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RADICAL SPATIALITY
DISSIDENT ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICES IN
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPATIONS

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A Juan y Angélica

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A mis padres. Cada paso que he dado, ha sido por ellos.

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RESUMEN
ABSTRACT

RESUMEN

Tahrir Square, *Occupy Wall Street*, y *Gezi Park / Taksim Square*, son ocupaciones contemporáneas que despliegan una serie de acciones disidentes en el espacio público, cuestionando al mismo tiempo las relaciones entre la arquitectura urbana y las prácticas sociales. Una de las características comunes de estos movimientos es la inclusión del espacio virtual como generador de acciones dentro del espacio físico, formando de esta manera un nuevo espacio. Mediante el uso de tecnologías digitales y junto a la expansión de las redes sociales, se promueven dispositivos que crean nuevas dinámicas y prácticas arquitectónicas en la ciudad, y asimismo visibilizan el estado obsoleto de una infraestructura urbana, la cual es contendida por una transformación radical de espacios públicos de manera instantánea y temporal.

En el desarrollo de estas ocupaciones, una multitud toma cuerpo en el espacio público físico y virtual, el *espacio público contemporáneo*, el mismo que altera la imagen y el uso de espacios fijos y establecidos y los transforma en un sistema de espacios intermitentes, afectando consecuentemente los límites entre lo público y lo privado, lo exterior y lo interior, lo cotidiano y lo excepcional. Se produce una nueva arquitectura disidente y temporal *ad-hoc* que conduce a la construcción de una *Espacialidad Radical*, que permite generar una serie de prácticas y procesos arquitectónicos espontáneos y desobedientes. Estas relaciones se focalizan en elementos arquitectónicos que son explorados y utilizados de manera disidente. Por una lado, actuando dentro de los límites regulados localmente, analizando la situación actual espacial, y proyectando zonas para habitar de manera temporal. Por otro lado, construyendo estructuras ligeras pero resistentes que responden a las necesidades de los ocupantes, reconfigurando la organización de objetos urbanos, y aplicando dispositivos para proyectar una apropiación espacial a través de prácticas colectivas y performativas.

Estas ocupaciones contemporáneas se relacionan con dos aspectos importantes en la construcción del paisaje arquitectónico urbano: el diseño de espacios públicos y las regulaciones urbanas. Posteriormente al desarrollo de estos movimientos sociales, en los últimos años distintos gobiernos locales han impulsado considerablemente la implementación de la privatización de espacios públicos a través del modelo urbano “POPS: *Privately Owned Public Space*” [Espacios Públicos Privados], y la elaboración de un manual de diseño arquitectónico de espacios públicos. Estas dos herramientas se aplican y reproducen sistemáticamente en ciudades geográfica y culturalmente distantes, provocando la construcción de un paisaje arquitectónico urbano homogéneo, que desplaza la historia y las dinámicas locales, y manifiestan de esta manera un control espacial y social a través del diseño arquitectónico. Frente a esta situación, esta investigación plantea prácticas arquitectónicas de *espacios post-públicos*, como acciones disidentes que operan colectiva, temporal e intermitentemente.

ABSTRACT

Tahrir Square, Occupy Wall Street, and Gezi Park / Taksim Square, are contemporary occupations that unfold a series of dissident actions in the public space, questioning at the same time the relationships between urban architecture and social practices. One of the common characteristics of these movements is the inclusion of the virtual space as a generator of actions inside the physical space, forming consequently a new space. Thus, through the use of digital technologies alongside the expansion of social networks, they promote dispositives that create new architectural dynamics and practices in the city, and simultaneously make visible the obsolete state of an urban infrastructure, which is contended by a radical transformation of public spaces in temporal and instantaneous means.

In the development of these occupations, a multitude takes form in the physical and virtual public space, the *contemporary public space*, which alters the image and use of fixed and established spaces, and transforms them in a system of intermittent spaces, affecting subsequently the limits between public and private, exterior and interior, quotidian and exceptional. It produces a new dissident and temporal *ad-hoc* architecture that conducts to the construction of a *Radical Spatiality*, allowing to generate a series of architectural practices and processes that are spontaneous and disobedient. These relationships focus on architectural elements that are explored and used in a dissident way. On the one hand, acting inside the limits of local urban regulations, analysing spatial current situations, and projecting zones to inhabit temporary. On the other hand, constructing light but resistant structures that respond to occupiers' needs, reconfiguring the organization of urban objects, and applying dispositives to develop a spatial appropriation through collective and performative practices.

Furthermore, these contemporary occupations are related to two important aspects in the construction of the architectural urban landscape: the design of public spaces and the urban regulations. After the development of these social movements, in the last years different local governments have pushed considerably the implementation of public spaces privatization through the urban model "POPS: Privately Owned Public Space," and the elaboration of an architectural design manual of public spaces. These two tools are applied and reproduced systematically in cities geographically and culturally distant, provoking consequently the construction of a homogeneous architectural urban landscape, displacing the local history and social dynamics, and manifesting the spatial and social control through architectural design. Facing this situation, this investigation poses new architectural practices of *post-public spaces* are projected as dissident actions that operate collectively, temporary, and intermittently.

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INTRODUCCIÓN

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCCIÓN

La Primavera Árabe, el Movimiento *Occupy*, los Indignados, *Gezi Park*, *Umbrella Movement*, *Euromaidan*, y Plaza Sintagma, son algunas de las ocupaciones contemporáneas más representativas; inducen a cambios importantes en las ciudades donde se desarrollan y al mismo tiempo abren espacios de debate en campos como la política y la economía. Sin embargo, estas ocupaciones no se relacionan usualmente con la transformación del paisaje arquitectónico urbano.

A partir de 2011 y como consecuencia de estos fenómenos sociales, diferentes gobiernos locales empiezan a formular, plantear y ejecutar medidas legales que buscan el control del espacio público. Una de ellas es su privatización, en la cual la inversión privada es la encargada de crear, mantener, y gestionar estos espacios que son cada vez más demandados, especialmente en los centros de las ciudades. Junto a esta medida, se encuentra la creación de un manual de diseño arquitectónico que presenta parámetros de diseño tanto del espacio como del mobiliario urbano, favoreciendo el control visual, el movimiento de personas y objetos, y causando consecuentemente una homogenización de los diferentes paisajes urbanos.

Por otro lado, durante el desarrollo de estas ocupaciones, se formulan y generan nuevos procesos de proyectación arquitectónica. Uno de los principales métodos utilizados es la inclusión del espacio virtual como activador del espacio físico, tanto en su diseño como en su producción,¹ estableciendo un nuevo espacio público [*espacio público contemporáneo*]. De hecho, estas ocupaciones son creadas y organizadas en el espacio virtual, lo cual genera nuevas variables de acción y a su vez visibiliza la necesidad ineludible del movimiento de materializarse en el espacio público. En el momento de ocupar los espacios públicos, estos movimientos crean un campo de energía que transforma temporalmente el paisaje arquitectónico urbano. A través de una serie de micro-eventos colectivos, se introduce una espacialidad [*espacio + tiempo*] que responde con prácticas espaciales en tiempo real, y se pueden calificar como disidentes, pues perturban el orden preestablecido de estos espacios. Esta espacialidad actúa como mediadora de dinámicas sociales, que, de manera temporal, difumina los límites entre lo privado y lo público, lo exterior y lo interior, lo legal y lo ilegal [*estableciendo lo alegal*]. De este modo, estas ocupaciones denominadas “acontecimientos arquitectónicos”, crean y desarrollan una serie de herramientas de relaciones espaciales, heterogéneas y dinámicas.

Para llevar a cabo esta investigación, se toman principalmente tres casos: Plaza Tahrir en El Cairo, Zuccotti Park en Nueva York, y Parque Gezi/Plaza Taksim en Estambul, pero se incluirán casos relevantes a lo largo de este proceso (*Umbrella Movement* en Hong Kong y Miyashita Park en

¹ En referencia al concepto de Henri Lefebvre “La producción del espacio” como un estado social complejo que afecta prácticas y percepciones espaciales.

Tokio). Estos acontecimientos son elegidos por su doble carácter político y espacial. El primer caso es una revolución social producida en el año 2011, contra un régimen autoritario gobernado por el entonces presidente Hosni Mubarak, y la aplicación continua de la “Ley de Emergencia”² aplicada por treinta años donde se realiza una ocupación en una plaza con rotonda por dieciocho días. El segundo caso, *Occupy Wall Street* en Nueva York, un movimiento que pone en cuestión al sistema capitalista, nace como consecuencia de la crisis financiera de 2007-2008 y se materializa como una ocupación que dura cincuenta y nueve días en un parque. El último acontecimiento comparte similitudes con los dos anteriores. Turquía con un gobierno elegido democráticamente y que al momento de desarrollarse la ocupación, lleva en funciones doce años. Lo que inicialmente es objeto de una pequeña protesta ambientalista para evitar la destrucción de un parque en el centro de la ciudad como parte de un plan urbano, se convierte en un levantamiento social general contra el gobierno y las regulaciones adoptadas durante los últimos años: la ocupación dura diecinueve días y se realiza en una rotonda y en un parque.

Estos *acontecimientos arquitectónicos* presentan distintos mecanismos de activación y desactivación de espacios de manera intermitente, conteniendo prácticas disidentes, colectivas y temporales. Al incluir al espacio virtual como parte de las dinámicas sociales contemporáneas, se crea un nuevo tipo de ágora y una red de micro-ciudades que se adaptan y transforman dependiendo de las necesidades de sus ocupantes. Este dinamismo y temporalidad generan nuevos significados y usos de objetos cotidianos que, dentro de un estado de excepción de apropiación de espacios públicos, se convierten en sujetos radicales que alteran la configuración del espacio. Esta situación implica una transformación de lo banal en extraordinario, de lo fijo en dinámico, y de lo permanente en temporal, extrayendo capacidades y características que reinventan el territorio urbano. Con estructuras ligeras, móviles y portátiles, que cambian estética y funcionalmente, proyectadas en el espacio físico y virtual, local y global, se [des] [re] territorializa tanto el espacio como los cuerpos y los objetos que componen el paisaje arquitectónico urbano. Se proyecta una configuración con el cuerpo que transforma el espacio público temporalmente, emergiendo así la *Espacialidad Radical*.

² La “Ley de Emergencia No. 162 de 1958” fue aplicada en Egipto después de la “Guerra de los seis días” (Arabia – Israel). La ley fue suspendida por dieciocho meses en 1980 pero fue nuevamente aplicada tras el asesinato del presidente Anwar Sadat en 1981. Desde entonces y hasta 2012, esta ley ha sido aplicada y regulada en todo el país.

Estado de la cuestión

Las ocupaciones contemporáneas de esta investigación, Plaza Tahrir [*Tahrir Square*]³, *Occupy Wall Street*, y Parque Gezi/Plaza Taksim [*Gezi/Taksim*], han sido durante los últimos años, fuente de una serie de investigaciones en distintas disciplinas, de la teoría social, política, y económica. Sin embargo, respecto a la aproximación arquitectónica, estos movimientos han propiciado un estado de inquietud sobre las estrategias de diseño que, aunque no han sido exploradas en profundidad, han abierto plataformas de diálogo y de debate interdisciplinar.

En la última década, varios autores, académicos, grupos de investigación y estudios de arquitectura han vuelto la mirada a los espacios públicos, a su definición y su uso en la actualidad que, a diferencia de los movimientos sociales de finales de los años 60 e inicios de los 70, son creados en el espacio virtual, atrayendo la producción de nuevas prácticas espaciales. Pero es a partir de 2011 cuando aumenta la investigación respecto al uso y a la imagen de la ciudad en referencia a las revoluciones sociales, siendo Plaza Tahrir y *Occupy Wall Street* los principales acontecimientos analizados. En este sentido, la publicación "*Planning for Protest*"⁴ reúne doce casos de protestas contemporáneas, incluyendo Plaza Tahrir y Puerta del Sol, y presenta parámetros espaciales y tácticas arquitectónicas utilizadas durante el desarrollo de las revoluciones. Esta publicación evalúa el rol de los arquitectos en la representación visual de estos movimientos desde diferentes perspectivas como una contribución gráfica de la formación de las protestas. En varios de estos casos se plantean respuestas de mobiliario urbano frente al estado deficiente de los espacios públicos, pero no se observan análisis o respuestas de diseño arquitectónico en el momento de la protesta y sus posibles consecuencias espaciales.

Respecto a las relaciones sociales y espaciales, son los geógrafos urbanos los más implicados respecto a la investigación y el estudio de estas movilizaciones sociales, pues visibilizan y teorizan las acciones y las condiciones urbanas que afectan el uso de la ciudad. Entre ellos se encuentran Erik Swyngedouw, geógrafo por la Universidad de Manchester, que durante los últimos años ha definido las variables teóricas correspondientes al uso radical de la ciudad y al diseño político como proceso urbano. En su trabajo "*Urban Redevelopment and Social Polarization in the City*"⁵, Swyngedouw hace un análisis transversal de trece planes urbanos enfocándose en los mecanismos de polarización social, exclusión e integración, y los relaciona con la actuación e influencia de los movimientos sociales locales, el mercado financiero, el sistema de producción y distribución, y los

³ "Tahrir Square" o "La Revolución Egipcia" son los nombres comunes de la revolución social realizada entre los meses de enero y febrero de 2011 en Egipto. Sin embargo "Tahrir Square" es reconocida como la ocupación realizada en esa plaza en la capital El Cairo, siendo el actor principal en esta revolución.

⁴ Allen, Ben, et al. *Planning for Protest*. An Associated Project of the Lisbon Architecture Triennale, 2013.

⁵ Moualart, Frank, y Swyngedouw, Erik. "Urban Redevelopment and Social Polarization in the City" en *Final Report for European Commission*, DG XII. Lille: IFRESI, 1999

procesos socio-culturales. Indica asimismo el cambio organizativo de la ciudad y su dependencia en acciones locales y cómo éstas llegan a afectar el espacio en diferentes niveles, desde proyectos inmobiliarios dentro de barrios tradicionales hasta planes generales territoriales. Además, en su publicación "*The Ground-Zero of Politics: Musing on the Post- Political Polis*"⁶, Swyngedouw enfatiza las relaciones de formas neoliberales de gobernanza, las cuales afectan el estado físico de las ciudades y la necesidad de tener un trabajo creativo y experimental por parte de la comunidad. Como muchos otros, a partir del 2011, Swyngedouw investiga las relaciones de las llamadas "Plazas de la Revolución" como espacios emblemáticos y simbólicos necesarios para la construcción de la identidad social. Su enfoque es el de la intervención política social para la transformación de espacios públicos como espacios igualitarios y equitativos, y referencia a filósofos como Alain Badiou, Gilles Deleuze y Félix Guattari para incluir conceptos sociales. De hecho, este método de referenciar a filósofos y conceptos filosóficos se repite con varios autores en diferentes campos que basan su trabajo en nociones socio-espaciales desarrolladas durante los años 60 y 70. El principal autor referente en términos espaciales urbanos es Henri Lefebvre⁷, quien define conceptos como el "derecho a la ciudad" y la "producción del espacio social". Estos conceptos son influenciados por el movimiento estudiantil parisino de Mayo 68, los mismos que son ampliamente utilizados durante los análisis de la Primavera Árabe o del Movimiento *Occupy*, por su similitud con la protesta y las repercusiones globales, así como la apropiación desobediente [civil] de los espacios públicos. Uno de los principales autores que referencia el trabajo de Lefebvre es David Harvey⁸, quien investiga los comportamientos colectivos en espacios urbanos y viceversa. En su publicación "*Rebel Cities*"⁹, Harvey relaciona al pensamiento utópico con las revoluciones de 2011, y hace un análisis de las ciudades actuales como centros de acumulación de capital, así como también de espacios necesarios de prácticas políticas. Harvey analiza a la Comuna de París de 1871, *Occupy Wall Street* y las protestas de Londres de 2011 como resistencias anticapitalistas urbanas. Por otro lado, se encuentra el trabajo de Jana Carp¹⁰ titulado "*Ground-Truthing. Representations of Social Space*", que, con referencia en la crítica y la teoría tanto de David Harvey como de Henri Lefebvre, realiza una búsqueda de la representación del espacio social. Carp presenta intervenciones de apropiaciones espaciales para desarrollar un planeamiento urbano que relaciona acciones y participaciones sociales como método abierto para reconocer los vínculos discontinuos y no cuantificables de un lugar común.

