thing over and over again, they can be naturally quite inconsistent.

Over fifteen years, that makes a lot of sense. But they are, probably in their head they are telling the truth but as time goes on, you've talked about it so much. So it's a mechanism by which you, the court will accept if the witness has testified before about the same facts and has been cross-examined, so that their testimony has been tested, in another case, you can admit the transcripts from that case…….

I mean, you have to do it. You could never do this trial without it. Yes, you would love to have a witness and then ask them every question all over again… There are specific questions you want to ask and not have to rely on someone else but that's not realistic" (Sam, interview, October 2011).

What is significant here is that the trial has one less embodied performance of a 'human guest star'. The witness has in effect been transformed into a 'neutral in the wings', an extension of technology (a document) eradicating to some extent, the issue of a wobbly memory. This suggests in international criminal justice, witnesses might

even be too faulty to perform the role they are supposed to as ‘guest stars’. It is better, then to stabilise their story.

This techno-testimony ‘performs’ neutrality-as-competence in the courtroom and also demonstrates the inextricable link between neutrality-as-competence and neutrality-as-organisation, whereby competence and expediency are co-produced. For Sam, to organise international criminal justice at all, the mechanisms of establishing truth unfortunately have to be adapted. If organising international criminal justice is so important that legal practices and neutrality-as-competence have to be detrimentally modified, it raises new questions about what international criminal justice is actually performing. This will be addressed in Chapter Six.

Thirdly, I decided on one occasion to go to the opening statement of a trial and was interested to see hundreds of journalists at the main entrance and in the foyer of the ICTY. Normally, a public visitor does not have to wait to attend a trial so I was surprised when I was placed in a sheep pen, as I watched the journalists gain free access. When I eventually got into the foyer (the courtroom itself was not on offer) I was told I was extremely lucky. The foyer was jam-packed with people listening to and watching the courtroom speakers on screen, typing on their laptops, seated at rows of tables, organised specifically for the event. I discussed this later with someone at the ICTY. He remarked that giving the press ‘croissants and coffee’ for the occasion was perhaps going too far. Both of us had felt strange about this ‘special relationship’ and Mulcahy (2011) expands on this in “Legal Architecture”. The point I wish to make here is that journalists as ‘human extras’ can be converted to ‘neutrally-competent’ by their preferential access and spaces at the ICTY. The ? next to Jo in Figure 4b, suggests that journalists are moving beyond the gallery. Architects and administrators at the STL have even dedicated large areas of the building and technology to the external press. It suggests journalists are instrumental in international criminal justice, with a significant geopolitical role in public diplomacy, rather than simply representing the contents of a trial. This is addressed in Chapter Six.

Finally, if competence and in this case, neutrality-as-competence develops through experience across time and space, one might imagine youthful ICTY interns doing reasonably simple tasks, housed in the less salubrious and more peripheral areas of the building. However, according to my data, although the assumption about location might be correct, the rumoured descriptions and concerns regarding the nature and sophistication of the work they do (including writing judgements), raises interesting questions. For some, they are considered 'the experts' in international criminal law (theoretically) as many lawyers above their thirties have never studied it. Here assumptions about rising from a novice to master 'neutral principal character' and the linear development of neutrality-as-competence (or any competence) are disrupted. This is added to by the interns generally arriving at work, directly from their homes in the red zone.

4.6) Conclusion

This chapter has explored what constitutes neutrality through an ICTY courtroom and started to address why this matters to society more broadly than ensuring a fair trial. I have outlined how neutrality-as-competence is created by combining practices of establishing and applying truth, balance, principles and openness socially, spatially, materially and emotionally and the very notion of competence. This neutrality-as-competence is an enactment of the 'fading' and manipulation of emotion and affect, as a result of professional codes and socio-spatial practices, and through various forms of emotional labour, particularly 'emotional neutrality'. It is achieved by constituting different individuals as 'neutrals in the wings', 'neutral principal characters' and 'human guest stars and extras', and the socio-spatial, inter-relationships between them.

Everything about the micro-geography of the courtroom points to continuous effort in establishing differences between the emotionally problematic versus the neutral (and truthful). Through its materiality, representations, practices, people and the spaces they move through, a continuum of skill is established. The courtroom and beyond spatially divides people into groups who 'have' *more or less* control over emotion

(either by eliciting or suppressing it in themselves and/or others) and accurate representation. For example, interpreters, lawyers and journalists are perceived to possess more than witnesses, the accused or the general public in the audience, through the embodied performances of the courtroom and beyond.

These professions become linked to neutrality-as-competence, because the spatiality and practices involved in achieving truth, balance, principles and openness manipulate the production and consumption of emotions and affects and vice-versa. As could be seen with the interpreter and the prosecutor, the physical environment (the booth and the stage of the courtroom) plays a significant part in both concealing and enhancing emotive or affective behaviours in order to divide neutrality-as-competence and human fallibilities. It is also achieved by the practices of thinking, categorizing, reading and writing. Meaning also plays a role, as people believe they 'possess' skills, which consolidate over time. These professionals believe in their ability to control emotion and representation, and that emotions fade into the background with experience. Neutrality-as-competence is then regarded as a kind of permanent quality.

In spite of this stable identity of neutrality-as-competence as an entity in itself and component of 'neutral' practices, the data suggests that the courtroom and its practices are full of uncontrollable affects and emotions, and supports the idea that skilled performances are always under construction (Bissell 2013) There *are* moments of competence, when there is a convergence of material environment and action, where nothing, comes to the fore in one's field of awareness. However, they are always interspersed with moments when *unexpected* emotions and affects cause divergence by illuminating the component parts of a practice or a group of related practices, and human participants are suddenly confronted by a sense of subject and object, self, group belonging or alienation (Pratt 2012, Simpson 2014). In this case, the coherence of truth, balance, principles, openness and the dichotomy between skilled and less skilled emotional and affected performer unravels. Neutrality-as-competence

is only ever an articulation of moments, as the data suggests it is a more-than-representational phenomenon.

Whilst supporting the representational and more-than-representational perspectives on the relationship between emotion and affect and performance and competence, this thesis also adds to the geographies of emotion and affect. It does by arguing that neutrality is not simply characterized by their control or absence, as the dichotomy might suggest. Instead the relationship between emotion and affect and neutral people and places, is much more complex. Huge amounts of emotion and affect are deliberately and inadvertently *accentuated and concealed* for places, people and practices to become identified as neutral in relation to those that are not.

Theoretically, it is already understood that emotions and affects generate an understanding and identity of places and people (Pain 2009, Gorman-Murray 2013) especially in the context of spectacular performances (Weed 2007) or 'front stage' performances of the authentic and everyday (Goffman 1956, Crang 1994, Laurier and Philo 2006, Kraftl 2009). However, it is less theorized that identities can be molded by socio-spatial practices that deliberately and inadvertently stage the insignificance of emotions and affects, by concealing their relational production and consumption. This is achieved by the co-production of neutrals and humans, all be they momentary accomplishments that all involve some kind of dramaturgical performance and performativity and their inter-relationship. The common theme of *staging insignificance* is central to the construction of neutrality and runs through this thesis, illustrating why it is important for geographers.

Finally, so much effort is afforded to distinguishing neutrality-as-competence and its related practices, it is important to ask why. From an organisational anthropological perspective, the repetitive, meticulous activities of thinking, reading and writing geared to establishing truth, balance, principles and openness produce structural effects, known as organisations and scales. In this way, 'neutrally-competent' professions and organisations form and integrate, serving both individuals in terms of

resources and status, and authorising the next layers of bureaucratic organisation such as the democratic, liberal state and the 'international'. In the case of the ICTY, it is possible that it even bypasses the nation state and constructs a more 'idealistic' world system, whereby its members are 'individuals' rather than nation states, either neutrally-competent or catching up. This will be explored further in Chapters Five, Six and Seven as I pick up on more geopolitical themes. At this stage, it is enough to suggest that the courtroom is a staged geopolitical performance that legitimizes and valorizes neutrality-as-competence.

CHAPTER FIVE: INTERNATIONAL-AS-NEUTRAL

THE EUROPOL HEADQUARTERS BUILDING AND THE WORLD FORUM AREA

5.1) Introduction

In this chapter, I examine what makes the World Forum Area or the heart of the "International Zone" in The Hague just a cluster of office buildings in an ordinary neighbourhood and city, and yet *also* something much more substantial and meaningful. As outlined in Chapter 2, considering the built environment in geographical ways helps clarify what elements and connections make this happen and illustrates how a certain 'international' is produced by and creates the exterior forms, interior layouts and public space in between certain buildings. The World Forum Area of the International Zone performs both the importance of certain materialities, practices, representations, emotions and affects, and the *in*significance of others. Even the context itself is deliberately dimmed in the sense that its activities and their consequences are disconnected from the city and country, in which they take place. Throughout the chapter, I emphasise how what happens both inside and around the zone and the neighbourhood, has geopolitical significance, and produces a particular version of 'international' underpinned by various 'neutralities' and vice-versa. As well as contributing to a 'geography of neutrality', it also pushes the geography of architecture beyond individual buildings (Domosh 1989, Lees 2001, Kraftl, 2010a) and integrates it with the geography of absence (Jones, Robinson and Turner, 2012).

Interrogating neutrality in this way also combines the subdisciplines of critical geopolitics and the geography of architecture, and tries to address some of the issues they confront. Namely, these are to rekindle interest in power relations in the geography of architecture (Kraftl 2010b), and to reconcile materiality and

representational approaches in critical geopolitics (Dodds, Kuus and Sharp 2013, Dittmer 2014, Muller 2015, Squire 2015).

In this chapter, I explore the exterior forms, interior layouts and the landscaped space of a cluster of buildings, that form the heart of the international zone. I interrogate the relations between the sheer breadth and variety of materialities, representations, embodied practices and emotions and affects, which are both its constituents and achievements. In doing so, I aim to disentangle neutrality, what it is, and what it does, bearing in mind that there may be many overlapping and contradictory enactments.

In the first two parts of this chapter, on exteriors and interiors, I illustrate how architects, politicians, organisational employees and members of the public produce and consume material representations of neutrality imbued with a kind of apolitical 'international,' and values of peace and justice. There is particular focus on the Europol building, the perimeter wall around the building, and the landscape garden in which it is located, the reason for which I explain before each piece of analysis. Similarly, with the interiors, I explain my attention to office space, art and corridors.

In the third and final part, having also demonstrated how specific embodied practices in and around the zone play their part, I conclude that even if the zone only aims to express and enact a sense of powerlessness, it still draws socio-spatial boundaries that feel distinctly geopolitical and laden with power relations. I also found that it wasn't a matter of exploring spectacular and everyday representations and performances, or even unraveling how the zone becomes "extra-ordinary" by spectacularising the everyday (Kraftl 2009, 2010b). Constructing 'neutral-as-international' materially and emotionally seemed more about staging the *in*significance of the international zone, by *concealing* the presence of things associated with hierarchical power, such as nation states, management layers, security or even symbols themselves, at the same time staging the significance of harmony, communication and openness, through and between the other scales of individual, organisational and international.

5.2) Exteriors

5.2.1) Europol Headquarters building

This first section illustrates how 'international' and 'neutrality' are cemented together through the building of a new headquarters for Europol within the international zone. This particular building is selected for analysis because the Chief Architect of the Government Building Agency of The Netherlands, Jo Coenen, who selected the design, suggested the building "needn't be warm or too expressive - it should above all, emanate *a welcoming neutrality*" (Jo Coenen quoted in Smaak Magazine, July, 2011,p49) (my italics) and when asked if he was happy with the architecture, proclaimed "Yes, I am actually. The pattern of long rigid walls is the basis but you see that at Thebes or the Parthenon too. The building emanates a certain neutrality" (Jo Coenen quoted in Smaak Magazine, July, 2011, p50). The Headquarters was also described by other parties involved in the design, to be distinctly European. "It's like a European tailor-made suit" (Cees Van der Wolf, Project Director at the Government Buildings Agency, quoted in Smaak Magazine, July, 2011, p45) and "What many people said and I think that's really true…this building is a statement for European law enforcement agency." (David, interview, November 2011)

These quotes highlight that the building symbolizes both a kind of 'neutrality' and a version of 'Europe'. For this reason, they suggest the appropriateness of studying the building from the perspectives of the geography of architecture and critical geopolitics. Not only that, but as a local resident, I was drawn into its design and construction process, as a participant in a round of communication and consultation, instigated by The Hague City Council (otherwise known as The Gemeente or Municipality). It was through this, that I discovered the Smaak Magazine, which I analyse in conjunction with interviews, walking tours and observation data, mentioned in the methodology section to form my argument. "Smaak" (Taste) is an architectural magazine, the Europol edition of which is published by The Government Building Agency and is therefore useful in unpacking the meaning of the building.

The Smaak magazine provides rich information about what the commissioners and architects perceived had been achieved through the process of constructing Europol and the building itself. It explains that in 2003, the architectural firm *Quist Wintermans Architekten* was awarded the contract for Europol on the basis of their design's flexibility, functionality, and compatibility with the material surroundings of the international zone[9]. It emphasises the involvement of multiple parties at many scales (see Table 5a below) and how they struggled, and succeeded to a large extent, to balance what was perceived as the somewhat contradictory demands of openness and security. There is also emphasis on the Dutch preference for consensus-building. The headquarters building took seven years to build and was opened by the Queen Beatrice of the Netherlands in 2011.

[9]The design for the landscaped 'dune' garden by DS Landscapes had already been approved and contained its own symbolism, which will be discussed in 5.2.3.

Table 5a: Parties involved in Europol and the International Zone Landscape Garden (Compiled from the Smaak magazine by me, July 2011)

Defined group or organisation	Role or interest
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	*Co-ordinator of all international organisations p46*
Minister of Security and Justice	*'Principal'p19 Europol's 'host' who made the decision to build*
Government Building Agency	*'Client' p19 and responsible for tendering procedure and building's realization p46. Also in joint venture for the landscape garden of the international zone.*
Quist Wintermans	*Architectural firm (Frank Wintermans – architect)*
Europol	*'User'p19 and pays for ICT and security*
City Council (Gemeente) Department of Urban Planning	*Responsible for the public areas within the International zone p46*
TCN (&GL-Events)	*Owners of World Forum and Project Developer of the landscape garden p56. In joint venture with City Council and Government Buildings Agency p55 Management of World Forum contracted out to GL-Events p63*
Mecanoo/DS Landscapes	*Landscape Designers of International Zone p55*
'Local' residents (Statenkwartier)	*Neighbours and potential users of landscape garden and pathways p55*

Through the magazine, it is possible to see how values of 'international-as-neutral' come together not only through material symbols (or lack of them) but also in how decisions and compromises about the design are portrayed. In other words, the

building process also expressed the give and take, or harmony of its many stakeholders.

When the project began, Jo Coenen (Chief Architect of the Government Building Agency of The Netherlands) had envisaged the building as "a mantle around an organisation rather than a building that relies on eye-catching architecture"(Coenen, quoted in Smaak magazine, July 2011 p48.) This was for security reasons but also because it would have to cater for many tastes. After all, "it was a European project that coincidentally was being realised in The Hague" (Coenen quoted in Smaak magazine, July 2011, p49). Coenen therefore argued "an enticing building would have been the wrong choice" (2011:50) He also wanted to demonstrate a fit with the development of the landscape garden of the international zone and therefore the concepts of 'international', 'peace and justice'. Note that the Government Building Agency were involved in both projects.

The landscape designers, and the World Forum working in conjunction with The City Council, were not only focused on the ideas above but were adamant that security attributes should be hidden so they did not clash with symbols of the city and country as 'open'. They purportedly worked to achieve this aim with Europol and the architects, and did so successfully as the quotes below suggest.

"Organisations shouldn't look like impenetrable fortresses….The Netherlands does not have a tradition of heavy security…we don't want fences complete with dogs and uniforms…we want to meet security requirements in a clever but less visible way" (Carlo Cornelis, Project Manager, Hague City Council, quoted in Smaak magazine, July 2011, p55) (my italics)

'We now have a fantastic symbol of peace and justice, a beautiful and functional building. It's a robust building in its surroundings, the result of successful co-operation' (Gea Van Craaikamp, Projects Director at the Government Buildings Agency, quoted in Smaak magazine, July 2011, p19)

Nevertheless, Wintermans remarked how an open-air café terrace was removed from the design, suggesting that highlighting openness and interaction with the outside

world, was not to be an option after all (Smaak magazine, July 2011:37). This was linked to a spate of terrorist activity in Europe, and Europol's role in its detection.

Before and after the foundations are laid, it is possible to see how the built environment might *reflect* the political and economic imperatives of the era. Cultural geographers of architecture (Cosgrove and Jackson 1987, Goss 1988) might consider how the design and its process reflect and legitimize the dominant discourses of international, economic and political co-operation between states, in the context of globalisation, and 'the war on terror'. This is reminiscent of how Domosh (1989) contextualises New York skyscrapers. The Europol building, welcomes those aligned to peace and justice, and understatedness, and gently excludes self-interested, powerful entities that protect themselves by force (in IR terms, nation states and their lingering realist, foreign policies. See Chapter Six.) However, the building also performs a negotiation and therefore a binary between global security versus openness, where the latter must literally give ground to the former. This suggests at least some form of polity must be defended. Interestingly, The Hague and The Netherlands are presented as a slight anomaly in this battle, as they are portrayed to value openness over protection as the priority. This will be developed further in Chapter Six.

Geographers of architecture and scale, from an ANT perspective might consider The Europol building in another way, in the sense that it doesn't simply reflect the era, it enacts it. They would also switch the focus to how a blend of technological, material, legal and financial arrangements from near and far allow a building and its attribution of scale to cohere (Marston, Jones and Woodward 2005, Jacobs 2006). If this is the case, buildings are the continuous enactment of organising processes that emerge as recognisable, entities with relative importance (ibid). All buildings start in the same way but those that integrate things of greatest importance as they develop, become the most valued commodity and create the highest scale. They produce the 'global'. In this research, the Europol building appears to have considerable status because it is tied up with discourses of liberal peace, Europe and connects lots of money and lots of people from diverse places (see Figure 5a). The question is that if the flesh and

mortar of buildings supposedly produce scalar hierarchy, how does the building enact both *un*important or neutral *and* international, and what does this imply in terms of societal relations? These questions are further addressed in Chapter Six.

To meet the requirements of the client, a purely functional and discrete building was ultimately achieved (according to the Smaak magazine) through the simplicity of Quist Wintermans' grey bricks, and lack of windows facing the residential houses and parallel road. Inconspicuousness was also addressed by merging the building with its environment, through the material and conceptual alignment of the designs of the building and the landscape garden. The zone and its inherent architecture were to represent connected, 'natural' living creations. "A building must have a skin, hence the glazed silver bricks. I like a building to arise like a sculpture in its surroundings." (Frank Wintermans quoted in Smaak magazine, July 2011, p38)

The result is illustrated below, although nowadays it is surrounded by grasses and flowers. Europol (See Figure 5a) is a shiny, grey brick building consisting of four office blocks of different heights joined by three long corridors on the three floors of its base. These open out into spacious, glass atria. The front of the building accentuates its horizontal form, whilst the back that runs parallel to a neighbourhood street, calls attention to its four, so-called 'towers'.

Figure 5a: Europol near completion, July 2011 (my photo)

Reading landscapes and architectural features as texts that illustrate broader societal meanings and power relations, both instigated and reflected a cultural turn in geography in the 1990s (Duncan and Ley 1993). Yet somehow it seems to be *the absence* of enticing, decorative and security features that represented its meaning and importance rather than those that were visible. Absence has hardly been considered in the geography of the built environment, except by Merriman (2007) in his book on the M1 motorway. There he considered how landscape architects attempted to appease conservationists by hiding the road, but he did not divulge how this impacted on the sense-making and experience of that environment, and it begs the question what impact invisibility makes. After all, it has already been shown by the courtroom in Chapter 4, that the construction of 'neutral in the wings' by placing interpreters backstage, produces a neutrality-as-competence.

The fact that there are symbolic features to manage, still suggests architecture and staging. In this case, the concealment of particular features like in Chapter Four, seemed to stage the *in*significance of the building and by doing so it seemed to imply a lack of boundaries, and importance to who and what was going on inside.

Nevertheless, the Europol building by its existence and visible elements, also seemed to stage the significance of a lack of boundary and status themselves, and this made the building, its occupants and practices, distinct and important. So the building, through its size, shape, form and setting, could not help but potentially enact a neutrality, connected to the work of peace and justice, and the scales of European and international as benign, overarching authorities. Given the architect's proposal and the client's brief, it is possible to suggest that this was expressed through a smooth surface and vertical elements protruding at different heights that emphasised a kind of living, growing, connecting, functional thing. And from the Van Craaikamp's quote above about beauty, it could be argued that this form of neutrality had a pleasing aesthetic.

As it has already been established in architectural geography, the predominantly visual, symbolic visions of the owners and designers of cultural artifacts like buildings, are not passively received by their observers (Lees 2001, Thrift 2008). What is more, producers and consumers alike create their own interpretations based on their embodied experiences of walking around buildings, and this extends across meaning to emotions and affects (Kraftl and Adey 2008, Rose, Degen and Basdas 2010). It could always be that the Europol building might be read as quite assertive, dominating and non-neutral. Through the following personalized vignettes, both the distinction between architectural production and consumption and the clarity of what is produced by embodied practices, is blurred even further, by engaging with elements that are concealed or absent as well as present. This combines the work of representational and more than representational geography of architecture and recent work on the geography of embodied presences, selective presences and absent absences (Jones, Robinson and Turner 2012). Jones et al (2012) demonstrate how the two phenomena are interlaced and concurrent, and take into account mismatches between the visual and other senses. Their questions like "How are various practices employed to conceal/silence particular groups?" (Jones, Robinson and Turner (2012:259) and "How do issues of absence/invisibility/silence relate to experiences, conceptualisations and the production of landscape" (ibid) are particularly relevant to

understanding the relationship between materiality and neutrality, which may also be useful to explore a more grounded geopolitics.

The following vignettes are drawn from interview and walking tours with participants that were connected to the Europol building in quite significant ways. They involve Angela and Ruth, residents of the Statenkwartier who actively challenged aspects of the design and construction work, Fraser, a Europol employee and Timo, the landscape architect of the zone.

Angela's Europol

As an urban planner but not involved professionally in the Europol Headquarters, Angela had mixed feelings towards the building emerging in her neighbourhood. She had formally proposed a different site for Europol within the zone (which was rejected) during the consultation stage. Angela's concern was that the back of the building, the blind walls of the four towers, faced a residential street and cut off the neighbourhood. "If you live in the Statenkwartier, you want to go through this area and its getting more blocked. We thought we should profit from it. A nice office park or whatever it has to be. But we also wanted it to be connected to the large streets of the Statenkwartier. I like the concept of making this a park but you shouldn't put the back of Europol towards the neighbourhood. From an urbanistic way of thinking, that is not ok." Angela (interview notes). Angela imagined The Hague as a city connected to the sea by long green avenues and lamented that the built environment was determined in her view by heuristics rather than vision. However, on a practical level, she felt she had achieved something by insisting on a curved footpath and cycle path by the side of Europol and generally came to accept that the building was not overbearing on the neighbourhood in a visual sense. I know this because of the test she invented. We left her house on foot and walked to the zone together, Angela armed with the original plan of the building that projected how high the building would look from a particular lamp-post on a street on Prins Mauritslaan. The drawing suggested the building would be discrete and she was keen to explore whether the

architect had in fact been accurate. The residents' association had been pessimistic that Europol would tower over them given its actual elevation in metres. There was a sense of fun as we found the 'right' lamp-post and lined up the drawing. Satisfied that the architect had been correct, we started to discuss the shimmering Dutch-sourced, grey bricks and concluded they were not unattractive or obtrusive, even though they were in direct contrast to the red colour of the surrounding Art Nouveau, residential area. In that moment, with the architectural form visually aligned according to plan, the building was both present and absent, not too showy yet not exactly bland, and won Angela's approval. She remembered the planning meeting with the architects and the allusion to neutrality. The minute we started towards Europol, walking and encountering a line of concrete flower pot road blocks, fenced off areas and physical reminders of flouted building regulations under our feet in terms of the size of pavements, Angela's negative emotions started to murmur. She shuddered as we walked past a raised, white police box. "We don't like that in our neighbourhood" she said. (Interview and tour with Angela, March 2012)

It appears from Angela's perception of the height and façade of the built form, her idea of neutrality was met. Not only that, but there was a sense she viewed the design process as neutral enough, in terms of consensus and compromise, although her needs in terms of the spatial organisation of The Hague, in terms of connectedness, weren't quite fulfilled. These matched the representations of the Europol architect and the emphasis on meeting conflicting needs and reaching agreements through consensus, conveyed in the Smaak magazine. However, there seemed a distinct difference between her visual appreciation and her experience of walking around the building, also confounded by other visual prompts. There were aspects of the zone's security and encroachment into the neighbourhood, that became a little too significant in an embodied sense, as she approached them. A tiny hint of force and hierarchy suddenly emerged. This suggests that isolating the building's visual form and neutrality, could only be achieved momentarily, suggesting they are both always converging and diverging. Hence the Europol Headquarters Building is forever fluid. Not only that but it underlines the point that things can be present and absent

simultaneously as Jones et al (2012) suggest, given the implied clash of affects from other senses and vision.

