EVACUATION

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POLITICS
AND
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CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

evacuate, v.t. (-uable) empty
(stomach, etc.); (esp. of troops)
withdraw from (place);
Discharge (excrement, etc.)
Evacuation, n. (vacuum).
It all fits, the withdrawing, the emptiness, the troops, the vacuum—above all
the vacuum. I was evacuated. I won't comment on the excrement.
— JOHN FURSE, IN B. S. JOHNSON, *THE EVACUEES*

SCENE 1: JULIA GILLARD'S SHOE. In 2012 Australian prime minister Julia Gillard
was attending an Australia Day remembrance event at the restaurant the
Lobby, located close to the iconic Tent Embassy in Canberra. Ironically, the
event was the inaugural National Emergency Medal to honor responders to
emergencies such as the Black Saturday bushfires of 2009. Protesters, hearing
of opposition leader Tony Abbott's disparaging words earlier that morning,
about trying to "move on" from the grievances brought by Indigenous political
action, surrounded the venue and began chanting and beating on the glass.
Gillard's security and police escort, unnerved by the events, which they de-
scribed as "deteriorating," decided to evacuate their VIP Gillard to a waiting car.
    Gillard's evacuation became a demeaning but ambivalent signal, at
once asserting the sovereignty of executive authority and also, even more,

undermining it, especially the prime minister's. Close protection security parted and pushed protesters back in a displacing and divisive set of movements. An Aboriginal elder lost his balance in the wake of the evacuation and was forced to grip the stair rail as security stormed by. As they exited, Gillard tripped and lost her shoe. Her bodyguards dragged and then carried Gillard's body—for these seconds an apparently empty vessel of political autonomy and authority—her person buried in her security guards' limbs. On video the moment seems over the top. Protesters, press, and passersby seem bemused, the threat, perceived or real, overly inflated. The response offers a form of protection to a political leader that others have no access to.

In the wake of the evacuation, the Tent Embassy and the Aboriginal Parliament found and retained the shoe, suggesting it could be put into economic exchange. The evacuation becomes a rupture with the single shoe flowing between the evacuation and its response, and the singular evacuation an embarrassment of excessive and unequal protective (im)mobilities.

The shoe moved between different activists and figureheads, such as Paul Coe. The late Indigenous activist academic Pat Eatock, who was given the shoe, stated during the events, "She can't have it, this is going on eBay. . . . We are going to see if we can get some money for the (tent) embassy" (quoted in Wright 2012). The shoe is even imagined, by Eatock, as becoming a future museum exhibit: "I see it sitting like Cinderella's shoe in a glass case in a museum 10 years from now as this is part of the history of race relations in Australia," as if a symbol of racial struggle, First Nations rights and land titles, colonial (dis)possession, and enduring marginality. It is also more: the shoe is a vehicle for the coming together of a diverse collective in emergency in a way that continues the rupture of sovereign power performed in the over-the-top evacuation. The protesters hold on to the shoe and offer it back as if were an item of sovereign property, mocking the practices the Australian state has forced on First Nations or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through land claims, blood rights, and more. In play and creativity, the protesters mobilize and are mobilized by the shoe. Some pose with it and pretend to try it on, which shifts some of the anger performed during the protest into something different (figure I.1). It seems more solidaristic and even sympathetic when the protesters return the shoe the next day.

SCENE 2: EXECUTIVE ORDER. A 2016 executive order given by North Dakota state governor Jack Dalrymple requires the "cleanup" and mandatory evacuation of several thousand protesters, most Standing Rock Sioux, who are encamped to resist the Dakota Access Pipeline. The order is followed by a

FIGURE I.I. Gwenda Stanley, a Gomeroi woman, poses with Julia Gillard's lost shoe. Newspix/Getty Images, 2012.

further eviction order by the Army Corps of Engineers and a further evacuation order by the new governor in the spring of the next year. One of the many techniques that continued to displace the Standing Rock protesters from their camp, including the dispersal effects of chemical and muscular technologies developed by the police and Israeli military in relation to riots and terrorist and political insurgencies (Simmons 2017), was the use of emergency and evacuation legislation under the 1985 North Dakota Disaster Act. This gave the governor powers to "direct and compel" evacuations of camp activists on the grounds that the "harsh winter conditions" made the encampments unsafe within the evacuation area, which meant the withdrawal of state emergency aid and medical health care (Wong and Levin 2016). Given that fire hoses were turned on the protesters in the cold conditions a week earlier, the evacuation order was a cynical means of removal under the guise of protecting the camp's occupants from the subzero conditions, the potential floodwaters rising in the thaw of winter, and, ironically, the environmental pollution produced by waste from the camp's occupants.

In fact, the coalition of Indigenous American tribes and activists had their own autonomous methods of emergency provision better focused for the camp's care. What's more, the Standing Rock tribal government had a history of declaring their own emergency measures and requesting federal

assistance under what has been codified as "tribal emergency preparedness law" (Sunshine and Hoss 2015; see also FEMA 2013; Government Accountability Office 2018).

Between these two scenes, we see a range of fraught relationships within evacuations caught up in contentious histories of colonialism, displacement, occupation, resource extraction, and state and civic power. Standing Rock gives us an insight into the abuses and technicalities of emergency politics, legislation, and evacuation practices and policy that threaten an Indigenous community within an already contracting space of traditional territories under pressure from vast infrastructure expansion with huge environmental implications.

The different evacuations in these scenes show competing emergencies at work. Both sets of protesters interrupt the exertion of state powers in the form of emergency agency in order to lay claim to their own in what Ben Anderson (2017) and Bonnie Honig (2009) might interpret as a civil politics of emergency. A civil politics of emergency criticizes the exceptional and sovereign circling of emergency within executive power, or the bureaucratic and elite spaces of state decision-making, and the more banal violences of emergency practices. And yet both scenes show some promise. We see bodies turning toward and attuning to one another, orienting to one another amid struggle. The protests were collective efforts to stand up to state, logistical, and infrastructural power (Chua et al. 2018) through the temporary bubble-like excursion of civic and Indigenous sovereignties that Kristen Simmons (2017) identifies as the countergeographies of "settler atmospherics." Emergencies can create possibilities of attunement to each other, opportunities to "arc toward one another—becoming-open in an atmosphere of violence" (Simmons 2017).

Such ambivalent senses of evacuation—and what Honig (2009, 2021) conceptualizes as "agonistic" relations in emergency, an approach to politics that values not homogeneity but difference, antagonism, risk, even enmity, and often ambivalence—are central to this book. This follows from Rebecca Solnit's (2010) skepticism toward "catastrophic" renderings of emergency. Her concern, drawn from a patchwork of examples, including New Orleans's experience of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, or that of Californians in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, is for centralized authorities acting under what she calls a kind of "elite panic," when emergency becomes a way to legitimize the consolidation of power by governments, police, and security agencies especially. Gillard's evacuation and the heavy-handed and disingenuous

forms of emergency evacuation at Standing Rock demonstrate the sometimes excessive and pernicious forms of evacuation wielded as state power. But while disaster may lead to the most extreme forms of inhumanity, Solnit also finds in it the possibility of collective and social euphoria and togetherness, generosity, and altruism. Evacuation may show the best and worst of us.