⁶ Swyngedouw, Erik. "The Ground-Zero of Politics: Musings on the Post-Political Polis" en *New Geographies*, Vol. 2, 2009

⁷ Henri Lefebvre (1901 – 1991), filósofo y sociólogo francés cuyas publicaciones más influyentes son "*The Critique of Everyday Life*," "*The Production of Space*," y "*The Urban Revolution*."

⁸ David Harvey es un geógrafo por la Universidad de Cambridge y profesor de Antropología y Geografía en la City University of New York. Su trabajo propone el concepto "derecho a la ciudad."

⁹ Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities*. Nueva York: Verso, 2013

¹⁰ Jana Carp, profesora e investigadora por la Appalachian State University, cuyos intereses son el planeamiento urbano, la producción de la teoría espacial, el desarrollo sustentable y los métodos colaborativos.

Con referencia a las acampadas como organizaciones espaciales geopolíticas y como estrategias biopolíticas, éstas se vinculan con los escritos de Giorgio Agamben sobre el estado de excepción y los campos de concentración. Se produce consecuentemente una ampliación de los términos relacionados con el espacio y la violencia de la arquitectura con respecto a la “guerra contra el terrorismo” [*war on terror*], como la base aérea Bagram en Afganistán o el centro de detención de Guantánamo¹¹. Por otro lado, más allá de vincular la técnica y las revoluciones contemporáneas con parámetros de diseño arquitectónico, Paul Virilio¹² enfatiza el poder político de la velocidad como patrón de revoluciones en el espacio urbano. En su libro “*Speed and Politics*”¹³, Virilio presenta la velocidad como motor de destrucción a través de la tecnología desarrollada por la militarización de la sociedad. Mientras que en “*A Landscape of Events*”¹⁴, con introducción de Bernard Tschumi, Virilio describe un caos cultural de los años 80 y 90 en los cuales la desorientación urbana, las máquinas de guerra, y la aceleración de acontecimientos conforman una aceleración de la realidad del tiempo. En este sentido, y junto a nociones de Spinoza, hay una intensidad que afecta a las situaciones espaciales que las denomina como mecánicas espacio-temporales de agentes de expansión. Alain Badiou¹⁵ en su libro “*Being and Event*”, reencuentra este estado como ‘acontecimiento’, en el que los cuerpos son vectores revolucionarios sobre el espacio atomizado.

Respecto a la inclusión del espacio virtual en la creación y gestión de movimientos sociales, Manuel Castells¹⁶ indaga profundamente en las relaciones y las dinámicas que las redes sociales promueven en la protesta contemporánea, convirtiéndose en factores principales que han marcado diferencias importantes y generado nuevos aspectos dentro de centros urbanos. En su publicación: “*Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*”¹⁷, Castells indica la necesidad social imprescindible de sentirse “en contacto” con otros, lo cual a su vez incrementa el espacio de acción en la ciudad. Incluye en un capítulo las revoluciones de Túnez y la Primavera Árabe, así como el *Occupy Movement* y los Indignados, y los identifica dentro de una dimensión de acción *online* y *offline* independientes. Cuando se refiere a estas revoluciones como sistemas rizomáticos, no lo referencia a Gilles Deleuze y Félix Guattari, pero insiste que él solamente está ofreciendo una

¹¹ Véase Giaccara Paolo y Minca Claudio. “Topographies/topologies of the camp: Auschwitz as a spatial threshold.” *Political Geography*, Vol. 30 no. 1, pp. 3-12, 2011. Gregory, Derek, *The Colonial Present*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004

¹² Paul Virilio es filósofo, urbanista y teórico cultural cuyos intereses son la tecnología como relación de velocidad y poder. Basa su trabajo con aspectos de la arquitectura, las artes, la ciudad y lo militar.

¹³ Virilio, Paul. *Speed and Politics* [Vitesse et Politique]. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2006 [1977].

¹⁴ Virilio, Paul. *A Landscape of Events*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000.

¹⁵ Alain Badiou, filósofo francés que ha trabajado extensamente en conceptos como verdad, ser, sujeto y acontecimiento, en lo que describe como una repetición de la modernidad en lugar de posmodernidad. 18 Badiou, Alain. *Being and Event*. Londres: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

¹⁶ Manuel Castells es un sociólogo español, profesor de *City and Regional Planning* en la University of California, Berkeley. Sus principales investigaciones abordan temas de globalización, comunicación y la sociedad de la información.

¹⁷ Castells, Manuel. “*Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*”. Cambridge: 2012.

hipótesis de discusión y que sería anticipado trazar una posición clara o definitiva. La publicación "*Tahrir: politics, publics and performances of Space*"¹⁸ de Derek Gregory¹⁹, cuestiona las relaciones de poder con los nuevos medios de comunicación sociales para activar la esfera pública. A través de la acción de performance en Tahrir, Gregory analiza la colectividad como un punto de atención espacial, como una forma ritual entre algo nuevo y a la vez precario. Enlaza su trabajo con el de Judith Butler²⁰ y la noción de performance para visibilizar de manera gráfica y narrativa, las acciones gubernamentales en una búsqueda por domesticar las acciones políticas radicales en El Cairo. El enfoque principal de este trabajo es sobre las operaciones en las redes sociales tanto por parte del gobierno en un intento por controlarlas, como por parte de los protestantes para desarrollar y organizar protestas.

Nadir Lahiji²¹ es uno de los arquitectos que critica directamente el estado de la arquitectura como un obstáculo para la política social. En su libro "*Architecture Against the Post-political*"²², Lahiji reúne una serie de ensayos que cuestionan el rol del proyecto arquitectónico frente a la práctica política y la estética urbana contemporánea. Al centrarse en casos específicos de estudio de ciudades como Varsovia, Barcelona, y Tokio, entre otras, presenta el discurso teórico de la arquitectura contemporánea y su despolitización en el ámbito académico, intentando reclamar simultáneamente el espacio perdido en el proyecto crítico de la arquitectura. La despolitización en la disciplina arquitectónica, según Lahiji, empezó en la última década del siglo XX, cuando la crítica radical en la arquitectura se fue poco a poco apartando hasta ser casi abandonada. Ésta fue una situación donde lo político como sujeto y materia de estudio fue separado del proyecto arquitectónico. De esta manera, las revoluciones contemporáneas del 2011 han traído de vuelta la crítica radical, incluyendo conceptos y relaciones espaciales en la exploración de procesos de diseño arquitectónico. Lahiji establece primero un proyecto de aproximación para llenar el vacío existente entre la política y la arquitectura, e incluye además al arte y la estética, lo cual fue elaborado en el simposio internacional "*Architecture and the Political*" en Líbano, en noviembre 2011, coincidiendo a su vez con la ocupación de *Occupy Wall Street* en Zuccotti Park.

Desde entonces, se realizan varios trabajos, investigaciones y publicaciones en torno a la Primavera Árabe y el *Occupy Movement*, comparándolos en cuestiones de organización y gestión y sus

¹⁸ Gregory, Derek. "Tahrir: Politics, Public and Performances of Space" en *Middle East Critique*, Vol. 22, no. 3, 2013, pp: 235 – 246

¹⁹ Derek Gregory es un geógrafo inglés, profesor de Geografía en la University of British Columbia. Sus trabajos e investigaciones son acerca de los medios de comunicación en círculos políticos, la militarización de la sociedad, la geografía cultural y explora la teoría del lugar, espacio y paisaje.

²⁰ Judith Butler es una filósofa y teórica de género de estadounidense. Su trabajo tiene influencia en campos de la filosofía política, la ética, el feminismo, y la performance

²¹ Nadir Lahiji, es un arquitecto y crítico teórico, profesor de la University of Canberra en Australia.

²² Lahiji, Nadir. *Architecture against the Post-political: Reclaiming the Critical Project*. Londres: Routledge, 2014

implicaciones políticas, sociales y urbanas. La publicación de “*What is a Critical Spatial Practice?*”²³ de Nikolaus Hirsch²⁴ y Markus Miessen²⁵, atrae a una serie de escritores, teóricos, arquitectos, filósofos, y artistas en 2012, los cuales presentan su entendimiento sobre el fenómeno social del año previo. Esta serie de escritos y reflexiones pone en paralelo las condiciones políticas que apuntan a cuestionamientos y problemáticas arquitectónicas de lo que se entiende como *res publica*. La publicación es una exploración urbana con respecto a prácticas espaciales ejecutadas durante las ocupaciones de 2011, en forma de ensayos y escritos más que como documentación gráfica o teórica.

En el año 2011, Saskia Sassen²⁶ en su artículo “*Global Street: Making the Political*”²⁷ observa a los movimientos sociales contemporáneos como una ocupación simbólica de lo que posteriormente denomina “Calle Global” [*Global Street*]; sitúa a la calle como el auténtico espacio público más allá de la plaza y el parque. “La Calle”, señala, es un espacio donde se pueden fabricar nuevas formas sociales y políticas en lugar de ser un espacio de rutinas y rituales. Sassen analiza aspectos sociales dentro de dimensiones políticas y espaciales de la Primavera Árabe, captura las cualidades históricas de las plazas en las cuales las revoluciones se materializan, y además observa cómo estos espacios son los ejecutores de visibilizar y ocultar las inequidades sociales y las distintas clases sociales hasta llegar al extremo de la opresión espacial. Con respecto a la comunicación, Sassen introduce *Occupy Wall Street* dentro de los límites de la lucha social e incluye el carácter neoliberal del estado que busca el control total social y espacial. Dentro del espacio urbano, Sassen señala por un lado el estado físico de la ciudad como un obstáculo para el movimiento social y, por otro lado, las tecnologías comunicativas contemporáneas como actores en la territorialización tanto del espacio digital como físico. Concluye con una interacción de estas plataformas como delineadores de procesos de actuación en red para la ocupación espacial.

En la Universidad de California en Berkeley, el grupo de investigación “*Inclusive Cities*” realiza estudios en ciudades como Medellín, Nairobi, Berkeley y El Cairo con respecto a movimientos sociales, participación ciudadana, urbanismo social y derecho a la ciudad. Nezar AlSayyad²⁸ presenta componentes de casos sociales y urbanos a partir de la Revolución Egipcia, y en su artículo “*The Virtual Square: Urban Space, Media, and the Egyptian Uprising*”²⁹ reescribe las narrativas de la

²³ Hirsch, Nikolaus y Miessen, Markus. *What is a Critical Spatial Practice?* Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012

²⁴ Nikolaus Hirsch, arquitecto y profesor en la Architectural Association en Londres y en University of Pennsylvania en Filadelfia. Trabaja en plataformas multimedia, arte y paisaje.

²⁵ Markus Miessen es un arquitecto alemán, profesor en Práctica en la University of Southern California.

²⁶ Saskia Sassen es una socióloga alemana-holandesa que trabaja en temas de globalización, migración humana. Es profesora de Sociología en la Universidad de Columbia.

²⁷ Sassen, Saskia, “Global Street: Making the Political” en *Globalizations*, Vol. 7, no. 5, pp. 573 – 579, 2011

²⁸ Nezar AlSayyad es profesor de Arquitectura, Planeamiento, Diseño Urbano, e Historia Urbana en la University of California, Berkeley.

²⁹ AlSayyad, Nezar. “The Virtual Square: Urban Space, Media and the Egyptian Uprising” en *Harvard International Review* 33, 2012

revolución de Egipto en 2011 a través de las redes sociales. Además, el centro de investigación “*Cities*” de la *London School of Economics*, enfoca su trabajo en el estado actual de varias ciudades, sociedades, gobernanza, y contextos, y el grupo de investigación “*Theatrum Mundi*” fundado por Richard Sennett³⁰ en colaboración con la *New York University*; es una red internacional multidisciplinar que relaciona las prácticas culturales y espaciales en las ciudades. El grupo “*Spatial Information Design Lab*” (actualmente *Center for Spatial Research*) de la Universidad de Columbia, investiga el estado de la ciudad actual, la arquitectura, humanidades, diseño, y ciencias de la información. En la Universidad de Queens, Belfast, el proyecto de investigación “*Spatial Narratives of Revolt and Performance*” de la Escuela de Arquitectura, junto con la *Japan Foundation London*, estudia y decodifica el campo de acción de los movimientos sociales en las ciudades modernas y sus espacios públicos, especialmente de la Plaza Tahrir, *Occupy Movement* en Londres, Plaza Taksim en Estambul y las protestas en Shinjuku, Tokio. El centro de investigación “CO+LABO”, Universidad de Keio, Tokio, explora las diferentes formas y técnicas de apropiación del espacio con respecto al “derecho a la ciudad” de Henri Lefebvre en la ciudad actual. De manera interdisciplinar, este grupo desarrolla proyectos que enfocan las cualidades de los espacios urbanos a través de interacciones con el cuerpo, de manera individual o colectiva, y que producen conflictos espaciales y sociales.

En la Universidad de Barcelona, el grupo de investigación “*CRIT, Creativitat, Innovació i Transformació Urbana*” es un equipo multidisciplinar que estudia el desarrollo urbano y su impacto en la economía y la sociedad. Marc Pradel, miembro de este grupo, realiza un trabajo acerca de los movimientos sociales que se han generado en el barrio berlinés de Kreuzberg y cómo éstos han implicado una transformación en el espacio urbano y las relaciones sociales locales. En la Universitat Pompeu Fabra, el grupo de investigación en Teoría Política, ha colaborado con la elaboración publicaciones como “*Democràcia, política i societat. Homenatge a Rosa Virós*”³¹, la cual recoge varios artículos que tratan los movimientos sociales del 15M y *Occupy Wall Street* y el impacto causado en esas ciudades. En la Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Álvaro Sevilla Buitrago, doctor del departamento de Urbanística y Planificación del Territorio, dentro de “*Planning Theory & History – Spatial Justice*”, ha realizado investigaciones y estudios referentes al 15M y la producción del espacio de Henri Lefebvre, el desarrollo de las ciudades y los procesos sociales, y la evolución de las formas territoriales con respecto al capitalismo.

De esta manera, todas estas referencias visibilizan un interés y una necesidad común por realizar investigaciones cada vez más amplia que relacionan los movimientos sociales contemporáneos y las

³⁰ Richard Sennett es un sociólogo británico, profesor en la *London School of Economics* y de Humanidades en la *New York University*. Estudia los vínculos entre las ciudades y la sociedad, y los efectos del individualismo urbano en el mundo moderno.

³¹ Jordana, Jacinto, et al. *Democràcia, política i societat. Homenatge a Rosa Virós*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2012

prácticas espaciales en las ciudades actuales y el efecto que producen en el espacio, en la economía, en la sociedad, en la política, y en el desarrollo urbano.

Antecedentes

Desde 2011, las relaciones entre manifestaciones sociales, medios de comunicación tanto tradicionales como alternativos, y espacios públicos en distintas ciudades, se han hecho más directas. Estos vínculos han cambiado un impacto significativo en el paisaje arquitectónico urbano contemporáneo, motivo por el cual muchos académicos e investigadores han conectado estos movimientos con aquellos producidos a finales de los años 60 e inicios de los 70. Sin embargo, estos dos momentos no pueden ser comparables, no solamente por las diferentes causas y consecuencias que han tenido, sino también porque se han desarrollado en estados disímiles. Por un lado, se encuentra la reacción de los gobiernos locales que es cada vez más tolerante frente a las manifestaciones sociales, en parte por el trabajo que realizan distintas ONG, muchas de las cuales no existían en los años 60 y 70. Organizaciones como *Amnesty International*, *Human Rights Watch*, y Naciones Unidas se presentan como observadores y representantes de los derechos humanos y la libertad de expresión. Por otro lado, las revoluciones contemporáneas incluyen al espacio virtual tanto en su concepción como en su desarrollo, lo cual ha conducido a prácticas y relaciones espaciales diferentes a aquellas de la segunda mitad del siglo XX. De esta manera, se despliegan situaciones dispares que no son comparables en términos arquitectónicos, pero sí con respecto a teorías sociales.