Ruth's Europol

Walking around the finished building with Ruth, not only stimulated such judgments but also reminded her of her previous intimate connection with Europol. During its construction, the noise and vibration of her house had strongly tested her resolve as she nursed a new baby. Now, as she circumnavigated the building for the first time, it felt cathartic, as it no longer played with her own feelings about herself.

Ruth had remarked how Europol's architecture failed to impress her, in contrast to that of Canary Wharf in London. As she eyed the building up and down, it was as if the designers had neglected somehow, to say something about something big. In an earlier interview, and relating to the practices of the international organisations in the zone, she had said

"I fully support all of them. I only see them as doing good. It's amazing all those buildings and what they do… With Europol, the construction breaks the rules but it wasn't their issue. I have always had a huge respect for authority" (Interview and tour with Ruth, January 2012)

Ruth's changing relationship with Europol emphasises the fluidity of buildings and what they enact. Furthermore, unlike Angela and the Smaak's version, Ruth's reconciliation with the building, is not based on a reflection of the consultation and consensus processes but a peace produced affectively by walking around it. This could never have been organised, or understood in retrospect to any formal practice.

Ironically, although she did not like the power relations inherent during the construction phase, she wanted the building itself to show off. It is impossible to know whether Ruth meant that Europol's form should be a symbol for *something* because it was 'architecture' or specifically in this case, because of the imagined importance of the practices inside. Either way it could be argued that for Ruth, 'neutral' architecture on this occasion would be a kind of paradox. In line with this suggestion, there was

concern by other participants' about other buildings in the zone, for example, the ICTYs lacking in 'elevation and grandeur' compared to purpose-built courthouses in the USA. In both cases, this *underwhelmed* feeling produced by judgments about Europol and the ICTY in relation to the forms of other buildings (Rose, Degen and Basdas 2010), hinted at a mismatch between the exterior form of the zone lacking expression, and the imagined importance of the people and work going on inside it. Not acknowledging that the absence of 'wow factor' might be producing something big in its own right, the built form of Europol for these participants achieved nothing. It didn't stage significance enough and this did not feel right. Mulcahy (2011) argues that classical architectural features were used to symbolize democratic but powerful, state control in a newly-industrialised, Victorian Britain and it could be something like this, that Ruth yearned for with Europol.

Unlike Angela, Ruth did not feel the presences of staged significance (neutral features) of and *in*significance (security features) in a multi-sensual way but she recognised the absence of something that *should* be there but wasn't. In other words, it is a feeling derived from *un*staged significance, where the significance comes from prior experience of buildings and their symbols in another time and space.

Fraser's Europol

As I walked around the Europol with Fraser, however, it was clear that this type of symbolism was not missing but clearly evident to him. As an employee at Europol, who was familiar with the physical security checks inside the building, Fabio perceived the headquarters as the fortress it was not meant to be. Acknowledging that they might not be obvious to the public, Fraser pointed out the castle walls, the moat, the gatehouse and the portcullis. For Fraser also, the grey building was conspicuous against the red brick of the neighbourhood, and he pitied what he perceived as the local residents' lack of influence on the design. This prompted him to worry about how Europol's location and the international zone risked producing an 'international ghetto'. He mentioned his family's efforts and desire to integrate with the 'local'

community but laughed at the irony of how organising family life still revolved mostly around people of his own nationality. (Interview and tour with Fraser, October 2012)

The buildings 'staged *in*significance', that is the concealing of elements in order not to stimulate meaning and affect or emotion, was lost on Fraser as his knowledge of the building, and his physical experience of security checks *inside*, made him palpably aware of the concealed, security features *outside*. Like Angela's prior knowledge of land that should not be built on, or Ruth's other symbolic buildings, both Fraser's knowledge of security features that were evidently inside *and* his castle metaphors of the outside, suggests that staged *in*significance depends on knowledge of another time or space, and the recognition that their significance is *un*staged in this instance. Otherwise, it would be just be a building or *un*staged *in*significance.

To Fraser, the building enacted difference and hierarchy, and his reaction to the colour of the building also illustrated how specific, visual aspects matter (Jones et al 2012) and can integrate with embodied feelings. In this case, it stimulated a binary between international and local, and possibly tapped into an emotion that could be a regret for something that should be there, i.e. harmony. It wasn't that he felt superior but that there was an insurmountable gap that couldn't quite be reconciled. It was the opposite of Ruth's search for a symbol of importance. He either yearned for a symbol of neutrality (staged *in*significance) or no symbol at all, so *un*staged *in*significance.

Timo's Europol

Like Fraser, Timo was not indifferent to or a fan of Europol's architecture. As we sat looking at the building from the edge of the pond outside the world forum, he started to compare it with the design proposed for Eurojust. He emphatically declared that it would not be so strong, imposing and powerful as the Europol Headquarters. Eurojust's architects who worked in collaboration with DS Landscapes, were employing symbols of international, using different size windows to reflect different

EU member states and slanting the glass so they would reflect the dune landscape in which they were situated. For Timo, the Europol building was formidably present. Like Fraser, he was consciously aware of how security aspects were concealed. He pointed out the anti-vehicle bench and steps leading up to the entrance. What was different however, was that his emotions and comments revealed his feelings and first-hand experience of the troubled relationship between the architect and Europol itself, and how both distanced themselves from the final building because the values of openness and connection were not symbolized effectively. (Tour with Timo, July 2012)

Through the examples above, it is clear that efforts to blend the building into its environment, conceal security, and enact as much openness as possible, were supported and contested. The practice of walking around the building, and the memories, feelings and judgments that flooded the research participants' minds and bodies illustrates the complexity of how symbols actually work, if at all. In the case of the Europol Headquarters, any interpretation and production of symbolism was always interspersed with emotional and affective bodily encounters, that flicked between scales and times, making the relationship between neutrality and the building very tenuous. Apart from Angela, the four participants didn't specifically employ the word 'neutral'. However, their interpretation of the building exterior's discreteness and openness suggest that it occasionally produced 'neutral' in a positive sense for Angela, it was too 'neutral' for Ruth in the sense that it felt 'unstaged', and not 'neutral' enough for Timo and Fraser.

Dovey (2010) brings together Bourdieu and Deleuze, emphasizing how the shape, practices and meanings of architecture are both fluid and structured and can both preserve or rupture power relations. What is evident across these examples, is that the symbols and embodied practices of this broad range of participants, were not enacting or not supposed to be enacting, the '*national*' or a '*polity*'. Instead, the symbolism and performances of the building represented welcoming, open and

unimposing or 'neutral'. However, given that it couldn't quite pull off 'no' organising or scale, it potentially produced benign scales with no power relations.

The above sections on the production and consumption of the building have suggested a fragmented formation of neutrality but certain characteristics appear to be stronger. The following analysis probes deeper into the possibility, that through the Europol building, 'international' is somewhat achieved, in a Kantian ideal sense of an overarching hierarchy that the individual and collective subscribes too. This could be enhanced by symbolic portrayals and embodied enactment of particular scales (organisation and international) and their practices as beyond politics, i.e. peace and justice. By virtue of Europol's rehousing from another part of the city, this 'subtle', 'open' and 'purpose-built' building epitomized the growth of such practices and scales. This is suggested by the quotes below.

"If I really had to chose one thing, then it would be that this is a building that does justice to the organisation that Europol has become in the space of twenty years… It is a statement to our stakeholders and the wider public – here we have the home of the ***European Police Agency.*** *So it fits with our organisations' image and profile. It is impossible to overstate its symbolic significance." (Rob Wainwright, Director of Europol, quoted in Smaak magazine, July 2011, p15) (my bold)*

"Through this building, The Hague has secured its international reputation" (Gerard Beelen, Europol's Programme Manager, quoted in Smaak magazine, p7)

Notably, the whole building in its context[10] did not only herald the success of Europol and the peace and justice sector per se but also symbolised 'Europe', 'The Hague' and 'international' as organisational achievements as opposed to products of power relations between nation states. The relationship between organisation and neutrality is discussed in Chapter Six but for now it is important to stress the ability of the building's form to present scales that appear 'beyond' geopolitics through the idea of a network of people, practices and places.

[10] The next section highlights further how the symbolism of the built environment produces 'international' stripped of cultural layers.

Even if integrated space was not always perceived, some felt that 'The Hague' and 'international' were co-produced with the building's form to the extent that it should be replicated. Van Beelen in the Smaak magazine, July 2011, mentioned representatives from the ICC said they would like a similar building, and it also applied to Eurojust. Admittedly, lessons about 'too much' security and not enough 'international' had been learnt from Europol, so the building features of 'international' and 'organisation' and 'neutral' might never look identical. However, it could be argued that a certain type of building exterior was beginning to self-perpetuate, materially, spatially and conceptually. There is a possibility that the fragile combination of material elements, values and scales that make up the Europol building has the potential to become a socio-technological achievement (Jacobs 2006, Jacobs et al 2007), which could produce novel geopolitical relations. Given experts in critical geopolitics argue that it is necessary to explore the formation and dissemination of geographical 'facts' that are employed politically, I suggest that the built environment is key to the imagination and production of what, in this case, it is to be 'European' 'international' polities, over and above 'national' sovereignty.

5.2.2) Europol's outer wall

In the next section, I focus on the outer wall as a way to explore the socio-spatial integration and boundaries between Europol as an organisation, the heart of the international zone, and the neighbourhood and explore what it says about the production of scales and their relationship. An analysis of the cultural production of Europol's outer wall reveals how a broad range of 'architects' were involved in symbolizing different priorities throughout the birth of the building. The story of the outer wall, below, is based on autoethnographic observation of the structure over time. Combined with interviews, walking tours, and the *Smaak magazine*, it illustrates how a specific concoction of the international, the individual and the organisational was staged as significant. The connection between the international, peace and justice practices, and the built environment is explored in more detail in 5.2.3, and this is also where the argument develops to explain how the Europol building and the zone's

seemingly apolitical 'international-as-neutral' appears to both maintain and be produced by the sovereign state and the 'universal' principles of liberal democracy.

The Outer Wall Stage One: The Teardrop

During the flattening of the Statenhal building, a retired resident of the neighbourhood, attached her own poem and picture of a teardrop with the word "Vrede" (peace) to the site perimeter fence. She explained that she had meant to call for peace in both an international and personal sense, as her own house vibrated with the rhythms of demolition before the crack of dawn. Coincidentally this instigated relations between TCN, The City Council and the residents of the Statenkwartier. It perhaps started as she was photographed next to her art on the fence and chatted to curious passers-by, who were international guests at the hotel on top of the Congresgebouw.. (Rens, interview and tour, February 2012)

Stage Two: The Grey Mouse

The original idea by Europol's architect, was that the building should discretely "creep into the area like a grey mouse". It was therefore proposed that a new perimeter fence for the construction site should be painted in increasingly darker shades of grey as it symbolized the building developing inconspicuously in the neighbourhood. Europol rejected the idea on the basis it was not a good way to introduce itself to the residents. Instead, it was necessary to be bold and symbolize the presence of something positive. (David, interview, November 2012)

Stage Three: The Peace and Justice Paintings (See Figure 5b)

So Europol and the residents' association of the Statenkwartier organized for children from one Dutch and one international school nearby, to paint pictures on the theme of international peace and justice, and attach them to the perimeter wall. (David, interview, November 2012)

Figure 5b: Peace and Justice Paintings, 2009/10 (my photo)

Stage Four: Graphic Data Ribbon (Figure 5c and 5d)

Finally, once the building was constructed, a permanent boundary was erected, which symbolically espoused the values and function of Europol itself. The "graphic data ribbon" (by Europol commissioned artist, Andreas Horlitz, Smaak, p17) made of clear and opaque glass, allowed the public to peep through, emphasizing the importance of transparency, but also conveying the necessary secrecy of criminal investigation (Smaak pp17-18). One research participant commented he had seen this symbolism of public scrutiny in a new glass police station in Georgia.

Figure 5c: Self portrait at Graphic Data Ribbon 2012,
with former KPMG building reflected

Figure 5d: Graphic Data Ribbon 2012 (during THIMUN conference)(my photo)

The story of the outer wall enacts the building in different ways. On the one hand, from an interpretive perspective, it can be seen as a triumph of the organisation, as it gets to stage its own significance and dictate meaning through intermediate and final artworks. Through combining notions of international peace and justice, neo-liberal

discourses of transparency, and the necessary seclusion of police work, it performs the idea that there are no real outsiders in Europe or the world, except individual lawbreakers themselves. The symbols of children and individuals are manipulated to support this idea, so although Europol seems to dismiss the role of the architect, the representations of the building still stage its *in*significance and therefore a kind of neutrality. It is just a matter of visually emphasising 'positive' elements, rather than concealing something negative. From an ANT perspective, it could be argued that the outer wall and The Europol building organises and potentially creates a scale of 'international-as-neutral' through integrating important and unimportant elements *without* a proper boundary. However, from a more embodied perspective, especially through the positive and negative emotion that surrounds Rens' story, in practice it is difficult to achieve such an unbounded and happy entity.

The examples of the outer wall reiterate and enact values relating to The Hague's neutrality-as-organising and international-as-neutral. They also echo the work of geographers of architecture who pay attention to symbolism that occurs during the stages of construction, the diversity of actors involved in symbolic production, and the fluid boundaries between the building and its setting – especially as a building is coming into being. This is evident in descriptions of controversies over designs, such as Lees (2001) on Vancouver Library and Kraftl (2009, 2010b) on Hundertwasser-Haus in Vienna.

The stories also start to reveal limits and boundaries hinting at who actually may access or belong to this 'international-as-neutral' place. Lees' (2001) research on embodied practices brings attention to people on the margins that are implicated in the production and consumption of the built environment and their impact on societal relations. In this case, they appear to be influential in the ongoing convergence and divergence of distinct scalar polities and their relative importance, as well as their co-dependency.

5.2.3) The landscape garden

Continuing the theme of fluid boundaries, it is important to interrogate 'neutrality' constructed by the exterior form of the Europol Headquarters and the landscaped garden of the World Forum Area (or heart of the International Zone). The two cannot be considered in isolation of each other especially given they were actively being linked with other buildings through the idea of a 'zone' instead of two distinct projects. The Government Building Agency was party to it all and selected the Europol architect on the basis of his design chiming with the landscape plan. Scholars advocating a spatial turn in organisational studies argue that considering the building in relation to its surrounding buildings and spaces, is an important aspect of analysing the relationship between organisational practices and architectural symbolism, and what they do (Yanow 2005).

As already discussed, symbols of openness were very important in the space outside Europol and the outside public areas of the zone. For this reason, it was important to produce an area that was attractive to both the people of the neighbourhood and the employees of the zone's organisations. It had to convey both international and local at the same time, and merge with the 'neutral' look of Europol as suggested in the quote below.

"We pleaded for an open area and not for it be closed off. We don't want to be like an industrial area of international organisations. We want to be an open area where everyone can walk into it. I am encouraged by the open area between us and Europol. It's going to be a very accessible and recreational area for everyone in the neighbourhood" (Interview with Michiel, March 2012)

In a meeting about the designs for Europol and the landscaped garden of the international zone, between the City Council, The Government Building Agency and 'local' residents[11] in 2008, a slideshow projected images of 'a dune landscape' (see Fig 5f), littered with people amidst tall grasses, sitting and chatting on benches and children, happily negotiating obstacles in rustic-looking playgrounds. The following

[11] The researcher attended this meeting in this capacity.

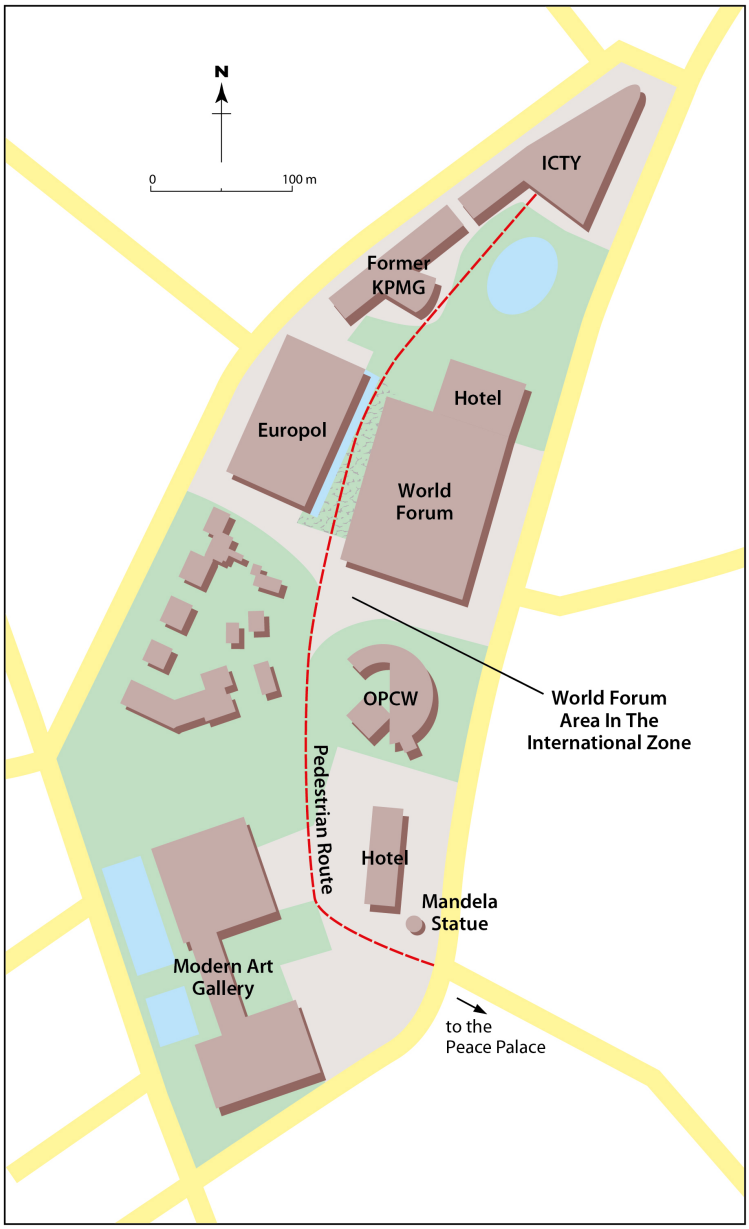
image (5e) taken in July 2012, illustrates the grasses and shrubs starting to occupy the zone.

Figure 5e: Dune landscape taking shape with World Forum behind, 2013 (my photo)

The next section contains an autoethnographic account of a guided walk through the zone prompted by a discussion about the symbolic intentions of the landscape designer. It highlights how psycho-geography, as it was discussed in the literature review and methodology sections, plays a role in the interpretation of representations of the built environment, highlighting the myriad of emotions and memories produced by just one encounter. In this section I deliberately merge data and analysis since my emerging theoretical engagements with geographical scholarship were kicking in during the walk.

Figure 5f: Route through zone plotted by DS Landscapes

(My diagram based on the architectural drawing I was given)



As we sat on the edge of the pond and looked over his map, he told me 'neutrality' was never a concept he worked with. He was interested in portraying 'international' through constructing a wild, dune landscape scattered with grasses, as if each building

had emerged from the earth, devoid of the roles of culture and power. Everything should just connect. He was not trying to match the colours of any particular building with the paths and foliage. No individual element should stand out. However, he was keen to link the zone to the Peace Palace in order to accentuate the theme of peace and justice, and punctuate it with an international symbol, no less significant than a walking statue of Nelson Mandela, facing that very direction.

He kindly offered that, I could witness the arrival of the statue on the very next day. My notes tell me that I arrived in the zone feeling a bit more legitimately placed than usual, with his invitation in my head and his plan/map with its prescribed, dotted route, in my hand. See Diagram 5f, which is my own, based on the architectural drawing I was given.

I walked very slowly, absorbing everything I could. The sand and dunes had my head wracking to remember some Hague folklore about richer houses of the town being built on sand. I wondered if the landscape designer knew that ironically, sand had once symbolised social stratification in this city. I remembered the stratigraphy of the 'natural landscape' and its underlying layer of white polystyrene, used as other material would have been too heavy for the carpark underneath. On a subsequent visit, I had noticed the proliferation of noisy seagulls and wondered if they upset any sense of symbolic value.

I passed the World Forum on the left, thinking about its well-known architect, Oud. In the archives, at the Rotterdam Museum of Architecture, he described his vision for the building as 'menselijk', like above all, it had 'a human essence,' and I thought how this chimed with the landscape designer's 'international'. I wondered also if he knew that in a German newspaper, the World Forum had been suggested as a building fit for the UN Headquarters, a location laughed off at the time in the early 1970s. Like James Sidaway (2009) in Plymouth or Jones (2005) cycling through Birmingham, my experience of walking through the zone that day was hit by the present absence of past ideas and objects. Another architect I had interviewed, had told me that

somebody should really study trajectories for ‘a world city’ that never happened. Who were past, urban planners, Basel and Dudok, and what were their plans for the site before and after wars and austerity? What were the symbols and practices of ‘international’ that never fully materialized?

When I reached the spot for the statue, many were waiting in anticipation. One individual struck me as particularly interesting as he was very concerned that I was there. He was part of the Committee that had organized the statue and its location and was worried that I might leak the arrival of Mandela to the press before his official unveiling in front of mayors, ambassadors and South African dignitaries, scheduled for a month in the future. After reassuring him, I was not a journalist, and whilst Mandela was being concealed by an upright wooden crate, he told me how originally the statue had been intended for a lesser known and multi-cultural suburb of The Hague called the Transvaal, and I remember wondering if he would still be a suited statesman, if that plan had gone ahead. I have no intention of delving deeper into the representation of the statue here. I only want to suggest how meeting that person that day made me think how different an ‘international,’ the statue might have portrayed elsewhere. I took many photos of it that day (See Figure 5g).

Figure 5g: Nelson Mandela positioned walking towards the Peace Palace with OPCW and World Forum behind, 2012 (my photo)

The landscape designer's plan had been to positively manipulate meanings, emotions and affects and mobility through the zone and beyond, yet as Thrift (2008), Kraftl and Adey (2008) argue, and my walk demonstrates, this is never entirely possible. I was bombarded with anecdotes and emotions, that did not necessarily produce feelings of 'international' linked to social justice.

As I passed Europol on the way back, I remembered how few people I interviewed knew that the entire zone was built on the site of part of the Atlantic Wall, erected as a defence, when The Netherlands was under German occupation in World War Two. I thought of when I once lived in Hiroshima and cycled passed the A-bomb dome to work. The total absence of physical scars or symbols of an 'international' descended into inhumanity, and 'lessons learned' must be significant, I tell myself.

On the way home, other materialities reminded me of another unstaged theme in the zone, the commercial. Outside the ICTY, there is a relic of the post-war national insurance company that the building was originally designed for. A statue of children playing symbolizes the hopes of both previous and current occupants of the building - life insurance and international war crimes tribunals. As I get nearer home, I remember Angela telling me that the KPMG building also left a legacy. When it was built, the municipality was prepared to waiver rules regarding its distance from the road, making the footpath quite narrow and a proper cycle path almost impossible. It harks back to when the city prioritised international business before the resurgence of its role in peace and justice. Another participant had told me that KPMG had no place in the zone anymore, as if economics and law had never been intricately related in the city…

What is most striking about this autoethnographic description is the tendency for *unstaged* significance to impact on the performance of international. Of course, my prior knowledge might be extreme compared to others not quite so obsessed with the international zone. Nevertheless, it is the same principle as Ruth, Fraser, Angela and Timo's interpretation or performance of the Europol Building. During my walk, focusing on following the dots and paying attention to each step along the way "my brain bombards me with information….Knowing the history of this city, the history of these spaces alters my performance of them" (Jones 2005:819). This is in direct contrast to the landscaper's intentions and what he was attempting to stage as significant. His 'international' depicted the evolution of the geology and flora of the landscape transforming into the current, 'natural,' built environment of the zone, and he and the Europol architect, Wintermans, coincidentally or deliberately colluded in this representation. Although the former may not have deliberately implied 'neutrality', by hinting at a natural basis for universal justice and a lack of boundaries, it could be argued he was attempting to evoke a kind of neutrality by emphasizing a common human core stripped of cultural baggage. However, in Part Two on 'Interiors' and Chapter Six, it becomes more apparent that this too could be inherently political

and economic. Furthermore, it might not just be reflective of it, this socio-technological assemblage might be an agent in organising geopolitics.

From a geographical perspective, this section on exteriors (like the interiors such as the courtroom in Chapter Four and others described later in this Chapter) suggests that a building's form always reflects a negotiation between the various individuals and groups involved in its design, production and consumption. Also, what is deliberately being performed (highlighted or lowlighted) may also change at the different stages of a building's life e.g. planning, construction and operation and renovation. This implies buildings are always on the make and not simply a matter of architects and owners dictating meanings, emotions and affects. So even if the Europol building and its surroundings were supposed to represent and reinforce values and behaviour around 'neutral,' 'natural', 'peace and justice' and 'international', there was no guarantee, they would. Presencing certain characteristics or **staging their significance** is not easy.