This book seeks to stay with evacuation's agonistic politics and more affirmative versions of emergency as a form of critique and promise. What this book turns on is that when we really and finally underscore what evacuations mean and do, we see how their complexities, ambivalences, and ambiguities are precisely the qualities evacuations are often wielded for: frequently as highly technical achievements, disinterested and yet highly interesting. The many agonisms of emergency drive and constitute so many evacuations. On the one hand, evacuations can perform some of the most unjust, undemocratic, and violent forms of displacement, which build on and exacerbate (neo)liberal individualizing, exclusionary, and normative assumptions. On the other hand, and in spite of these tendencies, they promise human agency, collectivity, compassion, and togetherness.

WHAT THIS BOOK IS ABOUT

This book explores how evacuation has emerged as a concept and a technique of governance to critically explore how and where evacuations are designed and made, and with what effects. Despite the apparent ease with which it is uttered, or called for, or demanded, evacuation is often out of the reach of many. This unevenness of mobility—who can do it and who cannot, and the diverging quality of the experiences of those who are evacuated—is the central concern of this book, as is an attempt to highlight more collective and socially *just* evacuations. How, especially in its governance, might we make evacuation more about *we*? How do we highlight and champion moments, as Solnit (2010) has sought, when evacuations actually collectivize and democratize?

The book doesn't really try to fix evacuation. I don't want to tell planners and consultants and engineers and local authorities how to do their jobs. Rather, it puts evacuation into thought and a wider social and political context of empirical research and conceptual and political discourse, so that it is *not just the job* of planners and consultants to think about it. Part of my claim is that evacuation has tended to be put in the domain of public authorities, legal expertise, technical know-how. Evacuation is frequently designed and planned by people other than those who are made or encouraged to do

it. Some communities creatively resist their enrollment within evacuation practices but may demand it in other moments. This is common to emergency governance (Honig 2009). With both proceduralism *and* discretion, emergencies are governed through the elite concentration of knowledge and experience. Honig instead seeks out "new sites of power in emergency settings . . . propulsive generative powers of political action" (10). Of course, ordinary people frequently have to plan for evacuation and help their loved ones prepare for it too. For others this is relatively rare. In some parts of the world, self-evacuations from fire, land denudation, cyclones, and more are much more common, where publics are sometimes involved in drawing up some sort of community-level organization.

It is peculiar that apart from a few isolated places, academia has been relatively blind to evacuation; it is something of an afterthought or a technical process outside of politics. This book seeks to foreground evacuation mobility itself and acknowledge fields like disaster studies and emergency management that explore the benefits and problems of evacuation for policy, planning, and business (Fritz and Williams 1957; Perry 1979; Quarantelli 1980). Several authors, seeking to work across fields such as sociology, human geography (Cutter and Barnes 1982), and disaster management and migration (Zelinsky and Kosinski 1991), have called for the examination of evacuation as an important form of mobility in its own right. It is difficult to claim that this has happened very widely, however, and I worry that the way evacuation surfaces and recedes from view is both a symptom and a condition of its success in the operation of power. In other words: that we don't write and think about it matters and tells us something important about evacuation.

Rosalind Kidd's (1997) *The Way We Civilise* is a classic history of the exploitation and dispossession of Aboriginal populations under the administration of Aboriginal affairs in Queensland. We learn how Australia's North was under threat from Japanese attack during World War II. Some believed the First Nations Aboriginal population to be sympathetic to the Japanese. Thousands were forcibly "evacuated" under the pretense that it was for *their* own protection and the protection of others. The evacuees suffered inadequate provisions and endured extreme poverty, disease, and starvation in Woorabinda, in central Queensland. Kidd shows that the violence and racial injustice performed by the evacuation were part of a much wider bureaucratic and administrative process. And thus the things we call evacuations and the *way* they are conceived, planned, managed, and executed can be drawn into wider contexts, narratives, practices, and experiences of

governmental, administrative, and bureaucratic power, in league with colonial and imperial projects. This book attends to the processes, practices, nitty-gritty doings, and performances—the arts, technologies, and experiences of evacuation—as much as it recognizes the strategies, concepts, logics, and rationalities that have driven it.

To take this further, I take inspiration from other genealogies of technology and power. By exploring the emergence of territory as a political concern, Stuart Elden explains that "territory is a word, a concept, and a practice, and the relation between these can only be grasped historically" (2013, 20). Elden bemoans the imprecision of the language of territory, preferring to stick with a more precise historical-geographic understanding. *Evacuation* appears to have been used rather self-evidently, with little sustained examination of its meaning, its historical and geographic character, or the ways in which it has been contested and struggled over. I follow Elden's brilliant genealogy to trace evacuation as a "term," "concept," and "practice"; to investigate the conceptual history of evacuation; and to explore how particular words and their meanings are tied up in evacuation, how specific concepts and practices are named or "designated" as evacuation, and how evacuation is done as a material and embodied practice.

But it is hard to focus on a concept that at its heart is about negation. Evacuation is often about when something or someone is taken away. A denial of the ongoing everyday of life that results from this separation. A severing of relations, temporary and sometimes permanent. Evacuation is often a negative move even if it saves your life. It is emptiness, says the chapter's epigraph, when something is removed from the self. Moreover, evacuation's performance as a "technical" and linguistic object is crucial, to the extent that the word is regularly used and uttered without thought, and its utterance may enclose its properties as much as disclose them, which is part of what this book explores as the aesthetic and affective capacities of evacuation. There has been little attempt to build a theory or conceptual framework with which to make sense of it. This results in an "unproblematic common sense view of evacuation" (Aguirre 1983, 417), which I fear has meant leaving a void in its own name. Evacuation's implicit property is to vacate a position while being literally positioned, poised, in potential. It can name a hopeful practice of escape. Almost entirely different meanings of the term can coexist with one another too, antagonistically or indifferently. The familiar utterance "They have been evacuated" can be ultimately hollow, implying an outside agency pulling one to safety when, instead, a community or group were forced to undertake such movements on their own. Such a treatment is very much

in tune with Ann Laura Stoler's (2016, 54) recognition of the "invocations and evacuations" of colonial history, where Stoler evocatively describes the colony as philosophically bypassed, holding little to no weight or conceptual "cachet," but, fittingly, "a political concept in wait, poised to discharge its potentiality," to be called on.

Some peoples have even been moved to death in evacuation's name, given its uneven and unstable relationship to protection. Kidd (1997) recognized the persistent euphemisms of terms such as *dispersal* to describe the displacement and massacre of Indigenous peoples. This book interrogates such practices of naming, pairing those designations and the emergence of evacuation as a concept with "an analysis of practices and the workings of power" (Elden 2013, 8). Precisely as it is taken as self-evident, *evacuation* regularly conjoins with other names, concepts, and practices. Evacuation is promiscuous. This property was realized in one of the only studies dedicated to the idea: Wilbur Zelinsky and Leszek Kosinski's (1991) *The Emergency Evacuation of Cities*, which points out the difficulties in its conceptualization. Evacuation is a "polymorphous" notion that straddles "other modes of movement" (304).

Undoubtedly, it is possible to see evacuation as a technique of protection and a colonial and development technology, sometimes residing in bio- and necropolitical forms of sovereign power. Certainly evacuations arise because of the hazardous nature of contemporary industrial capitalism, extraction, and neocolonialism through chemical spills, nuclear disasters, and building fires; the climatic changes and shocks that go with those processes, such as the increasing regularity of wildfires, cyclones, flood events, landslides, and other extreme weather; and the ways in which our societies are structured and ordered, which places some communities at far greater risk of vulnerability to these events and therefore at far greater risk of being or needing to be evacuated. This is not to assume evacuation universality, however, as an expression of a totalizing apparatus or logic of security, or to grant it simple transferability, as a diagram of power unhooked from one context and transferred into another (Deleuze 2006). It may move through transmissions of emergency practices and safety regulations and standards through global institutions and humanitarian organizations, appearing in comparable conditions and circumstances, but it rarely emerges as quite the same thing.