Durante una primera fase, las ocupaciones contemporáneas provocaron una euforia inicial por haber sido creadas y organizadas, en gran parte, en medios de comunicación alternativos y redes sociales, incidiendo directamente en la creación de nuevas formas de apropiación del espacio público. Las redes sociales se presentaron como una red de flujos de información cuyas conexiones reflejan la intensidad y la transformación de estos espacios de manera colectiva, lo que a su vez ha conformado una parte importante de estos movimientos. En esta nueva situación, se han visibilizado dos nociones urbanas en el ámbito espacial contemporáneo: el derecho a la ciudad y lo público en el espectro contemporáneo, promoviendo la realización de investigaciones sobre la teoría social y política, y cómo estas revoluciones han sido representadas y representan varias realidades sociales. Debido a este enfoque, la investigación arquitectónica de estos acontecimientos ha sido principalmente anecdótica y narrativa, constituyendo sobre todo un relato gráfico y fotográfico de las revoluciones.

La representación gráfica de las revoluciones sociales como las que tuvieron lugar en la Puerta del Sol en Madrid, en la Plaza Tahrir en El Cairo, en Zuccotti Park en Nueva York, y en la Plaza Sintagma

en Atenas, entre otras, se ha desarrollado en dos aspectos: el urbano y el digital. Respecto al primer aspecto, se han utilizado herramientas arquitectónicas como la cartografía, la axonometría y la planimetría para representar las ocupaciones de estas revoluciones en el espacio público. El colectivo Ecosistema Urbano³² con base en Madrid, ha realizado una serie de cartografías que representan la ocupación en Puerta del Sol. Mientras tanto *MAS Studio*³³ ha mapeado los diferentes espacios público-privados en Manhattan, Nueva York, existentes hasta 2011 en relación al movimiento *Occupy Wall Street*. Además, la plataforma *Cairo Observer*³⁴ ha producido material gráfico de la Plaza Tahrir y sus monumentos y cómo estos cambiaron posteriormente a la revolución. *Occupy Gezi*³⁵ por su parte, ha producido un archivo digital que alberga la planimetría sobre la ocupación en el Parque Gezi en 2013. Estos grupos son los principales en representar de manera gráfica las ocupaciones en los espacios públicos.

En el segundo caso, se han realizado mapeos sobre el uso de las redes sociales durante las revoluciones, especialmente de Facebook, Twitter y YouTube. La intensidad y velocidad con las que las redes sociales han propagado información e imágenes, ha conformado un archivo de evidencia visual sobre lo ocurrido en las revoluciones en tiempo real y durante sus procesos en los espacios urbanos. Estas aproximaciones espaciales se han realizado desde un punto de observador, no desde el de actor o productor, por lo que el entendimiento espacial producido sobre las revoluciones ha contenido un carácter distante. Para ser parte de una ocupación en el espacio público como la de la Plaza Tahrir o el Parque Gezi, ha sido necesario tener un carácter de compromiso con el movimiento social, de solidaridad y de colectividad. Este carácter personal ha otorgado nuevas cualidades e información sobre el entendimiento espacial de las revoluciones sociales contemporáneas.

Sin embargo, pocos han sido los arquitectos que han profundizado en el estudio de estos movimientos durante su desarrollo y las consecuencias espaciales. De hecho, geógrafos, sociólogos y filósofos como Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou, Saskia Sassen, y David Harvey, entre otros, son quienes han estudiado los fenómenos espaciales y sus efectos en la ciudad actual. Esta situación indica una aproximación superficial en términos arquitectónicos con respecto a los movimientos sociales, lo que presenta una necesidad de entender la nueva arquitectura pública a través de prácticas críticas espaciales realizadas durante las revoluciones, y motivando a su vez la generación de esta tesis.

³² Ecosistema Urbano es un colectivo con base en Madrid, formado por arquitectos y diseñadores urbanos que operan en campos de la arquitectura, el urbanismo, la ingeniería y la sociología.

³³ MAS Studio es un estudio de arquitectura y diseño urbano de Chicago, que trabaja de manera multidisciplinar en la investigación, proyectos arquitectónicos, publicaciones y exhibiciones.

³⁴ Cairo Observer es una plataforma digital que trabaja en la realidad arquitectónica y urbana presente e histórica de Egipto.

³⁵ Occupy Gezi es una plataforma digital colectiva y abierta sobre las protestas en el Parque Gezi, Estambul en 2013

Hipótesis

Históricamente, las revoluciones han generados cambios sociales, económicos y políticos. Las revoluciones contemporáneas, a diferencia de las ocurridas anteriormente, son creadas y organizadas desde el espacio virtual a través de las redes sociales, provocando cambios en dichos campos y generando nuevas relaciones y nuevos tiempos. Al poder de la multitud y la importancia de los espacios públicos, es imprescindible añadir el factor determinante del espacio virtual. Se plantea la hipótesis en esta tesis de que el espacio virtual a través de las aplicaciones móviles, las plataformas digitales, y las redes sociales, desarrolla mecanismos que conforman nuevos estados de acción en los movimientos llevados a cabo entre los años 2011 y 2014. Son estos movimientos los que provocan la inclusión del espacio virtual junto al espacio físico, creando el nuevo espacio público contemporáneo y la espacialidad radical. Este espacio presenta una ausencia de jerarquías explícitas en una gestión de red, dificulta el control y la represión del movimiento de personas y objetos en el espacio, y crea sistemas colaborativos en red para la elaboración de estrategias de acción urbanas.

La organización espacial de los distintos lugares ocupados en estas revoluciones, presenta algunas características comunes y también aspectos singulares, debido a factores como el contexto político y la historia local. Por ello, se pueden analizar estos movimientos como fenómenos sociales equivalentes y como acontecimientos transformadores del espacio, extendiendo la construcción teórica sobre apropiaciones espaciales. Esta situación despliega nuevas herramientas de proyecto que actúan en este nuevo espacio aumentado, susceptibles de ser empleadas y transformadas por cualquier persona, de manera temporal y desplazada, ya que son realizadas bajo nuevos parámetros y condiciones particulares inexploradas anteriormente. De esta manera, se plantea una segunda hipótesis de que existen nuevas prácticas arquitectónicas que responden y se adaptan a las nuevas dinámicas sociales contemporáneas, contrastando a su vez con una arquitectura urbana como una red de espacios fijos y establecidos.

Por otro lado, el paisaje arquitectónico urbano actual ha adoptado un carácter de mayor control, en parte como consecuencia del desarrollo de estas ocupaciones. Los espacios públicos como las plazas, los parques, y las calles de los centros de las ciudades, incluyen cada vez más y de manera extendida en tanto en la infraestructura física y legal, mecanismos de control. Por ello se plantea una tercera hipótesis, en la que las ocupaciones contemporáneas son amplificadores de la transformación espacial y legal del paisaje arquitectónico urbano.

Objetivos

Dentro de un contexto actual, las ocupaciones contemporáneas presentan nuevos estados de conflicto en la ciudad que, a través de prácticas arquitectónicas, alteran y transforman los espacios públicos. Con la inclusión del espacio virtual como generador y mediador de estos movimientos sociales, se forman nuevas dinámicas entre la sociedad y la ciudad, presentando situaciones espaciales que no se habían producido anteriormente. Esta investigación pretende establecer las relaciones arquitectónicas, urbanas, sociales y legales que existen en las revoluciones sociales contemporáneas con respecto al estado actual de los espacios públicos y las consecuencias posteriores producidas en dichos espacios. Para ello, se plantean los siguientes objetivos específicos.

- Investigar el modo en el que el espacio virtual y el espacio físico actúan de manera unitaria en la elaboración de herramientas de proyectación arquitectónica urbanas que sean de modo instantáneo e *in-situ*.
- Detectar los nuevos comportamientos de los espacios a fin de elaborar dispositivos arquitectónicos que respondan a las dinámicas sociales contemporáneas y a los mecanismos actuales de control de los espacios públicos de manera disidente y temporal.
- Determinar el alcance de la transformación del paisaje arquitectónico urbano, el significado y uso de espacios producidos durante las ocupaciones, entender los métodos de apropiación espacial, y proponer criterios de diseño arquitectónico urbano.

Metodología

Durante 2011, la imagen de las protestas sociales se ha repetido constantemente en calles y pantallas alrededor del mundo. Ciudades como Frankfurt, Túnez, Madrid, Atenas, Nueva York, Tokio, etc., han sido escenarios de múltiples manifestaciones que se han convertido en ocupaciones de espacios públicos, sorprendiendo a propios y a extraños por el alcance y la rapidez de su resonancia. Estas situaciones han presentado ciertas características y variables temporales comunes, indispensables para realizar un trabajo de investigación con una estrategia dual de trabajo de campo en tiempo real y de teoría elaborada a partir de la práctica [*practice-led-theory*].

Para obtener la información en el espacio-tiempo real, se han obtenido datos *in-situ* que permitieron obtener un entendimiento general y en detalle de la construcción espacial de las revoluciones desde dentro, desde la concepción y hasta el desarrollo completo del acontecimiento arquitectónico. Por ello, este proceso no ha seguido un orden lineal sino centrífugo, el cual ha realizado en diferentes ocasiones entrevistas a activistas y miembros de organizaciones sociales:

*Occupy Wall Street, OccuEvolve, Occupy London, Occupy Gezi, Take the Square, Umbrella Movement, 15M, y Left Unity*³⁶. Durante la investigación, la autora junto con colaboradores y activistas, han desarrollado performances y ensamblado estructuras en ocupaciones como Parque Gezi/Plaza Taksim en 2013 y 2014, *Occupy London* y *Occupy Frankfurt*. De la misma manera, la autora ha desarrollado mesas de trabajo y debate con los grupos sociales de *Take the Square, Contested Cities* en Londres y Madrid, *Think Space* en Zagreb, *Alternative Banking Group* en Nueva York, *Spatial Agency, Working Activism* en Londres, el taller *Design and social change* en Tokio, y organizado el simposio internacional *Amsterdam+Tokyo* en Tokio. Con la información y la experiencia obtenidas, se ha elaborado una documentación gráfica, tanto fotográfica como con dibujos y cartografías en colaboración con distintos grupos de investigación como el *Center for Spatial Research* de la Universidad de Columbia en Nueva York, el *Centre for Research Architecture* de la Goldsmiths University of London, considerado el programa *History and Critical Thinking* de la Architectural Association, y *CO+LABO* de Keio University. Dentro de un proceso activo, esta información ha permitido la construcción de una serie de teorías espaciales que, a través de la práctica espacial, han conducido el trabajo hacia otra segunda estrategia.

Dentro de la estrategia de investigación teórica, el conocimiento operacional ha sido construido en base a la práctica espacial. Las diferentes acciones y procesos desarrollados en las etapas del trabajo de campo, el cual ha sido continuo y a la vez centrífugo, ha dilucidado los procesos en términos espaciales durante y posterior a las revoluciones. Así, se ha creado un estado de “acción-investigación”, donde la exploración y las experimentaciones directas e indirectas de estos acontecimientos, han provocado nuevas relaciones entre prácticas espaciales, objetos y estructuras, formando un nuevo paisaje arquitectónico urbano. La práctica se ha convertido en investigación, el objeto se ha transformado en sujeto y se ha unido los diferentes estados de activista, arquitecto e investigador, en el término que se ha denominado “*arquivista*.”

En este proceso centrífugo, distintas disciplinas han influido y construido la investigación – la sociología, la antropología y la política – relacionadas con aspectos espaciales de las revoluciones y creando parámetros transdisciplinarios e interconectados. Debido al carácter contemporáneo de la investigación, se han incorporado continuamente aspectos específicos de los ámbitos indicados previamente y de nuevos campos, los cuales han afectado y modificado el desarrollo de la misma. Por este motivo se ha aplicado una metodología cualitativa³⁷, la cual utiliza métodos múltiples para tener una aproximación y enfoque del objeto y sujeto de investigación en el estado más natural posible. Así, ha sido posible interpretar y deducir los fenómenos causados y provocados durante estos acontecimientos, lo que a su vez ha cuestionado y alterado continuamente los procesos y los planteamientos realizados previamente. A través de esta metodología cualitativa, se ha realizado un

³⁶ *Left Unity* es un partido político británico creado en 2013.

³⁷ Esta metodología cualitativa está basada en la publicación *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry*, de Norman Denzin e Yvonna Lincoln

énfasis en la exploración de las situaciones complejas de las revoluciones, posibilitando la visualización de las relaciones entre los espacios, los objetos, los sujetos y los tiempos, y conformando a su vez acciones iterativas. Debido al gran número de agentes implicados durante estos acontecimientos, se ha realizado constantemente una recolección de datos, una interpretación de procesos, y una construcción de teorías que, en varios puntos de la investigación, han tendido a presentar conclusiones que necesitaban ser exploradas en ámbitos más deductivos. Para ello, se han establecido cuatro fases de investigación:

Fase 0. Atlas espacial denominado "*Revolution Squares*" de las distintas revoluciones materializadas durante 2011. A través de la representación gráfica, ha sido posible visibilizar ciertas características espaciales de los lugares donde se realizaron las ocupaciones: la forma geométrica de las plazas, parques y bulevares, la organización de mobiliario urbano, la superficie de lugares abiertos y cerrados, los materiales, la ubicación, niveles y altura de edificaciones, etc. Esta información ha sido desarrollada durante el primer año dentro de la fase de formación, permitiendo el análisis y la elaboración de teorías espaciales que estructuran la investigación. Esta fase ha sido el primer encuentro con un contexto construido por medio del cual se ha producido un entendimiento de la situación espacial de las revoluciones. De este modo, se ha aplicado un método inductivo, el cual organiza características espaciales y políticas de los acontecimientos a través de la observación, el registro, el análisis, y la clasificación de los datos obtenidos.

Fase 1. Una vez obtenido el atlas de "*Revolution Squares*", se han planteado dos aspectos que guían el trabajo: lo político y lo espacial. Debido a que las ocupaciones de 2011 son movimientos sociales heterogéneos, la protesta se ha extendido en diversos campos como lo político, la gobernanza, la economía, y lo social. Por este motivo, se ha elaborado un mapa que es complejo por incluir diferentes campos de aproximación y práctica, para lo cual se han realizado entrevistas a activistas, a organizadores y a grupos implicados en las revoluciones, se han construido cartografías y documentación gráfica, y relacionado teorías y conceptos sociales y arquitectónicos.

Para la construcción del relato urbano de conflicto a través de cartografías, se ha recurrido a diferentes fuentes de información como entrevistas, documentación escrita y gráfica, documentales, y sobre todo el análisis espacial de redes sociales [Twitter, YouTube, Facebook, Vimeo]. Este proceso de seguimiento y observación se ha ejecutado de manera forense, el cual ha permitido entender el acontecimiento espacial desde diferentes medios y formas de representación, para lo cual la acción y participación en redes sociales y ocupaciones físicas, se han realizado de manera casi inmediata, múltiple y presencial.

Esta fase se ha convertido en una plataforma múltiple y analítica que incluye distintas perspectivas dentro del trabajo de campo, identificando diversos factores que afectan la elaboración de teorías generadas a partir de la observación, y trazando varias líneas de aproximación teóricas. Esta

situación ha generado por un lado la apertura hacia otras disciplinas como la política, la sociología y el diseño urbano, y por otro lado consolidado conceptos y prácticas específicas dentro de la investigación.

Fase 2. Durante el desarrollo de esta investigación han aparecido continuamente nuevas revoluciones. Por ello, se han incluido tres ocupaciones: *Gezi Park* de Estambul en 2013, *Umbrella Movement* de Hong Kong en 2014, y *Miyashita Park* en Tokio, 2011. Se ha realizado un desplazamiento hacia la primera localidad donde se ha podido ejecutar, capturar, experimentar y producir una revolución contemporánea *in-situ*. Esto ha permitido la elaboración de conceptualizaciones cualitativas, las cuales visualizan situaciones sociales y espaciales que hasta entonces habían permanecido ocultas. Se han estructurado entrevistas con contenido más profundo y específico, y se han producido imágenes experienciales, las cuales se convierten en herramientas de investigación para representar la experiencia personal dentro de situaciones complejas. Es una fase de práctica metodológica constituida por las dos primeras fases, empleando interpretaciones y significados dentro de un contexto específico pero que comparte prácticas y tácticas previamente exploradas. Es decir, se ha aplicado un método deductivo por exponer conceptos y demostrar relaciones previamente presentadas, lo cual ha otorgado un soporte teórico para la construcción de nuevas teorías espaciales.