What this chapter adds to the geography of architecture is that deliberately producing beliefs and behaviours may not involve ensuring certain material characteristics of the building are noticed, but that they are not. In other words, a building might be an outcome and a producer of **staged significance and staged *in*significance**. Sometimes, this involves deliberately concealing things in order *not* to evoke meanings and feelings of power. Alternatively, onlookers might be expected to notice the absence of something, for example, symbolic features of elevation and decoration, or they even may be expected to forget the presence of something that was there before, for example, the old building and practices that were lost to make way for the new, either through war or demolition. To reiterate, it is not always desirable or possible to manipulate people in this way, as certain prior knowledges and experiences influence perception and feelings. In other words, the ***un*staged significances** of these things are always cutting in, as one negotiates their way through the environment.

Finally, the examples on exteriors show that 'neutrality *and* international' may be co-represented or co-enacted through the built environment. Its apparent contradiction also suggests something geopolitical is happening. It may be that an 'international' characterized by diplomacy and hierarchy between territorial, nation states is being challenged by an 'international', based on a 'neutral' borderless, network and the assumption of shared and natural principles of justice and inclusion. The World Forum Area of the International Zone's exterior portrayal of the absence of occupation and security, was so attractive that it recruited followers yearning for a part in it, and a more demonstrative celebration of its importance. However, emotional buy-in to the abstract ideas expressed was countered by my own bodily experiences and those of research participants, that revealed the forces inherent in trying to uphold it. Rigidly defending itself against more 'political' and 'realist' versions of 'international' co-operation, this 'international-as-neutral' still revealed itself as an socio-material entity – a powerful place and community, with insiders and outsiders, gathering momentum. In fact, the 'two versions' of international, may actually be one and the same.

5.3) Interiors

5.3.1) The offices of the ICTY, Europol and World Forum

Part Three considers how the interiors of the international zone are influential in the construction of 'international-as-neutral'. It begins with a description of the office interiors in the zone, for example, the slightly *shabby* ICTY; the *homely* World Forum; and the *luxurious* Europol and their staged and unstaged, significance and insignificance. These three examples are chosen to interrogate neutrality because they illustrate how interiors like exteriors are implicated in distancing employees from geopolitics. In Section Two, deliberate efforts to stage the insignificance of the nation state are analysed through a particular art installation at Europol. Finally in Section Three, consideration is given to the design and experience of corridors as they play a role in shaping a collective identity around 'international' and 'organisational change,' which could be deemed 'neutral'.

The section begins with the perceptions of some former and current ICTY employees with regard to the interior design features of the private areas in their building[12]. Attention is drawn to their reflections on their offices in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and the different identities and feelings that the interiors lent them, acknowledging, as one participant suggested, that they might reflect views about any organisation over time.

He tells me they were on the second floor in a big open plan area because there was lots of renovation when a courtroom was being built. He explains it was a golden era, there was a sense of excitement, theoretically-speaking from a heroic to a construction stage of an organisation. The employees were bouncing ideas to ensure accuracy and validate their work. (Johnny, interview notes, February 2012)

"It wasn't very nice or modern. I started in the in a big room with seven or eight people like all the people who came to work for the judges in the beginning. The offices were underground with small windows at the top of the room. … But it was very nice in the beginning to be with people from different places exchanging basic information. I didn't pay much attention to the surroundings as I was immersed in testimony". (Gregor, interview, February 2012)

He tells me his office looks and feels cheap. There's a hole in the wall and a nasty stain. A critter came yesterday rattling through a panel under the window. A mouse, rat or pigeon, he suggests. I ask whether this is what he expected. No, he was very disappointed – how run down it was when he arrived. (Joe, tour, October 2011)

Even if the quality and their experience of the interiors of the building were not ideal, the lack of salubrious fittings and shabby interiors perhaps accentuated, even if it sometimes challenged their sense of commitment, community and survival. Many ICTY employees suggested they and others were prepared to make sacrifices in terms of pay and conditions. The interior's unstaged insignificance disassociated it from other UN buildings like the purpose-built Peace Palace in The Hague, or HQ in New York, and performed the ICTY as underdog against powerful and 'political' nation states and their bespoke embassy buildings in the centre of town, or in the grand town houses of the Zorgvliet. In terms of the performativity of space, it constructed the occupants as activists rather than the UN professionals. The interiors and their occupants originally expressed little confidence that they could create and apply an

[12]The public foyer and courtrooms are discussed in Chapter Four.

'international criminal law'. They were navigators working against a tide of geopolitical skepticism, seemingly distanced from the UN and its member countries.

The co-production of an ordinary, run-down office building and the activist-like subjectivities of the employees suggests 'undiplomatic' as opposed to a diplomatic mimicry, which Tibetan activists employ by performing "Offices of Tibet" or hanging around lobbies of hotels frequented by diplomats, in their quest for sovereignty or contestation of the interstate system (McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer 2012, McConnell 2013). Chatting with ICTY parents in the school playground sometimes produced talk about politics getting in the way of law, during the research period e.g.."At last, a day without Politics. We moved forward." (Autoethnographic observation, January 2011).

It is not inconceivable that the interiors, in conjunction with enthusiasm around creating new practices, and limited and unpredictable resources to do so, understated the ICTY to the extent that its employees, in their modest offices, could be perceived as independent trailblazers in the field of justice, thereby constructing a different kind of 'international'. The end of impunity, the formation of the ICC and the 'global spread of international criminal law' may be attributed to an *un*staged *in*significant legal cottage industry outside international politics, nevertheless entwined with the UN through the staged significance of the courtroom and public areas. It is possible that the complexity echoes the inter-relationship between 'autonomous' and 'non-autonomous' socio-spatial practices in anti-capitalist activism (Pickerill and Chatterton 2006), which could be a consideration for further study.

Meanwhile, in the building opposite, the new *Europol's* light and airy 'streets' shaded by full-size trees, art installations (puzzling to some research participants) and a restaurant, lent the interior such a contemporary, fashionable, city-suburb atmosphere[13], it would be difficult to spot the function of criminal justice. Shocking pink, red and green chairs bloomed in meeting rooms and the blurred areas of private

[13] For a discussion about the possibilities of 'urbanizing architecture', particularly by architect, Rem Koolhaus, see Kim Dovey's (2010) Chapter 7 in "Becoming Places" (Routledge)

offices and 'semi-public' space, informalising and perhaps even emasculating the police, announcing a new era of cross-border collaboration. Unlike the ICTY, the interior staged the significance of scale, transparency[14] and harmony, which in some cases instilled pride in research participants and interviewees in Smaak, perhaps marginally reduced by the building and décor being impossibly fresh, and the sense that they were still at the early stages of something. Although it had formed in 1990s, Europol had just become an EU agency, and the interior, like the exterior for some, staged the significance of this growing network of professionals from different countries, which appeared to operate in the interest of all. This celebration echoes some perceptions of the exterior but perhaps not those of architects, Wintermans and Coenen (See Part Two).

Whilst the interiors and employees had the potential to co-produce a kind of 'international' place and people, and this will be analysed in the sections on corridors and artwork, others found it amplified the importance and conviviality of their work and network too much. For them, the décor emphasised the considerable investment in all the fittings and they told me how they nicknamed the place "The Police Palace" and cringed over the imagined price of the sofas. "You could buy a fiat with that." (Autoethnographic observation, December 2011)

There were people working in the meeting room with bright pink chairs. I asked Oliver what he thought and the reply was "Fine as long as they didn't cost more than ordinary colours would have done". The question immediately prompted the comment that the Dutch and German governments had been very generous to Europol. (Oliver, tour, January 2012)

Their cynicism suggested irritation with the fanfare, and an uneasiness that fighting crime was being associated with a performance of a harmonious 'Europe', where they felt state politics was as much distraction as it was a resource to punishing perpetrators, perhaps similar to the ICTY and its relationship with the UN. Unlike the exterior of Europol, whatever efforts were made to imply discrete and neutral were

[14] Transparency is also discussed in relations to the zone's exterior in Chapter 5, part 1, section 2 and as part of the organising process outlined in Chapter 6.

interrupted by prior knowledge or at least an estimate of the considerable, financial value of things and décor, and therefore their *un*staged significance. Furthermore, the allusion to the self-interest of particular states countered realisations of harmony and a lack of power relations.

The *World Forum* office was different again. The 1960s/70s building, which housed a huge auditorium was at the time of this research (2011) owned by a small Dutch company called TCN,[15] who contracted out the management to 'GL-Events'. The *public* area interiors were littered with symbolic references to 'international', including the 'Pangaea' restaurant and a 10m carpet runner of a map of the world, but in contrast the *private* offices, almost looked like a large industrial-chic apartment, with an eclectic mix of furniture, art, plants and objects that had been added to over time. Only a few artifacts signified a larger scale being constructed than 'home'. Lampshades showed off the raison d'etre of the company "Events that change the world" (although my participant was quick to say many events held only personal significance). A huge billboard (2x3 metres) about the Afghanistan conference held in The Hague in 2009, adorned the entrance wall. "This was our Olympics, Champions League final type thing. It went without a hitch", he said. (Michiel, interview, March 2012)

The conference had clearly given him tremendous satisfaction but the additional fact he told me he had rescued the billboard out of the rubbish, expressed a certain humility. He also told me he was also quietly hopeful that a 'Nuclear Security Summit' would be held in 2014, with Barack Obama attending[16].

TCN/GL-Events constructed the 'international' through staging its employees' political relevance and insignificance simultaneously. It was a *means* to big things (and small 'local' things) but employees and their building were not to be construed as instigators or players themselves. Like the employees of the ICTY and Europol, they were distanced from nation states, including The Netherlands, through the homely

[15]By the time of writing (2014), management had since fallen under the City Council.
[16] This happened and is discussed in Chapter Six

status and environment of a small, private enterprise and this gave them a certain form of 'neutrality'. Nevertheless, they were doing diplomatic groundwork, negotiating and preparing the 'site' for staged events and were therefore geopolitical agents (Neumann 2013:6). They created the conference space for statesmen to rub up against epistemic communities (Craggs and Mahoney 2014) highlighting and constructing perhaps a more professional than political 'international' too. The relevance of conferences and diplomatic work will be discussed in Chapter Six.

5.3.2) Interior artwork

Outside and inside the buildings of the zone (Europol and OPCW), a multitude of national flags and UN and EU-specific flags, adorn foyers and corridors. Along the lines of Billig's "Banal Nationalism" (1995), it could be argued that their equal size and height, suggests that any given state is or should be, represented fairly. The overall effect of colour and pattern greater than any individual elements, might also infer the combined power of 'international'. The symbolism of a collection of flags is not analysed in this chapter but it is mentioned because it could be a 'black box' of 'international' that many take for granted, and it might support or contradict the effects of other artworks.

Particularly in Europol, traditional flags are accompanied by contemporary installations and they are mentioned explicitly in this chapter on architecture because a certain amount of the budget is allocated to art in government buildings in The Netherlands (Smaak, page 67). At Europol, there are at least five large pieces representing variants on the organisation and its members. The following is chosen because it is could be implicated in the construction of 'international-as-neutral' or at least 'lack of national' as neutral.

Lining a corridor in Europol from the restaurant to the silence room, there were about 23 photographs of different sizes representing the 27 members of the EU. They could be described as contemporary, artistic portraits of one or more nation state, in which

the colours of the national flag and sometimes the map of the country, are the only referents. Stereotypes are deliberately avoided. For example, there wouldn't be a clog in the image of The Netherlands.

"Corinne Schoenaerts's photographs breathe new life into the question what actually characterizes a country. The answer is: nothing, except the national colours and what your own imagination makes of it." (Smaak magazine, July 2011, p31)

The presence of the photos acknowledged separate national entities but perhaps simultaneously like the flags, staged their individual insignificance. Juxtaposing and distorting images of 'everyday' people, places and objects, each photo also had the potential to change perspectives. It could be argued that they symbolized a form of international that was characterized by universality and therefore neutral, like the landscaped garden of the zone. Their installation was not straightforward.

"The pictures we knew were controversial but the management intended them to provoke. We are not going to change every photo until somebody likes it but in one case that was needed because politically it was a bit too sensitive so it was softened by the artist a bit." (David, interview, November 2011)

The above almost suggests the artwork as a geopolitical battleground. The precarious undermining of the nation state depicted by the negotiation above illustrates at least some of its residual power against an 'international' entity asserting itself, and this could be an example of geopolitics in the making, whether it is changing or cementing imaginations about polities and boundaries. The photos provoked other interesting, slightly combative responses from a couple of research participants on the walking tours described in the boxes below e.g.

Craig was lightly insulted by his nation's photo. His irritation was masked by humour as he laughed how his fellow countrymen had once claimed the table and chairs near 'their' photo' as a tongue-in-cheek, mini protest. It led to a discussion about his country's status in Europol. He felt clearly that his country and others were under-represented in the organisation, and made a joke about all the Cypriot women I would bump into in the lift. (Craig, tour, 2012)

Oliver had no idea what the photos were about until I told him their content. He immediately set to work to 'interpret' each one and played 'name that country'. He laughed and explained it was typical 'analyst' behaviour in the sense that he was looking for clues in order to differentiate and categorise. (Oliver, tour, 2012)

Both examples appear to support an emotional, affective or pragmatic tendency to construct difference (Simonsen 2013), as opposed to the more abstract, 'international-as-neutral' suggested by the photographs. They also emphasise the richness of experience and variety of ways producers and consumers can play with and distort staged performances through the embodied practices of walking past and having fun with symbols. Daskalaki et al (2008) illustrate this in relation to exploring corporate spaces in novel ways through parkour. Following Lorimer's non-representational perspective, the interiors of organisations can be regarded as outcome and producer of "shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions" (Lorimer, 2005:84 in Beyes and Steyaert 2011:51). Furthermore, the notes from the tour with Oliver above suggest "enacting geographies of organisation implies acknowledging a scholar's irreducible entanglement and his/her own participation in transforming the texture of things, however marginally" (Beyes and Steyaert 2011:54) This is especially relevant for go-along or walking tour methodology. Furthermore, the examples of Oliver and Craig illustrate the role of an embodied, popular geopolitics in negotiating 'international' or at least 'lack of national'.

5.3.3) Corridors and hallways

ICTY and Europol participants also drew attention to the mutually exclusive relationship between certain aspects of interiors and particular working practices in achieving the goals of policing and ending impunity for war crimes. The design and use of corridors were described as particularly important in interviews with research participants (and contributors to the Smaak magazine). At Europol, employees actively involved in the design or at least knowledgeable about the principles behind it, described how corridors were deliberately wider than the offices they bore, and

contained dining tables and chairs, microwaves and dishwashers to engender spontaneous teamwork, forge transparent relationships and produce shared identity. At the ICTY, the hallway's importance was explained as more an *outcome* of trying to get things done rather than its intended use. Reference was made to how certain interiors were exploited for social interaction. Sometimes, inadequacies were pointed out, for example over-crowded meeting rooms with bodies almost squeezing out and expanding the walls.

"*We can have many informal meeting in our corridors but this is true also of many other locations in the building. So also in other corridors and big rooms, you have chairs and fauteuils where you can just sit down and chat with people and that itself is a welcoming feature of the interior. That wherever you are, you can just sit down with whoever you are waiting with."* (Fraser, interview, October 2011)

"Um, I think this building helps that, in terms of, as there is a lot of open space. I mean the offices are relatively big. But you know a lot of people can gather. The hallways are constantly.., we are having conversations, meetings in the hallways. We have lots of meeting rooms… stuff like that."(Joe, interview, October 2011)

At Europol and the ICTY, participants were explicit about the evolution of their professional 'cultures' from closed to open, and how these new working practices and office environments were necessary and goal-oriented. They also drew attention to the idea that 'conversion' to teamwork and transparency was extreme and often difficult for policemen and lawyers.

"One of the requirements is teamwork that involves working with others from cultural backgrounds. I think it's very important especially for lawyers. Usually in domestic systems, you work alone so even if you are in a legal firm, you have single projects. In a small team, you are not working in a big organisation with common goals…. It is difficult for lawyers to work in a team with one objective and the division of labour…and so on." (Gregor, interview, February 2012)

"I think it helps in that you know, it's not the building but just the decision to share offices, and work closer with colleagues than we did in X, and help me improve and learn more and watch from others and gain a lot more and be more collaborative. The style, system was much more individual. And people were just given cases and sent off to do things and then come back. Here there's is a lot more reporting back, and working as a team, things like that." (Joe, interview, October 2011)

"There was also a very radical concept of, in the beginning to have everything totally transparent. We have also seen it here in The Netherlands in some other buildings in Utrecht, for example. But this was too much…. Police still think mentally: My own walls. My own case. To be fully transparent….Laughs, that is not necessarily something you find in police culture." (David, interview, November 2011)

Their arguments implicitly espoused successful 'organisational change' (Burns and Stalker 1961), and particularly the prescriptive, strategic human resource management theory (HRM) of the late twentieth century (Sparrow, Schuler and Jackson 1994, Pettigrew and Whipp 1990). They also implied its corresponding spatial design (Duffy 1980, Kornberger and Klegg 2004) had 'worked' or at least would, given the beliefs of the Europol employees above, or the suggestion that the practices at the ICTY were exploiting open space as far as humanly possible. Physical and representational space were aligned (Dale and Burrow 2008), whilst at ICTY, it was almost as if employees were mind-bending the material space to be successful.

Dale and Burrow (2008) argue that these principles are commonly incorporated into many interior design features often at great financial cost, no matter the purpose and scale of an organisation. In the last two decades, broad corridors and open spaces have been deliberately produced to facilitate greater communication than, for example, rows of individual offices. The possibility of spontaneous conversations and the relationships that emerged from a variety of people casually meeting, are deemed to produce and generate greater creativity, problem-solving and identification with the organisation as a community, thereby reducing costs and increasing the quality of its product or service (Felstead, Jewson and Walters 2005). Teamwork can be both casual as above, or pre-meditated, but the more varied the people that come together (e.g. from different layers of management, functions, professions or nationalities) the greater impact (Adler 1995).

"Global leaders interact with international colleagues as equals, rather than from within clearly defined hierarchies of structural or cultural dominance and subordination…. A global leader must create a vision unfettered by national definition" (Adler 1995:530)

As it has been discussed regarding the exteriors and interiors so far, the halls and corridors enacted an international-as-neutral, whereby international accentuated organic growth and mutual survival, based on equality and co-operation between individuals and downplayed national identity and importance.

At both Europol and the ICTY, engineered or not, many people believed that a sense of shared 'international' and 'organisational' identity and successful, hybrid practices were materializing, and the built environment and/or teamwork played a part. It also related to the kind of competence described in Chapter Four and reflected the principles of the landscape designer of the international zone, described earlier in this chapter.

"It is not just to be aware of the differences but to be willing and to endeavour to get back to basics, to establish the reasons why different procedural solutions emerged from the same problems. It's probable that the issues you are trying to address are similar it is about is going back and coming up with a solution together." (Gregor, interview, February 2012)

The quote is also reminiscent of Frykman and Lofgren's (1996) view in that they both suggest confronting (and the possibility of) stripping off baggage. This suggests corridors, hallways and their social activities produce a kind of neutrality in the sense of diminished fixed identities and any power they entail. However, unlike Frykman and Lofgren maintain, participants didn't suggest that the interaction could produce opposite effects. In this way, the persistence of any cultural power relations is concealed.

"…under conditions of globalisation, the disruption of familiar rhythms has become more commonplace in a mobile culture where people constantly meet otherness, habits are brought to the surface, becoming manifest and thereby challenged. It is precisely because people in their everyday lives meet different habits that they are forced to verbalise and make conscious the things that are otherwise taken for granted and thus invisible. Once a habit has been described, it has also become something on which one must take up a stance, whether to kick the habit or to stick tenaciously to it". (1996: 14)

It is not that employees were not expressive about their work's inherent difficulty, they just did not express these difficulties in terms of relating to 'international' or the materiality of the interiors. Whilst the relationship between corridors, hallways, meeting rooms, open spaces and 'successful', 'teamwork', 'international,' and 'organising change' were staged as significant, links were not made between employees being glued to their desks, including pouring over lengthy judgments, reading copious amounts of testimony, or being weighed down with the technical aspects of managing and writing software in numerous European scripts. Even though it was possibly significant, the possible link between 'international' 'solitary work', 'sitting at desks', 'complexity' and 'lack of organisation' was unstaged.

Ethnographers in organisation studies have done much to tackle the discrepancy between what people and in this case buildings, say and what they do. Even though this research was not an ethnography of an organisation(s), on the basis of many research visits to the ICTY and Europol, it would be fair to say that corridors and hallways were as often empty as they were full, and just as visible as collaborative working, where employees sat alone at their desks in offices. Some of this at least, may even be attributed to the beliefs described in the following quote, which illustrate the negotiation between affects, embodied practice and prescribed social interaction.

"Something funny happened last month. I was having a coffee with one my colleagues, who was working at the office of the director. They have two nice red, very comfortable fauteuils, which I find very comfortable, you can even recline a bit. ..But they are in open space and the director could pass by any moment. I was sitting but my friends were not. They were not comfortable to be seen seated in front of a director because I think they were afraid to appear lazy or uncommitted to work." (Fraser, interview, October 2011)

As described in the other sections, geographers of architecture argue that even if buildings intentionally symbolise or manipulate behaviour, (broadly) unanticipated emotions and affects, excess practices, thoughts and feelings can emerge. This is emphasised by those who advocate a more-than representational, organisational geography (Beyes and Steyaert 2011). My research suggests the International Zone's

corporate interiors and their symbols reflecting organisational change, produce multiple and conflicting aesthetic and phenomenological effects of social identification with the organisation (Dale and Burrow 2008). Nevertheless, I would argue organisational processes that place the lone 'individual' professional into a diverse group of foreigners, enacts an 'international' scale. The staged significance of materiality, 'change' rhetoric, and practices at the scale of organisation directed towards survival, shared across the buildings of the zone, produces a purposeful and aligned 'international' community even if there is no evidence for the eradication of power relations.

The staged significance also suggests that the relationship between interiors and teamwork can fuel the imagination enough in terms of what it means and feels to be 'international' and 'successful', to the extent that other materiality, emotions, behaviour and scales are diminished. Organisational anthropologists with a spatial twist, link this process to power and governmentality (Kornberger and Clegg 2004, van Marrewijk, 2009**).** In this way, a 'shared' 'international' sensibility can be co-produced with apparently 'neutral' practices and places designed to improve effectiveness, yet at the same, it quietly molds individuals into hosts of neo-liberal, market principles.

Whilst I believe these theorists are perhaps a little pessimistic in terms of the future because of their confidence in the ability of hegemonic practices to control societal relations, I do believe their emphasis on spaces of organisation and organising processes are key to understanding a link between architecture and geopolitical processes. If private sector organisations enact the processes of globalisation rather than reflect them, continuously occupying and creating new spaces of capitalist, liberal democracy by integrating people and places near and far (Massey, 2005), surely 'international' public sector organisations with their similar discourses, materials and practices, add to that spatialising process, to some extent? This is evident simply by interrogating the talk and experience of corridors.

In conclusion to this section, the interiors have been interrogated by employing positivist human resource management theory, organisation studies (influenced by interpretivism, ANT and Lefebvre), 'more than representational' geography of architecture, and performative approaches to critical geopolitics. It can be argued that interiors, their practices and employees speak to relationship-building and organisational development across the criminal justice sector, concealing politically-oriented nations and their focus on interstate security. The open spaces, artwork, décor, organisational discourses and working styles *stage the significance* of underlying similarities and connection, enacting *international-as-neutral*, and relate to the symbols of universal values, explicit in the landscape garden of the World Forum Area. Yet it is not only staged significance at work. The *staged insignificance* of national identity, for example through Europol's photographic artwork also plays a role and this has not been explored in geographies of architecture up till now.

Yet whilst the professional and organisational representations, behaviours, and spaces of openness, balance and success (reminiscent of neutrality-as-competence in Chapter Four) are staged as significant, this research illustrates that the emergent 'international-as-neutral' forms of place and community enacted in part by architecture and interior design are still often experienced as bounded and hierarchical places. This begs the question as to whether these interiors are still performing statecraft even if they highlight apolitical professionals geared solely towards catching individual criminals.

It is difficult to envisage statecraft in an environment, which does not obviously appear to be promoting either individual nations states or a system of sovereignty. However, it could be that the very elusiveness of 'international' territorial borders lend 'international-as-neutral' its power. If Kuus perceives European Union representatives in Brussels as 'intellectuals of statecraft' (Kuus 2008, 2014) who define where, who and what is European, it is possible that a more-than-human ensemble of interiors, 'neutrally-competent' professionals and organisational discourses are defining where, who and what has the right to be international. They

could then be instrumental in constructing a larger political entity with only conceptual borders, that inevitably supports the dominance of already powerful liberal democratic states.