The focus of this book is to follow the traces, (post)colonial circuits, and heterogeneous conditions of overlapping concerns and sometimes contradic-

tory imperatives and competing technologies and practices (Collier 2009), which somehow hang together through evacuation and what I take to be its "multiple and unstable valences," inspired by Stoler's (2016, 5) recursive approach to the genealogies of the "colony." Stoler's extraordinary approach is to center on how "'knowledge things' are *disassembled*, reassembled, fail or fall apart" (75). I take this to focus on the "tenuous and tenacious qualities," "oscillations in form," and "political rationalities" that might underwrite evacuations, and their deployments in policy and practice, as *evacuation* may oscillate between "charged political concept and innocuous common noun" (76). This is to deploy genealogy as a method, and recursion as a kind of analytics, which means to "'stay on the track of dispersions rather than unities, of the 'dissension of other things,'" urging our attention to "innocuous interstices of words, intimacies, and things" that are repeated in different forms and guises, to the recurrent "visions and practices" of imperial formations and other power structures (24, 6). Evacuation is regularly announced, named, and called, but more regularly, as a "subjacent political concept," it "never stands alone. It is always relational" (117).

Of course, this leaves many gaping holes. Most of the examples and case studies within the book dwell on the Global North, especially, but not exclusively, within the anglophone world, as well as materials available in English for the most part. At the same time, I recognize the interdependency of those worlds with the Global South, with environmental-ecological linkages, transnational movements of people and culture, labor and economic relations and ties, and imperial and neocolonial relations. Indeed, the relics and new formations of colonialism are performed directly through evacuation and emergency planning in liberal humanitarianism, in logistical practices, and even labor industry standards, which are in part transmitted, hybridized, and coconstructed within circuits of influence, aid giving, and sometimes also training and learning.

Evacuation troubles the dichotomies present in the most pressing global and regional concerns and sharp and highly visible displacements, while persisting within the everyday as routine, invisible, and enduring (Cahill and Pain 2019; Christian and Dowler 2019; Nixon 2011). As Yarimar Bonilla (2020) has explored within a context of wider writings on coloniality as itself disastrous, emergencies and their governance cannot be separated from racio-colonial structures and histories (Faria et al. 2021, 89). Such histories may form conditions that set the stage for evacuation and from which it is difficult to imagine or perform evacuations otherwise.

In this highly partial positioning, therefore, the book examines when evacuation becomes another kind of imposition of ideas about how we should deal with emergency, who should be responsible for it, who should be the beneficiaries of such action, and what kinds of lives are valued. Evacuation is entirely uneven, and we must be wary of any attempted universalizations. This book is, in part, a type of critique. *Evacuation* is a simultaneously ethical and political provocation, raising questions about who can evacuate, who wants to evacuate, who can't evacuate, who conducts and plans and orders evacuations, and who else is forced to submit to evacuation.

In parallel with this are questions or rather tensions over what an evacuating subject or evacuee is: whether a body, or an atomistic or fluidic representation of a person; or an assemblage of materials and agencies made corporeally vulnerable through human-animal companionship and human-human solidarities and sympathies. These tensions rub together most around the individual and the collective: the political agency of an individual versus the agencies of a multiple. More often than not, evacuations involve frictions, antagonisms, and agonistic (Honig 2009) relations. This book leans more heavily toward the more collectively embodied forms of evacuation as a way to critique the singular and the exclusive and to foster an ethics of evacuation that, while recognizing evacuation's many ambivalences (and negations), is generous, plural, affirmative, and hopeful.

Some evacuations, and the constellation of actors, technologies, practices, politics, and discourses that shape them, err toward very different forms, experiences, and results from this. Adi Ophir (2007) has identified two different genealogies and versions of modern state sovereignty and their relation to emergencies and disasters, from the "catastrophic" to the "providential." And yet Ophir's typology tends to reduce evacuation to two diametrically opposing types. I am more interested in how these types break down, to move between and complicate these different versions. Ophir's schema could work as a continuum of emergency directions or tendencies—from the caring to the most violent—through which evacuations can be analyzed. Some evacuations, even as they bring populations closer to the care of its processes, registers, and abstractions, may perform various indifferences, abandoning less valued lives, while demonstrating the best of human togetherness, solidarity, and altruism. Evacuation can allow the providential and catastrophic aspects—multiple forms and meanings—of evacuation to overlap, interfere, and coexist. Evacuation might be made of mobility and immobility, care and control, embrace and abandonment, meaning to be simultaneously cared for *and* imperiled (Pallister-Wilkins 2020).

At the heart of the book are important tensions between evacuation and liberal governmentality. Evacuation is perhaps one of the most illiberal things we can do, as we rip ourselves or are ripped from ties to place, to home, to social, familial, and even interspecies networks and relations, destabilizing attachments while new and unpredictable ones may be fostered. Of the millions of people fleeing the increasingly frequent catastrophic wildfires in the western United States and in Canada, in the Amazonian region, in Australia and southern Europe, or the flooding events in Henan province in China and in western Germany, responses have varied wildly: from gratitude when some were evacuated from life-threatening circumstances to disgust at the inadequacies of planning and resources to evacuate those who could not be and were not. There is equal concern over policy responses to the increasing number of these events at the hands of climate change; annoyance at a perceived overreach of governmental and state power to remove people from their homes; and despondency in the habits of those who routinely leave their homes to wait out periods of bushfire threat or high-risk weather and then return to their dwellings. Who could deny that those who were embroiled in the chaos of the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in 2021, encamped in or unable to get to the Kabul airport, or who sought evacuation trains in war-torn Ukraine following Russia's invasion and brutal bombardments, have an adequate claim or need to be "evacuated"?

The book's approach to evacuation as an object of governance is to draw on approaches that are sensitive to the study of mobility and emergency and that consider the tensions at play in evacuation, especially around state, organizational, individual, and collective agencies. What kind of subject is imagined or assumed to do evacuation or be evacuated? Liberalism has been characterized by free, autonomous, and individual mobility (contra the collective above), as scholars such as Hagar Kotef (2015) and Tim Cresswell (2006, 166) have argued. The crucial contradiction at the heart of liberal motion is that individuals may move at another's expense, that their freedom of mobility may actually imprison other bodies nearby or far away. In evacuation the (im)mobile body could very easily be simplified within technical procedures, diagrams, and registers to have an assumed capacity for mobility. For example, Zelinsky and Kosinski (1991) and Benigno Aguirre (1983) constructed a kind of taxonomic categorization of evacuation where the evacuee appears as an individual "decision-making unit," acting with their own rationalities and enjoying "some measure of freedom in choosing

whether to stay or go" (Zelinsky and Kosinski 1991, 8). This book is cautious of such assumptions, led instead by conceptualizations of the politics and (in)justices of individual and collective forms of (im)mobility (Adey 2016; Cook and Butz 2016; Redfield 2008; Sheller 2013; Sodero 2019).