Fase 3. Esta es una fase realizada a lo largo de toda la investigación, la cual incluye el desplazamiento a distintos lugares donde se desarrollan o se han desarrollado las ocupaciones contemporáneas, así como también lugares donde se encuentran grupos de investigación que trabajan con temas afines. Se aplican las dos estrategias iniciales: trabajo de campo y teoría a partir de la práctica, lo que a su vez permite una investigación transversal y procesual. Esta red de trabajo se desarrolla en los siguientes lugares:

Nueva York / noviembre 2013

_Columbia University

Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation

Center for Spatial Research

Este grupo de investigación vincula el diseño, la arquitectura, el urbanismo, las ciencias humanas y *data science*. De manera interdisciplinar, se realizan investigaciones de tipo activas y prácticas, con visualización de datos en diferentes contextos urbanos durante un mes bajo siguiendo el trabajo de la directora del centro, Laura Kurgan. Esta estancia ha sido principalmente de recolección de datos, investigación en el archivo de la escuela de arquitectura, aprendizaje y entendimiento de herramientas de visualización espacial, y asistencia a seminarios y conversaciones sobre temas relacionados con la investigación.

International Affairs Department

Alternative Banking Group

Este grupo se dedica a la investigación del sistema financiero y su difusión adecuada para el 99% mediante las mejoras en las regulaciones financieras. Evalúa y fomenta opciones financieras alternativas dentro de la actual disfunción del sistema e inspira al activismo y la participación pública. Se ha asistido a seminarios y se ha colaborado en mesas de trabajo con Suresh Naidu, Profesor de "*Economics and International and Public Affairs*".

_Occupy Wall Street – OccupyWallSt.org

Es un movimiento social generado durante la ocupación de Zuccotti Park en Nueva York entre los meses de septiembre y noviembre de 2011. Con este grupo se han realizado entrevistas a activistas y miembros del grupo, así como también se ha participado en debates y discusiones junto a Micah M. White, PhD en *Media and Communication* de la "*European Graduate School*", y Priscilla Grim, co-fundadora del grupo "*We Are The 99 Percent*" y co-fundadora y editora de "*Occupied Wall Street Journal*". Se han obtenido documentos escritos y gráficos elaborados durante la ocupación en Zuccotti Park en 2011, así como también videos y audios.

_OccuEvolve

Es un movimiento social derivado de *Occupy Wall Street* que funciona como un centro de pensamiento, información, empoderamiento, acción y difusión a nivel de comunidad local. Se han realizado entrevistas, asistido a mesas de trabajo, colaborado con el trabajo gráfico y de difusión, y participado en la construcción de estructuras realizadas durante la ocupación de 2011.

_New School Parsons

Vera List Center for Art and Politics

Este grupo de investigación identifica la urgencia espacial con las necesidades sociales de manera política, por lo que es interdisciplinar al incluir a diferentes investigadores como artistas, estudiantes, activistas, intelectuales públicos y dirigentes políticos y culturales. Se ha desarrollado el trabajo de recolección de datos y archivo, asistido a debates y a seminarios junto a Annie Shaw, profesora, y se ha desarrollado mesas de trabajo con Pablo Bustinduy, doctor en filosofía.

Londres / marzo 2014 – enero 2016

_Goldsmiths University of London

Centre for Research Architecture

Este centro multidisciplinar se basa en plataformas culturales, políticas, conflictivas y de derechos humanos mediante la búsqueda de herramientas urbanas y de su práctica por parte de los ciudadanos. Durante dos años y bajo la dirección de Eyal Weizman, director del centro, se ha utilizado el método teoría a partir de la práctica [*practice-led-theory*] para promover procesos

investigativos arquitectónicos que envuelven una crítica radical en la naturaleza de las características inherentes de la arquitectura relacionadas con las revoluciones sociales. Por medio de lecturas, seminarios, congresos, mesas redondas, y práctica de docencia, se ha constituido la base teórica de la investigación de manera multidisciplinar.

_Occupy London

Es un grupo social parte del Movimiento *Occupy* de 2011 con base en Londres. Utiliza los mismos fundamentos y promueve asambleas ciudadanas que respondan o promuevan respuestas contra el sistema político y financiero. Se han realizado entrevistas a activistas y miembros del grupo, obtenido documentación fotográfica y escrita sobre el movimiento y la ocupación de 2011 – 2012, asistido a debates y mesas de trabajo, colaborado con la organización de eventos, y desarrollado prácticas espaciales de apropiación de espacios públicos.

_Architectural Association School of Architecture

History and Critical Thinking

Este programa promueve métodos de investigación colaborativos interdisciplinarios. El objetivo es conectar contemporáneamente proyectos arquitectónicos dentro de ámbitos históricos, culturales y políticos para explorar parámetros arquitectónicos y urbanos. Siguiendo el trabajo de Marina Lathouri, directora del departamento, se ha buscado producir un conocimiento relacionado con las prácticas espaciales desarrolladas durante las revoluciones y posteriormente a ellas, con una aproximación a las distintas culturas públicas de las localidades de las ocupaciones con respecto a la arquitectura. Durante un año, se ha asistido a seminarios, grupos de trabajo, mesas redondas, se han realizado presentaciones públicas y práctica docente.

Tokio / diciembre 2016 – septiembre 2017

_Keio University

Faculty of Science and Technology

CO+LABO

Es un grupo de investigación especializado en el estudio, análisis y desarrollo de herramientas arquitectónicas urbanas y teorías aplicadas. Este grupo realiza representaciones de espacios establecidos con el fin de responder a las prácticas humanas en parámetros arquitectónicos. Durante seis meses junto a Darko Radović, director del grupo, se elabora un proyecto colaborativo el cual experimentará en Tokio, las relaciones espaciales arquitectónicas generadas durante la investigación. Asimismo, se realiza práctica de docencia y se desarrollan artículos colaborativos y personales.

Estructura de la tesis

La investigación se estructura en cinco capítulos.

Capítulo 1. Se introducen los acontecimientos arquitectónicos seleccionados. A través de una exploración de las revoluciones sociales producidas entre 2011 y 2014, se realiza el atlas de “*Revolution Squares*” y se seleccionan tres casos de estudio complementarios en cuanto a sus aspectos políticos y espaciales, Plaza Tahrir, *Occupy Wall Street*, y Parque Gezi/Plaza Taksim, que se analizan y establecen la base para el desarrollo del resto de la investigación. Mediante un estudio histórico de la situación política y urbana de cada caso, se realizan cartografías que visibilizan esas condiciones.

Capítulo 2. Se exponen las relaciones y las potencialidades del espacio virtual en la creación y desarrollo de la revolución social contemporánea. Las plataformas digitales y las redes sociales se presentan como mediadores y provocadores de estrategias espaciales urbanas, alterando los modelos establecidos de la ciudad y afectando el uso de los espacios públicos. Con mapas y documentación gráfica, se representan los patrones de comportamiento en el espacio virtual y su impacto en el espacio físico para plantear estrategias de proyectación espacial.

Capítulo 3. Se produce la base de una plataforma teórica a partir de la práctica y el trabajo de campo. Se construyen conceptos y relaciones donde el cuerpo y su movimiento en el espacio, el espacio público de la ocupación, y el paisaje arquitectónico urbano configuran la parte teórica de la investigación. El análisis se realiza según los aspectos arquitectónicos y teóricos, presentando nuevos parámetros que incluyen diferentes disciplinas como la teoría social, el diseño urbano, la economía, y el campo político, como un solo cuerpo hacia un proceso arquitectónico.

Capítulo 4. Se plantean nociones teóricas y prácticas con el objetivo de configurar el concepto de la Espacialidad Radical. Al ensamblar características y reacciones espaciales durante las ocupaciones, se presenta un conjunto de nuevos espacios que responden a las dinámicas sociales contemporáneas de manera disidente. “La Arquitectura de la Ocupación” establece respuestas arquitectónicas realizadas durante las revoluciones seleccionadas, adaptando la lucha urbana histórica con el espacio virtual y la transformación del paisaje arquitectónico urbano. Mediante un planteamiento teórico-práctico, se presentan una serie de estrategias arquitectónicas como estados temporales, constituyendo la base para formar la Espacialidad Radicalidad.

Capítulo 5. Se presentan las consecuencias espaciales de estas ocupaciones en forma de regulaciones urbanas a nivel global. En este capítulo, se consideran las normativas urbanas de diferentes ciudades que han delimitado y proyectado el diseño arquitectónico de espacios públicos,

la creciente privatización de los mismos, y cómo éstas direccionan una homogeneización general del paisaje construido. Con base en Tokio, esta exploración se desarrolla mediante la visibilización ocupaciones en el espacio virtual y físico, y se presenta la formación del espacio post-público, un dispositivo arquitectónico urbano que se activa en la ciudad contemporánea y que se extiende como un nuevo proyecto de investigación.

INTRODUCTION

The Arab Spring, the Occupy Movement, *los Indignados*, Gezi Park, the Umbrella Movement, Syntagma Square, and so on, are some of the most representative contemporary occupations, which conduct important changes and open debate in fields like politics and economics. However, they are not usually related to the transformation of the architectural urban landscape.

Since 2011 and as a consequence of these social phenomena, different local governments begin to formulate, propose and execute legal measures that seek the control of public spaces. One of them is the privatization of public spaces, in which private investment is in charge of creating, maintaining, and managing these spaces that are demanded especially in city centres. Moreover, a manual of architectural design has been created, which presents parameters of spatial and urban design, favouring visual control, movement of people and objects, and causing a homogenization of different architectural urban landscapes.

Besides, contemporary occupations formulate and produce new processes of architectural design. One of the main methods is the inclusion of the virtual space as a physical space activator, both in its design and in its production,³⁸ establishing a new contemporary public space. In fact, contemporary occupations are created and organized in the virtual space, generating new variables of action and making visible the inescapable need to be materialized in the public space: at the moment of occupying public spaces, these movements create a field of energy that transforms temporarily the architectural urban landscape. Through a series of collective micro-events, a spatiality [space + time] is introduced, it responds in real time to spatial practices, and can be described as dissident because it disturbs the pre-established order of public spaces. This spatiality is a mediator of social dynamics and in a temporary mode; it blurs the limits between private and public, external and internal, legal and illegal [establishing the *alegal*]. Hence, these social movements called “*architectural events*,” generate and develop a series of tools of spatial, heterogeneous and dynamic relations.

³⁸ This statement refers to Henri Lefebvre’s “The Production of the Space” as a complex social state that affects spatial practices and perceptions.

Three main case studies are taken in order to carry out this research: Tahrir Square in Cairo, Zuccotti Park in New York, and Gezi Park/Taksim Square in Istanbul, but two cases will be included along this process (Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong and Miyashita Park in Tokyo). These events are chosen due to their political and spatial character. The first case is a social uprising in 2011 against an authoritarian regime governed by president Hosni Mubarak, who regulated continuously an "Emergency Law"³⁹ exercised for thirty years: an occupation is produced in a roundabout for eighteen days. The second case, Occupy Wall Street in New York, a movement that defies the capital system, was born as a result of the financial crisis of 2007-2008: the occupation is materialized in fifty-nine days. The last event contains similarities with the previous two: Turkey has a democratically elected government but at the time of the social uprising, it has been in power for twelve years. The protest starts as a small environmental occupation in order to prevent the demolition of a park in the city centre as part of an urban plan. Soon, it becomes a general social uprising against the government and the regulations adopted during the last years: the occupation lasts nineteen days and takes place in a roundabout and a park.

These architectural events present different mechanisms of activation and deactivation of intermittent spaces, containing dissident, collective and temporal practices. By including the virtual space as part of contemporary social dynamics, a new kind of *agora* and a network of micro-cities are created, which adapt and transform themselves according to occupiers' needs. The dynamism and temporality generate new meanings and uses of everyday objects, which in a state of exception, the appropriation of public spaces become radical subjects that alter the spatial configuration. This situation implies a transformation from banal to extraordinary, from fixed to dynamic, from permanent to temporary, extracting capabilities and characteristics that reinvent the urban territory. With light, mobile and portable structures, changeable in aesthetics and functions, projected in the physical and virtual space, local and global, space, bodies and objects that compose the urban architectural landscape are [de] [re] territorialized. A configuration is projected with the body that transforms the space temporarily, emerging the *Radical Spatiality*.

State of the Art

The contemporary social movements of this research: Tahrir Square,⁴⁰ Occupy Wall Street, and Gezi Park and Taksim Square [Gezi/Taksim], have been the source of a large number of investigations in

³⁹ The "Emergency Law No. 162, 1958" was applied in Egypt after the "War of Six Days" (Arab – Israel). The law was suspended for eighteen months in 1980 but it was reinserted after the assassination of the president Anwar Sadat in 1981. Since then and until 2012, this law has been applied and ruled in the entire country.

⁴⁰ "Tahrir Square," or "Egyptian Revolution" are the common names of the social revolution developed between January and February 2011 in Egypt. However, "Tahrir Square" is recognized as the occupation done in this plaza in Cairo, becoming the main stage of this revolution.

different disciplines such as social, political, economic theory, planning, and urban design. Regarding to the architectural approach, these movements have led to a state of general concern that question spatial design strategies, which, although not explored in depth, have opened platforms for dialogue and interdisciplinary debate.

In the last decade, several authors, academics, research groups and studies of architecture have looked towards public spaces, to their definition and current use that, unlike '60s and '70s' social movements, these are created in the virtual space, provoking the production of new spatial practices. From 2011, research related to social movements has increased in different centres, being Tahrir Square and Occupy Wall Street the main analysed occupations. In this sense, the publication "Planning for Protest"⁴¹ brings together twelve cases of contemporary protests, including Tahrir Square and *Puerta del Sol*, and presents spatial parameters and architectural tactics used during the development of revolutions. This publication evaluates the role of architects by representing visually these social movements from different perspectives as graphic contributions of protests. In many of these cases, the reactions are the alteration and creation of new urban elements, although there is nor an analysis or response from the architectural design at the moment of protest and its possible spatial consequences.

Regarding to social and spatial relations, urban geographers are more involved than architects in the investigation of social mobilization in urban centres; they make visible and theorize actions and urban conditions that affect the use of the city during revolutions. Erik Swyngedouw, professor of geography at University of Manchester, has defined the theoretical variables about the radical use of the city and the political design as an urban process. In his work "Urban Redevelopment and Social Polarization in the City,"⁴² Swyngedouw makes a cross-sectional analysis of thirteen urban plans focusing on the mechanisms of social polarization, exclusion and integration, and relates them to the action and influence of local social movements, financial market, the production and distribution system, and socio-cultural processes. He indicates the organizational change of the city and its dependence on local actions, and how they come to affect the space at different levels, from real estate projects within traditional neighbourhoods, to general territorial plans. In addition, in his publication "The Ground Zero of Politics: Musing on the Post-Political Polis,"⁴³ Swyngedouw emphasizes the relations of neoliberal forms of governance that affect the physical state of cities and the need for creative and experimental works done by the community. Swyngedouw also investigates the relations of the "Squares of the Revolution," like emblematic and symbolic spaces that are essential for the construction of the social identity. He approaches to the social policy intervention for the transformation of public spaces as egalitarian and equitable, and references to

⁴¹ Allen, Ben, *et al. Planning for Protests*. An Associated Project of the Lisbon Architecture Triennale, 2013.

⁴² Moualart, Frank, y Swyngedouw, Erik. "Urban Redevelopment and Social Polarization in the City" en *Final Report for European Commission*, DG XII. Lille: IFRESI, 1999

⁴³ Swyngedouw, Erik. "The Ground-Zero of Politics: Musings on the Post-Political Polis" in *New Geographies*, Vol. 2, 2009

philosophers such as Alain Badiou, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, who include social concepts. In fact, several authors from different disciplines who base their work on socio-spatial notions developed during the '60s and '70s, repeat this method of referring to philosophers and philosophical concepts. The leading author on urban spatial terms is Henri Lefebvre,⁴⁴ who defines concepts like "the right to the city" and "the production of social space." These concepts are influenced by the Parisian student movement May 68, and therefore are widely referred in analyses of the Arab Spring and the Occupy Movement especially because of its similarities with mass protest, global repercussions, and disobedient [civil] appropriation of public spaces. One of the main authors that references Lefebvre's work is David Harvey,⁴⁵ who also discusses collective behaviours in urban spaces and vice versa. In his publication "Rebel Cities,"⁴⁶ Harvey relates the utopian thinking of the 2011 revolutions and analyses current cities as centres of capital accumulation as well as necessary spaces for political practices. He analyses the Paris Commune of 1871, Occupy Wall Street and the London protests of 2011 as urban anti-capitalist resistances. On the other hand, the work of Jana Carp⁴⁷ entitled "Ground-Truthing. Representations of Social Space," references to the criticism and theory of Harvey and Lefebvre, and searches the representation of social space. Carp presents spatial appropriation interventions in urban planning that transmit actions and social participation as open methods that recognize the discontinuous and unquantifiable links of a common place.