5.4) Practices in an around the zone

Part Four critically analyses how certain practices in and around the buildings in the zone perform and are created by 'international-as-neutral'. Firstly, the barely visible rhythms of the zone contrasted with its staged Open Days represent the most important practice is working, and the most important paid work is doing peace and justice. Open Days ignite the zone with positive emotions and affects around practices of peace and justice, in the sense that being part of a solution, is essential. At the same time, they downplay or eradicate the zone's 'commercial' or 'national' attributes and practices. In this way, and through the staged significance of openness and participation, visitors to the zone *feel* 'international' for a day, ignorant of their role in forging geopolitical boundaries.

From a *visual* perspective at least, the zone's outside spaces and neighbourhood are quite dormant both inside and outside working hours. This is for several reasons. During the day, the buildings are packed with employees, their presence acknowledged only by their fleeting appearances in the mornings and early evenings on the neighbourhood streets, pavements and cycle tracks. They blend in to the other commuters of the city right up to the point they enter the buildings of the zone.

Although the shopping streets, school playgrounds and cafes around the zone highlight the families of employees during the day, the zone and neighbourhood are also empty and quiet at night. The relative calmness of the streets around the zone is partly produced by a lack of demand for nightlife due to family, but also perhaps due to deliberately few licences being afforded to bars and nightclubs in The Hague, and

especially in this neighbourhood[17]. Unsurprisingly, interns who cannot afford to live in the zone anyway, rent and party elsewhere, accentuating the difference. The rhythms of absence in the zone are also seasonal as well as diurnal, as employees leave the Netherlands to visit their home countries or 'do Europe' for Christmas and the long summer holidays. The somewhat low profile of working bodies in the public space around the zone and beyond it, hide its inhabitants to the extent it has been said *'*Some local people from another part of the city don't even know these people and institutions are here.' (Autoethnographic observation, October 2011)

"I often can't believe that I've lived in The Netherlands for eleven years and yet feel I know so little about the country and yet I often do have this feeling that my trajectory and part of that is the hours we work, you know, especially before children, coming home so late at night and coming back early in the morning, it felt like I could be anywhere in the world, it didn't even have to be Holland." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

From the evidence above, it could almost be argued that the zone and neighbourhood were *un*staged and *in*significant, therefore the buildings were just an indistinguishable bunch of offices. They merely staged the significance of the scale and space of organisation, in the sense that the commuters, participate in one of the most visual, ritualistic displays of capitalism in going to work (Blumen 2007)[18] and spend considerable time within this type of building. For those involved, it instilled a sense of organisational belonging and identity, which perhaps overshadowed everything else. In other words, nothing 'big' or 'unique' was being conveyed or felt in terms of scale (Jacobs 2006).

However, when the analysis of sound is added (Jones et al 2012), it might be possible to suggest that they were co-produced as 'international' and 'organisational'. The buzz of different languages including fluent English, spoken by people born and bred in the

[17] This alludes to the organisation of neutrality underpinning "The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice" explored in Chapter Six and the work of regulation in relation to the performance of bodies in space (Gregson and Rose, 2000)

[18] This may become more when considering peace and diplomacy in Chapter Six.

neighbourhood, as well as from every continent, is a salient characteristic of the area around the zone and the neighbourhood, and one constantly remarked on positively by inhabitants and visitors. They enacted the unity and harmony of a place, which integrated people from near and far. In the sense, that no one language or group appeared to dominate, it enacted 'international-as-neutral'.

Yet, this unity was not always felt. There was a division between 'expats' and 'the Dutch' even within the zone and neighbourhood (though not necessarily by nationality), enacted by the different destinations of their commutes. Working and schooling constituted two almost, segregated communities, which produced mixed feelings of irritation, longing for better integration, yet also comfort in independence from each other. This suggests a more complex and contradictory 'international-as-neutral', which is explored in Chapter Six.

It could also be argued that the World Forum Area and the International Zone and 'international-as-neutral' are as much constituted by the absence of people and practices, as they were by those present. The *lack of* variety of people and practices outside, during both working hours and afterwards, cut the buildings and their neighbourhood off from their environment. This was to the extent that they and their employees appeared not to interfere with or impact the political, economic or social life of the city or country or vice-versa. This performance can neither be explained through a binary of everyday and spectacular or through their integration (Kraftl 2009, 2010b). Instead, just like the absence and presence of symbols staging the significance and *in*significance of the Europol building, the absence and presence of practices around the zone, staged a non-hierarchical and blended international, which was always converging yet diverging into two or infinitely more, separate entities.

In the next section, I describe how this 'international-as-neutral' enacted by the relative absence of the zone's working practices accentuates the zone's excitement on its annual open day, and other occasions when the zone deliberately stages the importance of its employees and specific practices. In this way, the work and workers

are suddenly amplified and along with it, the zone and the neighbourhood. This again suggests an interplay between staged and *un*staged significance, and a place, practice and community that performs a recognisable entity, which might be entitled 'international-as-neutral'.

5.4.1) Open days

As suggested, a normal day outside in the zone is pretty empty. However, on one occasion during the research process, a car drew up in the middle of the zone, parked temporarily next to the lake, and a family of four and their dog jumped out, to have their photos taken outside the ICTY. Although this seemed like an anomaly, a participant intimated that it happened often, and remarked how puzzling this was. This fits neatly with a zone that is out of the limelight except a few times a year, when its significance is staged.

One example of this type of performance is when, the international zone and other Hague institutions throw open their doors to the public. These 'Open Days' organized by the Gemeente (Hague City Council) every September, highlight technical and professional expertise in peace and justice. Before any analysis, it is worth mentioning there are lot of practices and buildings that are unstaged and rendered insignificant by these Open Days. By celebrating peace and justice, they conceal other working practices in the zone, for example, entertainment in the World Forum. By representing and connecting specific built elements of the city, they also conceal others that might in the past, future or present play a role in peace and justice. Historians of lawyers of The Hague have often linked the commercial, the legal and the state for example, in peace and justice (van Ittersum 2010). The headquarters of Royal Dutch Shell is one such legacy (Vriessendorp, Nelissen and Wladimiroff 2008) but its building is not to be 'consumed' on the annual open day.

Open days are extremely popular. Members of the public register their interest through the council website and they are then 'invited' to visit two or three

organisations in the zone throughout the day. As they are close together, the visitor can literally walk from one building to the next and be immersed in 'peace and justice'. According to one participant,

"It's a good profile. The city needed something. People are very interested. There are always more than expected, so it's a good attendance. They like it and they can be proud of what's going on… I mean we could be proud of it. Those are big words, International Peace and Justice." (Michiel, interview, March 2012)

The relevance of open days to the organisation of "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice" and how it dovetails nicely with 'transparency' is considered in Chapter Six but in this section, the embodied practices of Open Days are emphasised to illustrate how they create and are produced by feelings of 'international-as-neutral'. Entering the buildings and engaging with the material arrangements of 'peace and justice' created an atmosphere (Anderson, 2009), which was converted into emotions felt by the visitors. To illustrate, autoethnographic participation is used for analysis, and outlined below. Emotional-affective processes are employed as methodological tools (Pratt 2012, Watson 2012) as well to explore the role of emotions and affects in the specific meanings and practices of the international zone.

On September 18th, 2011, I attended an Open Day. I had expressed an interest through the Council website a month before, and was granted access to two buildings: the ICTY and the OPCW. At both venues, there was a lot of emphasis on why the practices of 'peace and justice' took place. In the OPCW entrance I was confronted with John Singer Sargent's painting of WW1 soldiers in the field "Gassed" (1918) and further inside, I was encouraged to scrutinise portraits of kids, dogs, babies and even horses in gas masks in World War Two. Not only that but there was visual footage of specific events like Halabja, and the Tokyo and Moscow tube attacks, and of red eyes, blisters, boils, and corpses. In the Q&A at the ICTY, speaking in the public gallery of Courtroom 1, the Chief Prosecutor shared the impact of his visit to the site of a massacre and meeting the survivors, pleasure at seeing the Mothers of Srebrenica where we were sitting now, and pain observing Karadzic cross-examine witnesses.

Not only the *why* of the practice was highly staged but also the 'how'. At the ICTY, we were informed about the workings of international criminal law but we were also engaged in an embodied way with the practice by actually being invited to sit in Courtroom 1 and experience sitting in the chairs of judges, lawyers and the accused looking out to the public gallery. In the OPCW, we were allowed to understand and finger the technology involved in the detection of chemical weapons. There was

litmus paper for sticking on shoes, "m&ms" (coloured sweets) depicting how machines detect different chemical elements within a substance, and people dressed up in protective clothing.

Ultimately, it felt as if the experts and their audience were on the same side and 'doing the right thing'. There were only two times, I felt a little at odds with them. Firstly was at the ICTY when I asked the Chief Prosecutor,

"There is an assumption that victims want retribution and an end to impunity. Have you met any that wanted something different?"

He answered in terms of some wanting much harsher sentences for the convicted. Perhaps I appeared visibly shocked, I don't know, but it provoked somebody sitting behind me to tap on my shoulder and say kindly,

"This is a good place, you know. We live 50 metres from here. Everything is in order."

Secondly, was at the OPCW when I was probing an employee about how the different types of technology for detecting chemical weapons were approved. He was really prickly and said he wasn't going to discuss it… and he was just a technician anyway. I quickly moved on.

The two showcase events shared several things. They staged the significance of the 'why' 'how' and 'who' of peace and justice, through emotions and affects and technical know-how which evoked a feeling of 'international-as-neutral'. It is not that emotions and affects were fake or 'manufactured' because they were 'staged' in the ICTY and OPCW on that Open Day, it was more that they were an intrinsic part of the practice, that lined up with particular actions, meanings and objects (Schatzski 2002). Outrage was introduced or rekindled through talk or images of atrocities, which fostered or reflected a shared sense of empathy between the organisations and their visitors, to the extent they were part of the same community and place, either through endorsement or action, *doing something* (Horton and Kraftl 2009, Askins 2009). Moving around the buildings, interacting with the experts and their tools and places of expertise, also offered the visitor the potential to feel like skilled practitioners i.e. part of the practice and the zone, just for the day (Pratt 2012).

Rachel Pain's (2009) work on emotion and critical geopolitics is also relevant here. References to war and genocide in the former Yugoslavia strike enough fear and

anticipation of fear through the body, that people seem to readily accept and identify with a solution, that is both decisive and divisive. In this case, given the practices and rhetoric come from 'guardians of justice' as opposed to politicians, it could be argued that they enact "intellectuals of statecraft" (Kuus 2008, 2014). I argue this point because, although they may speak of specific countries, they mainly evoke the enemy as individuals who identify with a nation state that does not endorse or comply with international rules. They enact a change in the hierarchy of scale, whereby individuals detach themselves from organising the 'national' as hierarchically superior to the international.

Pain would also argue that this is not so much a top-down effect but a contiguous relationship across scales. The Open Day visitors themselves, in the sense they struggle to manage fear through doing peace and justice in their own lives, anticipate and enact the macro-scale solution. This is described further in Chapter Six.

Through question and answer sessions, the professionals and visitors shared not only outrage but their frustrations with dealing with people who asserted their nationhood. The *problem* for the ICTY, for example, was that in the region "*Mladic and* Karadzic are still revered as national heroes" (Chief Prosecutor, ICTY Q&A, autoethnographic observation) and a quirky *problem* at the OPCW, one demonstrator explained was that

"You have to stick a fax machine rather than a laptop into a satellite receiver to prevent communications abuse because some states are paranoid about the equipment used to detect chemical weapons." (Scientist, OPCW, autoethnographic observation, September 2011)

Whilst 'international' as abstracted treaties and conventions were 'inside' elements of peace and justice, 'nations' and their problematic behaviour were external threats to progress. However, slightly victoriously, and rallied by the show of interest on Open Day, which he attributed partly to the current, high level of judicial activity at the ICTY, the Chief Prosecutor remarked "Politicians have no choice but to support us now." (Chief Prosecutor, ICTY Q&A, autoethnographic observation, September 2011)

The autoethnographic description in the box above also illustrates how visitors like the researcher, posing 'problematic' questions (i.e. about the value of criminal justice, or the role of politics) produced emotional and affective behavior in practitioners or other participants, as if they themselves were on the edge of the practice. In short, this was a practice that produced meanings, emotions and intentions around an imagined 'polity' that was 'international,' based on universal rights and wrongs and imagined shared territory and practices of peace and justice, instead of one characterized by sovereignty and maintenance of the current interstate system. This reflects as Pratt (2012:182) suggests, a "practice-affect-emotion cycle", whereby every now and then, it is possible to represent and recognise emotion in ourselves and others, contributing to a shared understanding, which gives rise to discourse and the possibility of new practices.

5.5) Conclusion

In conclusion to the chapter, the analysis of the exteriors, interiors and practices of the built environment has done much to reveal how much work is involved in maintaining 'the continuous disappearing act' that is produced by and creates 'international-as-neutral'. Symbolic representations and embodied practices connect people affectively and emotionally to the built environment in a way that organises *international as* 'neutral', linked to peace and justice, where only specific individuals pose threats and require action. Nevertheless they are simultaneously 'wrong-footed' due to the co-production of *an international* that encompasses states engaging in the geopolitical security of liberal democracy. Chapter Six further explores this relationship further, suggesting that they reinforce each other rather than act in opposition, both contributing to a geopolitical system based on liberal peace, yet always leaving space for emergent practices and communities and their influence.

The discovery of 'international-as-neutral' and its geopolitical impact, is a result of considering the data through the lens of the geography of architecture. It highlights the role of exteriors, interiors and practices in the continuous negotiation and

organisation of scale. It also presents architecture and geopolitics as simultaneously stable and fluid, particularly through the medium of emotion and affect.

In terms of the geography of architecture, the thesis owes a lot to the work of cultural geographers at the turn of the century, who considered how architecture evokes a society based on an owner or architect's values, spatio-temporal, political and economic needs, and deploys features as prescriptive texts. It also applied the view that the architecture, interiors and landscapes of the World Forum Area enacted these things through integrating socio-technological elements, in a way that is constantly creative. Nevertheless, the chapter adds a new theme, in its interrogation of how architecture might express and produce neutrality.

The chapter also took the geography of architecture in a new direction. It considered representations and embodied performance not just in terms of what is *staged as significant, unstaged and insignificant* or *unstaged and significant* but also the subtleties of ***staged 'insignificance'*** by considering how buildings and their impact on societal meaning and relations involves both the emphasis and concealment of symbols and practices. For example, elements such as grass, glass and glazed brick, were deliberately deployed to combine natural, living, open and connected to produce 'international' and 'neutral'. Whilst, specific references to national were deliberately avoided in the Europol photographs to stage the significance of 'European'. This was achieved by the *un*staged significance of stereotypes that one might expect to find and was combined with the building's bombardment of specific representations and practices around peace and justice, which necessitated the concealment of security. To some extent, the concept of staged *in*significance was considered in Chapter Four, in relation to the construction of 'neutrals in the wings' but also in general terms, the concealment of emotions and affects, in spite of their continuous presence.

Finally, in terms of critical geopolitics, this chapter reflects the recent trend in considering the situated body in the construction of geopolitics and scalar entities. It

acknowledges the circulation of diverse practices, emotions and affects and political agents, including those pertaining to law and peace and justice. What this chapter adds is an emphasis on how geopolitics is influenced by architecture, in terms of how its symbols and embodied practice contribute to a powerful scalar imaginary. As it was described in the section on halls and corridors, human resource practices and their corresponding interiors that have the potential to shape a neo-liberal governmentality, that organises the scale of international. The relationship between architecture, neutrality and staging insignificance is also useful when geopolitics itself sometimes appears deliberately immaterial and evasive. As Kuus (2014) describes in terms of 'Europe', it is ambiguous in terms of its actual territorial borders and messy, human relationships - but a certain order becomes evident on the ground, in the offices and neighbourhoods of Brussels. Kuus' meticulous and long-term research is more discursive and practice-oriented than mine, and she focuses specifically on the 'intellectuals' of statecraft. This research data involves a more mixed bunch of human and non-human protagonists but also encounters an 'international' on the ground, which involves inter-relationships between 'typical' people, practices and places assumed to be geopolitical, and some often underplayed creators and outcomes of geopolitics (like buildings).

Finally, looking back at Chapter Four, it can be argued that it is the representations, practices and materiality of The World Forum Area that attracts and integrates a population and place that combines neutrality-as-competence with international-as-neutral. Looking forward to Chapter Six, it is important to consider how these neutralities might interact with ways of *organising* The Hague and The Netherlands, by considering buildings and organisations beyond the World Forum Area and relating it to "The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice."

CHAPTER SIX: NEUTRALITY AS (UN)-ORGANISING THE INTERNATIONAL ZONE

6.1) Introduction

In Chapter 4, the relationship between embodied practices and the microgeographies of the courtroom and courthouse was interrogated, and it was proposed that they were co-produced with neutrality-as-competence. In Chapter 5, it was argued that a certain 'international-as-neutral' was continuously being constructed by and producing the built environment of the World Forum Area. In this chapter, in order to properly question the geopolitical impact of these neutralities, it is important to consider the broader, *organising* processes of their construction and how they relate to The Hague International City of Peace and Justice (The Hague, ICPJ), and its physical counterpart, the International Zone. Thus, not only are the neutralities relating to architecture and emotions and affects considered at the scale of The Hague ICPJ and the Zone, but I also examine how they overlap and relate to the neutralities of The Netherlands and 'international' (criminal) law.

If (geopolitical) organising is to be taken as something processual, where people and practices are the ongoing result of "ordering processes that occur and at the same time, shape a specific social and geographical context" (Muller 2012:386), what might neutrality-as-competence and international-as-neutrality be doing and why do they matter? Are they, for example, along with other interconnected processes, constitutive of 'an organisation'? An 'organisation' is greater than the sum of its parts (Megoran 2006, Muller 2012) because although it is only an ongoing structural *effect* of embodied practices (Mitchell 2006), it is a recognizable entity, that is powerful in attracting other elements to its cause and creating its own order (Law 1994, Muller 2012). It is characterized by one or more aspects, such as membership, hierarchy, rules and supervision (Ahrne and Brunsson 2011) and involves subordinating oneself

to the authority of others. For this reason, in my opinion, geographers should always be on the look out for organisations on-the-make and what they do.

Therefore, in this final analytical chapter "The Hague" is considered not as a city but a continuous, fragile, *organisational effect*, brought about by multiple, evolving, socio-spatial-material practices, representations, and emotions and affects around neutrality. The notions of organising and organisation employed in this chapter broadens out Muller's processual, ANT-inspired approach, by borrowing and blending some traditional and current themes from organisational studies and anthropology as discussed in Chapter 2, namely 'serendipity' and 'neo-governmentality' (especially in relation to the managerial practices of auditing and transparency) (Strathern 2000). These are now considered in terms of the production of peace through neutrality, therefore pushing these disciplines to take account of the geopolitical impact of the scale of organisation (See also Barnett and Finnemore 2004). For these reasons, the chapter brings together organisational anthropology and organisation studies, the critical geopolitics of peace and diplomacy, and critical International Relations (IR) theories of neutrality.

The interrogation of neutrality in this chapter owes a lot to IR theorists who have highlighted how neutrality both challenges and complies with both realist and liberal idealist IR perspectives. They also argue how neutrality, as a social construction, is shaped by historical, spatial and cultural factors (Agius 2006, 2011, Goetschel 2011, Agius and Devine 2011, Dreyer and Jesse, 2014). This chapter extends their work through a more embodied slant. It also considers neutrality through the lens of the new geographies of peace (McConnell, Megoran and Williams 2014) given The Hague is branded as an "International City of Peace and Justice". An important aim in this chapter is to consider if it constitutes 'liberal peace' and the role of neutrality in legitimising and/or challenging this.

Like Chapters four and five, as well as extending analyses of the geographies of neutrality and their relation to peace (and justice), this chapter answers the call for a

more ‘organisational’ and ‘emotional’ critical geopolitics (Pain 2015, Muller 2012), by pushing them closer together. How might geopolitical organising “be preceded and forged by intimate relations” or at least “similar and reciprocal” emotions across scales (Pain 2015:17)? In other words, how might any organising and organisation be geopolitical not because they are inherently ‘international’, ‘national’ or ‘big’ but because those very scales are forged through organising emotions and affects into something coherent?

The chapter is divided into three sections, which reflect in interlocking ways how “The Hague, ICPJ” organises and is organised by The Netherlands and international law. This organising process involves socio-spatial practices, emotions and affects and meanings around neutrality, that connect to those outlined in Chapters Four and Five. Section Two interrogates how research participants conceptualised neutrality as a tool of socio-spatial ‘Dutch’ internal and external, political and economic organisation, geared to survival. Section Three considers how a ‘neutral’ Hague is imagined and felt as a socio-spatial organising process (usually synonymous with law) cut off from its causes and impact. Finally, the last section explains how “The Hague International City of Peace and Justice” and its concurrent neutralities is an organisational effect, a geo-political product with clout, that constructs and is constructed by a unique brand of ‘liberal peace’. The aura of neutrality that surrounds the trials, conferences and international networks of their organisation, conceal the strategies of statecraft and global liberal democracy behind their apparent manifestation of liberal idealism. At the same time, there are always some things that penetrate and escape this porous, organising process and outcomes, to the extent they could potentially change the status quo.

6.2) Organising “The Netherlands”

In this section, I highlight how research participants connected The Hague to neutrality via Dutchness. As the seat of government in The Netherlands, The Hague was constructed as an element of socio-spatial ‘Dutch’ internal and external, cultural

and political organising, geared to national survival. In other words, The Hague's neutrality *was* and/or *is* politically Dutch. Through consideration of a book about organisations in The Hague edited by one of my interviewees, other participants' accounts, and a review of IR academic literature on neutrality, I explore four things. Firstly, I illustrate how The Netherlands' and The Hague's neutrality is regarded as an aspect of Dutch foreign policy that has changed over time from passive to active, and is now entwined with international law. Secondly, I consider how what is constructed as 'Dutch neutrality', might be classified as a strategic kind of powerlessness. Thirdly, I examine the relationship between Dutch foreign policy and interpersonal behaviour and embodied practices. Fourthly, I link this to Zelletin's hands-off and hands-on neutrality and explore how this might relate to 'liberal peace' (Richmond 2011), a way in which current, geopolitical behaviour between states is explained and justified. Ultimately, the idea that the connection between The Hague and neutrality is about the 'survival' of something 'small' in relation to bigger, more malevolent fish, is scrutinised, and its actual power revealed across scales.

6.2.1) Changing Dutch neutrality

In a research interview, a participant, a lawyer and an author, currently working for the Ministry of Interior, emphasised how The Hague and international law were tied up with Dutch neutrality, recounting his view that is published in the book he co-edited, "The Hague: Legal Capital of the World". Van Krieken and McKay's (2005) portrayal of Dutch history since 1830 tells the story of a wavering buffer state, whose neutrality was constantly challenged in times of conflict, by geography and trade, for the following hundred years. Although its "*neutrality and insignificance*" are seen as relevant in its selection for the Peace Conferences (Eyffinger 2003:16) Dutch neutrality at the turn of the last century and after World War One, is not necessarily characterized by a will to establish "good offices", like its European counterpart, Switzerland (Agius 2006). Good offices denotes the provision of a diplomatic location with expertise in mediation, deemed to be morally good and unselfish (Agius and Devine 2011). The Netherlands did not actively compete to house the League of

Nations, and was unwilling to hand over those who might now be perceived as war criminals, to the allied forces in 1918. However, it did haphazardly pursue the organisation of international law in The Hague, which after Hitler's invasion and surrender of The Netherlands, led to a more vigorous involvement (where possible) in upholding the principles of Article 33[19] of the United Nations Charter. Since the end of the Cold War, where conflict transpires as much within as between nation states, this engagement has gained such momentum that The Hague now manages

"not only the peaceful settlement of disputes but also accountability for individual offenders. And that will bring the city full circle, from refusing to surrender the Kaiser to putting persons much like him on trial" (van Krieken and Mackay in van Krieken and Mackay 2005: 28)

In short, Dutch neutrality has supposedly shifted from a passive neutrality with negative connotations to an active, more positive kind of neutrality over a century, in the sense that it now provides good offices in various forms of international law. Van Krieken's portrayal of a moral shift echoes discourses about the national character of neutrality, and how neutrals have and continue to offer the potential for peace (Goestschel 2011) even though The Netherlands is no longer considered a neutral country.

Before more research data is investigated, one way to interpret this shift in Dutch foreign policy, is to employ new nuanced and complex ideas about neutrality in International Relations theory. In the past, in a rather limited way, neutrality was associated with *either* a) an aloof, delicate and immoral stance in reaction to warring parties *or* b) an irrelevant, unnecessary position, as war does not occur in a peaceful world underpinned by universal (liberal) values (Agius 2006). The former (realism) may well account for the construction of Dutch neutrality within the world system, before and during WW1. During the period 1918-1939, where relations between sovereign states were characterized by the pursuit (albeit uneven) of the latter (idealism), it could be argued that Dutch foreign policy wavered between both realist

[19] Article 33 states that parties in dispute that threaten the international peace and security must seek a solution such as negotiation or judicial settlement. If they do not, the Security Council has the power to impose one.

and idealist approaches to neutrality. This is because in practice Kantian liberal idealism mediated by international organisations at the time, was widely assumed by neutral states to be a stick employed by major powers to preserve their power and the status quo, rather than develop a new form of relationship between sovereign states that negated neutrality (Agius 2006).