Evacuation has even been viewed as a type of liberal and economic "adjustment" measure in which communities and societies are meant to respond to an emergency. Gilbert White, who was regarded as the father of floodplain management in the United States (Kates and Burton 2008; Macdonald et al. 2012; Tierney 2014), was highly critical of the interventionist strategies of the Army Corps of Engineers, the martial organization responsible for the building and maintenance of river and lake levees like those that circled New Orleans (Molotch 2014, 157). For White, technocratic infrastructures like this worked to increase risk rather than reduce it. This was the "levee effect" (Collier 2014, 287). A levee might actually encourage development, increasing the risk exposure of people to floodwaters. White expressed a form of liberal, technocratic, and abstract thinking (Kates 1971, 448) to the extent that evacuation and emergency planning could be a basic adjustment people could make—to simply move out of the way. Evacuation is anything but that simple, however, as if an individual can simply act with knowledge and make rational choices. Kenneth Hewitt captures the tonal shortcomings of White's approach: "This cool, reasonable view is, however, not only asking a lot of someone facing 'a roaring typhoon': it is a far cry from the world most of us live in ordinarily. . . . Man may appear in the long run to be a 'manager' selecting certain uses for the 'neutral stuff' of nature. Few men have that opportunity. . . . Does all this mean 'choice' is nonexistent? No . . . insofar as action is concerned, choice is largely regulated by the distribution of power in society" (1980, 310).

This book is highly critical of the persistence of this thinking and seeks to demand more of evacuation concepts and practices.

RECURSIONS AND REPRODUCTION

It is fruitful to consider evacuation recursively. Sometimes this means following how evacuation's different forms turn up again and again, to use recursion as an analytics that allows events to be "understandable in their specificity but not reducible to the uniqueness of time and place" (Stoler 2018, 544). Of the most common recursions followed in the book are forms of social reproduction. Feminist perspectives can also be brought to bear critically on this. This book is attentive to a logic that can go with evacuation as a means to put some valued life or something valued through mobility in order to

circulate it back into something. It is a protective and reproductive move, to protect reproduction itself and keep what John Preston calls "the socio-temporal web of Capital's value relationships spinning" (2018, 11). Feminist-informed research on "social reproduction" (T. Bhattacharya 2017; Vogel 1983) has sought to understand the ways in which different oppressions, power relations, and the social-spatial organization of daily life are produced and reproduced. This understands that the "activities involved in sustaining and reproducing daily life" (Braedley and Luxton 2015, vii) are not biological or essentialized characteristics of social difference, even if these forms of reproductive life are stubbornly able to persist. While an evacuation might seem quite alien to these labors, I try to keep less with the clear ruptures and descending lines of evacuation than with the "strange continuities" (Stoler 2016, 28) of recuperation and reanimation, as evacuation rips people from everyday experience and brings them back to it, while reproducing nascent structures of power and inequality, lurking in potential in the background objects and infrastructures of our homes, workplaces, and public spaces.

For me, writing as a British academic, it is difficult to escape some national narratives of evacuation that cement these reproductions. A feminist address of reproduction steers us to evacuation's centrality within imaginations of familial protection, endurance, and even state (re)productivity. The "Blitz experience" and the figure of the evacuated child were a core scene in how I was taught history at school (Welshman 1998). It is understood as a crucial moment of social change in Britain, especially as evacuation mobilities revealed important fractures around class prejudice, racial suspicion, and religious sectarianism, and where evacuees were subject to pathologized stereotypes as the carriers of disease, immorality, and incivilities (Welshman 1999). Mothers and the idea of motherhood came under particular scrutiny (Andrews 2019) within different configurations of classed pronatalism and im/morality too as children and some accompanying mothers were evacuated from cities in several stages. Evacuation became a key prompt for post-war state welfarism, but it was primarily an anticipatory measure to protect different kinds of reproductivity and futurity. The principles for this were partly economic, moral, and affective (Overy 2013). Dead children would distract from the war effort, demoralizing a population on whom the government relied for its legitimacy. The evacuation was a kind of withdrawal, a saving, even if some wondered what they were "being saved for" (John Furse, in Johnson 1968).

Given the discussion above on mobile bodies and liberal autonomy, I am interested in the role of evacuation in embodied and biological notions of

reproduction too. Evacuation as a protective concept has been surprisingly central to some debates over women's reproductive rights: as a way to protect the lifestyles and life chances of women—as well as their bodies—*from* motherhood. In this form, evacuation offers a critique *and* an affirmative politics of emergency that seeks to reclaim individual and collective socialities. For instance, Jeffner Allen's feminist ethics argued explicitly for a "philosophy of evacuation" that would "get women out of motherhood" (1996, 315). Allen renders motherhood as a different kind of threat: "In evacuation from motherhood, I claim my life, body, world as an end in itself" (316). Evacuation moves women away from motherhood as the end of female purpose, agency, and social status and away from what she characterizes as the masculine "invasions" of power and patriarchy. Allen's philosophy emphasizes a different version of female futures, futures that emphasize "the power of the possible, and sometimes actual, collective actions" (325). Allen's is an extraordinary clarifying mark of what evacuation can be: a protective and positive measure, a moving toward the safety of the possible, open, collective future. Yet Allen's concept is just so absent from so many ways that evacuations are imagined, planned, and done. Evacuative reproductivity is often marked on bodies to individualize, seclude, and exclude, working precisely against the protective, promiscuous, hopeful, and solidaristic concept of evacuation Allen demanded, albeit with a very different kind of evacuation in mind.

In relation to the discussion of liberal individualistic autonomy, evacuation challenges the boundaries around which the individual is imagined and around where or what a life is. We can even locate some of these dimensions within debates over biological reproduction and the ethics of abortion. Abortion contains a range of practices and constraints on mobility (Cordelia Freeman 2020). Some ethical and moral debates over abortion between pro-life and pro-choice positions have hinged around a medical technique long known as *dilation and evacuation* (D&E). This is the means by which a fetus is removed from the womb by techniques that turn an unwanted or unviable fetus (both linguistically and physical-mechanically)—and the mother—into a potentially abject and abstract status. This practice of the evacuation is precisely what will end the unborn baby's life. In this instance, what protection from evacuation *is*, or for whom, is remarkably bifurcated. The fetus's death by evacuation is for the protection of the mother and/or family, even if this is not without severe cost. In such a relation, evacuation is a way to induce death and is a form of extremely conflicted and contingent care. And it is why, from a famous philosophical argument, many activists and philosophers have not seen the right to abort as a right to kill an unborn

baby but rather as the choice to determine whether or not a mother has the right to remove, exclude, or "evacuate" a living thing from inside of her, even if that act will directly lead to a fetus's or baby's death. For some, this could even be considered as a "right of evacuation and not a right of termination" (Kaczor 2005, 107). For others, however, abortion should be considered not only as an issue of bodily autonomy but as "a matter of controlling one's reproductive future" given potential mothers "are also acting on their legitimate reproductive right not to become a biological parent" (Overall 2015, 131).

In more familiar uses of the term, evacuation works against female agency and empowerment, and this book is interested in identifying where and why these kinds of inequalities recur. Cyclone Tracy hit the Australian city of Darwin, Northern Territory, on Christmas day in 1974. The city leaders, led by a civilian and military authority—militaries are often charged with responsibility to evacuate others—decided that the city was uninhabitable for women and children. The largest single evacuation in Australia's history sought to reduce the city's population down to 10,500 people from 45,000. People were evacuated by car and airlift to other metropolitan areas.[1] The decision infantilized women (Cunningham 2014), who were excluded from the task of rebuilding the city, while denigrating the reproductive and domestic labor of which women were traditionally the center. The evacuation was a coerced exclusion. The notion of Darwin as a mobile frontier city, fantastic but dangerous, was rehearsed (Hall 1980). As Jon Stratton notes, the rhetoric of "panic and evacuation sits well with the image of a frontier" (1989, 45).