In relation to encampments as geopolitical spaces, organizations and biopolitical strategies, these are linked to Giorgio Agamben, who explores them as a state of emergency and concentration camps. Agamben's work results in an expansion of terms related to space and violence in architecture with regard to 'war on terror,' such as the Bagram area base in Afghanistan or the Guantanamo detention centre.⁴⁸ On the other hand, Paul Virilio⁴⁹ emphasizes the political power of speed like pattern of revolutions in the urban space. In his book "Speed and Politics,"⁵⁰ Virilio presents speed as the engine of destruction through technology developed by a militarized society. In "A Landscape of Events,"⁵¹ with Bernard Tschumi's introduction, Virilio describes the cultural chaos of the 1980s and 1990s in which urban disorientation, war machines, and the acceleration of

⁴⁴ Henri Lefebvre (1901 – 1991), French philosopher and sociologist. His most important publications are "*The Critique of Everyday Life*," "*The Production of Space*," and "*The Urban Revolution*."

⁴⁵ David Harvey is a geographer by the University of Cambridge and professor of Anthropology and Geography at the City University of New York. His work proposes the concept "right to the city."

⁴⁶ Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities*. Nueva York: Verso, 2013

⁴⁷ Jana Carp, researcher and professor at Appalachian State University. She investigates urban planning, production of spatial theory, sustainable development and collaborative methods.

⁴⁸ See Giaccara Paolo y Minca Claudio. "Topographies/topologies of the camp: Auschwitz as a spatial threshold." *Political Geography*, Vol. 30 no. 1, pp. 3-12, 2011. Gregory, Derek, *The Colonial Present*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004

⁴⁹ Paul Virilio is a philosopher, urbanist, and cultural theorist whose interests are technology as a relationship of speed and power. He bases his work on architectural, art, city and military aspects.

⁵⁰ Virilio, Paul. *Speed and Politics* [Vitesse et Politique]. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2006 [1977].

⁵¹ Virilio, Paul. *A Landscape of Events*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000

events form an acceleration of the reality. In this sense and alongside Spinoza's notions, there is an intensity that affects spatial situations that he denominates spatio-temporal mechanics of agents of expansion. In addition, Alain Badiou⁵² in his book "Being and Event,"⁵³ rediscovers this state as an 'event,' where bodies are revolutionary vectors of the atomized space.

Regarding to the inclusion of the virtual space in the creation and management of social movements, Manuel Castells⁵⁴ investigates the relationships and dynamics that social networks produce in contemporary protests, becoming major factors that mark differences and generate new aspects within urban centres. In his publication "Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age,"⁵⁵ Castells indicates the social need to feel 'connected' to others, increasing subsequently the space of action in the city. In one chapter, he includes the revolutions of Tunisia and the Arab Spring, as well as the Occupy Movement and *los Indignados*, and identifies them within a dimension of independent online and offline action. When he refers to these revolutions as rhizomatic systems, he does not refer to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari; however, Castells insists that he is offering an initial hypothesis for discussion and that it would be anticipated to draw a clear or definitive position. Moreover, Derek Gregory's publication "Tahrir: politics, publics and performances of Space,"⁵⁶ questions power relations with the new social media that activates the public sphere. Through the performance action in Tahrir, Gregory⁵⁷ views the collectivity as a point of spatial attention, as a ritual form between something new and at the same time precarious. He links his work to Judith Butler⁵⁸ and the notion of performance to make visible graphically and narratively, governmental actions in a quest to tame the radical political actions in Cairo. The main focus of his work is the operations in social networks by the government in an attempt to control society, and by protestors to develop and organize protests.

Nadir Lahiji⁵⁹ is one of the architects who critics the state of architecture as an obstacle to social policy. In his book "Architecture Against the Post-political,"⁶⁰ Lahiji brings together a series of essays that question the role of the architectural project in the face of contemporary political

⁵² Alain Badiou, French philosopher that works extensively in concepts such as truth, being, subject and event, and describes them as a repetition of modernity in a place of postmodernism.

⁵³ Badiou, Alain. *Being and Event*. Londres: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013

⁵⁴ Manuel Castells is a Spanish sociologist, professor of City Regional Planning at the University of California, Berkeley. His research involves globalization, communication, and the society of information.

⁵⁵ Castells, Manuel. "Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age". Cambridge: 2012

⁵⁶ Gregory, Derek. "Tahrir: Politics, Public and Performances of Space" en *Middle East Critique*, Vol. 22, no. 3, 2013, pp: 235 – 246

⁵⁷ Derek Gregory is an English geographer, professor of Geography at the University of British Columbia, His work and research include topics of political communication, militarization of society, cultural geography, and explores the theory of the place, space, and landscape.

⁵⁸ Judith Butler is a philosopher and theorist from the United States. Her work influences fields of politics, ethics, feminism, and performance.

⁵⁹ Nadir Lahiji is an architect and critic theorist, professor at the University of Canberra, Australia.

⁶⁰ Lahiji, Nadir. *Architecture against the Post-political: Reclaiming the Critical Project*. Londres: Routledge, 2014

practice and urban aesthetics. Focusing on specific cities such as Warsaw, Barcelona and Tokyo, among others, he presents the theoretical discourse of contemporary architecture and its depoliticization in the academic field, while attempting to reclaim the space lost in the critical project of architecture. The depoliticization in the architectural discipline, according to Lahiji, began in the last decade of the 20th century, when the radical criticism in architecture was turning away until being almost abandoned; it was a situation where the political as a subject was separated from the architectural project. In this sense, 2011 revolutions bring back the radical criticism, including concepts and spatial relationships in the exploration of architectural design processes. Lahiji establishes first an approximation to the project in order to fill the gap between politics and architecture, and includes art and aesthetics. This work was elaborated at the International Symposium "Architecture and the Political" held in Lebanon in November 2011, coinciding to Occupy Wall Street in Zuccotti Park.

Furthermore, Nikolaus Hirsch⁶¹ and Markus Miessen's⁶² "What is a Critical Spatial Practice?"⁶³ bring a number of writers, theorists, architects, philosophers, and artists in 2012, who present their understanding of the social phenomenon from the previous year. This series of writings and reflections parallels the political conditions that point out at architecture and its relation to *res publica*. This publication is an urban exploration of spatial practices executed during the occupations of 2011, in the form of essays and writings rather than graphic or theoretical documentation.

In 2011, Saskia Sassen⁶⁴ in her article "Global Street: Making the Political,"⁶⁵ she sees contemporary social movements as a symbolic occupation of what is subsequently called the "Global Street." She places the street as a real public space beyond the square and the park. "The street," she points out, is a space where new social and political forms could be fabricated instead of being a space of ritual routines. Sassen analyses social aspects within the political and spatial dimensions of the Arab Spring, captures the historical qualities of places, and observes how these spaces are executors to make visible and to hide social inequities. With regard to communication, Sassen introduces Occupy Wall Street within the limits of social struggle and includes the neoliberal character of the state that seeks total social and spatial control. Within the urban space, Sassen points at the physical state of the city as an obstacle to the social movement and, focuses on contemporary communicative technologies as actors in the territorialisation of both digital and physical spaces.

⁶¹ Nikolaus Hirsch, architect and professor at the Architectural Association, London, and the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. He works in multimedia, art and landscape platforms.

⁶² Markus Miessen, German architect, professor at the University of Southern California.

⁶³ Hirsch, Nikolaus y Miessen, Markus. *What is a Critical Spatial Practice?* Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012

⁶⁴ Saskia Sassen is a German-Dutch sociologist that works in topics of globalization and human migration. She is professor at Columbia University.

⁶⁵ Sassen, Saskia, "Global Street: Making the Political" in *Globalizations*, Vol. 7, no. 5, pp. 573 – 579, 2011

She concludes with an interaction of these platforms as delineators of network action processes for spatial occupation.

At the University of California at Berkeley, the "Inclusive Cities" research group conducts studies in cities such as Medellin, Nairobi, Berkeley and Cairo on issues related to social movements, citizen participation, social urbanism and right to the city. Nezar AlSayyad⁶⁶ presents components of social and urban cases from the Egyptian Revolution and in his article "The Virtual Square: Urban Space, Media and the Egyptian Uprising,"⁶⁷ he rewrites the narratives of Egypt's 2011 revolution through social networks. In addition, the research centre "Cities" of London School of Economics, focuses its work on cities, societies, governance, and contexts, and alongside the research group "Theatrum Mundi" founded by Richard Sennett⁶⁸ in collaboration with New York University, the research is established as an international multidisciplinary network that relates cultural and spatial practices in cities. The "Spatial Information Design Lab" (currently Centre for Spatial Research) at Columbia University, investigates current city status, architecture, humanities, design, and information science. At the University of Queens, Belfast, the School of Architecture's "Spatial Narratives of Revolt and Performance" research project, in collaboration with the Japan Foundation London, study and decode the field of action of social movements in modern cities and their public spaces, especially Tahrir Square, Occupy Movement in London, Taksim Square in Istanbul and the protests in Shinjuku, Tokyo. The research centre "CO+LABO," University of Keio, Tokyo, explores different forms and techniques of appropriation of the space with respect to Lefebvre's "right to the city" in the present city. In an interdisciplinary platform, this group develops projects that focus on qualities of urban spaces through interactions with the body, individually or collectively, by producing space and social conflicts.

At the University of Barcelona, the research group "*CRIT, Creativitat, Innovació i Transformació Urbana*" is a multidisciplinary team that studies urban development and its impact on economy and society. Marc Pradel, a member of this group, works on social movements that have been generated in the Berlin district Kreuzberg, and analyses the transformation of urban space and local social. At the *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*, the research group "Political Theory" has collaborated with the development of publications such as "*Democràcia, política i societat. Homenatge a Rosa Virós*,"⁶⁹ which includes several articles about social movements such as 15M and Occupy Wall Street, and their impact caused in cities. At the Technical School of Architecture of the Polytechnic University of

⁶⁶ Nezar AlSayyad is professor of Architecture, Planning, Urban Design, and Urban History in the University of California, Berkeley.

⁶⁷ AlSayyad, Nezar. "The Virtual Square: Urban Space, Media and the Egyptian Uprising" in *Harvard International Review* 33, 2012

⁶⁸ Richard Sennett is a British sociologist, professor at London School of Economics and New York University. He studies the links between cities and society, and the effects of urban individualism in the modern world.

⁶⁹ Jordana, Jacinto, et al. *Democràcia, política i societat. Homenatge a Rosa Virós*. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2012.

Madrid, Álvaro Sevilla Buitrago, PhD of the Department of Urban Planning and Territory, in “Planning Planning and History - Spatial Justice,” has carried out research and studies related to 15M and Lefebvre’s “production of the space,” the development of cities and social processes, and the evolution of territorial forms related to capitalism.

All these references make visible a growing interest and need to investigate in a wider mean the relationships with contemporary social movements and the spatial practices in current cities, and their effect produced in the space, economy, society, politics, and urban development.

Background

Since 2011, different social manifestations have begun to be related among traditional and alternative media, and public spaces. They have provoked significant impacts in the contemporary architectural urban landscape, reason why many scholars and researchers have linked these movements to those produced in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, they cannot be comparable, not only because of the different causes and consequences they have had, but also because they have been developed in dissimilar states. On the one hand, the current reaction from local governments is more tolerant to social demonstrations, partly because of the work of various NGOs, many of which did not exist in the ‘60s and ‘70s. Organizations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and the United Nations stand as observers and representatives of human rights and freedom of expression. On the other hand, contemporary revolutions include the virtual space in its conception and development, which has led to different practices and spatial relationships from those of the second half of the twentieth century.

During the initial phase of contemporary revolutions, they generated a general euphoria, especially in social networks and alternative media, and provoked different forms of appropriation of the urban space. During these events, social networks have been presented as a network of information that connects intensity and transforms public spaces collectively. In this situation, there are two urban notions: the right to the city and the new conception of the public, promoting research on social and political theory, and how revolutions represent and were represented in several social groups. Due to this approach, the architectural research of these events has been mainly anecdotal and descriptive, constituting above all a graphic and photographic narrative of revolutions. In this sense, there are different situations that could not be comparable in architectural terms but in social theories.

The graphic representation of social revolutions such as *Puerta del Sol* in Madrid, Tahrir Square in Cairo, Zuccotti Park in New York, and Syntagma Square in Athens, has been developed in two aspects: urban and virtual. In the urban scope, architectural tools such as cartography, axonometric

and plans have been used to represent them. The collective *Ecosistema Urbano*⁷⁰ based in Madrid, developed a series of cartographies representing the occupation in *Puerta del Sol*. Meanwhile MAS Studio⁷¹ mapped different public-private spaces in New York, related to Occupy Wall Street. In addition, the “Cairo Observer”⁷² platform produced graphic material of Tahrir Square and its changes during the revolution. In addition, “Occupy Gezi”⁷³ generated a digital archive with plans and drawings of the occupation in Gezi Park in 2013. These groups represent graphically occupations in public spaces. In the second case, there are maps about the use of social networks during revolutions, especially Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. The intensity and speed of information propagated in social networks has formed a file of visual evidence of public spaces in real time. These spatial approximations have been made from an observer point, not from an actor or producer; thus, the spatial understanding produced on these revolutions contains a character of distance. To be part of an occupation in the public space such as Tahrir Square or Gezi Park, it requires a character of commitment, solidarity and community with social movements. This personal character has given new qualities and information about the spatial understanding of contemporary social revolutions.

However, few architects have deepened in the study of these movements and the spatial consequences. In fact, geographers, sociologists and philosophers like Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou, Saskia Sassen, and David Harvey, among others, are the ones that have studied this spatial phenomenon and its effects in cities. It is a situation that indicates a superficial approach in architectural terms with respect to social movements, presenting a need to understand the new public architecture through critical spatial practices during the revolutions, and motivating subsequently the generation of this thesis.

Hypothesis

Historically, revolutions have generated social, economic and political changes. Contemporary revolutions, unlike previous ones, are created and organized in the virtual space, causing changes in these fields and generating new social and spatial relationships. To the power of the multitude and the importance of public spaces, it is imperative to add the virtual space as a determining factor. The hypothesis in this thesis is that the virtual space through mobile applications, digital platforms, and social networks, develops mechanisms that form new states of action in the movements

⁷⁰ *Ecosistema Urbano* is a collective based in Madrid, formed by architects and urban designers that operate in fields of architecture, urbanism, engineering, and sociology.

⁷¹ MAS Studio is an architectural and urban design studio based in Chicago. It works in a multidisciplinary way, involving research, architectural projects, publications, and exhibitions.

⁷² Cairo Observer is a digital platform that works in the architectural and urban scope of the historic Egypt.

⁷³ Occupy Gezi is a digital, open and collective platform created during the protests of Istanbul in Gezi Park, 2013.

generated between 2011 and 2014. These movements provoke the inclusion of the virtual space in the physical space, creating a new contemporary public space and a radical spatiality. This space presents an absence of explicit hierarchies in a network management, makes difficult the control and repression of people and object's movement in the space, and creates collaborative-networked systems for the elaboration of urban strategies.

The spatial organization of the places occupied in these revolutions, present some common characteristics and also singular aspects due to the political context and local history, among others. For this reason, these movements are analysed as equivalent social phenomena and as transformative events of space, extending the theoretical construction on spatial appropriations. This situation unfolds new project tools that act in the contemporary public space, susceptible to be used and transformed by any person, in a temporary and displaced means, since they are generated under new parameters and particular conditions previously unexplored. In this sense, a second hypothesis arises, which conducts to new architectural practices that respond and adapt themselves to contemporary social dynamics, contrasting with an urban architecture as a network of fixed and established spaces.