In the decades after 1945, during the bipolar relations of the Cold War, with the UN on the back burner, it was difficult to conceive of The Netherlands as a neutral state, as a member of NATO. During this time, as the threat of nuclear war meant that states were not acting purely selfishly, realism became neo-realism (ibid). In the 'new' era of globalisation and continuing confusion over the meaning and practice of 'sovereignty', IR theorists ponder over the demise of realism and its aberration 'neutrality'. However, many of them argue neutrality does appear to persist and mutate, country by country, in relation to the changing nature of global conflict, the development of the EU, and international organisations (Agius and Devine 2011, Agius 2011). IR theorists now employ liberal peace theory to explain a world system, in which international organisations 'help' lagging states catch up through peacekeeping, and various economic and political tools. It involves producing civil behaviour through democratic norms and laws and a global free market economy (Richmond 2011, Williams and McConnell 2011). The question is where does neutrality fit with this and how does it relate to The Netherlands and The Hague?

There is limited investigation about The Netherlands' neutrality in the 21st century, perhaps because scholars think it is no longer neutral in relation to its history, and because the country is part of a militaristic alliance between sovereign states. Neutrality itself is also a largely ignored topic in IR, as the military non-alignment of European states outside NATO is often regarded as a stepping stone to full participation in the securitization of democracy (Agius 2011). Thus neutrality becomes irrelevant to a world system classified in terms of liberal peace. Only a few argue that this view is too state-centric relating foreign policy only to external factors, and that neutrality deserves more attention than ever. They suggest supra-state and sub-state

agency must be considered, paying attention to the crafting of neutral identities, and what the specificity of normative neutralities, have to offer international relations (Agius 2011, Goestschel 2011). For this reason, it is important to critically analyse how The Netherlands and neutrality might be co-produced. The IR neutrality theorists rely on narrative approaches and critical discourse analysis. Considering the topic from the discipline of geography adds two important dimensions. Firstly, considering neutrality or neutralities from a critical geopolitics of peace, provides a more affective, emotional and embodied perspective. Secondly, it highlights the role of space, place and scale. Geographers of peace, consider how "liberal peace is perceived, implemented and legitimated?" (Williams, Megoran and McConnell 2014: 10) This chapter considers the role of 'Dutch' neutrality and its relationship with liberal peace. Does it, as a unique post-neutral concoction, like the hopeful IR neutrality theorists suggest, offer a different route to the security processes of liberal peace, or is it amongst other things, a key driver?

6.2.2) Dutch neutrality – A strategic kind of powerlessness

To start with, like the IR theorists, I explore how people understood neutrality in relation to world systems. In terms of my data, many participants did not associate The Netherlands with neutrality, for the reasons above, or because of its colonial past. However, there was still a strong sense amongst participants that The Hague and The Netherlands' engagement with international law was different from that of a 'great power' and that this related to neutrality. Again there was a sense that neutrality involved *staging the insignificance* of something.

"I think a major plank of that for The Hague is this underlying idea of neutrality. You know, you're not establishing this in China, or the US or Russia or one of the great powers, as someone who can or will try to influence the proceedings." (Joe, interview, October 2011)

Joe also argued that Dutch foreign policy could be 'practical' in the sense that a "*smaller nation state*" has an interest in adopting "*neutrality,*" and making

international law work. In fact, he suggests a symbiotic relationship with the ICTY and The Netherlands.

"I think that from what I've seen, living here, and what I've read about the Dutch and the history of The Hague… The Hague is the centre of international diplomacy on international law issues, how do I say, that I think that there's a practicality underlining the notion of neutrality. In that, it is better and easier to get along as a smaller nation state, if one is viewed as neutral and as an arbitrator or someone you can turn to no matter which side you are on, as opposed to a country with a group of people have a particular viewpoint on how things turn out….

So having the Dutch as a strong proponent of ensuring the ICTY is successful has made a big difference. The ICTY has no enforcement power or authority. No international, no ICTY police, no ICTY jail, no ICTY aspects of sovereignty to actually make someone doing something. So I mean frankly the judges cannot issue arrest warrants or things like that so it can be some country, through help from the Dutch that actually executes it and gets these people from wherever they are from back here …" (Joe, interview, October 2011)

Joe's quotes imply how neutrality, the 'smaller' nation state and organising international law are co-produced. They also illustrate how The Netherlands is perceived to perform neutrality both in realist and idealist ways simultaneously. It provides 'good offices', a third party stage and diplomatic performance for belligerents. Dutch neutrality is therefore staged as 'active' neutrality, unselfish rather than indifferent. It also performs neutrality in an idealist sense, in that it operationalizes an international, overarching authority, in its own interest as a state. This supports notions of neutrality being strategic and morally acceptable (Agius 2006).

In practice, especially with the advent of international criminal law, this is apparently a difficult path to take. In our interview, van Krieken expressed concern that it may come to a point when 'Western' leaders involved in conflicts, would avoid entering the Netherlands, for fear of arrest. Furthermore, the country may not be perceived positively if witnesses, whose lives might be threatened back in their countries of origin, were refused asylum in The Netherlands. In his view, international criminal law had implications for perceived values of active neutrality that underpinned The Netherlands' foreign policy.

The quotes above point to a portrayal of a 'powerless' neutral country, yet one that is instrumental in international organisation and the promotion of liberal idealism. In the following examples about how Mladic came to face trial, I illustrate how The Netherlands is set apart from the rest of the European Union. In 2011, in line with the rules of membership, The Dutch government blocked Serbia's admission to the EU unless it handed over Mladic to the ICTY. From the participants' perspective, this could be interpreted and linked to Dutch neutrality in three ways.

Firstly, it could be an emotional response to how Mladic treated the Dutch-led, UN peacekeeping forces at Srebrenica (See Justine's interview, November 2011, below). The Dutch government insisted it was not and I would argue that to some extent, the perceived emotional neutrality (See Chapter 4) of a liberal democratic state rendered this argument plausible.

Secondly, the Dutch position could be seen as a nation state performing neutrality-as-competence (See Chapter 4), as in adhering to principles.

"Absolutely…of course, I think it was the Commissioner for Enlargement who spoke at the Dutch parliament on this issue and suggested that perhaps the Dutch were being emotional about this issue of full co-operation with the ICTY…and it was understandable because of Srebrenica. And the Dutch reacted really adversely to that suggestion and said - No, it's got nothing to do with that. It's just this is the condition that's been laid down, it's about us sticking with the rules." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

Thirdly, in Joe's quote below, the Dutch are set apart from other European nations that were willing to waiver entry conditions for economic or political advantage. This would be an approach typical of non-neutrals adapting a friend or foe position, from a realist perspective.

"The Netherlands through its advocacy of the ICTY, and its position in the EU, has helped to ensure that the ICTY is more effective by forcing compliance from former Yugoslav states who wish to join the EU and by standing up to other European countries who would be more inclined to see the ICTY be less effective." (Joe, interview, October 2011)

The data suggest that there is something different about The Netherlands, and even though it might not be regarded as a neutral country in legal or militaristic terms, its practices may still be regarded as politically neutral and this is significant. It entails a shift in thinking of neutrality as a weak position to an active and successful organisational strategy, that can change how the relationship between polities are understood and conducted. If a neutral entity, nation state or otherwise, is to survive, its importance must be promoted to the extent that belligerents will suffer the consequences of violating its neutrality (Agius 2006, Neumann, 2013). This may entail 'good offices' (a third party location with mediation skills) a facet of military protection and a formidable mountain range e.g. Switzerland (Goetschel 2014). Importantly, especially in the *absence* of armed protection, a neutral polity must devote considerable effort towards constructing an over-arching and necessary authority over conflicting parties. Therefore, for many of them, liberal idealism *is* the realist strategy and consequently Agius (2006) argues that neutrality straddles realist, neo-realist and idealist perspectives of world systems, and its various forms reflect the elements of the polity that employ it.

As far as the Dutch way is concerned, I argue that in many ways, The Netherlands is still organised and represented as a neutral polity that deploys idealism as a realist strategy. I also point to a connection between idealism and neutrality-as-competence. In other words, The Netherlands protects itself by upholding international authority both through the standardisation of the rule of law, and by its participation (albeit it often described as reluctant) in international military security, in the context of liberal peace (See Chapter Five and downplaying symbols of security). As military security relates to Europe, rather than specifically The Netherlands, it perhaps does not totally contradict being and feeling neutral. Neutrality in its various forms is therefore a key component of organising the Dutch state and indeed beyond.

I am not suggesting that international coherency under a neutrally-competent banner is all down to Dutch agency, though the Mladic example and its insistence that the ICC is permanently located in The Hague, does imply some. I simply argue that neutrality

as a phenomenon in international relations, linked to Dutch identity as a small and principled nation, might actually be, rightly or wrongly (and probably both) very powerful. This is in spite of the suggestion that 'doing' neutral is not easy, which perhaps reflects the co-existence and complexity of multiple neutralities and world systems. Nevertheless, it underlines that neutrality, cast in terms of a small nation, does not imply powerless as it suggests. It is now necessary to consider further what makes 'Dutch' neutrality, and its impact.

6.2.3) Multiscalar and embodied neutrality

Continuing the example of Mladic, it was also intimated that the reaction to Serbia's request to join the EU could be driven by internal emotions and notions of 'Dutchness'. Some thought it might be the opposite of neutral, an (understandable) bias and (realist) attack on Serbia, given that Dutch-led UN peacekeepers at Srebrenica were unable to prevent the massacre, and therefore 'must' feel guilty. Justine, however, supposed the reaction could be cultural, using interpersonal behaviour in The Hague to enhance the argument that neutrality might infuse Dutch foreign policy because of an inherent rule-oriented, principled behaviour.

"And that's a part of it too, this very rule-based tut, tut, tut mentality which you know that if you park for 5 seconds in a disabled space, someone will ride by …And 'it's on the street' if you are just riding randomly through the woods like I do and I'm forever getting people shaking their head at me and I'm like 'What?' 'What have I done?' Or how you queue, there are all these unfathomable rules about how you have to queue and I always get it wrong. But I think these cultural factors really did feed in to the stance the Dutch took on Serbia's integration into the EU." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

This suggests a consistency across what happens interpersonally in a public place and elite political negotiations. However, it could be messier than that. Another participant saw neutrality, Dutch culture and foreign policy linked in an entirely different way, from perceived apathy towards the mistreatment of Jews in The Netherlands in WW2, to bystander behaviour at Srebrenica, and again to interpersonal behaviour in public and private places.

"And then you've got this thing now, which is the 21st century variant of that, which is Srebrenica - the collective national guilt of that. It's incredibly sensitive but they don't resolve it. ……And you know, for some reason, it goes into the psyche of the people. Maybe it's because I was brought up in X, and whatever we say, the X are a fighting nation and… When you see someone being attacked on the tram, and there's three or four people on one person or even a women and people stand by, that happens. ''Don't be involved, it's nothing to do with me'' (Chris, interview, October 2011)

Although Chris's argument, is in stark contrast to Justine's, "tutting" is evident in both examples, like an embodied practice that could be interpreted as either a direct attempt to force compliance or an indirect expression of disapproval at rule-breaking.

"And there's also this thing, the problem, why it's got to this degree, there is this tolerance but it's not tolerated, it's just not said….it's never said out on the street. So it's quiet or it's like I say, the tutting." (Chris, interview, October 2011)

Christine Agius' arguments based on meticulous analysis of Sweden, charts the role of beliefs, values, narratives and domestic politics in the formulation of its very own specific brand of neutrality. Her emphasis on "endogenous" drivers of neutrality interwoven with "exogenous" factors is very helpful in understanding neutrality as a process and marks a trend in considering neutrality and identity. Partially quoting Wendt (1999) on anarchy she argues, "Neutrality is 'what states make of it', and thus becomes embedded in ideas of self and subjectivity" (Agius 2006, 2011). What this research adds is an emphasis on ambiguity in the cultural interpretation of neutrality and more embodied, emotional and affective processes at work. This has also been illustrated with regard to material elements of security and architecture in the international zone in The Hague in Chapter 5.

It is here helpful to consider the meshing of scales, bodies, emotions and geopolitics (Pain 2015, Sharp 2011, Laliberte 2014). For Pain 2015, the geopolitics of security, war and violence are not happening somewhere else at another scale. They are as much the product of intimate relations between human beings (and their emotional potency), as they are the product of nation state diplomacy. This research suggests

that neutrality may be interrogated in the same way. Pain suggests military tactics such as shock and awe, just war and collateral damage are the same in domestic violence and explains this through "mirroring" rather than a causal pattern (Pain 2015:71). This data suggests that interpersonal behaviour between strangers in the street reflect or produce notions of neutrality linked to both realism and liberal idealism, and both active and passive versions.

In Justine's example, she is confronted with people, often emotionally-charged, representing and willing to defend the overarching authority of (unfathomable) universal rules. Her language, including non-verbal, suggests she sees this behaviour as passive-aggressive but it could equally be interpreted as assertive. Either way, it partially reflects notions of liberal idealism and an overarching authority.

In Chris's quote, he observes individuals, devoid of explicit emotion or action, in the presence of a violent attack on a defenceless victim. Whether this is emotional containment in an act of self-preservation and/or the management of emotion by a "neutrally-competent" individual (see Chapter 3), or both, is unknown. In any case, it echoes a very passive neutrality, associated with traditional realism. Chris, by his tone, is clearly questioning of the morality involved but this is not generalizable. In both Justine and Chris's cases, Pain might argue they are cases of "mirroring" and that the "geopolitical is preceded and forged by intimate relations" …" similar and reciprocal" sometimes directly connected, others characterized by "fragilities and discontinuities" (2015:71).

Pain's (2015) work might answer how neutrality and scales are intertwined and reflect both passive and active neutrality. It also raises the question as to a link between a cultural emphasis on rules and 'law' as an important facet of 'Dutch' neutrality. It does not, however address the contradictory nature of 'Dutch' neutrality, given it can be constructed in terms of aloof, immoral and non-partisan *and* highly principled behaviour. It questions the coherence of 'Dutch' neutrality and also the linear, historical narrative of neutrality moving from passive to active. Agius (2006 and 2011)

might frame this as a discursive battle. Competing and eventually winning ways of conceptualising and organising domestic and foreign policy, informed by and impacting on how individuals perceive themselves and others, redefine neutralities and their national and international contexts. This may even imply 'post-neutral' (Agius 2011, Agius and Devine, 2011).

However, I also consider neutrality from a philosophical angle as well as an IR perspective. Zelletin (2009) argues that neutrality has contradictory hands-off and hands-on elements that are context-dependent. Hands-off implies a necessary distance whilst hands-on suggest crucial intervention for the maintenance of order. For her, neutrality is about a system of (state) governance that allows individuals to pursue their own version of the 'good' life as long as it does not impinge on others' entitlement to do the same. Crucially, this suggests managing a balance between getting involved and not getting involved.

What this research and its embodied approach illustrate is that both hands-off and hands-on neutrality are operating through individual, national and international scales. However, it also illustrates a very nuanced understanding of hands-on and hands-off, with a complex play on absence and presence. For example, tutting implies forcing compliance whilst remaining hands-off, in the same way The Netherlands does not directly force Serbia's obedience on the Mladic issue. Linking the data from this research and Pain's work, it suggests more needs to be done on the role of passive aggression across geopolitics. It also suggests the need to consider the idea of everyday bystander apathy, and its relationship with peace and violence, alluded to by Zizek (2009) described in the introduction to this thesis.

Zelletin's (2009) work not only illustrates the double-sidedness of neutrality, but it presents a problem that is fundamental to liberal idealism as a strategy for creating world order, and the possibility of universal neutrality-as-competence. The problem is that conceptualising what is good depends on defining what is right and vice-versa, and this is tied up with values such as individual autonomy, sovereignty and other

elements associated with 'liberalism'. If it is what Zelletin suggests, neutrality is a catch 22, which creates uneven power relations. This is because it produces a world system in the image of a liberal nation, *not* one that is based on universal core values.

This has implications for the whole of this section and is probably best understood in terms of an organising process across scales. Neutrality as a realist strategy based on idealism appears to organise and safeguard the individual, a nation state and international system. Passive (hands off) to active (hands on) neutrality is not state-centric or linear but multiscalar, socio-spatial, complex and contextual. Neutrality is double-sided allowing the most contradictory behaviour to cohere and identities to hold. However, such a strategy in practice involves the institutionalization of liberal peace and the securitization of democracy across territory.

As a never-ending organisational process, the strategy of idealism relies on places and communities, constructed as 'smaller' and relatively powerless and unselfish, to create a system of international order based on universal laws and rules of interpersonal behaviour. The continuous and multiple embodied enactments of 'Dutch neutrality' help allow this to happen.

The Netherlands' foreign policy and interpersonal, national and international practices, emotions and affects on the ground, vacillate between a place and people of strong principle and indifference. Whether The Netherlands is a "neutral" state is highly contested, but an emphasis on 'small' distracts the viewer from the powerful geopolitical agency of the socio-spatial 'neutral' practices, meanings, emotions and affects that enable the proliferation of international space, community and law to *take place* on its soil. I am not arguing this is therefore a bad thing but it does tend to subjugate the structural hierarchy and violence this process might entail as an element of liberal peace-making.

6.3) Organising 'international law'

So far, I have considered how The Hague might be constructed as neutral through its connection to the process of organising the Dutch state, internally and externally. This, in turn preserves the sovereign state system through enacting an overarching authority that forces compliance. I now consider how the enactment of Dutch neutrality is enabled by and produces, a related socio-spatial organising process that leads to The Hague being imagined and felt as neutral. The Hague's neutrality is constructed in multiple, cross-cutting ways. Firstly, it is experienced as an absence of specific things and practices except those related to law. The Hague is constructed as 'somewhere else,' almost an abstract place. Secondly, and somewhat a contradiction, it is a bounded place, where people come from *outside* to create (legal) order and importantly, its materiality and community is perceived as cut off. Thirdly, this ordering process invokes the potent emotions and affects of specific architecture and visionary professionals. Yet, it also could be serendipitous.

6.3.1) The Hague as 'somewhere else'

This Hague as a city is often represented as neutral in the sense it is a non-entity. Van Krieken, research participant, international lawyer and co-editor of "The Hague: Legal Capital of The World", draws attention to what The Hague *doesn't* have, for example, a trade or university, and explains how The Hague has long borne the reputation of a 'village' with nothing going on, emphasised by the absence of city walls[20] to defend itself. Many other participants also testified to a place with palpable sense of 'dryness' *e.g.* "I guess you don't get a strong energy one way or another. It's almost like I'd say it's a little bland." (Lee, interview, June 2012)

Its early existence is sometimes attributed to its role in *being somewhere else*, where power struggles between city states, such as Amsterdam and Dordrecht could be solved (van Krieken and McKay 2005). The thirteenth century building, the Ridderzaal

[20] City without walls

is cited as an original meeting place of The Hague for working through problems (ibid). Even though new buildings in its vicinity, namely The Binnenhof (or Parliament) have germinated since The Hague became The Netherlands' seat of government in 1588, the city is still represented as a place for dealing with issues with effects elsewhere. One interviewee who lived in The Netherlands during her early career as a foreign, political journalist, emphasised the idea that consequences happen elsewhere.

"You don't look at where law's made, you look at the consequences… Euthanasia…You don't come to The Hague because the terminal patients are in Amsterdam, this applies to everything, drugs." (Frances, interview, February 2012)

Again, this is reiterated by other participants' descriptions of The Hague as "bureaucratic" and "residential", with a border around the places, practices and people concerned with maintaining order. It ties in with the idea of a population that is neutrally-competent (See Chapter 4).

Low key throughout its history, The Hague's sense of being *somewhere else*, ultimately attracted troubled visitors from beyond The Netherlands (Eyffinger 2003). The Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1906, were purportedly instigated by a Russian Czar's financial problems, leading him to promote peace not war. The conferences' main protagonists are depicted as international lawyers, with cosmopolitan pacifists and foreign diplomats tapping into their know-how to figure out a new management tool for global order (ibid). This role has been intermittently reiterated over the last hundred years and this is elaborated in 6.3.2 and 6.3.3.

So as well as being *somewhere else*, The Hague has become *recognised in itself* as a tool for managing order, with implications near and far. However, The Hague here is not a city as such, but part of an organising process of mediation and legal practices, enacted by 'outsiders', confined to specific architecture and professionals, some of which are 'visionary' and arguably passionate.

This suggests a 'neutral' polity with a realist strategy involving the promotion of idealism, that organises both national and international entities. It is constructed by

being ‘somewhere else’ or outside conflict, in the traditional, realist, third party sense, providing ‘good offices’, where opposing parties can sort out their differences. Concomitantly, it is a place of intricate craftsmanship, performed by legal practices and mediators, driven by a particular, idealist liberal philosophy. Together they suggest neutral work by abstract people in an abstract place creating abstract peace by pro-actively creating and applying knowledge.

6.3.2) The Hague as an epistemic community and geography

These elements (The Hague and neutrality) are co-produced as they continuously emerge from and create a growing expertise in international law. Thus the place, people and practice of ‘somewhere else’ are recognised as an ‘epistemic community’ and geography. This reflects

“Haas’s (1992) ‘epistemic communities’ model of science-policy translation, whereby communities of experts united by shared cognitive and normative commitments diffuse knowledge to relevant political communities in anticipation of a legislative response.” (Craggs and Mahoney, 2014:18)

This is partly through a sense of centrality and belonging, felt by practising legal professionals today, e.g.

“In terms of being in The Hague working, it’s been professionally good because it is the centre of international criminal law with the ICC being here, seeing the Lebanon tribunal being established, the Sierra Leone appeals chamber and the ICTR….and there’s a lots of social mixing back and forth, and it’s like X, where the top offices are, and that’s where things get done, and you can get involved in meeting decision makers, and similarly here, the main players are here….and lots of people come here… visiting law school groups, and there are a lot of academic conferences” (Joe, interview, October 2011)

It is also part of a well-rehearsed legal, historical narrative. The Hague has an ‘international’ legal trajectory dating back to sixteenth century Hugo Grotius, Tobias Asser and the Peace Conferences, to its material legacy in The Peace Palace (built in 1913 by a Scottish philanthropist), and the establishment of the ICJ (International Court of Justice) and PCA (Permanent Court of Arbitration). Since the hiccough of the

Cold War, when The Hague soldiered on simply maintaining its library (van der Wusten 2005) and some academic courses in international law, it is now back in the business of creating and practising it. The Hague has revived its voluntary, arbitrational role in conflict between states, and implemented international *criminal* law. This was explained in the introduction.

Lawyers are central to this legal, historical narrative, which accentuates The Hague, yet as it has been described in Chapters four and five, neutrality-as-competence and international-as-neutral constructs them as a rather contradictory blend of other-worldly outsiders and ordinary legal professionals, rather than political masterminds. This also applies to Dutchmen. Grotius (as his title gives away) is known to the profession for being part of a group of legal philosophers communicating in Latin, figuring out modernity. He is purportedly only known to present-day Dutch children as Hugo de Groot, famous for a bookcase jail-break, rather than the brains behind seventeenth century international maritime law or rules of war. Asser is similarly unknown in The Netherlands and he is only represented as part of an international professional network. He is cited as both a key instigator of The Peace Conferences and international humanitarian law, who just happened to know a lawyer working for the Czar. These images of international lawyers represented in talks and videos at centenary celebrations at The Peace Palace in 2009 and 2011 as insignificant people modern Dutch youth wouldn't have heard of, both reinforce their connection *to* and distance *from* The Hague, constructing The Hague as cut off and created by 'outsiders' and 'professionals'. This distance is also reflected in current practical terms, as according to one participant at the ICTY (Chris, interview, October 2011), international criminal lawyers of Dutch nationality, are not considered as Dutch nationals, as far as their terms and conditions are concerned. Just like international lawyers and peace and justice professionals, they and their practices are regarded as external to Dutch politics, yet intrinsic to The Hague. The Hague's international and otherworldliness is underscored by legal competence and the construction of 'neutral principal characters', outlined in Chapter Four.

The visionary, international, professional outsider can be both human and non-human. The built environment also explains and induces The Hague's organisation and its linear, legal narrative. This ties in with the co-production of architecture and international-as-neutral in Chapter Five. The interview and observational data suggests that The Hague's development as a centre of expertise in international law is usually and vaguely, attributed to three words: "The Peace Palace" (Figure, 6.1). It is so fixed in the collective memory of The Hague, that the words are expressed without elaboration, as if the continuity of the material element of international law since 1913, is sufficient to explain the proliferation of peace and justice organisations in the city in the twenty-first century. This is in spite of, or perhaps because of (as discussed later in the next section) the building's changing and often almost ruinous material conditions (van der Wusten 2005) and the presence and absence of its practices over time and their associated meanings.