Communications between Darwin and the Red Cross of Australia reveal how women were rendered out of place. In the desolation of the city, with "piles of rubbish (consisting of fallen trees, twisted galvanized iron, wrecked household commodities) in the streets, light poles askew, leafless trees, and no birds"—important aesthetic sensibilities to evacuation's left-behinds— the Red Cross saw Darwin as a "man's town." In their recruitment of a social worker, "consideration" was to be "given to the appointment being a man," perhaps best able to survive a postevacuation context.[2] The already displaced Aboriginal Larrakia community that lived in the vicinity of Darwin found themselves largely forgotten by the efforts of response and recovery, and their social structures were overlooked in the mass evacuation. The disaster was not a triumph, as the local media presented, but a fracturing around racial division, gender inequality, and more communal ways of dealing with property and landownership, leaving the city highly "vulnerable to emergency" (Day 1975).

It is common for Indigenous, racialized, and nonheteronormative social structures, relations, and bodies to challenge the reproductions of evacuation, and this book is interested in identifying the points of rupture when evacuation is forced to confront the limits of its assumptions. As thousands of women were marshaled to holding areas at Darwin's airport, where they were placed on planes with their babies and pets, stories of Greek men dressing up in women's clothes in order to be allowed onto the evacuation flights surfaced.[3] The rumors contributed to the decision to crack down on population movements, requiring IDs and reentry permits. Ethnic slurs surrounded Greek and other immigrant populations, which saw the imaginary cross-dressers as befitting their characterization as "low-life scum," while continuing the homophobia common within the "frontier 'mentality'" of the city (Kerry 2017).

In the wash of these emergencies, multiple reproductions work through evacuation as cherished, protective features and futures return to essentialisms of biology and social difference. A particular idiosyncrasy of Hurricane Katrina was the so-called evacuation babies or Katrina babies and a higher-than-average birth rate, which the media framed as a story of hope within the "rehabilitation" of the city. The celebration of biological reproduction continued a narrative of heterosocial and normative notions of social futurity in which not only queer but Black lives would not fit, despite the "nonlinear, nonbiological modes of reproduction [that] were available to marginalized populations" (Chapman 2017, 83). There is an almost inevitability about some of this in evacuation's recursions. Evacuation continues to exacerbate highly unequal forms of social reproduction and the disinvestment in reproduction itself, as the "social warrant of hostile privatism" was what turned a flood into a disaster (Katz 2008, 18).

The Grenfell Tower fire disaster in the London borough of Kensington in 2017 suggests symptoms of the same problem. Seventy-two residents who could not leave and had even been encouraged to stay inside (to stay put, or not evacuate, somewhat similarly to the *Sewol* ferry disaster in South Korea, in which 250 schoolchildren drowned and which was seen as a huge national failure, particularly over the failure of the crew, coast guard, and other authorities to initiate and direct an evacuation—shifting "responsibility for evacuation from one to another" [Jin and Song 2017, 232]) suffocated or burned to death on the upper floors. Several babies and small children were believed to have been dropped from higher floors to be caught by bystanders. None were. Some witnesses mentioned seeing a mother holding a baby out of the window to help them breathe. A BBC *Newsnight* (Grossman and

Newling 2017) inquiry imputed that bystanders may have supposed the baby was about to be dropped to safety from the flames. The deaths of children, and tales of some spectacular rescues, see an emergency evacuation amplified by the child's symbolization of reproductive futurity.

These examples of "falling bodies, burning towers" demonstrate some of the uneven "heft" Rob Nixon identifies in the "eye-catching" spectacular emergency of "fast violence" (2011, 3), yet they build on racio-colonial and often highly classed and gendered structures of power that have supported much longer-standing inequalities that tend to reproduce individualizing rather than collectivizing tendencies within a social order. This book challenges how these lie in potential within evacuation governance through a recursive analytics, which is especially sensitive to aesthetic orders through which such tendencies continually recur, and where they might be challenged.

AESTHETICS AND COMMON SENSE

This book foregrounds the aesthetics of emergency evacuation (O'Grady 2018). Evacuation is expressed, represented, and experienced via "aesthetic registers" and particular affects. In this section, we open out aesthetics as a powerful way of addressing the visual and other sensory forms, judgments, and affective experiences that evacuation and emergencies shape. For example, while we have been highlighting evacuation's frequently negative and abstracting and almost desensitized feelings, it also brings certain promises. Evacuation promises. It holds a kind of futural affect that narrativizes aesthetic experience (Ngai 2012) as a hopeful, open address that the future will be taken care of because the present will be reproduced. Yet it comes with closing, disclosing, illusionary, and confusing powers that work precisely because those registers are not so readily distinct.

Pause to consider the 1993 installation by Ilya and Emilia Kabakov, titled *Emergency Exit*. They proposed an overwhelming gallery of artwork, installed in a mazelike pattern in a big exhibition space—the original design was for the Halle Tony Palmier in Lyon. The conception was to provide some release, an escape from the "horror and panic," the seizure of "too much art." For them, evacuation could mean protection, "to slip away, get lost in a corner someplace, catch one's breath, if only for a minute . . ." Evacuation combines its multiple connotations with protective escape and the fantasy and possibility of withdrawal, of affective release. The gallery goer, they gesture, might then see "between the walls of the pavilion a dark crevice . . . and

disappear from this 'celebration of art' (Each person knows this desire—to escape)."[4] Their plan is wicked, an illusion carefully designed to resemble an emergency exit corridor and a glazed doorway enticing the potential evacuee with a glimpse of a sunny autumnal landscape behind it. Except the vision of escape is meant to disappear. The gallery goer soon realizes they are looking at a painting of a parkland landscape in a backstage studio space. The evacuation—at least as planned—is intended as a kind of release from some of the feelings commonly associated with emergency and evacuation—like panic—through humor, playfulness, confusion, and dissonance. And, in this instance, it evokes surprise, disappointment, and then, presumably, indifference or glee at being tricked.

The felt expressive and sensory orders of evacuation are crucial to an aesthetic inquiry on the topic. I build on the development of aesthetic thinking via aesthetic categories, judgments, and affects through the work of Sianne Ngai as well as a wider body of researchers beginning to attend to the aesthetics and anaesthetics of mobile life (Barry 2020; Bissell 2022). Similarly, Ghertner, McFann, and Goldstein's volume on security and aesthetics aims to "comprehend the sensory, symbolic, and affective experiences integral to the regulation of bodies and spaces," which constitute different forms of security (2020, 3). They examine the worlds of security between "affect and order, sense and judgment, and inclination and directive" (4), drawing for the most part on Rancierian aesthetic judgments—an understanding that politics is performed through a distribution of the sensible. I turn particularly to Ngai's investigation of aesthetic categories, some of which are minor and persist between more obvious blocks of sensibility, which is to attend to combinations of judgments and affective experiences. These aesthetic categories, which may come all at once, summon particular capacities to affect and be affected, and presuppose our relations with others. This is to consider the different sides of aesthetic categories, a side that is about judgments and the utterances that form them, but also "the form we perceive, a way of seeing." Both, Ngai suggests, are "sutured by affect into a spontaneous experience" (2020, 1). One example Ngai (2012) examines in her wider exploration of the "interesting," "zany," and "cute"—aesthetic products from Western capitalism—is relevant for our study. It comes from a passage from Herbert Marcuse interpreting the RAND Corporation's development of strategic war gaming, where Ngai notices Marcuse's interpretation of RAND's war-gaming products that bring the perception of conflict into a softening, fun, and domesticated world, alongside "the informational, technocractic style of the interesting" (14). While others have noted the anticipatory affective qualities

of RAND's styles of managing and governing catastrophic nuclear futures at length (Ghamari-Tabrizi 2009), Ngai's concerns toward aesthetics help us interrogate those practices within historically emergent aesthetic categories, which contain felt experiences, expressions, and judgments.