Furthermore, the current architectural urban landscape has adopted a more controlled character, partly as consequence of these occupations. Public spaces such as plazas, parks, and streets in city centres, include in a more extended way in their physical and legal infrastructures, control mechanisms. Thus, there is a third hypothesis in which contemporary occupations are amplifiers of the spatial and legal transformation of the architectural urban landscape.

Objectives

In the current context, contemporary occupations present new states of conflict in the city, which through architectural practices, alter and transform public spaces. With the inclusion of the virtual space as a generator and mediator of social movements, new dynamics are formed between society and the city, presenting spatial situations that have not previously occurred. This research aims to establish the architectural, urban, social and legal relationships that exist in contemporary social revolutions in relation to the current state of public spaces and the subsequent consequences produced there. To this end, the following specific objectives are proposed:

- To investigate how the virtual and physical space act in a unitary way in the development of architectural urban projection tools that are instantaneous and *in-situ*.

- To detect new behaviours of public spaces, in order to elaborate architectural devices that respond to contemporary social dynamics and to current mechanisms of control of public spaces.
- To determine the scope of transformation of the urban landscape, the meaning and use of public spaces produced by contemporary social revolutions, to understand the methods of spatial appropriation, and to propose criteria of urban architectural design.

Methodology

During 2011, the image of social protest has been constantly repeated on streets and screens around the world. Cities like Frankfurt, Tunisia, Madrid, Athens, New York, Tokyo, etc., have been scenarios of multiple manifestations that have become occupations of public spaces, surprising to own and strangers due to the reached scope and the speed of their resonance. These situations have presented certain characteristics and common variables, indispensable for carrying out a research work with a dual strategy of real-time fieldwork and practice-led-theory.

In order to obtain information in real space-time, *in-situ* data has been obtained, which allowed obtaining a general and detailed understanding of the spatial construction of the revolutions from inside, from their conception until their development as architectural events. Thus, this process has not followed a linear order but a centrifugal one, with interviews to activists and members of social organizations such as Occupy Wall Street, OccuEvolve, Occupy London, Occupy Gezi, Take the Square, Umbrella Movement, 15M, and Left Unity.⁷⁴ During the investigation, the author, collaborators and activists have developed performances and built structures in occupations such as Gezi Park/Taksim Square in 2013 and 2014, Occupy London, and Occupy Frankfurt. In addition, the author has developed working and discussion tables with social groups like Take the Square, Contested Cities in London and Madrid, Think Space in Zagreb, Alternative Banking Group in New York, Spatial Agency and Working Activism in London, Design and social change workshop in Tokyo, and organized the international symposium Amsterdam+Tokyo in Tokyo. With the information and experience gained, graphic documentation, photographs, drawings and cartographies have been produced in collaboration with different research groups such as the Center for Spatial Research of Columbia University in New York, the Centre for Research Architecture of Goldsmiths University of London, considered the History and Critical Thinking program of the Architectural Association, and CO+LABO, at Keio University. Within an active process, this information has allowed the construction of a series of spatial theories and through spatial practices that have led the work towards a second strategy.

⁷⁴ Left Unity is a British political party created in 2013.

Within the theoretical research strategy, operational knowledge has been constructed based on spatial practices. The different actions and processes developed in the stages of the fieldwork have been continuous and at the same time centrifugal, elucidating processes in spatial terms during and after the revolutions. In this way, a state of "action-research" has been created, where the exploration and direct and indirect experiments have provoked new relations between spatial practices, objects and structures, forming a new urban architectural landscape. The practice has become research; the object has become a subject and has joined different states of activist, architect and researcher, in a term denominated "archivist."

In this centrifugal process, different disciplines have influenced and constructed the research: sociology, anthropology and politics, which are related to spatial aspects of revolutions and create transdisciplinary and interconnected parameters. Due to the contemporary nature of the research, specific aspects of the previously mentioned areas and new fields have been continuously incorporated, affecting and modifying its development. For this reason, a qualitative methodology⁷⁵ has been applied, which uses multiple methods to have an approximation and approach to the object and subject of the investigation in the most natural state possible. In this way, it has been possible to interpret and deduce the phenomena caused and provoked during these events, which in turn have questioned and altered processes and approaches previously made. Through this qualitative methodology, an emphasis has been placed on the exploration of complex situations of revolutions, making possible the visualization of relations between spaces, objects, subjects and temporalities, and forming iterative actions. Due to the large number of agents involved during these events, data collection, process interpretation, and the construction of theories have been constantly carried out at various points of the research, which have ended to present conclusions that needed to be explored in a more deductive scope. To this end, four phases are established:

Phase 0. Spatial atlas "Revolution Squares" of different 2011 revolutions. Through a graphic representation, it is possible to visualize certain spatial characteristics of places where these revolutions are produced: the geometric form of squares, parks and boulevards, the organization of urban furniture, the surface of open and closed places, materials, location, levels and height of buildings, etc. This information is developed during the first year as a training phase, allowing the analysis and elaboration of spatial theories that structure the research. It is the first encounter with a context that defines and specifies through an understanding of the spatial situation of revolutions. In this sense, an inductive method is applied, organizing spatial and political characteristics of events through observation, recording, analysis, and classification of the data obtained.

⁷⁵ Qualitative methodology is based on the publication "Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry," by Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln.

Phase 1. Once obtained the atlas of "Revolution Squares," two aspects guide the work: the political and the spatial. Because 2011 occupations are heterogeneous social movements, protests are spread in diverse fields such as political, governance, economy, and social. Therefore, cartographies were produced, including different fields of approach and practice. The process contains interviews to activists, development of cartographies and elaboration of graphic documentation related to social and architectural theories and concepts.

For the construction of the conflictive urban narrative through cartographies, it has been necessary to make interviews, graphic and written documentation, documentaries, and especially the spatial analysis of social media [Twitter, YouTube, Facebook, Vimeo]. This process of tracking and observation has been pursued with a forensic method, which has allowed understanding the spatial event from different sources and ways of representation. In this state, the action and participation in social media and physical occupations have been done in an immediate, multiple and on-site manner.

This phase is a multiple and analytical platform that contains different perspectives within the fieldwork, identifying several factors that affect the development of theories generated from observation, and draws theoretical approaches. It opens up to other disciplines such as politics, sociology and urban design, and consolidates concepts and practices within research.

Phase 2. During the development of this research, new revolutions appear continuously presenting sometimes, new spatial aspects. Three occupations are included: Gezi Park in Istanbul in 2013, Hong Kong Umbrella Movement in 2014, and Miyashita Park in Tokyo, 2011. In Istanbul, it is possible to execute, capture, experiment and produce architectural practices *in situ*. It allows elaborating qualitative conceptualizations that visualize social and spatial situations that remained hidden. The interviews are deeper and include more specific content, structuring and experiencing images as research tools that represent personal experience within complex situations. It is a phase of methodological practices that are constituted by the first two phases, using interpretations and meanings within a specific context and sharing practices and tactics previously explored. It is a deductive method applied to expose concepts and to demonstrate relationships of theoretical support for the construction of new spatial theories.

Phase 3. This phase developed alongside the entire research, includes the displacement to the different places where revolutions were produced, and intends to interact and work collaboratively with research groups. The two initial strategies are applied: field work and practice-led-theory, which in turn permit a transversal and processual investigation. This network is developed in the following places:

New York / November 2013

_Columbia University

Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation

Center for Spatial Research

This research group links design, architecture, urbanism, human sciences and data science. In an interdisciplinary way, active and practical research is carried out through data visualization in different urban contexts following the work of Laura Kurgan, director of the centre. The work includes mainly data collection, archival research, learning and understanding spatial visualization tools, and assistance to seminars and conversations on research-related topics.

International Affairs Department

Alternative Banking Group

This group is dedicated to the investigation of the financial system and its adequate diffusion for the 99% through improvements on financial regulations. It evaluates and promotes alternative financial options in the current system dysfunction and inspires activism and public participation. The author attended to seminars and collaborated with Suresh Naidu, Professor of Economics and International and Public Affairs.

_Occupy Wall Street - OccupyWallSt.org

These social movements are horizontal and leaderless, and were generated during the occupation of Zuccotti Park in New York. Interviews were conducted with activists and group members, as well as discussions and conversations with Micah M. White, PhD in Media and Communication at the European Graduate School, and Priscilla Grim, co-founder of the group "We Are The 99 Percent," and co-founder and editor of "Occupied Wall Street Journal." It is produced written and graphic documents, and videos and audios were obtained.

_OccuEvolve

It is a social movement derived from Occupy Wall Street and functions as a centre of thought, information, empowerment, action and dissemination at the local community level. The author did interviews, attended to work tables, collaborated with graphic and broadcasting work, and participated in the construction of structures of the occupation.

_New School Parsons

Vera List Center for Art and Politics

This research group identifies spatial urgency with social needs in a political way, making it interdisciplinary by including different researchers as artists, students, activists, public intellectuals and political and cultural leaders. There was data collection and archive work, attendance to

debates and seminars with professor Annie Shaw, and developed working tables with Pablo Bustinduy, PhD in philosophy.

London / March 2014 - January 2016

_Goldsmiths University of London

Centre for Research Architecture

This multidisciplinary centre is based on cultural, political, conflicting and human rights platforms through the search of urban tools and spatial practices. For two years and under the direction of Eyal Weizman, director of the centre, the theoretical-method used was a practice-led-theory in order to promote architectural research processes that involved radical critiques of the nature of architectural inherent characteristics related to social revolutions. Through lectures, seminars, congresses, round tables, and teaching practice, the theoretical basis of this research was established in a multidisciplinary manner.

_Occupy London

It is a social group part of the 2011 Occupy Movement in London. It uses the same foundations and promotes citizen assemblies that respond and promote responses to the political and financial system. The author developed interviews with activists, obtained photographic and written documentation about the occupation, attended to debates and workshops, collaborated with the organization of events, and developed spatial practices.

_Architectural Association School of Architecture

History and Critical Thinking

This program promotes interdisciplinary collaborative research methods. The aim is to connect simultaneously architectural projects within historical, cultural and political spheres to explore architectural and urban parameters. Following the work of Marina Lathouri, director of the department, there was a production of knowledge related to spatial practices developed during and after the revolutions, approaching to different public cultures of occupations in relation to their architecture. For one year, the author attended to seminars, working groups, round tables, and public presentations.

Tokyo / December 2016 - September 2017

_Keio University

Faculty of Science and Technology

CO + LABO

It is a research group specialized in the study, analysis and development of architectural urban tools and applied theories. This group performs representations of established spaces in order to respond to human practices in architectural parameters. For six months and alongside Darko Radovič, director of the group, a collaborative project was developed through the spatial and conceptual experience in Tokyo, generating architectural spatial relationships. Likewise, teaching practice was carried out and collaborative and personal articles were developed.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured in five chapters:

Chapter 1. It introduces selected architectural events. Through an exploration of the social revolutions produced between 2011 and 2014, the "Revolution Squares" atlas is generated and three complementary case studies are selected in terms of political and spatial aspects: Tahrir Square, Occupy Wall Street, and Gezi Park/Taksim Square, which are analysed and establish the basis to develop the research. Through a historical study of the political and urban situation of each case, the production of cartographies makes visible spatial conditions.

Chapter 2. The relations and potentialities of the virtual space are exposed in the creation and development of contemporary social revolutions. Digital platforms and social networks are presented as mediators and activators of urban space strategies, altering the established models of the city and affecting the use of public spaces. With maps and graphical documentation, the behavioural patterns on the virtual space and their impact on the physical space, represent spatial projection strategies.

Chapter 3. The basis of a theoretical platform is produced from practice and fieldwork. Concepts and relationships construct the body and its movement in the space of the occupation, and the architectural urban landscape form the theoretical part of this investigation. The analysis is done according to architectural and theoretical aspects, presenting new parameters that include different disciplines such as social theory, urban design, economics, and the political field, as a single body towards an architectural process.

Chapter 4. It proposes theoretical and practical notions with the objective to configure the concept of Radical Spatiality. By assembling characteristics and spatial reactions during occupations, a set of new spaces is presented, which respond to contemporary social dynamics in a dissident method. The "Architecture of the Occupation" establishes architectural responses made during the selected occupations, adapting the historical urban struggle with the virtual space and the transformation of

the urban architectural landscape. Through a theoretical–practical approach, a series of architectural strategies are presented as temporal states, constituting the basis for the formation of the Radical Spatiality.

Chapter 5. It presents the spatial consequences of these occupations in the form of urban regulations at a global level. In this chapter, it considers urban regulations from different cities that delimit and project the architectural design of public spaces, their increasing privatization, and how they address a general homogenization of the built landscape. Through this exploration and alongside the development of occupations in the virtual and physical space, the formation of the post-public space is presented, an architectural urban device that activates the contemporary city and extends a new research project.

CHAPTER I.
RADICAL ARCHITECTURE IN
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPATIONS

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1.1. Retrospection

‘Radical Architecture’ as a concept, was referred mainly to an extreme form or structure between the 1960s and 1970s. It was mostly discussed in the Italian architectural journals *Casabella*¹ and *Domus*,² which published projects from *Archizoom*, *Superstudio*, and *Archigram*, and questioned the constitution and notion of architecture in its more formal language:

Nowhere was the post-war avant-garde more radical than in architecture. In order to shake off the “hegemonic grip” of academic classicism – and therefore bourgeois society – architecture would have to undergo a complete definitional transformation. Instead of buildings serving functional uses for consumers’ lives and thereby reinforcing unjust social divisions, architecture would form a “single continuous environment, the world rendered uniform by technology, culture, and all the other inevitable forms of imperialism.” And just what does that look like? What does it look like to start over? To traverse the radical city of the mind?

Beinecke,³ *Superstudio’s Radical Architecture*

At that time, there was an atmosphere of social and political disturbance around the world: May 68 in Paris, the feminist movement in the United States and Europe, the student movement in Chile, and so on. These social movements influenced the Italian Radical Architecture Movement to start an experimental education program called “Global Tools,”⁴ a counter-school of architecture. Global Tools pushed “the return to a more primitive architectural language by other architects of the Tendenza teaching in the schools of Venice and Milan” (Branzi 1973). Through radical pedagogies, this program addressed local political, ecological and socio-economical situations, calling itself the “non-school.” They focused on everyday objects and experimented with craft and design, held “happenings” or “pre-ecological” seminars and performances, and promoted the use of ‘poor’ materials to restructure different assemblages. In this two-year program, its members shaped a resistance platform, simultaneously bringing together archaic and technology forms for practicing a different architecture.

Global Tools and the radicalization of everyday life objects, influenced the work of Walter Benjamin, Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau, to mention a few, who explored these radical

¹ *Casabella* is a monthly Italian architectural magazine that focuses on radical design. It was founded by Guido Marangoni in Milan, 1928.

² *Domus* is an Italian architectural and design magazine founded by the architect Gio Ponti and Barnabè father Giovanni Semeria in 1928.

³ Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library. Yale University Library.

<http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/about/blogs/2013/02/04/superstudios-radical-architecture> (consulted in May 2014)

⁴ In January 1973, different writers, artists, intellectuals, architects, and designers gathered in Casabella’s editorial office and founded “Global Tools” (1973-1975), a multidisciplinary experimental program about design and pedagogy. See also V. Borgonuovo & S. Franceschini’s *Global Tools 1973 – 1975* (2015).

notions and spatial practices. In Michel de Certeau's "*Practice of Everyday Life*" (Certeau 1984), he identifies certain moments of 'freedom' in daily life, in which a subject goes beyond limits, structures and restrictions of the built environment by making visible the 'ordinary' like walking, cooking, standing and so on. He re-establishes human action within its quotidian environment through radical practices that are possible only when they are done collectively. While in the contemporary scope, Beatriz Colomina relates Global Tools as "technologies of the global marketplace" (Colomina 2015); in other words, to economy. Colomina positions them as a set of experiments and connections that involves architecture, philosophy, art, performance, and design. It is an interdisciplinary project that disperses ideas and modes of working with daily life objects, sometimes precarious and archaic, in a radical gesture based on sharing.