The Hague's legal narrative perhaps echoes Agius's (2006) point that national identity and 'Dutch neutrality' are co-produced, and suggests it incorporates realist and idealist, passive and active neutralities, concurrently. It also echoes (Decker 2014) emphasis on architecture's role in collective memory and identity, perhaps challenging the focus in some non-representational geographies on the here and now. However, some literature focusing on the buildings *external* reach beyond city dwellers, Dutch citizens and lawyers, has raised concern that the building is not iconic *enough* for The Hague in the current era (van der Wusten, 2005) or that The Hague is depicted more by the interiors of courtrooms than through architecture (Deutinger et al, undated). This emphasises the stability, fluidity and multiplicity of architectural forms and geopolitical imaginations[21].

[21] For more drawings, photographs and original designs of The Peace Palace, see Eyffinger 2003.

Figure 6.1) The Peace Palace, The Hague (Source: Wikimedia Commons, Malis)

Prompted by asking her view on a lawyer's comment[22] in 1881, that if international law was going to work it would have to be conducted in a non-sovereign territory carved out of somewhere like Switzerland, one participant made the following comments about The International Court of Justice (The Peace Palace).

"(Laughing) I remember when I first heard about The Hague... I imagined it as a sort of walled area. I didn't even realise it was just a town, I thought it was the ICJ (International Court of Justice/Peace Palace) with some kind of walled precinct. In my mind that was what it was. Course then I realised there was a lot more to The Hague. This was when I was a student. I never heard of it before I studied international law and learnt about the ICJ. I just remember that image (of the Peace Palace), it popped into my mind as some kind of separate territory... I wonder if that does have anything to do with neutrality then, our imagination. I think so and I think that's why the ICJ has still been the dominant reference point. We haven't worked from that building apart from the very early days." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

[22] See Blokker in van Krieken and Mackay (2005:61)

The Hague and its practices are also not imagined as spilling out from the Peace Palace or more recently the 'international zone' and their neighbourhoods into the city or country proper. Participants used terms like "expats" "bubble", "parachuted in" "island" and "cut off from the urban fabric" to describe where they worked, which also accentuated their cohesion within. The implication is that these 'expats' do not occupy or influence the physical environment or 'local' citizens in any permanent fashion. This has the dual effect of constructing 'the expats' as isolated and uninfluenced by the city and nation in which they are located. One participant married to a Dutch national, living in The Hague and working in international criminal law described how it was like inhabiting two separate worlds.

The ideas in this section suggest that a bounded, epistemic community and geography of international law, is co-produced with neutrality and The Hague. This is the achievement of geopolitical performances of being 'somewhere else', peopled by 'outsiders', and the above-mentioned peace conferences and architecture, that enact an overarching authority over national sovereignty. In a sense, they perform a multiscalar and "more-than-human diplomacy" (Dittmer, 2016:82) of liberal idealism, where the sixteenth century overlaps the present day.

Craggs and Mahony (2014) consider epistemic communities and their macro- and micro-geographies and specifically highlight the role of conferences. Conferences to them are not "waypoints on the conveyor belt of global knowledge diffusion between distinct epistemic communities" (2014:419) e.g. between scientists and politicians at the Copenhagen conference on climate change in 2009 (Mahoney 2013). Instead, they are sites through which epistemic knowledge is molded by political imperatives and vice-versa, that often tie into staged geopolitical performances of connecting policy making and groundbreaking research and knowledge. They also describe the inter-relationship between location and conference outcomes, and the long-term impact of conferences on the built environment.

There was no opportunity to interrogate The Hague Peace Conferences in this research project. However, these ideas are useful in the sense that they help clarify how 'The Hague as 'somewhere else', a conference and buildings full of lawyers, continuously reiterate neutrality and a diplomatic site (Neumann 2013), and at the same time change the material infrastructure of the city. The Hague performs and is constructed as a place of international law, that informs rather than *does* politics, and without a territory of its own, enacts international, yet not as a polity.

Critical legal scholars such as Koller (2012) bemoan the limits of conceptualizing the development of international law in terms of their abstracted spatial origins and linear, historical trajectories, that culminate in a positive sense of right or justice. They also interrogate the more realist framing of international law as a balancing process. This involves swinging like a pendulum between distinct entities such as peace versus justice, community versus autonomy, law versus politics, performing them as two sides of the same coin, such that international law cannot entertain solutions beyond itself, to solve any problems that it produces. Instead, Koller argues for a "rhizomatic anti-history of international law" that recognises and embraces its porous boundaries and considers it as "terrain on which to read the development of ideas about identity, geography and entitlement" (Kennedy 1999:101 in Koller 2012:116). Considering The Hague as a site of international law, through which neutralities are enacted and contested in multiple, embodied ways offers new insights into the messy organising processes of international law, but also highlights how some neutralities enable a performance of its unity.

6.3.3) Visionary professionals

Such an honourable site of neutrality, legal competence and international 'outsiders' (buildings and professionals) is not simply an evolution of developing expertise and meanings, and vice-versa, it is heavily entwined with emotion and affect, for example,

"I was so inspired by international law, hearing about the International Court of Justice in The Hague, it just had a symbolic value in my mind that was really important, and

really inspiring and I think it feeds into the way I feel about being here and the work that I do. …. And as an intern, I remember riding past the ICJ (Peace Palace) and just continuously thinking - Wow, I can't believe I am here. For me that was really big." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

Many interviewees described specific academic professors or judges in their early careers as *'visionaries'*, *'role models'* and *'trailblazers'* (quotes from interviews). In other words, emotion and affect were entwined with the personality traits of particular individuals. Emotionally connected in anticipation of a space and time, where global order is achieved through an appeal to shared core values, both the mentors they spoke of and participants themselves, were self-critical and humble as practitioners and academics, yet prepared to reprimand nations and their leaders[23]. The 'visionaries' are present at conferences, in journals, and in the field, criticising the UN, hammering the doors of Sudanese jails and demanding justice on Kosovo's borders. Whilst neutrally competent in the courthouse, they are emotional about defending a worldview that consists of individuals protected and disciplined by international criminal law. One prominent lawyer was described in the following way:

"He criticised one prosecutor, after he left, for not investigating NATO bombings of Former Yugoslavia so in this sense he was neutral. He was famous for standing up to the Russian Ambassador who pushed him not to go after Mladic and Karadzic. He is showing emotionally the neutrality of the institution. It's not neutral of course, as the job of a tribunal is to investigate and prosecute certain crimes but it's not prejudging the people, ***it doesn't affect neutrality whether you use emotion to get the world to understand why you are doing certain things****."* (Gregor, interview, February 2012)(My emphasis)

After his untimely death, the same respected judge was described in the following way in a recording I saw of his memorial service. "His intellectual rigour and humility are a combination that set him apart as a leader and a visionary" and "an enlightened mind, a courageous man, and a valuable beacon" (ethnographic observation) To underline his respect for the same person, one participant discussed a magazine

[23] Without the same impact but clearly sharing the sentiment, participants criticised obstructive nations, as described in Chapter 5.

article about the judge, that suggested he was like the Dutch Golden Age artist, Vermeer "inventing, a zone filled with peace, a small room, an intimate vision . . . and then breathing it out." (Weschler, 1995 in The New Yorker)

The influence of certain lawyers has been studied academically, highlighting their charisma as a social phenomenon (Hagan 2003). But how these emotions and affects relate to The Hague as a diplomatic site requires attention. A steely resolve to end impunity for war crimes and angry resistance to nation state power relations, and their negative influence on the functioning of international criminal law, constructs The Hague as *somewhere else,* and specific judges and chief prosecutors as 'peace' activists, whose emotive and affective behaviour, coupled with their expertise, fuels Kantian idealism. In this way, both protégés and pre-novices (those that endorse the practices even if they don't actively participate. See Yanow 2013) are drawn into the legal organising of The Hague. In other words, it is the emotions and affects that reconnect the cut off Hague and its socio-spatial environment.

These emotions and affects are also indicative of the catch 22 of neutrality and possibly the fragility of The Hague, in that it is *im*possible to be neutral about neutrality as a liberal value (Zelletin 2009). Koller (2012) argues that international lawyers play down the morality of their trade as it sails too close to subjectivity. This is supported by the neutrality-as-competence of the profession, outlined in Chapter Four. However, there appears to be more to the scalar organising of the nation state system, than the performance of emotional control and the 'neutral principal character'. It must also rely on the performance of good people, or van Ittersum's (2009) "saints", who produce the necessary emotions and affects to draw people in.

Of course, not all legal professionals have the positive and wide-reaching appeal of the 'saints', which is why when they come along their importance requires staging. Organising The Hague and international law therefore involves not only the performance of 'neutral principal characters' and the notion of 'somewhere else' but the circulation of goodness through people. Again this suggests multiscalar emotions

and affects in geopolitics, in this case organising a place, people and practice that are created by and co-produce a specific version of 'intellectuals of statecraft' (Kuus 2012, 2014).

6.3.4) Serendipity

In spite of a clear linear and spatial narrative, The Hague and organising international law also appears somewhat serendipitous. This is implied both through the academic literature and participant interviews. For example, (van der Wusten, 2005: 253), emphasises historical 'contingencies' in The Hague's role in international justice, including the decision to upkeep the Peace Palace itself. "International judicial affairs are not the consequence of political ambition, but the outcome of a number of contingencies" (van Der Wusten, 2005:253). Therefore, the successful organising of The Hague's expertise and its corresponding built environment does not appear to have progressed neatly and logically *within* the narrative. There is a sense of disjointedness, surprise and destiny that suggestion *serendipity* as much as organising. So in spite of the possibility that neutrality is deliberately or inadvertently strategic, it appears to emerge in an *un*organized way.

For example, instead of building blocks over time in a specific location, there is an apparent disjointedness between the legal organisations. As an instigator of international *criminal* law, the ICTY is regarded as quite operationally distinct from is its fellow UN organisation, the International Court of Justice (ICJ). It is also purportedly different in its systems and processes to its non-UN successor, the International Criminal Court (ICC). Although there was job-swapping between institutions, one participant emphasised that her skills in prosecution, were not transferable to the ICJ or Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA). Some ICTY lawyers were also skeptical about a job move to the ICC and equally, the ICC was skeptical about employing them, as it espoused an approach deliberately set apart from the ICTY. So whilst there may have been some commonalties in terms of headquarters agreements, that is the relationships between the organisations and The Dutch government, one cannot

assume close co-operation between them in terms of practice. Along with this emphasis on the disconnection, there was also considerable surprise that international *criminal* law was actually happening at all. Surprise at success was based on participants' perception of international criminal law's 'youthfulness' in relation to other forms of law. It was twenty years old as opposed to centuries. One participant, considering a career in the field of international criminal law in the early 1990s was told s/he was 'ridiculous' unless s/he wanted to be an academic. Experienced lawyers also joked that interns knew more about international criminal law than they did.

"And that's been the stunning thing, is to see over the course of not much more than a decade, 15 years certainly, going from the situation where there actually was not a way to practice in ICL to seeing people come from university now with specialisations in this field, you know, when this place was set up, of course, what they did was try and pull people from a whole load of different fields and hope that in combination, we would have the expertise. There was nobody who knew international criminal law. There was people like myself who might know international humanitarian law, criminal lawyers, um we had people who might have come from the military, we had people with diplomatic backgrounds and so the accumulation of them all covered the fields but now people come in themselves with a combination of all those skills so it's quite a dramatic turn." (Justine, interview, November 2011)

There are echoes here of the composition and enthusiasm of Peace Conference delegates over one hundred years ago (Eyffinger 2003). The shock of international criminal law's unprecedented survival is often attributed to the idea that it self-organises without military support, and with only varying levels of advocacy by the governments of nation states. Its persistence is attributed to a mixture of hard work and fortune, in attracting elements over to 'somewhere else' as conveyed by the quotes below.

"ICTY was lucky.. at the beginning there were people who really believed or strived to make it work and it does. Everyone assumed it would fail. 'Against all odds' was actually an ICTY movie title. In contrast, there was an assumption that ICC would work but it doesn't." (Gregor, interview, 2012)

"We know the groups that have influence on the decision-makers because for us to survive, yes it is important that the court is well-known but the main issue is that we don't have an army. So if we had a warrant of arrest, and the person is not arrested in

the country, we cannot work, so for us it's extremely important that the court has credibility, that the court has support, as it is only with them, we get co-operation '……. The important thing is to go and see how it works, we start with the victims', then the level of communities, then the diplomats, then the prosecutors, universities and the NGOS as they are very important, they have so much power in these countries, you can't imagine." (Frances, interview, February 2012)

"I am sure I got to this city by mistake" (An employee explaining that he possibly got his job because his interviewers assumed his knowledge about international law and the break up of a certain country, extended to international criminal law." (Gregor, interview, 2012)

A focus on survival might direct attention away from the consequences of The Hague's practices elsewhere. Ephemeral successes and failures of international law such as WW1, WW2, the Cold War or the current climate in the Balkans have not been fundamentally detrimental to The Hague and neutrality as an organising process, through the elements described as vision, law and 'somewhere elseness'. The varied survival rates of international law's institutions across time and space also do not matter, as The Hague is continuously reiterated. It can therefore be argued that the perceived disjointedness and surprises around The Hague enhance rather than contradict the 'neutrality' of the historical and geographical narratives.

If The Hague is constructed by a neat, linear narrative and at the same time somewhat precarious, how do messy, surprising and organised combine? According to academic research in organisation studies, it is entirely reasonable to argue that organising and organisations are a combination of both "design where practices, meanings and relations are carefully devised by managers and armies of advisers" and "outcomes of innumerable local initiatives, conflicts, compromises and accidents, chance discoveries and unlucky lapses" (Gabriel, Muhr and Linstead 2014:334). It is also suggested that organisations employ both narratives of design and luck to protect their identity and avoid anxiety (Jalan, Sinha and Ulus 2014). Design claims luck can be eradicated whilst luck involves the self-attribution of powerlessness, leaving success and failure to external causes. Furthermore, it is possible these are the producers and creations of wider cultural beliefs, which ties into the construction of 'Dutch neutrality' mentioned earlier in this chapter. The middle way alternative is to give an overall impression of

serendipity (a fortuitous byproduct) or an 'active capability' (de Rond, 2014:342) and it is entirely feasible that this is constitutive of organising The Hague, international law and neutrality.

In this section I have outlined the importance of 'somewhere-elseness', visionary lawyers and architecture, and serendipity in the organising process of international law, The Hague and neutrality. Again, this involves the staged *in*significance (See Chapter Five) of a specific place, practice and professional by cutting them off from the power and self-interest of a bounded polity. Only the 'goodness' of specific architecture and people are staged as significant, producing emotions and affects that recruit others into enacting the universal moral values of idealism, including neutrality itself. This is entirely consistent with a neutral strategy that involves self-preservation in an anarchic system, by promoting an overarching hierarchy. However, given that neutrality isn't universal, the relationship between itself, The Hague and organising international law is a highly sophisticated and political one, where place is key rather than incidental to its performance. The fact that neutralities and world system(s) are organis-ed/ing as much spatially and materially as socially, through a co-production of places, events, practices (Neumann 2013, Dittmer 2016) is explored further in the last section.

6.4) The Hague International City of Peace and Justice (The Hague ICPJ)

The final section of this chapter returns to the World Forum Area to focus on the relationship between neutrality and The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice, as an *organisational effect*. I use the term here to denote the appearance and cementation of an organisational and scalar entity achieved by repeated discourse and embodied practices, that I think is developing agency and power in its own right (Muller 2012, Mitchell 2006, Barnett and Finnemore 2004). I have already suggested that the organising processes of 'Dutchness' and international law, feed such an entity, as do the neutralities of 'competence' and 'international' discussed in the other

chapters. I now discuss other contributions to "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice" as a structural effect.

Firstly, I confirm who, what and where is The Hague ICP, continuing to suggest The Hague ICPJ is an organisational effect borne out of the messy *and* organised processes of creating a 'diplomatic site' (Neumann 2013). Then using the notion of staged significance and insignificance developed in Chapters Four and Five, I highlight additional organisational elements that produce an aura of neutrality based on liberal idealism. Next I examine how "neutral" organisational practices themselves are key to this enactment of neutrality, which both legitimizes and conceals how The Hague ICPJ as an organisational effect with power and agency, enacts liberal peace and imposes international authority. Finally, I give voice to those individual lives connected to the organisation, that stretch this 'diplomatic site' and 'organisational effect' in different ways by their actions on the ground, thereby emphasizing its fluidity.

6.4.1) Who, what and where is The Hague ICPJ?

During the seven years that I lived in The Hague, questions as to *who, what and where* was "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice" became increasingly crystallised through increasing and expanding international organisations and NGOs, centenary celebrations at the Peace Palace, criminal trials, geopolitical conferences, maps of the "International Zone" produced by the City Council, Government Building Agency's consultations and construction, and emotions and affects relating to all of these.

A lawyer friend once remarked to me (ethnographic observation, 2012) how the HICPJ was represented at a memorial service for a hugely respected, international criminal lawyer, and that it had dawned on him, there and then, this was what The Hague ICPJ entailed. Those present included the various ministries of the Dutch government, the mayor and the City Council, foreign diplomats and the legal community, all of which have been mentioned in the preceding chapters. They were creators not only of an

emerging socio-spatial organisation “The Hague ICPJ” but numerous academic and City Council marketing texts, which overtly or inadvertently branded the city, emphasising its relations and linear development from the C19 Peace Conferences. The breadth and equal importance of all organisations in The HICPJ is also produced through detailed lists of NGOs, charities, media and academic organisations, as well as embassies and courts in and around the zone.

The current trend in geopolitics is to divert attention away from the politicians and the intellectuals of statecraft or at least their formal practices. One of the exceptions, Craggs (2014) however, explores how the staging of events, practices and settings of formal geopolitics is key to the formation of identities and geopolitical action and it is definitely relevant here. Publicity around specific events and practices and the meanings, materials, emotions and affect they generate in and around World Forum Area, foreground peace and justice. These include the trials of the ICTY, the conferences of the World Forum, the network organising of the OPCW and Europol, all of which are underpinned by neutrality-as-competence and international-as-neutral and enact The Hague ICPJ. The widely publicised reiteration of these practices, whatever their outcomes in terms of global peace and/or physical and/or structural violence, continuously define this ‘diplomatic site’ of peace and justice. The organisations of the international zone perform The Hague, ICPJ as expert, independent of the state in which it is situated.

As well as those directly employed in organisations connected to the zone, others actively yet indirectly participate in its creation, and thereby the production of The Hague ICPJ, and the constitution of its neutralities. Firstly, it draws in statesmen and women such as Hilary Clinton and Barack Obama to its ‘good offices’, to collectively solve problems such as “Afghanistan” or “Nuclear”, or conversely, accused leaders, such as Milosevic, Karadzic and Mladic to defend themselves against crimes of humanity. The Hague ICPJ administers ‘hands-on’ neutrality by ‘international’ professionals, somewhat able to distance itself from the UN Security Council or national governments, by place and expertise. It can be argued that the conferences

and trials are staged geopolitical performances in their own right (Craggs 2014), in this case, of The Hague as neutral and expert facilitator, a site with the potential to create 'an aura' over distance (Neumann 2013), by the amplified presence of state 'heroes' and 'villains'.

The contestation and deliberate omission of the term 'security' in the City Council's branding material and title "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice," and its lack of material manifestation in the zone, discussed in the previous chapter, testifies to a strategic commitment to legal compliance as opposed to military or defensive tactics in the construction of peace. The statesmen and women and world order are performed as objects in the hands of an un-armed, epistemic community or at least as its apprentices (Craggs and Mahoney, 2014). As the architecture endeavours to suggest, HICPJ justice is not about physical security[24]. Nevertheless, it is accepted and tolerated for heads of state of "powerful countries" attending conferences in the zone. In these cases, the paraphernalia of fences and police presence is juxtaposed against the normal openness of The Hague ICPJ. Facebook posts illustrate Obama's arrival to a conference in 2014 on nuclear weapons by helicopter, against a Dutch prime minister (Rutte) alone on a bicycle (See Figure 6.2). The Hague ICPJ suggests its powerlessness in realist terms, whilst emphasising the overarching authority of tools of liberal idealism. Meanwhile it could express the ridiculousness of other state security approaches, again staging the insignificance of security to The Hague ICPJ, and setting The Netherlands as apart.

[24] Yet in 2016 (after the research period) the use of tear gas outside one of the first trials in the new ICC building, raises interesting questions about the use of force.

Figure 6.2 (Source: weknowmemes.com/2014/03)

How the American President arrives/How the Dutch Prime Minister arrives

The important point here is that world leaders do not play the typical role applied to them in classical geopolitics, as powerful, key and often sole agents. Some (like Rutte)

are performed as already recognising they (and their individual states) do not possess top-down authority, rather they succumb to the power and expertise of The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice. Others like Obama, still adorned with the trappings of national self-interest are portrayed as more typical, yet beginning to learn to subordinate themselves. Nevertheless, The Hague as "*facilitator*" as one participant (Michiel, interview, March 2012) called it, still depends on the presence of big names (and countries) to grab attention and enact a recognizable 'diplomatic site' that is inherently good through its location and practices.

This performance of The Hague ICPJ relies on the staged *insignificance* of some world leaders but also the *staged significance* of unusual humans and non-human elements in formal geopolitics. Take, for example the annual Thimun (The Hague Model United Nations) conference from one participant's perspective. The sight of "well-dressed, over-dressed students..taking over the city, the trams are packed with them…..gives hope" (Michiel, interview, March 2012). Children, just as the NGOs and charities highlighted in The Hague ICPJ's publicity material, emphasise the variety of performers in its construction. They direct attention towards 'popular' or 'everyday' as well as classical producers of geopolitics, as they harness the emotions of audiences around them. Bicycles have already been mentioned in relation to Mark Rutte's choice of transport to a conference and they are used to attribute powerlessness to the individuals that ride them. I noted this several times whilst I lived there. Walking to work, a viable alternative given the distances in the zone, involves no such kudos. The ubiquity of children and bicycles, and children *on* bicycles and *in* cargobikes, possibly enhances the 'goodness' of The Hague ICPJ's formal practices, even though the distinctive nature of their forms, brands, costs, routes and riders paint another interesting story of power relations.

The idea of The Hague ICPJ as a complicated assemblage of agents, practices, humans and non-humans points to Neumann's (2013) very broad notion of diplomacy, as mediation between polities, and his idea and book entitled 'Diplomatic Sites' (Neumann 2013). The administration of international criminal law, conference and

network organising and even cycling may all described as forms of diplomatic practice but they do not take place in a vacuum, they are "sited" (ibid). Physical places have to be "socially activated" to becomes sites. Diplomacy is about events but as much about their groundwork in terms of preparing their necessary social tools and material conditions. In this case, constructing the practices and the place (The Hague) as neutral is key.

Diplomatic sites are activated once 'an event' has taken place, and considerable effort is made to give the place an *aura*, so that the image of diplomacy as a stable, social fact extends beyond material distance (Neumann 2013). This reinforces diplomatic practices, events and their sites, so they become naturalized, in spite of their being emergent and situated. The nineteenth century peace conferences, the PCA, the ICJ at the Peace Palace, and the numerous publicized events of international criminal law reiterate The Hague as 'diplomatic site' and a post-cold war understanding of the world system. Importantly, the recognisable 'aura' is not simply a product of meaning but a coherent set of emotions and affects that are carried and made tangible, by human and non-human hosts throughout the network (Anderson and Holden 2008, Dittmer 2016).

6.4.2) Organisational practices

In some ways, research interviewees were entirely complicit in the process of constructing The Hague ICPJ and the idealist liberal imaginary, to the extent they did not envisage a world system, peace and justice organisation, in any other way, or entertain the idea they might be less than a force for good. If major states were abiding by its rules and succumbing to its authority, The Hague ICPJ's 'neutralities' and resultant 'peace' must be the best option available. Across The Hague ICPJ, like the ICTY in Chapter 4, there wasn't really any suggestion that it was not neutral in any way.

There was little discussion particularly by those employed in the zone, that The Hague ICPJ might be somewhat strategic and imperialist, enforcing specific values of individual autonomy and free market economy across groups and territory, and that elements of liberal democracy might be racially and structurally divisive, even neutrality itself. Some participants *were* aware and sometimes critical of the palpable absence of war criminals from 'Western', democratic states both at the ICTY and at the ICC, a hint of acknowledgement of an uneven liberal peace. Nevertheless, it was widely believed that practising peace and justice was underpinned by a neutrality that one participant (David, interview, March 2012) related to as legal or managerial "compliance" or "upholding the rights of individuals" whatever one's connection. How this is achieved emotionally and materially, has partly been described through the concepts of neutrality-as-competence and international-as-neutral in Chapters 4 and 5. This section focuses more on the role of organisational and managerial practices in maintaining The Hague IPCJ as 'neutral' diplomatic site with an aura of goodness.