Relatedly, some studies of infrastructure have become attuned to the political charge of infrastructure as an affective promise, often through the modulation of an "aesthetic address." These are, for Brian Larkin, the "ambient life that infrastructures give rise to—the tactile ways in which we hear, smell, feel as we move through the world" (2018, 177), and equally the way political force and authority is produced and contested. Part of my approach involves advancing what is probably a more familiar aesthetic critique rendered around infrastructure, in what Kregg Hetherington (2019) and others (Star 1999) have characterized as a figure-ground perspective, where critique lies in the uncovering of previously submerged, "sunk" (Graham and Marvin 2002) materialities and logics we name infrastructure. But so do the multiple and contradictory aesthetic interferences that compose evacuation and emergency (Barber 2019), as Ngai's take on RAND's many products and practices of anticipatory governance in nuclear war gaming combined different aesthetic experiences to bring war into a safe space of fun and "absolving cuteness" (2012, 14). Evacuation infrastructures simultaneously reveal, conceal, and aestheticize different logics. The Kabakovs' is ultimately a capricious and playful experiment with the excesses, disorientations, and aesthetic judgments of evacuation.

A different way into this can be found in the "Blue Lines" project developed in Wellington, New Zealand, by the Wellington Region Emergency Management Office (WREMO). In 2019 I visited the lines and spoke to an official, who kindly took me on a driving tour. The scheme draws on the standardized emergency evacuation signage system for tsunami evacuations, which itself drew on international emergency exit and evacuation signage based on a pictogram for a Japanese Sign Design Association competition. The competition followed a devastating fire in the Sennichi department store in Osaka Prefecture in 1973, which raged through a nightclub on the upper floors of the building (Fujitsuka 2001), where people perished stranded on the roof and jumping from windows. Female cabaret dancers were famously pictured clambering down fire towers or being carried by firemen. In what has become a notable contouring of gendered affect common to emergency, the *New York Times* report made use of familiar aesthetic judgments of mobile bodies, describing a "panicky" stampede and "people tumbling down a stairway like an avalanche" (*New York Times* 1973). Yukio Ota's imagery

was submitted as an ISO (International Organization for Standardization) standard and adopted in 1987. Emergency evacuation signage can be used to try to quiet and subdue the heightened feelings of disaster, as a way to direct and channel mobility, to avoid confusion and indecision. As we will see later, the cool, chilling, technical affordances of evacuation governance seem pitted against fears of a volatile, hot, individual and collective physicality of panic that might rupture evacuation. The media reporting in Japan made aesthetic judgments. But the "running man" emergency exit logo of Ota's design is also promissory: it invites the hope of putative safety at the open door. *All* we have to do is to step through it.

Signs and public instructions use particular visual and more-than-visual addresses that try to provoke and prompt aesthetic sensibilities and judgments. In Ngai's terms, aesthetics hail or "call forth not only specific subjective capacities for feeling and acting but also specific ways of relating to other subjects and the larger social arrangements these ways of relating presuppose" (2012, 11). The Wellington Blue Lines are painted directly onto the road surface, and I tried describing this to my four-year-old son on a kitchen table using a blue bag and some cups to demonstrate. The cups were houses. My walking fingers were people escaping. I twisted the bag into a kind of line and fumbled an explanation. The line tells you where the big waves go to. If you live on this side and you run across the line, "Ta Daa! You're hopefully safe." This, I explained, is "what is called evacuation." My son then asked a characteristically tangential but imaginative question: "But if the wave brings sea creatures onto the land, won't they be in their way?" With a bit more discussion, it became clear that he actually meant this from the perspective of the marine life, not the humans. For my four-year-old, sea creatures are much more interesting than the people who are "in their way." His question about nonhuman participants in evacuation will become important through the book and raises a point about who evacuation is meant to be for and how that concern is distributed sensibly.

Evacuation's aesthetics are enfolded within an often unspoken valuation of who or what is seen and counted. One's mobility might depend on another's. This is a political and aesthetic judgment, working with an a priori but politically constructed delimitation of what Jacques Rancière brokers into the "visible and invisible, of speech and noise" (2004, 13). Evacuations are relations between human and nonhuman life moving, mingling, and living among turbulent times. My son's question helps me think how evacuations delimit and include certain lives, to the extent that the nonhuman lives my son wondered and worried about are rarely figured in evacuation apparatus. The lines rely on an arrangement of particular cues, signals, perspectives—

arrangements of the sensory in order to mediate and communicate a number of things to different sets of agents. It is a process that, in relation to public danger signs in Bogotá, Austin Zeiderman has labeled the "calibrations" of "sensory perception to the dangers that inhere in an otherwise familiar milieu" (2020, 72). The Blue Lines came from a community consultation project to devise the simplest way of showing where to move to safety in the event of a tsunami on the roads and in the neighborhoods in Wellington region council districts, oriented toward cars moving at some speed in the hilly and wind-blown neighborhoods. They are background furniture just at the threshold of awareness, hopefully surfacing in significance when emergency threatens.

A debate in the community followed the appearance of the lines as an "aesthetically suspicious thing," to use Ngai (2020, 1) once more. Some were worried about their accuracy. Would they devalue house prices? Others were confused. The lines relied on an unders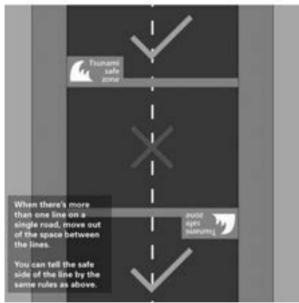tanding of one's correct orientation to them. Unclear of which side of the line they should be on, some residents took to social media. In response to the Wellington residents' concerns, WREMO provided an explanatory diagram—an abstract representation of the sensible thresholds and normative judgments coding evacuation planning (figure I.2).

The Blue Lines debate raised to the surface the planning for tsunami, flooding, and inundation in the greater Wellington area and became a way into the scientific reasoning underpinning the plans. The lines surfaced emergency evacuation possibilities within everyday lives and concerns and struggles, even if those possibilities seemed distant and unbelievable. As Nathaniel O'Grady suggests, "Aesthetics renders future emergencies present . . . on affective and sensorial registers" (2018, 85) but without necessarily presupposing their interest or disinterest.

In emergencies, urgency, panic, and calamity are common affects that are often regarded as causing evacuation as well as being the feelings evacuation is meant to guard against. As examples of the transversal and nonlinear characteristics often attributed to affective life (Massumi 2002), they are conditioned by contextual situational unfoldings of futures and pasts that play in the present. Evacuation leaves a paradoxical remainder, both a surplus and excess of the feelings that it seeks to subdue and that may have precipitated it—especially when evacuation is conjured as a manner of flight. While the book traces a kind of evolution of understanding and management of evacuation, and ultimately of the "attachment" (Anderson 2014, 92) of evacuation to certain kinds of affects and atmospheres, the aesthetics of evacuation can

FIGURE I.2.
A WREMO graphic introduced to help explain people's perspectival orientation to the lines (Hutt City Council 2017).

mediate and tune in or out of affective life. They shift our capacities to affect and be affected and maybe move and not move.