However, the radical approach to/through architectural practices started between 1952-1955, when the Smithsons introduced a continuum project of art and life, through everyday British forms of the ordinary. The Smithsons were members of the London-based *Independent Group*,⁵ and worked together with the sculptor Eduardo Paolozzi and the photographer Nigel Henderson, also members of this group. They collected and documented daily actions in London east end streets, and highlighted the quotidian life as an emergent status, focusing on improvisation, spontaneity, urban choreography, sociability, and territorial flexibility. They created the project: "Urban Re-Identification" (Img. 1), and presented the transformation of Golden Lane's streets grid in Bethnal Green through children playing. Games and movements were denominated as "everyday reverse strategy," practices that altered temporally the top-down urban planning into a bottom-up practice. "Urban Re-Identification" was presented at the ninth CIAM Conference in Aix-en-Provence in 1953, and Peter and Alison Smithson criticized the generalized modernist dogma of the rational city, for dividing and separating functions in different zones. Instead, they proposed a strategy that connected spaces [house-street] in an intuitive way, embodying a stronger social cohesion and spatial affection. Understanding the space through quotidian actions radically, caused a shift in the conception of the urban landscape and the concept of 'habitat.' By the end of the following decade, Tschumi appeared as a figure that transgressed the notions of the conceived space. Influenced initially by the events of May 68 in Paris, his interventions on social and political spheres dominated his projects. For "Do-It-Yourself-City" project, he collaborated with Fernando Montés and generated a system of equipment and stations that connected urban elements. Tschumi and Montés created a catalogue with different strategies to use the environment autonomously. Only a catalogue was provided, which served as explorer of the imagery networks, screens and links, and were accompanied by a description of temporal events rather than permanent spaces, a system they refer as "counterdesign" (Img. 2).

⁵ The Independent Group was a radical group of young artists, writers and critics who met at the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London in the 1950s. They challenged the modernist theories and paradigms for seeing them as elitist, and proposed a more common and popular approach to the art's scope. www.tate.org.uk/learn/online-resources/glossary/i/independent-group

“Counterdesign” can be described as a desperate and nihilistic attempt to use one particular feature of architectural expression, with all its cultural values and connotations. It is desperate in that it relies on the weakest of all architectural means, the plan, since we have defined that, by nature, no built object could ever have an effect on the socioeconomic structure of a reactionary society. It is nihilistic in that its only role is to translate the pessimistic forecast of the intentions of the holders of financial power into an architectural statement.

(Tschumi, *Architecture and Disjunction* 1996)

Img. 1 CIAM Urban Re-identification Grid, Aix-en-Provence,
Alison and Peter Smithson. Photographs by Nigel Henderson, 1953

In one of Tschumi’s slogans from May ’68, it reads: “Imagination takes power,” presenting the role of acting and performing in the space. This statement is extended in the introduction of his book “The Manhattan Transcripts:”

In architecture, concepts can either precede or follow projects or buildings. In other words, a theoretical concept may be either applied to a project or derived from it. Quite often this distinction cannot be made so clearly, when, for example, a certain aspect of film theory may support an architectural intuition, and later, through the arduous development of a project, be transformed into an operative concept for architecture in general.

(Tschumi, *The Manhattan Transcripts* 1981)

Later, Tschumi created a series of posters named “*Advertisements for Architecture*,” a *détournement* for advertising techniques, similar to the Smithsons’ illustrations and those used by students during May ’68 in Paris (Kaminer 2011). In one of these posters, there is a man falling, or being thrown out of a window (Img. 3), which contains the caption: “Architecture is defined by the actions it witnesses as much as by the enclosure of its walls. Murder in the Street differs from Murder in the Cathedral in the same way as love in the street differs from the Street of Love. Radically.”

1968 was a shifting point for radical interventions in the physical and theoretical space, and challenged the classical architectural paradigms. In this year, Bernard Tschumi and Rem Koolhaas

were both 24 years old living in Paris: Tschumi as a recent graduated from the ETH and working for the architects Candilis, Josic and Woods, and Koolhaas as a journalist-script-writer. One year later, they joined the Architectural Association in London: Koolhaas as a student and Tschumi as a young teacher, both working with political connotations. Tschumi kept the intellectual ties with politics and critical circles of Paris, making his work more utopic and related to activism, which was reflected in his course "Politics of Space." Influenced by Georges Bataille, he proposed a rebellious surrealist program that identified as an architecture with authority and bureaucracy. Instead of trying to order space, Tschumi projected a stage of unprogrammed events. Koolhaas on the other hand, transgressed the profane human world of the 'sacred' animal disorder of Bataille. In Berlin Wall and *Exodus* projects, he designed an inhabiting wall within the city, both as prison and utopia, resulting in a general citizens' conception of being voluntary prisoners within that society:

In the early seventies, it was impossible not to sense an enormous reservoir of resentment *against* architecture, with new evidence of its inadequacies – of its cruel and exhausted performance – accumulating daily; *looking at the [Berlin] wall as architecture, it was inevitable to transpose the despair, hatred, frustration it inspired to the field of architecture...* Were not division, enclosure, (i.e., imprisonment), and exclusion – which defined the wall's performance and explained its efficiency – the essential stratagems of any architecture? In comparison, the sixties dream of architecture's liberating potential – in which I had been marinating for years as a student – seemed feeble rhetorical play. It evaporated on the spot.

(Koolhaas 1995)

The work of both collaborative projects, "Do-It-Yourself-City" and "Exodus," explored movement as a spontaneous invention through architectural elements such as ramps and squares; it was a question about the role of the program in cities. On one side, Tschumi proposed three strategies: disprogramming, transprogramming and crossprogramming as means of subverting the traditional and established. While Koolhaas compacted programmes by structuring bands and voids, destabilizing them in terms of function, which resulted in a more dynamic and active space. These two different approaches are represented in a sense in Tschumi's *La Villette* follies or Koolhaas' Hotel Sphinx of 1975-1976.

Img. 2 Do-It-Yourself-City by
Bernard Tschumi & Fernando Montés

Img. 3 Bernard Tschumi, "Advertisement
for Architecture"

_Radical

This disruption on architectural traditional language involved a direct influence from the theory, practices and actors in May '68, as a stage of political agitation towards the exploration of spatial relationships. In a similar way, this state was present in contemporary occupations such as Occupy Wall Street or the Arab Spring, which have opened discussions and opportunities to redefine architecture in radical means. To continue with this research, it is necessary to understand and define 'radical' as a concept.

'Radical' refers to a denotation of a concerted attempt to change the *status quo* according to the Collins Dictionary of Sociology (Jary and Jary 1991). The Dictionary of Philosophy (Mautner 1997) indicates that the origin of *radical* comes from the Latin *radix* – root, and it is a fundamental thoroughgoing.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 7th Edition (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 7th Edition 2004) refers to *radical* as:

Adj.

1. Concerning the most basic and important parts of something; thorough and complete.
2. New, different and likely to have a great effect.
3. In favour of thorough and complete political or social change.

Noun

1. A person with radical opinions.

In Macmillan English Dictionary (Rundell 2002):

Adj.

1. A radical change or way of doing something is new and very different from the usual way.
2. A radical increase or decrease is extremely large and important.
3. A radical person or group believes that important political and social changes are necessary. Radical opinions are based on the belief that important political or social changes are necessary.
4. Relating to the most basic or important part of something.

Noun

Someone who believes that important political and social changes are necessary.

In Longman, Dictionary of Contemporary English (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Fifth Edition 2009):

Adj.

1. A radical change has a lot of important effects
2. Radical opinions, ideas, leaders, etc., support thorough and complete social or political change.
3. Related to the central or most important qualities of something.

In Credo, Etymology Dictionary (Credo Online Etymology Dictionary n.d.), *radical* means “of roots,” based on the metaphor of fundamental change that emerges in the 18th Century. In the late Latin, *rādicālis* derivatives from *radix*, ‘root’ (source of English radish [OE] and probably related to root).

Adj.

1. Concerning or relating to the basic nature or root of something, fundamental, intrinsic.
2. Far-reaching, thoroughgoing ‘radical changes.’
3. In favour of – or tending to – produce thoroughgoing or extreme political and social reforms.
4. Relating to a political group or party in favour of extreme reforms.

Noun

1. A root or basis in any sense.
2. Someone who is a member or a radical political group, or who holds radical political views.

Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832) an English philosopher and political radical according to *The Philosophical Society of England*, develops the concept of ‘moral philosophy,’ which evaluates actions based upon its consequences. He indicates that radical mental constitution is connate, containing the *fundamental*: “favouring major change, especially social and political. Theories, movements, parties are so described. In France, radicalism has been a general term for liberalism, republicanism and secularism” (Pringle-Pattison 1907).

In the Radical Reform movement in the late 18th century, representative members of the Whig Party⁶ press for thorough – or radical – changes to democratize the British Constitution. Their political enemies often apply the term reproachfully: “Radical is a word in very bad odour here, being used to denote a set of blackguards” (Sir Walter Scott, letter. 10 October 1819). Its connotations improve following passage of the Reform Bill of 1832,⁷ but the radicals could not manage to form a parliamentary party, becoming instead extreme Liberals. Meanwhile in the United States, the term is associated first with socialists, and later on leftist, many of them from European origin.

Although *radix* – root (plants) – and ‘dig with the nose’ are distinct words, the first one comes from the Old Norse *rót* with the Indo-European base **wrd*. Root ‘dig’ is an alteration of an earlier *wroot*, which dates from Old English *wrōtan*. In the late 19th century in the United States, *root* emerges as ‘cheer’ and ‘support’ (YouDict n.d.).

Hence, *radical* from *radix*, root – of plants, words, numbers, basis, systems, or concepts – is the significance this research takes: going back to and penetrate the roots of something (architectural

⁶ *Whig Party* was a political party in the United Kingdom from 17th to 19th century.

⁷ The Reform Act 1832 was an Act of Parliament that introduced wide changes into the electoral system of England and Wales. Source: The British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/struggle/chartists1/historicalsources/source2/reformact.html>

spatial projections, notion of public space, socio-spatial urban relationship, and design) through contemporary occupations.

These events challenge architectural spatial conceptions of established urban elements, proposing instead spaces that serve to people's immediate needs. In this research, contemporary occupations act within the radical architecture as a strategy, creating radical spaces by using everyday life objects under dissident techniques. As in the Smithsons' "Urban Re-identification Grid," and Tschumi and Montés' "DIY-City," contemporary occupations act radically in the movement of public spaces through collective and simultaneous spatial practices. In this state, the city and the body are agents towards the radical spatiality.

1.2 Towards the Revolutionary Square

Since 2011, some public spaces have adopted a radical character for being emblematic places to protest. They stand as *points de capiton*,⁸ giving them different and new significances within the collective imaginary. Contemporary revolutions like Occupy Wall Street or Indignados, took form of occupations in public spaces through processes of intervention, marking a post-political⁹ order for handling and moving spaces, objects and bodies in radical practices. Rancière relates them as a heterogeneous set of technologies and strategies that designate spaces (Philosophy 1999), transgressing spatialized policies such as planning, urban architecture, and urban regulations. However, their spatial configuration played a significant role in the evolution of occupations, which were mainly in squares. As one of the most important urban spaces cities have, the design of squares follow a series of parameters that are presented in Camillo Sitte's¹⁰ guidelines (Sitte 1889):

- Enclosure. Closed and protected space
- The centre should be free
- Monuments place on the perimeter
- Existence of surprise elements
- Attractiveness of architectural façades
- Concavity and aesthetic pavements

⁸ '*Point de capiton*,' French concept used by Jacques Lacan to signify a chain at which "the signifier stops the otherwise endless movement of the signification" and produces the necessary 'illusion' of a fixed meaning. Referred as 'quilting point' or 'anchoring point', 'point de capiton' is a point at which the "signified and signifier are knotted together". Jacques Lacan, "The Seminar. Book III. The Psychoses. 1955-1956." London: Routledge

⁹ Erik Swyngedouw (Professor of Geography at the University of Manchester, School of Environment and Development) Post-Political City takes as basis Rancière, Zizek, Mouffe, Badiou and Dikeç critics towards the critical theory and radical political praxis of the de-politicising gestures for urban policy. Swyngedouw indicates that a consensual post-politics arises, one that either eliminates fundamental conflict or elevates it to antithetical ultra-politics. "The consensual times we are currently living in have thus eliminated a genuine political space of disagreement." The post-political relies on either including all in a consensual pluralist order and/or on excluding radically those who posit themselves outside the consensus.

¹⁰ Camillo Sitte (1843 – 1903) was an Austrian architect and city planning theoretician that worked mainly in the urban development of European cities.

For Sitte, the square needs a sense of enclosure that follows the Gestalt psychology of grouping, indicating that people tend to group objects that look similar (Arnheim 1949 [1961]). The straightforward way of creating enclosure is grouping buildings around a central space. Based on Sitte's work, Rob Krier¹¹ on the other hand, focuses on basic geometry using angling, addition, subtraction, overlapping, segment, division, and distortion (Img. 4) (Krier 1979).

Img. 4 Morphological series of urban squares. Rob Krier

In addition, Paul Zucker suggests five types of urban square forms (Zucker 1970):

1. Closed Square. Self-contained space, often with a regular geometric form and interrupted by streets that lead to it.
2. Dominated Square. Space directed to a building or group of buildings.
3. Nuclear Square. Space formed around a centre. The central feature creates a tension that keeps the whole together.
4. Grouped Squares. Space units that are combined, individual squares linked organically and/or aesthetically.
5. Amorphous Square. Space unlimited, it is unorganized and formless.

These principles, based on human scale, refer to form, not function. For instance, Bedford Square in London, built between 1775 and 1783 (Img. 5), was conceived as a garden square. The layout was transformed in 1894 and since then, it remained basically intact, with a Georgian style surrounded by houses that are currently offices or academic institutions like the Architectural Association, Yale University Press, New York University's London campus, Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office, among others. It is a private square open for residents and hosts specific events such as installations or pavilions made by AA students (Img. 6). Bedford Square reveals two situations: the presence of a private square in a public land, and how minimum the physical aspect has changed in more than two hundred years.

¹¹ Rob Krier, architect, sculpture, urban designer and theorist. He is Professor of Architecture at Vienna University of Technology.

Img. 5 Bedford Square. Left: first edition Ordnance Survey, 1871.
Right: Second edition Ordnance Survey, 1894.

Img. 6 Rainforest pavilion by GUN Architects, Architectural Association, 2014.

To this situation, Matthew Carmona¹² reflects the design of public spaces in London. He subdivides them in two categories: (i) under-management of public spaces, and (ii) over-management of public spaces (Carmona, *Contemporary public space: critique and classification*, Part one: critique. 2010). The first group focuses on poor design and function loss of publicness, increment of vehicle traffic, neglecting of public spaces, grow of individual private relations, and separation of the public sphere from the public space. The second group criticizes designers and planners for undermining publicness of public spaces through commodification and homogenization. None of these groups represent the basis of public spaces, where identity, history, cultural background and social relationships are practiced (Levy 2012). This social component of square relies directly on the Greek *agora* – the *polis* public space, which hosts different kinds of gatherings such as political meetings, sport games, musical concerts, theatre performances, and commercial activities.

¹² Matthew Carmona is Professor of Planning and Urban Design at the Bartlett School of Planning UCL. He is editorial board of 'Urban Design Quarterly', European Associate Editor for the 'Journal of Urban Design', and edits the 'Design in the Built Environment' book series for Ashgate. He is a regular advisor to government and government agencies both in the UK and overseas and writes a column for *Town & Country Planning*, the journal of the Town & Country Planning Association.

During the time of the Roman Empire, the Greek *agora* is transformed in the Roman Forum ['market-place'], a large open space where people meet for political, economic and social activities – as the *agora*, but contains the *acropolis*. It involves temples, halls of justice, council houses, shrines, and markets. In the Middle Ages, basilicas, churches and cathedrals become the focus of daily life, they are open spaces that serve mainly commercial purposes and religious ceremonies. In the Renaissance and Baroque period, the Italian *piazzas* designs are symmetric, ordered, balanced and hierarchical, creating visual and ceremonial effects. The Baroque concept “dynamic motion in space” is introduced and there appear monuments and fountains.

Img. 7 Left: Plan of the Agora in Athens. Centre: Plan of the Roman Forum.
Right: Plan of Piazza del Capitolio, Rome.