Some socio-material practices have already been discussed particularly in terms of teamwork and networking in Chapter Five. Throughout the interviews, participants cited various examples of practices they deemed neutral. These included how recruitment at the ICTY and Europol involved quotas from countries to ensure balanced state representation. Who got the job and where they were from was widely publicized. At the ICTY, interns could not get shoehorned into positions, as they were deemed privileged members of their own societies. Instead they should go and work professionally in their own countries for a while and then compete with everyone else. Procurement at Europol involved translating tendering documents into the languages and scripts of every EU member to ensure an equal chance across the territory. Internal financial auditors were replaced at specified intervals ensuring they did not become too close to employees or the organisation. Finally, the painstaking management of resources, including the allocation of metres of office space, to ensure equality of arms at the STL, was also cited. This was equated by one participant with 'the separation of powers you have in good government structure' (Brian, interview, April 2012).

Interestingly, the sheer existence of these socio-spatial management practices appeared to self-evidently produce and reflect organisational neutrality to employees, although many research participants did indeed remark how attending to 'neutral' practices could both enhance and challenge their efficiency, another organisational priority. This illustrates just how important both were deemed to their organisations in the expression of identity, yet difficult to balance in practice.

There was definitely a sense that neutrality mattered to participants, not only as organisational employees, but as individual assemblages of many organisations and scales. Some quite aggressively defended the neutrality of any scale they were connected to, like they were the Russian dolls in Marston's et al's (2005) analogy of the social construction of scale. "The Hague is neutrality itself, whatever that might be" one participant retorted angrily. Another vehemently deplored the apparent subjectivity of the research process, where it was suggested that perceptions of organisational neutral practices might be as relevant to the topic as the meanings managers wished to convey. This got me thinking again about my own neutrality or at least the neutrality involved in researching neutrality. Others didn't defend but modelled neutrality very carefully. They explained their views through theory or contexts, and emphasised how they couldn't speak for others. And finally, those who did question the balance, openness and principles of the 'neutral' practices, reconciled themselves to their positions through humour, evident in the way some Europol employees dealt with their new accommodation.

The implication here is that The Hague International City of Peace as diplomatic site pursuing liberal idealism and its various neutralities are upheld by enacting managerial practices. Nevertheless, it only works by emphasizing the existence of the practices themselves, and concealing or attributing their outcomes to elsewhere. This trick has been honed at the scale of organisation itself, and is key to neo-liberal governmentality according to Strathern (2000) in "Audit Cultures".

Strathern's argument is that the proliferation of organisational practices, based on a blend of financial accounting principles and ethics have demonstrated and created expectancy for (economic) efficiency based on openness, principles, honesty and improvement. She goes on to explain how this involves organisations and employees increasingly checking themselves against these criteria, and being confronted with impossible contradictions. This leads to a superficial performance whereby checking constitutes possessing such qualities, which detaches the organisation from external influences or impact, and the responsibilities these entail.

At an individual level, the practices also have effects. Herzfeld (1992) noted that organisational employees or members must always give up something of themselves for the positive aspects of power and belonging, derived through commitment and membership of a bureaucratic entity, be it an organisation or the state. He argues that bureaucracy goes hand in hand with comfort, frustration and occasional, blatant detachment to the plight of others. The theory seems broadly applicable to organisational neo-governmental practices and how people manage their inherent problems. As mentioned earlier, recent academic research points to individuals and organisations constantly constructing visual narratives of themselves, that blur reality and idealism. Whilst, emphasising openness and balance, attributing things to serendipity, and acknowledging and reframing problems as lessons to be learned, it upholds a sense of 'neutral' and enacts a good enough liberal idealism. Nevertheless, it might also perform a liberal peace underpinned by neo-liberal governmentality and the structural inequalities this entails. The Hague ICPJ might be more 'translucent' rather than 'transparent' (Izak 2014) given its propensity to stage the insignificance of certain things like emotions, security and organisation itself.

In this section, I have explored how the neutrality of a diplomatic site, The Hague ICPJ creates and is produced by practices, emotions and affects specific to the scale of organisation. It explains how management tools and practices are considerable agents in geopolitics, in that they produce The Hague ICPJ as a cut off and overarching international power, fuelled by neutralities. This is not necessarily a bad thing, only it

might be a diplomatic site more akin to the headquarters of the VOC (Dutch East Indies Company) or a multinational like Royal Dutch Shell, more than one based on universal values, as Kant envisaged.

6.4.3) Doing neutrality and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice differently

In spite of this, the research also portrayed The Hague ICPJ as *more than* the socio-spatial enactment of a diplomatic site based on international-as-neutral and neutral-as-competence and ways of organising Dutch neutrality and international law. Neutralities seemed to be continuously negotiated by agents, who conceptualised, felt and practised, place, community and scale differently. Their versions of neutrality, may yet reiterate the self-regulating subjects of Foucauldian governmentality, or serve existing hierarchies of scales, power relations and liberal peace. Nevertheless, driven by frustration and/or a desire for something better, both direct employees of The Hague ICPJ or those touched by its conceptual or physical construction, actively tweaked its organisational form and therefore I believe the fundamental elements and strategies of (neo-) liberal democracy. Chapter Four and Five imply that everyone does this inadvertently. However, the research also illustrated deliberate attempts to do neutralities differently. There were specific lawyers stretching the organisation of peace and justice through forging links between social anthropology, human geography and international criminal law. My own access to conferences and research participants is part of the testimony to this open approach. There were even architects with plans that redesigned the meaning of 'international' in tramlines, but here I only have space to do justice to the story of one local resident. It is long in detail but necessary to illustrate Richmond's (2011) point about how individuals and small groups use their own networks to define, practise and feel things like peace and justice, and how this reverberates across scales because they are all inter-connected. It also nods to work on the deployment of emotions (Koopman 2008, Pain 2015) to achieve something of the inclusiveness, liberal idealism insists it can achieve and aims to end this analytical chapter on a positive note.

"I didn't like it seven years ago when they pulled down the Statenhal garage. .. It started off all wrong on 1st January in an awful manner. I became so angry that I dialled the number of the manager at the Congresgebouw (Original Dutch name for the building which means Congress Building) 'This is not the way you start,' I said. It was a man in his forties from TCN, the company that owned the building. I demanded to meet him to tell him it cannot be done like this. When we met, I told him that one, I wanted a letter in Dutch and English, and two, an official information meeting for the neighbourhood. That happened. The Wijkoverleg (residents committee) hadn't seen the earnestness of the situation initially.

From that time, I have been dealing with it. I am no expert in building or construction but the first thing was about a silent pylon type of drilling. I went to the Provinciehuis to read about it and a kind lady copied the information for me. The letter stated that there should be no demolition after 10pm or before 6 o clock. I confronted people working outside the hours. I was in conflict with everyone – developers, owners etc. We were not against Europol, not the organisation.

I had contact with TCN. With the letter I had power. There were phone calls, meetings. It didn't go well. It was a fight. I didn't know anything about construction but I did have a contact in the building guild. Meeting people took courage. It was freezing and dark in January. I got dressed early to go out there.

It was a private thing but I was also involved with the Wijkoverleg. The former Voorzitter and I worked together. We wrote a letter to the City Hall and we had to go there to defend it. We had 700 signatures. It was the reality of the demolition. We were not against Europol. I also decided to write my personal story. I had just retired, I couldn't sleep. My house trembled. I had two expat neighbours who rented and moved out because of the situation. One actually worked for Europol at its earlier location. I got up and told them this over the microphone. There were five of us against five of the council. One of them (who died in a car crash since) said to me 'You spoke very well, Mrs X.' I thought that was nice, fair.

Then life was spent around the building pit. About half a year later, a woman called on my mobile and asked if she could use my story. She was from the planning department and was involved in writing their yearbook. She was officially requesting my permission.

I had loads of contact with the Congresgebouw. I grew into with TCN and the building pit. I chatted to journalists writing for a building magazine. They said the demolition job was terrible. And you couldn't count on the message getting across. On paper it said no demolition before 9 on Saturdays. And these guys were bare-chested and had big arms, you know. The site was dangerous to cross so I called out 'YOU, YOU! Get the boss. It was 8am so I said, 'What's the time? You are too early' and I waved the letter.
'Oh', they said. They didn't know. I got the number and called the manager.
('I'm Mrs X bla bla' and he said that I was right). He sent them away for coffee. There were five guys and I said to one of them
'Hey I remember you. You have been working too early before'.
'It wasn't us, it was the tram!' he said.
'But number 10 doesn't operate on a Saturday!' Everyone laughed. I got to know the faces and the characters.

The garage took two and a half years. Then came the Rijksgebouwendienst to build Europol. My dealings with the Statenhal garage made a difference. It showed I had been listened to. ..It takes time and courage. When they were building the highest Europol tower, the guy goes up

there by elevator and it makes the most terrible shrieking sound. They told me it would cost 30, 000 euros to replace and they were not willing to spend that. I didn't always succeed when it came to money". (Rens, interview, February 2012)

"This 70-year-old woman would stand up to these big burly delivery men and say "Turn it off now or I call the police". She had so many fights. She was so brave. Totally alone and they could have knocked her down and no one would know. Middle of the night more deliveries. It was ok for a bit and then it would happen again 2 weeks later." (Ruth, interview, January 2012)

The quotes above illustrate the beginning of a long story as to how one research participant struggled yet embedded herself firmly within The Hague ICPJ, by playing with the scales and communities to which she was ascribed, and converting physical and emotional pain to positive confidence and freedom.

The story begins with the demolition of the Statenhal (a jazz venue) and its garage, to make way for the construction of Europol. The research participant, Rens, who lived one street back from the site, recently retired and therefore at home during the day, was so physically and emotionally disturbed by the disruption and noise that she decided to act. It started with a symbol of art, she attached to the fence, which she intended as an appeal for peace on two scales, international and personal (See Chapter 4). Then, she armed herself with knowledge of building hours regulation and over many years, she 'bravely' (Ruth, interview, January 2012) intercepted contractors and their machines, when they flouted it. She reprimanded TCN, the owners of the plot and the Council for their lack of openness, and rallied the local neighbourhood committee, to demand better consultation over the development of the zone. In this way, she drew on and defended the liberal democratic principles of neutrality, by demanding practices of openness and compliance. She had mixed success but in her words, "they had listened" and it could be argued that the integration of peace at several scales was achieved.

Indeed, in the Smaak magazine, (described in Chapter 5), the design and development is conveyed as an example of differentiated groups and scales, an *international* organisation (Europol); a host *country*; a *city* council; a private company and a *local*

neighbourhood coming together, and reaching agreement. Over the period, the participant was informally and endearingly recognised and paraded by The Hague ICPJ, as the neighbourhood's 'ambassador' to the International Zone.

However, from Rens' perspective, it was not a conflict between international and local scales that was solved through formal organisational 'neutral' practices. The solution spun from a web of relationships spurred on by desperation, fear, frustration, humour, empathy and friendship, which persistently threatened the boundaries of the categories above. More importantly, the outcome was a success, not in the sense that she was able to stop the machines, influence the design of Europol or halt the inevitable arrival of Eurojust. Neither was she able to prevent the demolition of a woman's home already once lost to and regained from the Nazis, (the irony of which gnawed at her), but in terms of her own reconciliation of a local and international identity and sense of belonging to her environment. Her actions produced just enough social and spatial change to produce a peace that felt like emotional freedom. Her problems had been exacerbated as she was no longer part of the labour force and at home all day but this had also given the time to develop a solution. She carved her way into The Hague ICPJ by seizing opportunities in the interpersonal realm and took the neighbourhood with her inside the zone.

"You don't have to know everything just the right thing at the right moment. But that's what makes me international. Human……. Things open up and it can be emotional. If I did not dare to protest seven years ago because I thought it wasn't right….. I also knew I would mingle in the international zone. I knew if it happens, I would have to throw myself in. It was very difficult in the beginning. How can I give it a positive turn? Those years were interesting because I developed a certain freedom. I am not scared anymore. When it's wrong, here I go again. But freedom has come because I don't depend on what I do for a living." (Rens, interview, February 2012)

There were many ways in which she dismantled the "local, Dutch (speaking) neighbourhood" category, to which she was assigned, exposing it as partial and fragmented, and entwined with 'international'. She angrily reacted to when the Council only communicated in Dutch, and suggested that her neighbourhood should be happy because the zone was good for local business. She aligned herself with

another housebound neighbour, ostracized and accused of arrogance and cowardice by some members of the community, not for posting a letter to them appealing for solidarity over the demolition noise, but for writing it anonymously and in English.

Like many people, she displayed the zone's narrowly and neo-liberally defined 'openness' by using the public access routes, but unusually she also took coffee almost daily within the Novotel hotel, that was part of the same complex as the World Forum, near the office area of the TCN. Her presence allowed her not only to frequently update the latter, (who were working in a joint venture with the Council and government ministries) on issues that concerned her about the development of the zone but it stimulated strong personal and enduring relationships with some of the managers. She was almost as at home there as she was at home, as she popped her coat behind the reception desk and chatted to staff. With TCN, she helped instigate an art exhibition on the theme of international peace and justice at the World Forum, in which she and artists of the neighbourhood brought their own interpretations into the space of "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice". Sometimes staged as a celebrity of The Hague ICPJ as much as a statesman or a student of Thimun, Rens fully participated and endorsed The Hague ICPJ but also unnerved it. The mayor flinched when he saw her at World Forum events but it would be smoothed over by a joke. She was an embodied reminder that all 'international' 'peace and justice' projects, however abstracted by the creation of rules, are as much local, material and (potentially) violent.

Ultimately, in my opinion, this story illustrates an emergent post-liberal peace (Richmond 2011) or an "autonomous geography" (Chatterton and Pickerill 2010:1) established within and between humans (sometimes knowingly, others not) deploying emotions and the physical occupation of space. This is entwined with yet distinct from a purely liberal peace, where groups and scales are differentiated, hierarchically organised and spatially allocated, to maintain the over-arching authority of an order defined and controlled by 'international-as-neutral' and neutrally-competent practices, professions and organisations.

Having explained how the organising processes of The Netherlands and international law have produced an organisational effect that is now recognizable as "The Hague ICPJ", this section of the chapter has focused on what other neutralities constitute The Hague, ICPJ as a diplomatic site that defines where, how and who gets to do peace and justice. I have illustrated a diverse set of geopolitical agents from statesmen to bicycles embroiled in performing a 'neutral' diplomatic site, and I have explored how this involves the usual tricks of smoke and mirrors or the 'staged insignificance' outlined in previous chapters. I have also underlined how The Hague ICPJ's neutrality is also characterized (as it became clear in Chapters Four and Five) by management and organisational tools, that underpin its separate but related organisations. Its trials, conferences and organisational networks of expertise, consistently displaying 'hybridity,' 'compliance', 'transparency,' 'openness' and 'expediency' portrays an "international organisation" geared towards liberal idealism. Nevertheless, neo-liberal governmentality snakes through this network, partially blinding members to neutralities' inherent contradictions until they confront them head on. Finally, the section considers some unique players in The Hague ICPJ that are more proactive in questioning neutralities and constructing peace and justice differently.

6.5) Conclusion

This chapter has critically analysed some *organising processes* and their *organisational effect,* namely The Hague ICPJ. It has gained from and contributed to the literatures on organisation, critical geopolitics and emotions and affects by linking them through the phenomenon of neutrality. It reveals how neutralities such as those explored in micro-geographical detail in chapters four and five have meshed with socio-spatial neutralities entailed in organising the Dutch state and an international legal community, and evolved into "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice". It is an organisational effect not only fuelled by emphasis on particular materialities, practices and emotions, and the staged insignificance of others. It is also aided by a

very broad notion of hands-off and hands-on neutrality, which excuses and justifies almost any actions *or lack of them*.

In this chapter I have addressed the demand in critical geopolitics that organisations must be considered in critical geopolitics not simply as instruments of states but the ongoing result of "ordering processes that occur and at the same time, shape a specific social and geographical context" (Muller 2012:386) (See also Dowler and Sharp 2001). Furthermore, I have considered the emotions and affects and the hybrid, human and non-human embodied practices that produce organisations as geopolitical assemblages (Dowler and Sharp 2001, Muller 2012) such as Dittmer's (2016) exploration of the relationship between architecture, paper and transnational governmentality in the British Foreign Office in the nineteenth century.

However, instead of taking 'an' organisation and unpacking it, I have interrogated 'organisational effect*s*' on-the-make through following a specific thing, in this case neutrality. Like Dittmer (2016) I started with the premise of a flat ontology of scale (Marston et al, 2005) and explored how particular organisations and their scales are enacted. I have also considered how The Hague ICPJ is developing as a recognizable cluster of human and non-human elements, that appear to integrate scale, culture and space, in this case, state institutions, international organisations and citizens near and far, under one banner. Finally, I have argued that The Hague ICPJ as 'organisational effect' (at the scale of organisation) is cementing both materially and subjectively the 'organisational effect' of 'international'.

In terms of foregrounding multiple neutralities and their role in creating 'a diplomatic site' I have also addressed the issue of connection between macro-societal processes and the situated behaviour of geographies of diplomacy and peace (Dalby 2014). I have also echoed Kuus's (2012) perspective, that draws out why organisations and their practices unfold through context-specific dynamics. Finally I have added specifically to work on geopolitical performance by illustrating the importance of staging the insignificance of things, in this case, strategic organising itself.

In terms of organisation studies, staging insignificance is also new. I have also addressed their call for more empirical work in relation to a more-than-representational geography of organisations, which perhaps offers a less stark view of the future in terms of neo-governmental hegemony. I have also explored the notion of 'neutral' organisational practices beyond the scale of organisations per se and highlighted their broader geopolitical relevance.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1) Introduction

In this conclusion, I firstly discuss how I met my aims and objectives and outline the main aspects of my findings. I then briefly outline their relevance to geography and further afield. This is followed by a reflection on the methodology and some limitations of the research. Finally, I consider what next for 'a geography of neutrality', seeking to make connections particularly with critical geopolitics.

7.2) Aims and objectives

The aims of this thesis were to

- **investigate neutrality geographically, relationally, emotionally and materially**

- **and to interrogate the relationship between neutrality and The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice, and explore its geopolitical implications.**

I achieved these aims through establishing and meeting specific objectives. In this section, I address how I reached these objectives one by one, first illustrating the geographical tools and concepts that became relevant to the data, and then the discoveries I made. The first objective was ***to scrutinize the co-production of 'neutral' embodied practices and the ICTY courtroom, the ICTY building and the international zone, and why they matter.*** I achieved this mostly by considering spectacular performances, skills, emotion and affect from a geographical perspective, as it emerged that the specific placement and movement of bodies in and between Courtroom 1, the ICTY building and the International Zone constituted differences and relational identities, yet at the same seemed to remain fluid and open to change. It was also clear that these identities seemed to have some broader organisational and geopolitical significance rather than just ensuring a fair trial. This objective was mainly

addressed through Chapter Four, although the neutralities, people and places portrayed in Chapters Five and Six were also relevant and inter-related.

What I discovered through walking tours, interviews and auto)ethnographic observations, was a distinction between 'neutral principal characters', 'neutrals in the wings' versus 'human guest stars or extras' identities and corresponding neutral places to varying degrees. This was achieved through the spectacular performance of the trial itself, which spotlit or concealed bodies in order to prevent or accentuate emotional and affective relations, making it conceivable they can be controlled. Such an enactment of emotional and affective control or **'neutrality-as-competence'** as I called it, depended on two things, namely either converting people to near machines or upgrading them to near saints, and both of these depended not only on their courtroom (dis)appearance but what they did beyond it. 'Neutral principal characters' were linked to practices in the ICTY building such as intense thinking, reading, writing, categorizing and recording, directed towards establishing and applying truth, balance, principles and openness. These practices are known to detach events from the complexity of embodied, emotional and affective experience (Scott 1998) and this was interpreted by practitioners and their audiences as a personalised and stable skill, which they carried across space, constituting 'neutrally-competent' places wherever they went (e.g. into the International Zone of The Hague). Meanwhile 'neutrals in the wings' e.g. interpreters, even if they explained 'their' neutrality in a similar way, were linked through movement and location directly to the outside world beyond the International Zone, and its human fallibilities. For this reason, interpretation was performed as technology involving the concealment of bodies, rather than a human skill in the courtroom. Human fallibilities, or uncontrolled emotion and affect, and faulty representation, were also on show in the courtroom, attached to the bodies of the accused, non-expert witnesses and audience. These 'human guest stars and extras' were essential to the enactment of environments and people characterized by "professionalism" and "neutrally-as-competence".

In terms of broader significance, I argued that the neutrality-as-competence and the microgeography of Courtroom One and its related spaces fuelled liberal idealism but nevertheless underscored the power relations inherent in liberal democracy and liberal peace. It did this by organising or producing the structural effect of communities and locations of neutrality-as-competence, in relation to others that were catching up but never quite good enough. Woven into other forms of neutrality by location and the movement of bodies, neutrality-as-competence produced the recognizable "Hague, International City of Peace and Justice". Finally as powerful a performance, neutrality-as-competence was, it was so susceptible to spontaneous embodied practices, mobility and unpredictable emotions and affects, that it was barely, if ever consolidated. Neutrality-as-competence is therefore relational, emotional, affective and material, and it is important to continuously question the assumption that it signifies the absence or suppression of anything.

The second objective was ***to explore the presence and absence of practices, symbols, discourses, emotions and affects that produce 'neutral' architecture and interiors.*** As my research pointed towards deliberate efforts to make The World Forum Area and particularly the new Europol Headquarters Building "neutral", I deployed representational and more-than-representational approaches within the geography of architecture and the spatial turn in organisational anthropology. I also refered to geographical perspectives on absences and presences, as "neutral" architecture seemed like a contradiction to me, in the sense that it suggested spectacularly performing a building in order to convey it didn't mean or do anything special or powerful. My analysis informed Chapter Five.

What I discovered through textual analysis of the Smaak architectural magazine, interviews, walking tours and (auto)ethnographic observation, was that "neutral" architecture depended on a combination of *the staged and unstaged significance* of things, and *the staged and unstaged insignificance* of things. The Europol Headquarters building and the exteriors and interiors of the World Forum Area, had the potential to produce a specific form of neutrality that I refered to as **'international-as-neutral'.** This involved architectural features, layouts, furnishings

and artworks, that together with the discourse of certain working practices, co-produced certain meanings, emotions and practices. They enacted natural growth, openness, teamwork, harmony and success, based on a human essence stripped of cultural baggage. The production of international-as-neutral also involved 'Open Days' so that the buildings' practices could be consumed, and visitors engage with the practices of peace and justice and neutrality-as-competence. Paradoxically, these exteriors, interiors and practices expressed their neutralities so much, they were powerful.

Furthermore, this performance also involved the deliberate absencing of fancy or defensive features. This involved concealing or disguising elements that might enact power, such as nation states, hierarchy and security, or economic and organisational survival strategies. In this way, the building was *staging its insignificance*. For example, strategically placed steps and benches in a 'natural' dune landscape with a water feature, expressed openness and a lack of defensiveness, as opposed to obstacles against terrorist vehicles. Also comfortable sofas, corridors with kitchens, gyms, relaxation rooms and leafy, airy and light atria deliberately performed the breaking down and insignificance of distinct personal, professional and national identities, and a lack of self-interest. This suggested that the cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary relationships within and across the organisations of "The Hague International City of Peace and Justice" were in the service of others, rather than the existing state system and liberal democracies. Not only that, the relative absence of bodies in and around The World Forum Area performed the buildings' *unstaged insignificance* and therefore produced an 'international-as-neutral,' detached and powerless in terms of the sovereign ground on which it stood.

Nevertheless, 'neutral-as-international' or the architectural enactment of *not* "a big thing" (Jacobs 2006) seemed always to be in a state of convergence and divergence. It was as if the architecture protested its neutralities too much. Embodied practices continuously confronted producers and consumers of the exteriors and interiors of The World Forum Area with emotions and affects of belonging or otherwise. For

example, some felt the architecture discouraged social and spatial movement beyond the office, the World Forum and the International Zone, and constructed an alternative but equally powerful 'international,' bounded community and place, that reflected existing power relations between nations states. Embodied practices within the World Forum Area brought fresh uses, ideas and experiences from buildings elsewhere, that interfered with the enactment of 'international-as-neutral'. Thus there were always absent, present elements that could be described as unstaged yet significant, challenging 'neutral-as-international' for being too powerful or not powerful enough.

Finally, the third objective was ***to critically analyse what constitutes "The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice" as a 'neutral' organisational effect and its implications for law, diplomacy and peace***. Living in The Hague over a period of seven years gave me the unique opportunity to explore an emerging spatial, material and social phenomenon. Its influence on geopolitics as an agent of peace and justice within and between nations, seemed to be gathering momentum and naturalizing before my eyes, and given the credence attached to its underlying neutrality, I wanted to explore the link. Not knowing what either 'neutrality' or "The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice" were, I used the notion of a "structural effect" (Mitchell 2006, Law 1994) of repetitive practices to discover if what kind of an organisation (an ordering of people, space and scale) was 'on the make'. Given my observation, interviews and textual analysis suggested multiple 'neutralities' performing and being produced by a myriad of interconnected people, things, places and scales, I turned to work in critical geopolitics that emphasised breadth and inter-relationships in the construction of geopolitical entities, and the assumption that that any organisational assemblage including 'an international organisation' was powerful in its own right (Muller 2012).