Today Wellington's Blue Lines project reflects an embodied and mobile orientation in terms of who or what comes to count in evacuation, how evacuation can be sensed and provoked, and how aesthetics might be used "to render articulable and to govern futures whose uncertainty . . . had been considered beyond the realm of the fathomable" (O'Grady 2018, 71). The signs depended on *and* structured a way of seeing and perceiving by the driver or cyclist who is meant to see them via a glancing (Urry 2004), limited, and mobile position, perhaps through glare or rain (figure I.3).

FIGURE I.3. Spotting WREMO's Blue Lines. Photo by the author, 2019.

The Blue Lines are an example of a considered and creative evacuation scheme in which residents were involved in the process of designing the signs, engaging in heated discussions, rejecting them, and coming up with alternatives. The scheme orients people to evacuation, where evacuation doesn't have to mean its implicit or eternal subtraction from the political. The lines mobilized the senses of mobile bodies and subjects who constructively critiqued the tendency to simplify and universalize the bodies expected to do it. They invited public scrutiny of the "commonsense" rationalities that underpinned them, even if they were broadly embedded within a system of private automobility.

One of the most frequently used aesthetic judgments on evacuation is whether it is common sense to evacuate at all. What this book builds on are the ways evacuation seems in itself, and in its relationship to others, to be judged as a negative act—not simply in a sense of the felt or emotional or in the physical moving away from one place to another but as a conditioning property. In such a judgment of what is common sense, and especially in the universalizing maneuvers such a judgment often assumes and performs, something is removed. Perhaps the most famous and explicit of those judgments

was given by British Conservative member of Parliament (MP) and former leader of the House of Commons Jacob Rees-Mogg in a radio interview in which he suggested that the victims of the Grenfell Tower disaster didn't use what he called "common sense" to *evacuate* and leave the building. Rees-Mogg was just one of a long line of people to echo the directionality of blame in evacuation and disaster by declaring what is common sense. This is a particular kind of aesthetic closure that renders evacuation as *apolitical* and helpfully forgets that the adding of the dangerous aluminum composite material (ACM) cladding resulted from a process of gentrification designed to improve the aesthetic appearance of the building for wealthy local residents—early planning reports had characterized the tower's appearance as "blight" that decreased land values (Grenfell Action Group 2017). The comments served to render the tower's residents—often multigenerational migrant families— who followed the advice of police, fire officers, and call operators (BBC 2019) as too stupid to know better and ignored the social inequalities that put poorer and Black and ethnic-minority peoples (Hanley 2017; Preston 2018) within the "ordinary verticalities" (Harris 2015; Rosen and Charney 2016) of social housing tower blocks in Britain (Dorling et al. 2007).

Tim Cresswell (2006) has teased out a similar relation in debates during Hurricane Katrina around access to private automobility. Cresswell takes on an article posted in an American magazine by a reporter identifying the lack of automobile ownership as a key barrier for Black Americans to escape the city. Cresswell (2006, 261) quotes from the piece, which claimed at the end of the article that "it was auto ownership, not race, that made the difference between safety and disaster." This is another, similar aesthetic formulation, when mobility is emptied of its social content, and car ownership is divorced from structural inequalities, racisms, and violence (Culver 2018). Evacuation is closed off from its social and economic consequences and the social and economic structures that condition it and, in recurrent moments, absolved from the passions, ethics, and responsibilities that might interfere with its other cool and calculating planning aesthetic. Separating "mobility from race (and class and age, in particular) is simply nonsensical," argues Cresswell (2006, 261), even if it appears common sense to do so.

In other words, evacuation appears at once empty, while also emptying. It appears to lack substance beyond a very technical sense of a process—which of course is not true—while it itself is able to withdraw the relations of other things and events to a technical register as opposed to a social or political one. And yet it is often bound up in very specific feelings-based aesthetic evaluations. These combine Ngai's attention to the kinds of ways aesthetics

seems to compel particular codified ways of seeing, talking, uttering, and writing, while aesthetic judgments are bound up in simultaneously normative, discursive-evaluative, and affective moves.

HOW THE BOOK IS ORGANIZED

The book's chapters build and organize different facets of evacuation, establishing connections and lines of association from different contexts, using scenes and juxtapositions to stay with the continuities and discontinuities, dispersions, recursions, and comings-together that Stoler invites within a critical but unconventional and recursive genealogy. The order, though, is broadly chronological, where chapters pick up on evacuation's names, concepts, and practices as they twist and turn, fragment and reaggregate, through space and time.

In chapter 1 we look up. The book examines evacuations as they have developed within high-rise emergencies, especially in North America, where turn-of-the-twentieth-century garment factory fires placed the urban working classes in precarious working and living conditions, especially within high-rise tenement buildings. In the context of women's suffrage and freedom movements, the events coincided with unionized disruption and led to eventual workplace reform. The chapter works backward from the evacuation of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center by teasing out the development of building and engineering codes and standards. From those standards to the models that have been used to investigate events like the 9/11 evacuations, the chapter examines how certain assumptions and imaginations of the mobile body have been drawn on. These bodies are often rendered in highly normative ways that reproduce raced and gendered assumptions of capacity to move and, indeed, these bodies' culpability for the emergency they are trying to escape. The chapter sets up the particular diagrams and diagrammings that draw evacuation mobility through particular relations and interruptions of power. The chapter alights especially on the ways bodies seem to evacuate otherwise to the diagram, and in a manner that refuses the individualizing assumptions that seek to govern their evacuation and that blame them for moving differently. The intimate and embodied acts of shoe sharing, hand holding, and moving together offer ways in which some have been able to survive and endure emergencies.

Chapter 2 focuses most on vehicles. It continues from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to examine quite different evacuations during wartime, where evacuation was a way to remove the injured and wounded

from battlefields, especially in northern Europe during World War I. This chapter focuses on the "viapolitical" (Walters, Heller, and Pezzani 2021) struggles at stake in the innovation of different evacuation vehicles and technologies that would alter the geo-rhythms of war. The innovations in horse-driven ambulances, motor ambulances, and ambulance trains are explored as battlefields were reconfigured to enable the wounded to be brought back for treatment or put back into martial circulation. At the same time, those very modes of evacuation mobilities were often the symbol of national and highly politicized debates over the state's sense of care and responsibility for the young fighters going to war, where the embodied sensibilities of evacuation mobilities became a proxy for government interests in protecting its fighting forces. The chains and networks of evacuation shuttled the public's concern back and forth to the battlefield, becoming far more intimately involved in the conflict and war's violent consequences for fleshy (non)human bodies and minds. Evacuation involved caring configurations of military and non-military bodies brought closer together, vibrating with affective intensities. Similarly, the vehicles of evacuation are explored as key spaces for the involvement and evolution of humanitarianism, as aid societies and women joined an emergent apparatus for both moving and caring for bodies on the move.

The infrastructures and vehicles harnessed by militaries and medical providers in war are shown to bear out very differently when evacuation is drawn into processes of incarceration, deportation, forced displacement, and even mass murder, and where words become different kinds of vehicles for evacuation politics. In chapter 3, perhaps the most extreme forms of evacuation are explored in the context of World War II and the postwar period of struggle for redress over the lexical meaning and practice of evacuation. In these instances, evacuation emerges as a set of terms—and aesthetic practices—used to disguise the forced mobility of people not away from harm but into it, even in the name of protection and care. Paralleling and juxtaposing the use of *evacuation* to name the systems and practices of expelling Jews from Nazi Germany and occupied Europe, and the incarceration of Japanese Americans in the United States, the chapter wields Stoler's concept of aphasia. Aphasia helps make sense of the disorienting and wicked ways that the words, vehicles and infrastructures, and aesthetic practices of visualizing and enunciating the forms of mobility named *evacuation* disguised them. The chapter explores the layering of meaning as evacuation intersects as an almost palimpsestic device with other practices of forced mobility and displacement. This becomes particularly clear as the sites of Japanese American incarceration are questioned through legal and political

redress and the contestation of words such as *evacuation* and *internment* to *American concentration camps*, while the birth and dismantling of some of the camps took place on New Deal territories and reservations designated for Indigenous Native American tribes to resettle.

The urban context of evacuation explored in chapter 1 is returned to in chapter 4 in the situation of the Cold War urban landscape, where evacuation is considered at the scale of the North American city. The chapter examines the development of particular fields of knowledge and expertise around evacuation, tracing the emergence of different ways of thinking about evacuation as an object of concern and, at the same time, evolving organizational forms of government, national civil defense structures and the organization of university departments and research centers around the problem of evacuation in the context of nuclear war. In the middle of other developments in fields such as sociology, urban studies, behavioral psychology, geography, and what became known as disaster studies, complex interdisciplinary engagements evolved. They used fieldwork and theoretical studies on staging various evacuation events and prior knowledge of peacetime evacuations and disasters to anticipate wartime evacuation. The city was the problem within which evacuation was framed and made sense of, and this meant it was bound up in wider sets of antagonistic concerns over race, class, and urban poverty. Evacuation was calibrated under particular fields of affect over which racialized notions of panic were diagnosed.

Chapter 5 follows some of the urban concerns of the previous chapter, rooted in the Cold War, by taking seriously the charges that evacuation is a dehumanizing process. In decentering evacuation's focus on human subjects and extending it to animals—especially when caught up in pernicious and racialized formations of urban security and control—the chapter explores how evacuation has been drawn as a kind of limit. The chapter uses a form of juxtaposition to examine the ways in which animals have been bound up in evacuation practices—and simultaneously tethered to humans. By focusing on the human-animal relations and ethics adopted in animal evacuation schemes in Britain during World War II, and both during and in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in the United States, the chapter explicates different bio- and necropolitical rationalities of care and control that evacuation has presumed and performed. By mirroring these different events, the chapter explores the way animals have been brought into the purview of evacuation, its planners, and its plans but often through variously human-centered notions of agency, ownership, and human-societal relations. How animals were treated in an emergency evacuation in World War II exceeds

its particularity as evacuation is conceptualized as a kind of functional limit on life. As evacuation has been expanded as a protective mode to apply to animals, the necropolitical choices that are made over animal life have, in some emergency contexts, rebounded. They rebound from nihilistic choices to kill unevacuable animals living unlivable lives once severed from human attachments, to humans themselves, severed from their lives because they are perceived—like their animals—to be unevacuable and, therefore, unable to live.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 follow closely the post- and neocolonial logics of evacuation. First, in chapter 6, we continue chapter 5's focus to examine a curious and extreme relation between Hurricane Katrina and the highly studied and exposed geographies of the Israeli occupation of Gaza but through the lens of evacuation, its contestation, and a semblance of related terms and meanings that revolve around evacuation's suspension rather than its protection of reproductive futurities. Written prior to the Israel-Hamas war of 2023, the chapter works through Israel's 2005 experience of "disengagement" from settler occupation of Gaza, which involved the highly contested "evacuation" of Israeli settlers from the Gush Katif settlements. Ophir's divine catastrophic conception of emergency is imputed, as the disengagement evacuations are perceived as causative of New Orleans's own evacuations in a form of retributive justice. While demonstrating the workings of colonial structures of occupation and practices of control and displacement, evacuation moves with and against different habits of occupation. The chapter picks up on the recursions of several evacuative tropes that are used to compare and justify Israel's disengagement from Gaza with trauma, present and past, as the Nazi Holocaust and previous recursive moments of Jewish and Palestinian persecution and displacement are remembered and felt. The chapter explores again the fraught politics of evacuation, as evacuation's duplicity surfaces in these moments as a way to displace settlers who had settled territories previously forcibly evacuated of Palestinians.

Chapter 7 engages evacuation's entanglement with liberal humanitarianism and the logistics of evacuation in the viapolitical angle of two disasters: the 2010 Haiti earthquake and the Libyan civil war of 2011. Both events, of course, were preceeded and followed by crisscrossing migration flows that paralleled and sometimes came into contact in a confluence of evacuative and displaced mobilities. The chapter builds on chapter 2, on emerging medical-military evacuation and international humanitarian and logistics efforts, and on the legacy of neocolonial policies of trade and global extrac-

tive, infrastructural, and logistical pathways that came together to unevenly evacuate citizens. Citizenship is shown to be a key factor shaping powerful and highly uneven propensities-to-be-evacuated by one's own government, taking place via a variety of uneven foreign militaries, diplomatic and medical officers, NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), and humanitarian agencies. The chapter explores the unevenness of these diagrams of mobility viapolitically and at a large scale, enrolling particular *valued* bodies and citizens, some deemed as highly vulnerable—such as adopted children—as well as alternative ways of representing and interpreting evacuation diagrams by publics. The two cases gesture toward the possibility of more civil and less state-directed forms of evacuation.

The relationship between evacuation and (post)coloniality is pushed even further in chapter 8 on bushfires and evacuation in Australia's state of Victoria, where bushfires cannot be separated from the socionatural history of colonialism, Indigenous dispossession, environmental-society relations, and, of course, climate change. Evacuation from fire is part of a longer, interwoven history of colonial practices and logics. Drawing on ethnographic and archival work exploring the Australian Black Saturday bushfire disaster of 2009, the chapter works back through the history of bushfire, colonial settlement, and evacuation policies. In this context, evacuation from bushfires is difficult to separate from the cultural habits and values around masculine notions of defending the home and family from a bushfire instead of escaping it. Conflicting with these values, the experience of bushfires in contemporary Australia coincides with important ways that settler colonial life sought to erode, marginalize, and "preserve" Indigenous life. Recalling the animal evacuations of chapter 5, the chapter concludes with the events at an animal sanctuary, whose animals were evacuated during the 2009 fires. This is set against the background of the sanctuary, whose protected lands were the legacy of an Aboriginal sanctuary brought under eugenicist colonial legislation in the late nineteenth century, which considered First Nations or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities as less than human and primitive.

Finally, the book's conclusion, "The End," uses perhaps the wildest, most excessive, and most speculative projects for planetary evacuation as a foil with which to reflect on and progress the different themes explored in this book. Expectations of the end of the Earth have given rise to a whole set of planetary evacuation genres, fictions, and plans to evacuate the planet, but they do not move very far away from the problems, pitfalls, and ethical

dilemmas explored in *Evacuation*. We use the chapter to return to different aesthetic forms and categories that have recurred within the book—as it were *revacuations*—which cohere around the diagram and diagramming as linking representations and practices of evacuation governance and its resistance; the idea, space, and state of emptiness as animating negativities; and the figure and promise of the future, which seems to reproduce norms of biological and social reproduction. The chapter concludes with a reaffirmation of the agonisms of emergency and evacuation politics as both a mode of critique and a site of possibility.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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