What I discovered was that the relationship between neutrality and The Hague ICPJ produced an *un*organisational effect. They were the product and producer of The Netherlands as *un*strategic and small in relation to 'powerful', 'self-interested'

countries, and a city as 'somewhere else' characterized by *a*political lawyers and their practices. They were also created to some extent by police, scientists, children and bicycles, practising 'un-geopolitical' peace and justice. Given however, that The Hague ICPJ couldn't help materialising and being conceptualised as a place and community through reiterating its practices, it was an entity empowered by its neutralities. Even its serendipity enacted neutrality, or at least a narrative of serendipity, which I argued gave it even more power.

This is how I ascertained that The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice, as an (un)organisational effect imbued with neutrality, possessed geopolitical agency. As the symbol and enactment of 'competent' 'international' and '(un)organised', it mimicked a community and place of liberal idealism and overarching hierarchy characterized by benign neutral practices. These organising processes and their effect were driven by an emotional appeal to 'alternative' non-state diplomacy through a unique brand of legal peace. Yet, in line with what Agius (2006) argues, liberal idealism was itself a realist strategy that maintained the existing pattern of sovereign states, 'Western' hegemony and the survival of the polities that promoted it for their own survival.

By highlighting harmony and openness whilst understating the relationality of emotion and affect, state power and organisation, the socio-spatial and boundary-making practices of neutrality of The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice constructed 'liberal peace'. It was a diplomatic site with an aura of representing and negotiating on behalf of a community and place of 'international individuals,' even if it was an organising process that constructed and preserved the organising and authority of the liberal democratic nation state over any other scale. Yet it was forever converging and diverging as people confronted its contradictions head on. Deliberately or inadvertently embodied practices consolidated its power or opened up possibilities for people, places and things to define neutralities, peace and identities on their own terms.

7.3) Broad Contribution to Geography and beyond

The example of The Hague presents a starter concept for a geography of neutrality. By addressing its aims, I have explained how neutralising is an ordering process, which co-produces multiple neutralities and scalar organisational effects such as 'international organisations' and nation states. In return, these pseudo-entities imbued with power, sustain multiple and overlapping neutralities, through socio-spatial-material practices, emotions and affects, and representations.

Neutrality is usually interpreted as an absence of power, emotion and organisation. It has an intangible, abstract quality that makes it hard to define yet it is still attributed to the atmosphere of certain places, and characterizes certain people and practices. As this study has shown, this is an incredible geographical, relational, emotional, and material achievement. Social scientists including geographers, drawing on Foucault, Deleuze, and Latour argue that a collection of inter-related social and spatial elements being recognised as a 'thing' at all, however temporarily, is powerful and can influence other things. Yet what is specifically unique about 'neutrality' is that its 'thingness' and therefore its power, depends on its status as a non-entity. How that status is achieved was addressed by this thesis and I believe my findings could enrich geographers' interpretations of how 'their thing' (research phenomenon) coheres.

Across space (from the ICTY courtroom to the World Forum Area an the International Zone) I have illustrated how neutralities (competence, international and (un)organised) are enacted by the STAGED AND UNSTAGED SIGNIFICANCE and INSIGNIFICANCE of their elements. Particularly it has illustrated how neutrality is constituted by the manipulation of socio-spatial interactions to prevent or at least disguise the forming of emotions and affects, representations of power and structural effects (organisations). Certain aspects of trials, buildings and diplomacy stage the *in*significance of things, enacting and accentuating neutrality's absences. Nevertheless there are always unstaged yet significant elements (or absent presences) arriving that ensure these versions of neutrality never quite hold together.

Clarifying how neutrality was constructed geographically, relationally, emotionally, and materially helped me to interrogate the relationship between neutrality and The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice, and its geopolitical implications (the second aim of this thesis). It demonstrated that neutralities perform The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice as a metaphysical effect of *un*organized organisation, in other words a multi-scalar and unbounded community and place. Yet, the reiteration of these neutralities still produces a recognizable entity, which is powerful and supports the very elements of its foundation (e.g. the practice of law, sovereignty and the nation state of The Netherlands). This has implications for geographers and anthropologists who consider what and how practices, materiality, emotions and affects combine to produce structural effects (organisations) and their scales. It illustrates that neutrality is not the opposite side of the coin but fully complicit in the production of organisations, scales and their authority. This both/and relationship suggests geographers should track down not only elements that are present in geopolitical organising but those that are concealed, disguised or even shown off as *lacking* emotion, representation and power relations.

The complex relationship and the role of staged insignificance in the construction of neutral identities and organisation can also enrich understanding of the paradoxes outlined in the introduction. 'Neutrality-as-competence', 'International-as-neutral' and 'Neutrality as (un)organisation' offer spatial, embodied and scalar perspectives on how lawyers and their environments come to be constructed as "saints" and outside politics (Van Ittersum 2009). They also suggest how Bauman's people and places are enacted as emotionally out-of-control, *un*international and ambivalent, warranting 'hands-on' intervention by an overarching authority *and* 'hands-off' lack of involvement by an 'un'organised, powerless entity (Zelletin 2009, Zizek 2009). Finally, it offers Agius' interpretive approach to neutral states and cultures, a more fleshy, networked perspective on how the enactment of powerlessness is strategic and powerful.

Finally, the co-production of neutralities and Hague International City of Peace supports the idea an inter-relationship between peace and violence. Neutralising, ordering processes enact spaces, scales and populations out of control and potentially violent. The Hague International City of Peace and Justice is co-produced with wild cities (e.g. Amsterdam), warmongering countries (The USA) and violent individuals. How else could neutral foreign policy and international professionals be so distinct, to rescue the situation or abandon it when it threatens or fails to enrich liberal democracy?

7.4) Reflections on the research process

In the methodology section, I explained that I had chosen a qualitative case study approach to achieve my aims because I was exploring a complex phenomena in context. Given that neutrality was salient in the city in which I found myself living, and it is usually presented as quite an abstract term relating to rationality and objectivity, I thought it would be important to conduct empirical research on the topic, through people and places and personal experience. For this reason my case study was underscored by autoethnography whereby I tried to 'follow a thing' and capture the social, spatial, material and discursive elements of the network in which I was embedded. Given that "The Hague" was becoming a bit of a geopolitical catchphrase and architectural monuments to peace and justice were springing up fast, I also felt situated and embodied understandings of neutrality and organisations from a geographical perspective, with an emphasis on emotions and affect were appropriate. The methods I deployed were best suited to my objectives. These reflected new developments in the discipline, especially emotional and affective geographies, the geography of architecture, critical geopolitics and also organisational anthropology.

The benefit of my methodological and theoretical engagement with neutrality and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice was that it was empirical and novel in its topic and use of critical geographies. The case study approach was essential in

setting boundaries for my research. The disadvantage, however was that I couldn't follow all the relational elements, connections or disconnections, I would have liked.

In my opinion, I would have achieved an even broader perspective of neutralities and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice if I had included a broader spectrum of participants. For example, it would have been useful to include those who lived and worked in and beyond the red zone of city (See Figure 4a), and had only a tenuous link with the World Forum Area and International Zone. The study could also have benefited if its participants stretched to the spaces of organisations connected to the Zone from afar, for example the police agencies in EU countries, NGOs and ICTY courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina or the UN Headquarters in New York. Finally, I blanked a relevant aspect of my own experience, which could have been informative, which was my personal connection to Royal Dutch Shell. I was only in The Hague because I am married to an employee at the Corporate Headquarters of the Oil and Gas giant, and an exploration into its relationship with Dutch Foreign Policy and international law across time and space would have been a fascinating angle on the constitution of neutralities and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice. Theoretically, there may have been other leads to follow, such as the geographies of utopia, everyday life, global cities and expatriates.

In spite of the wishlist above, I had anticipated the research process would grow tentacles and I would have to be disciplined in sticking to my research aims. Meanwhile, I was less conscious about the evolving relationship I had with autoethnography.

Autoethnographers argue that their work is successful if it produces nuanced understandings of people and places that make writers and readers think about their connections to them, and how they might engage with the world differently as a result (Bochner and Ellis 1992). Whilst I achieved this, my thesis did not come across as particularly *auto*ethnographic to its first audience, my viva examiners. I had wanted to foreground my personal experience to get under the skin of The Hague and

interrogate neutrality. However, 'I' was not particularly present and they questioned whether the research could be described as reflexive ethnography as opposed to autoethnography. This warranted some further reflection.

I stand by the view that my research was underpinned by autoethnographic principles. My ethnographic observations, described as '(auto)ethnographic' because I deliberately set out to use emotions and affects as tools, informed my analysis of the data from the other methods (and vice-versa.) During the research process, each individual method had its challenges as I describe below. However, conducting interviews and go-alongs, and analysing the extent to which they resonated or not, was key to my understanding of the neutralities that emerged. Therefore it *felt* autoethnographic, from the generation of the aims and objectives, to the research design and analytical process, particularly after the initial coding, when I deployed Doucet's (2008:73) listening techniques to unearth psychological, social and epistemological "ghosts".

However, I also agree that I am not particularly present in the written outcome. At the outset, I think I was more confident that I could write about myself, even if it entailed exposing myself emotionally, than writing on behalf of others, especially given the thesis topic. Yet as the process unfolded, I became more motivated and comfortable in my ability to give voice to others' experiences, given the extent to which they had enriched mine. The final product then might have appeared more ethnographic than autoethnographic, even though I would still argue it was autoethnographic in a way that echoes Voloder's.

"The autoethnographic method that has been applied in my study focuses less on writing my self into the text than on using my self, my experiences and interpretations to understand the experiences of others and their intersections with wider social and cultural processes" (Voloder 2008: 38)

Nevertheless, reflexive ethnographers may rightly suggest their reflexive processes are similar. Equally, their research may emerge in writing as more autoethnographic than they anticipated.

Another important element of the autoethnography question, also raised by the examiners, is that the research process itself could have paralleled the thesis findings. By the end of thesis, I had deliberately or inadvertently delivered a product that *staged my insignificance*. I had concealed quite heavily my presence in the network and the importance of my multiple subject positions, emotions and affects in the analysis. This was useful in the sense I was less likely to be accused of self-absorption, self-indulgence or reification. However, I could now be vulnerable to the charge of pulling off 'a writing stunt' that made my research appear more neutral, whilst actually I held exactly the same power as if I had *staged my significance* through a more autobiographical autoethnography. This suggests more work could be done on my findings in relation to debates about the neutrality of research and the inter-relationship between the researcher, neutrality-as-competence and staged *in*significance.

Finally I reflect on the methods I deployed to address my research aims. To recap, in 2011 and 2012, I undertook twenty-two semi-structured interviews with participants whose lives overlapped with the World Forum Area. This produced extraordinarily broad perspectives on neutrality and The Hague International City Of Peace and Justice, which allowed me to hone in on the similarities between them. Arguably twenty-two is too little and I could also have achieved either an even wider spread of occupations or a better balance between the number of people per organisation. I might also have framed the interview schedule in another way. I found that participants found it difficult to articulate what neutrality was. Perhaps if I had also enquired more explicitly about their experience of bias, I could have attained a deeper understanding of what constituted neutrality. However I didn't want to present a dichotomy at the outset, and I felt even the suggestion of bias might be unethical.

I also conducted nineteen walking tours, which offered rich autobiographical, emotional and affective, and material associations with The Hague International City of Peace and Justice and neutrality. The walking tours were not easy logistically because it was difficult to replicate the amount of time and space covered for each

participant. They also produced ethical challenges. In the future, I would prepare a much better introduction to the purpose of walking tours in research and their collaborative nature, to share with my participants. This may produce less defensive reactions to my notes (produced in the first person), and ideas that might challenge the intentions of designers of organisational practices and architecture.

The (auto)ethnographic observations were really useful in that they enabled me to explore emotions and affects relating to neutrality and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice through emotional and affective experience. I confronted "moments of representation on the way" (Pratt 2012) in myself and others, that revealed how various neutralities and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice were in a continuous process of formation and disintegration.

As a contrast and therefore meeting the requirement for a holistic approach to neutrality and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice, the data from textual data produced much more bounded, stable and political identities relating to the topic. Whilst it became more 'alive' through my second stage of analysis, and this made its elements appear more fluid, I need to improve how I engage emotionally and affectively with texts. I also could have done a lot more textual analysis too. Participants often alerted me to 'relevant' articles and books and I wish I could have been more serendipitous in my approach and exploited these further.

To conclude, the project was a success. Nevertheless, conducting research was a considerable learning process even though I tried to anticipate as many practical and ethical issues before data collection and analysis. This is not a negative thing. It has fired my enthusiasm to continue to read more theoretical work on methodology and research methods and to make them a significant element of any future work. It has also inspired me to consider further the relationship between neutrality and reflexive ethnography.

7.6) What next for a geography of neutrality?

In terms of future directions for this research, I would hope that my ideas on the relationship between neutralities and absence and presence could be expanded through a broader conversation with critical geopolitics.

7.6.1) Dramaturgical perspectives

In relation to the current trends that consider geopolitics from performative and dramaturgical perspectives, it might be useful to connect the idea of *staged and unstaged significance* and *staged and unstaged insignificance* with the notion of sublime and banal diplomacies (Neumann 2016). Neumann (2016) argues that although it is culturally-specific, understatement and randomness are key elements of diplomatic performance. He uses 10th century Constantinople to illustrate how an emperor wearing plain clothes and holding a meeting in a tent enacts "the awe-inspiring fact of his (sublime) being" (2015:86) because he doesn't deploy, the throne, silks, acrobats etc. one knows are at his disposal. Neumann's attention to the multisensory stimulation involved in displays of diplomacy is another reminder that there is more to theatrics than the visual, and that there is a more complex relationship between neutralities, absence and presence that could be extended further. More work could be done on the impact of staged diplomatic performances through emotional and affective geographies of neutrality.

I have already drawn attention to McConnell, Moreau and Dittmer's (2012) understanding of mimicry by non-states in geopolitics. Here the absent thing is the state and because it does not or cannot fully replicate official diplomacy, the performance reinforces the sovereign state system but simultaneously disrupts it. Contrastingly, the co-production of neutralities and The Hague International Peace and Justice suggests to some extent staging the absence of official state diplomacy. Therefore the question is whether this amounts to the same thing. Is it similar or opposite to the case of Tibetan Government in Exile (TGiC) that uses mimicry for the purpose of attaining sovereignty and territory, or to the example of the International

Christian Embassy in Jerusalem (ICEJ), which does not just represent an existing aspiring global actor but produces one as "the flows of money and organisational network of The ICEJ provide an infrastructure through which Christian Zionism exists, acts and is identifiable" (2012:810). The challenge is to think of ways to explore this relationship theoretically and empirically, taking into account the notion of 'un'organisational effects.

7.6.2) Non-state actors in diplomacy, peace and security

The above discussion is part of a broader debate on multiple and relational diplomatic practices and places produced by non-state actors. Therefore, it would be interesting to consider how my ideas add to those who have interrogated the presencing and absencing of "the national" in what constitutes diplomacies and paradiplomacies, through cities, regions and transnational entities (Kuus 2016, Mamadouh and van der Wusten 2016). Kuus's work is particularly relevant here as she discusses how multiple European identities and geographies reflecting national interests, are forged through the emerging people and practices of a transnational legal person (the EEAS). Whilst the rhetoric might be about national *or* supranational diplomatic cultures, there is no binary or dissolution of state diplomacy. A relational geography of diplomacy might benefit from further empirical focus on the emotional and affective relationship between neutralities-of-competence, bureaucracies, audit cultures and serendipity, and also how they might consolidate or collapse a binary between 'the international' and 'the European'. This would draw in Kuus's other consideration of absent presence through the "dead relative" of Europe as a geographical concept (Kuus 2014).

It would also be useful to extend work on The Hague itself. As discussed earlier in the thesis, one of the intentions was to add to the political and urban geographical perspectives of van der Wusten (2005) and Mamadouh and van der Wusten (2016) by offering a more embodied and emotional and affective approach. Given the shared interest in the architecture and layout of the city (Mamadouh et al 2015), there are several directions in which this conversation could go to emphasise absence. One idea

suggested to me by a participant, is to interrogate the visions of a 'World City' and buildings that were planned but never built, by city architects Berlage and Dudok before and after World War Two. This may involve an understanding of the Dutch De Stijl movement (of which Mondriaan was a part) and the Atlantik Wall and how they are (un)represented and experienced today. I am not suggesting they directly speak to neutrality but that how they do or do not, could lead to theoretical insights in diplomacy. There are other alternatives. A relational and architectural geography of the Peace Palace would do the same. The designs that failed, its checkered financing and usage history, and its consumption by current users could be fruitful and would do important work in exploring presence and absence in the geography of architecture and critical geopolitics. It could bring together textual analysis and ethnography with a focus on emotions and affects.

To continue the discussion on multiple and relational diplomatic practices and places produced by marginal, non-state actors, it is important to add states that might be considered on the margins, for example neutral and post-neutral states. Neumann (2013) has already addressed the theme through what he calls third party states, and it is the focus of IR specialists on neutrality. The latter argue that neutral foreign policy and the world system is an ongoing, inter-related outcome of creating state identity and norms, and managing external relations. Therefore, there are many different neutralities produced by individual 'neutral' states and even if realist, idealist and international society perspectives regard them as aberrations or irrelevant, they are still an integral part of international relations. For this reason, I believe there is more room for further empirical work to explore how individual state neutralities uphold or disrupt the official diplomacies and the world system of sovereign states. One way to explore this as I have done in The Hague, is to consider how this is manifested in their relationship with the international organisations located on their soil, materially, emotionally and affectively. One participant comparing the Vienna International Centre to the International Zone in The Hague, remarked:

"But the way the Austrian government have set it up and built it. It's up on a purpose-built, a man-made hill. You have to get up to it, and then it is all, the building ... it's

encompassing, it looks like it's all one but they are all actually individual buildings merged into one massive area. But to get into there, you have to go through a passage, your really feel that you are separated from… and you are working in a neutral zone. So if you asked me what would be my utopia, I would say that is – pretty much. The government in Austria and the Viennese City Council, the synergy is such that they make everyone feel welcome." (Chris, interview, October 2011)

Geneva too could be considered. There is also the question of the absence of an 'international zone' in ex-European neutral countries such as Costa Rica.

The emphasis on the constitution and role of neutral and post-neutral states could also be deployed to further interrogate their unique role in peace, justice and security. The problem as Agius (2011) sees it is that discursively, communities of elites are overriding the importance of the distinct contribution of these 'neutral' state publics, through institutions such as the EU. The already diluted neutral foreign policies of Sweden, Austria, Finland, Malta and Ireland to military non-alignment and the diversity and specificity of the identities and values that created them are slowly being eroded to the extent (she feels), we are on the brink of post-neutrality politically, as well as legally. As a result neutrality becomes more and more abstracted, insipid and useless. To an extent I agree with her that better solutions to global conflict might be achieved by keeping the debate open, by exploiting the different perspectives of those people in current, neutral states. On the other hand, this thesis points to the role of a neutral mindset and behaviours connected to a post-neutral state (The Netherlands) in the maintenance of the existing geopolitical system and disparity between states.

These two perspectives on neutrality could be reconciled by returning to The Hague, to explore the relationship between military engagement, 'neutralities' and 'securities' explicitly. I have already described how The Hague is staged as *in*significant by discursive and material enactments of *lack of* security. Critical discourse analysis of past and present city branding initiatives such as "City Without Walls" and "International Centre of Peace and Justice and Security" could further explore the connection between the city's naming, and emotional and affective experiences of

security on the ground. Disturbances around the new ICC building and corresponding spaces of protest are of worthy consideration ensuring the continued exploration of the relationship between peace and violence, taking into account the work of Fregonese (2012).

7.6.3) Governmentality and (un)organising across scales

An understanding of neutrality and its relationship with (un) staged (in) significances and The Hague International City of Peace and Justice could be extended by a stronger theoretical engagement with political and legal geography and anthropology, for example through the exploration of its role in (trans) governmentality and the legitimization of a governing agency. Recent interest in this field has explored non-state governmentality at different scales. Experts have explored the relevance of managing populations over territories in their consideration of *what* is being governed and *how*, and how that relates to state governmentality (Elden 2007, McConnell 2012). An exploration of The Hague ICPJ, which has no jurisdiction over territory, army or powers of arrest could add to this debate. It could be argued that its micro-political 'neutral' practices fashion behaviour and self-regulation, constructing a population under 'international' rule of law. This recognisable entity in turn legitimizes The Hague ICPJ, yet at the same time conceals its organisation and power. Research could focus on the international legal community, including its academic institutions such as The Asser Institute and HiiL (The Hague Institution for the Innovation of Law) probing its tireless efforts to innovate, exploring how it might open up or close space to question and develop a more inclusive, liberal democracy.

I also believe more work is needed to consider the relationship between staged *in*significance and 'hands-off' neutrality and governmentality, which could involve more autoethnography. Perhaps it is specific to the topic under investigation (neutrality) but throughout the process, I have been continuously confronted with 'epiphanies' (Bochner and Ellis 2011) about how things I associated particularly with the state, are as much about the governance of human interpersonal relationships

(Pain 2009, 2015). This connection between scales has been revealed through studying emotion and affect through emotion and affect (Everts and Wagner 2012). On a personal level, the sense of complacency I had about being neutral has been seriously questioned by understanding neutrality as competence, international and (un)organised. I am also now particularly self-conscious of how much I engage in presenting myself as nothing special and lucky.

Acknowledging I will probably never stop performing these forms of neutrality, I take heart from Rens (the research participant), Richmond (2011) and Pickerill and Chatterton (2006) who believe that everyone has some power to define and navigate their own versions of civil behaviour. If I can never be neutral about neutrality as Zelletin suggests, I can at least (hopefully with others) keep cross-examining it.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet for a PhD Case Study
The International Zone in The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice

Why?
I am interested in exploring how the phenomenon of international peace and justice is organised and how the city of The Hague might be more than just a context in which global order is addressed. What intrigues me is how relations between the physical and conceptual space commonly refered to as "The Hague: International City of Peace and Justice" might impact on the meanings and practices of peace and justice and the other way round. I am fascinated by the connections between international organisations, the City Council, the media and 'ordinary people' in this area.

What?
I will use the (heart of) "the international zone" in The Hague as a case study as its location enables me to hone in on some specific organisational and public spaces e.g. the ICTY (The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia), Europol, the OPCW (The Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons) and The World Forum Convention Centre. The unit of analysis is the (heart of) the international zone rather than one individual or multiple organisations, as the research comes from a human, geographical perspective which questions the notions of space, place, scale and boundaries.

How?
The researcher will analyse texts, collect observational material and conduct around 30 interviews with people involved in the development, daily operation and financing of (the heart of) the international zone. This may include lawyers; interns; academics; police; scientists; support staff; uniform staff; city planners; marketing professionals; city planners; and local resident activists. Where possible the researcher will shadow interviewees at work for half a day or the time agreed.

Who?
The researcher, Cathie Traynor, is a PhD student in human geography at Leicester University in the UK. Her professional background is in training and development. She has two Masters Degrees in training/human resource management and social anthropology. She has lived in The Hague since 2005, five minutes walk from the heart of the international zone.

What will the research be used for?
The research will be presented as a PhD thesis and may be published later in an academic journal or book. The researcher will explore the issues of ethical representation and confidentiality with each interview participant and honour any agreed commitments, prior to publication. Direct quotes will be anonymised (unless requested otherwise) and only included if permission is granted.

Appendix 2: Informed Consent Sheet for a PhD case study
The International Zone in The Hague, International City of Peace and Justice

Name of interview participant:		
Role or former role in international zone:		
Please tick or cross the following statements:		
I confirm that I have read the participant information sheet for the study and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions.		
I agree to take part in the study on the understanding that my participation is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time without justification.		
I am willing for the interview to be audio-recorded.		
I will highlight anything in the interview discussion that I wish to remain totally confidential.		
I would like the researcher to use a pseudonym if I am to be quoted in the study.		
I would like to receive a transcript of the interview to check prior to its use in publications.		
I would like the opportunity to comment on the draft thesis prior to its publication, providing I agree to the confidentiality of its contents and provide my feedback within a certain timeframe.		
I would like to receive an electronic copy of any publications in which I am quoted.		
I understand that my current or former organisation may require a copy of any publication of the research.		
Other:		
Participant's signature and date:		
Name of researcher:		
Location:		
Please do not hesitate to ask me if you have any further questions or would like to change your agreement. *Contact Details:* *Prins Mauritslaan 88* *2582LV,* *Den Haag,* *The Netherlands.* *Tel. 0031 70 354 7878 / 0627 170625* *cathie_traynor@msn.com*		
I, Cathie Traynor, agree to meet the requests of the participant and to abide by his or her requests for confidentiality, unless it involves criminal activity.		
Researcher's signature and date:		

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