In the Industrial Revolution, the bourgeoisie is more participant of urban life, provoking the emergence of shopping streets, bazaars, *cafes*, and parks. In the second half of the 19th century, big green areas emerge as new public places while the population grows in cities (Sedláková 2012). In the 20th century, the automobile changes the city's structure and becomes the main factor for urban design guidelines. Many cities start turning sidewalks into crossroads, shopping malls are located in new peripheral zones, and there is a significant reduction of open spaces in city centres. During the first years of the 21st century, the Internet takes the role of the 'other' public space, where people interact and produce social activities, trading, or political participation like the Greek *agora*. These processes, as Carmona indicates, are related “not only to the types of self-consciously designed schemes that catch the wye of the press, but also to the un-self-conscious processes of urban adaptation and change that continuously shape the built environment all around” (Carmona, Heath, et al. 2010).

Like the vehicle provoked the transformation of the city's infrastructure, the virtual space alters the relationship of urban life, time, and movement. Therefore, affection and transformation of the virtual space in the physical space and vice versa is related for the purpose of this thesis as the *Contemporary City*. Following these new interactions, the public spaces of occupation challenge the physical and social *status quo* in the contemporary city, by altering borders, aesthetics, use, functions, and designed purposes through the presence of bodies in the physical and virtual space. These public spaces are denominated as “Revolution Squares.”

1.2.1 Spatial Atlas of the Revolution Square

Img. 8 Countries involved in the Arab Spring and Protests, 2011

2011 (Img. 8):

- Arab Spring
 - o Tunisian Revolution
 - o Algerian protests
 - o Egyptian Revolution
 - o Libyan Civil War
 - o Syrian Uprisings – Civil War
 - o Bahraini uprisings
 - o Iraqi protests
 - o Jordanian protests
 - o Omani protests
 - o Yemeni Revolution
 - o Moroccan protests
 - o Djibouti protests
 - o Iranian protests
 - o Western Sahara protests
 - o Saudi Arabian protests
 - o Kuwait protests
 - o Sudan protests
 - o Mauritanian protests
 - o Palestinian protests
 - o Somali protests
 - o Lebanon protests
- Israeli social protests
- Azerbaijani protests

- Russian protests
- Spanish *acampadas*
- UK Students' protests
- Greek Occupation
- Occupy Movement
 - o 95 countries
 - o 1025 locations¹³
- French protests

According to the database of 'GDELT Project',¹⁴ there were 31,502 protests around the world in 2011: 34,695 in 2012, 3,551 in 2013, and 49,007 in 2014 (Img. 9):

- o Cairo Tahrir Square
- o Madrid Puerta del Sol
- o Athens Syntagma Square
- o Benghazi Benghazi Courthouse
- o Bucharest Bucharest University Square
- o Damascus Umayyad Square
- o Istanbul Taksim Square / Gezi Park
- o Kiev Maidan Square
- o Manama Pearl Roundabout
- o New York Zuccotti Park
- o Sana'a Sana'a University Square
- o Tunis 14 Janvier Square
- o London Paternoster Square / St. Paul's Cathedral
- o Frankfurt European Central Bank
- o Hong Kong HSBC lobby
- o Aleppo Sabaa Bahrat Square
- o Ramallah Al Manara Square
- o Tehran Azadi Square

Sidi Bouzid and Tunis, Alexandria and Cairo, Madrid and Athens, London and Paris, Tel Aviv and Manama, Mexico and Kolkata, Santiago de Chile and New York, Moscow and Bogotá, etc., hosted occupations as protest against the political and financial crisis of 2011. The Arab Spring is one of the most representative social events of 2011, usually referred as the "Roundabout Revolution" (Weizman 2015) because most of the protests and occupations took place in roundabouts [Tunisia, Cairo, Damascus, Manama, Sohar, Tripoli, Sana'a, and Tehran].

¹³ According to Occupy Movement website, information updated in September 2012. www.occupywallst.org

¹⁴ The GDELT Project. Database mapping protests worldwide. <http://gdeltproject.org/data.html#documentation>

Img. 10 Rev

Img. 11 Geometry

V_SQUARES

Revolutionary Squares

try of Revolutionary Squares

Img. 9 Occupations' Squares

As an urban element, the roundabout dates from the 19th century, when Haussmann's Paris plan was designed to avoid barricades, communes, or revolutions. Napoleon III addressed Baron Haussmann to re-think the city as a hyper-penetrable mass; wide avenues and boulevards were created to serve for fast deployment of artillery and military mobilization as an operative war-field. Some focal points work as intersections and meeting points in form of roundabouts, breaking up the medieval tangle of the downtown, becoming one of the most important elements in his design. Nonetheless, its functionality was part of an international process that lasted years. William Phelps Eno (1858 – 1945), created the first roundabout at Columbus Circle in New York in 1905, in order to ameliorate the increasing vehicular traffic (Img. 12). There were not specific instructions about its use, so there were a significant number of car accidents (Weizman 2015).

Eugène Hénard, Paris' City Council architect, solved the chaotic and dangerous situation by regulating and simplifying the entering and exiting of roundabouts (Img. 13). But it was only until 1956 when Frank Blackmore, traffic engineer from the British Transport and Road Research Laboratory, proposed specific regulations that led to a definitive solution.

The continuous flow of the roundabout depends on its capacity – exemplified in sufficient gaps between cars within the cycle to allow more traffic to emerge in. The traffic circles gave priority to entering traffic, which meant that more vehicles entered the circulatory roadway that could

Img. 12 Columbus Circle, 1905. Left: under construction. Right: built.

Img. 13 *Carrefour à giration*, designed by Eugène Hénard

Img. 14 Circle. Left: Heliocentric model by Nicolaus Copernicus, 1543. Centre: The City of Dis, circles 1 to 5 of hell, Dante's Divine Comedy. Right: Taksim Square, 11 June 2013.

exit. This rule was akin, one traffic engineer later wrote, to making “people get into a confined space – such as an elevator or a bus – before the others are allowed to get out.” Blackmore proposed to invert the priority rule: those entering the roundabout would need to yield. Experiments proved successful and in November 1966 the “yield at entry rule” was officially adopted for all new roundabouts. By the early ‘80s roundabouts began to proliferate again throughout continental Europe, and by 1990 they had returned to the United States.

(Weizman 2015)

The self-regulation, as Weizman points, was the method for this element to survive in the city, which responded to the car's movement - spring and inner rolling movement - inducing the possibility to 'yield' at entry rule. This state of autonomy and collectivity is reflected in the evolution of 2011 occupations. As Jonathan Liu¹⁵ points: "the symbolism is almost jokingly obvious: what better place to stage a revolution, after all, then one built for turning around? Or, a general might point out, for being encircled."

The "Revolution Squares" show a state of self-organization and self-reinvention, done through collective actions that are temporal; it is a situation built as a need to survive the city, similar to the initial formation of the roundabout. The "Revolution Squares" present different capacities and qualities, therefore, through the spatial atlas, three revolution squares are taken as main actors based on two factors: their physical and political state.

1.3 Three events

Nadie lo vio desembarcar en la unánime noche, nadie vio la canoa de bambú sumiéndose en el fango sagrado, pero a los pocos días nadie ignoraba que el hombre taciturno venía del Sur y que su patria era una de las infinitas aldeas que están aguas arriba, en el flanco violento de la montaña, donde el idioma Zend no está contaminado de griego y donde es infrecuente la lepra. Lo cierto es que el hombre gris besó el fango, repechó la ribera sin apartar (probablemente, sin sentir) las cortaderas que le dilaceraban las carnes y se arrastró, mareado y ensangrentado, hasta el recinto circular que corona un tigre o caballo de piedra que tuvo alguna vez el color del fuego y ahora el de la ceniza. Ese redondel es un templo que devoraron los incendios antiguos, que la selva palúdica ha profanado y cuyo dios no recibe honor de los hombres. El forastero se tendió bajo el pedestal. Lo despertó el sol alto. Comprobó sin asombro que las heridas habían cicatrizado; cerró los ojos pálidos y durmió, no por flaqueza de la carne sino por determinación de la voluntad. Sabía que ese templo era el lugar que requería su invencible propósito; sabía que los árboles incesantes no habían logrado estrangular, río abajo, las ruinas de otro templo propicio, también de dioses incendiados y muertos; sabía que su inmediata obligación era el sueño. Hacia la medianoche lo despertó el grito inconsolable de un pájaro. Rastros de pies descalzos, unos higos y un cántaro le advirtieron que los hombres de la región habían espiado con respeto su sueño y solicitaban su amparo o temían su magia. Sintió el frío del miedo y buscó en la muralla dilapidada un nicho sepulcral y se tapó con hojas desconocidas. El propósito que lo guiaba no era imposible, aunque sí sobrenatural. Quería soñar un hombre: quería soñarlo con integridad minuciosa e imponerlo a la realidad- ese proyecto mágico había

¹⁵ Jonathan Liu, "Roundabout and Revolutions: The 'Arab Street' Begins and Ends in a Circle." *Motherboard*, 20 February 2011. <http://motherboard.vice.com/blog/roundabouts-and-revolutions-the-“arab-street”-begins-and-ends-in-a-circle>

agotado el espacio entero de su alma; si alguien le hubiera preguntado su propio nombre o cualquier rasgo de su vida anterior, no habría acertado a responder. Le convenía el templo inhabitado y despedazado, porque era un mínimo de mundo visible; la cercanía de los leñadores también, porque éstos se encargaban de subvenir a sus necesidades frugales. El arroz y las frutas de su tributo eran pábulo suficiente para su cuerpo, consagrado a la única tarea de dormir y soñar. (...)

[No one saw him disembark in the unanimous night, no one saw the bamboo canoe sinking into the sacred mud, but within a few days no one was unaware that the sacred mud, but within a few days no one was unaware that the silent man came from the South and that his home was one of the infinite villages upstream, on the violent mountainside, where the Zend tongue is not contaminated with Greek and where leprosy is infrequent. The truth is that the obscure man kissed the mud, came up the bank without pushing aside (probably without feeling) the brambles which dilacerated his flesh, and dragged himself, nauseous and bloodstained, to the circular enclosure crowned but a stone tiger or horse, which once was the colour of fire and now was that of ashes. The circle was a temple, long ago devoured by fire, which the malarial jungle had profaned and whose god no longer received the homage of men. The stranger stretched out beneath the pedestal. He was awakened by the sun high above. He evidenced without astonishment that his wounds had closed; he shut his pale eyes and slept, not out of bodily weakness but of determination of will. He knew that this temple was the place required by his invincible purpose; he knew that, downstream, the incessant trees had not managed to choke the ruins of another propitious temple, whose gods were also burned and dead; he knew that his immediate obligation was to sleep. Towards midnight he was awakened by the disconsolate cry of a bird. Prints of bare feet, some figs and a jug told him that men of the region had respectfully spied upon his sleep and were solicitous of his favour or feared his magic. He felt the chill of fear and sought out a burial niche in the dilapidated wall and covered himself with some unknown leaves.

The purpose which guided him was not impossible, though it was supernatural. He wanted to dream a man: he wanted to dream him with minute integrity and insert him into reality. This magical project had exhausted the entire content of his soul; if someone had asked him his own name or any trait of his previous life, he would not have been able to answer. The uninhabited and broken temple suited him, for it was a minimum of visible world; the nearness of the peasants also suited him, for they would see that his frugal necessities were supplied. The rice and fruit of their tribute were sufficient sustenance for his body, consecrated to the sole task of sleeping and dreaming.]

Jorge Luis Borges, "Las Ruinas Circulares" [The Circular Ruins], *Ficciones*, 1944

The 2011 global revolutions began in a small town of Tunisia, when a street-vendor committed immolation. In the morning of 17th December 2010 in Sidi Bouzid, a town 200 km south of Tunis,

26-year-old Mohammed Bouazizi was selling products in a streetcar when the police officer Fayda Hamdy, fined, grieved and confiscated his scale (according to Bouazizi's friends and family, this was not the first time that the police officer hassled him).¹⁶ Bouazizi walked straight to the provincial capital building trying to recover his scale but did not succeed. At the gate, he drenched himself on fire.

This act shocked Tunisia, not only because of the magnitude of a human's tragedy, but also because of the generalized corruption and social inequality that reached to that point. That same day, many spontaneous protestors gathered in the streets of Sidi Bouzid and used social media to share images and videos. Immediately, there were massive demonstrations all around the country, resulting in the resignation of the president Ben Ali and initiating the Arab Spring.

Img. 15 Avenue Habib Bourguiba and *Place du 7 Novembre*
[now *Place du 14 Janvier*]. Tunisia, 2011

There were 21 countries involved in the Arab Spring: Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Libya, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Sudan, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Mauritania, Djibouti, Palestine, Somalia, Lebanon, Iranian Khuzestan, United Arab Emirates and the borders of Israel.¹⁷

In Tunisia, social protests started on 17th December 2010, when Mohammed Bouazizi's committed immolation. Protestors gathered first at the Avenue Habib Bourguiba and marched towards the Square *Place du 7 Novembre* (Img. 15). The revolution lasted 28 days and led the president's ousting after 23 years of government. The day the president Ben Ali left the country, 14 January, people changed the name of the square to *Place du 14 Janvier*. Algeria was the following country to join the protests. They started on 29th December 2010 and lasted for more than one

¹⁶ Beaumont, Peter. "Mohammed Bouazizi: the dutiful son whose death changed Tunisia's fate." *The Guardian*, 20 January 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/20/tunisian-fruit-seller-mohammed-bouazizi>

¹⁷ Garry Blight, Sheila Pulham, Paul Torpey, "Arab Spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests". *The Guardian*, 5 January 2012. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline>

year.¹⁸ In Jordan, the protests began on 14th January 2011 and lasted over a year.¹⁹ In Oman, the occupation took place in Sohar's Globe Roundabout between 17th January 2011 and May same year. The 25th January, the revolution started in Egypt. Thousands of people occupied Tahrir Square for 18 days, resulting in the dissolution of the government and a series of major political changes. There were protests all around the country but it was in Cairo where the largest number of people gathered. In Syria, protests started on 26th January 2011; however, the situation turned into a civil war that continues to this day.²⁰ The Yemeni Revolution started on 27th January and lasted until February 2012. The occupation took place in Sana'a University Square and resulted with the government overthrow. On 28th January, there were minor protests in Djibouti that lasted until 11th March.²¹ The same day, there were protests in Somalia but due to the ongoing civil war, they did not have an impact. The 30th January in Sudan, there were protests, demonstrations, strike actions, riots, occupations, and online activism that lasted nearly three years. In Palestine, on 10 February several protests claimed political changes, especially the demission of Prime Minister Salam Fayyad. Although the protests lasted until 5th October 2012, they did not have the expected response. Similar to Israel and because their borders are not defined, it is not possible to estimate neither the area implicated nor the amount of people involved, thus it is difficult to establish the intensity of the protests. In Iraq, influenced by the region's demonstrations, protests started on 12 February 2011 and ended on 23rd December 2011 despite the U.S. Army occupation since 2003. In Bahrain, protests were produced between 14th February and 18th March. In its capital, Manama, protestors occupied the Pearl Roundabout, a country's symbol for including in its centre a monument of the Gulf Cooperation. The occupation was possible after days of clashes with the police, but on 16th March, security forces removed it by using tanks and helicopters. The day after, the Pearl monument was demolished and the roundabout destroyed; in its place the government built a star-shape intersection and some checkpoints around the area to control people that entered into the space. From 17th February to 23rd August 2011, protests started in Libya against president Muammar Gaddafi, who was in charge since 1969. The government was overthrown, although there is a civil war that continues until present day. In Kuwait, protests started on 19th February 2011 and ended in December 2012, with the dissolution of the parliament and the resignation of the Prime Minister. The 20th February protests began in Morocco and lasted until April 2012.²² In Mauritania, the protests started on 25th February and continued until 2012. In Lebanon, the

¹⁸ Algeria, with a population of more than 40 million people and an area of 2,381,741 km², was leaving under the State of Emergency for 19 years. The protests started on 29th December 2010 and lasted more than a year. There was not an occupation but an almost daily series of protests throughout the entire country.

¹⁹ Jordan has around 9 million inhabitants and an area of 89,341 km². The protests resulted in the firing of the cabinet of ministers, electoral reforms and the end of the monarchy rule.

²⁰ Syria's population is 17 million people and has an area of 185,180 km². Mass protests spread around the country; they were initially peaceful but due to the heavy sense of dictatorship, protests were turned into an on-going civil war that has devastated the country.

²¹ Djibouti's population is around 800,000 in an area of 23,200 km². The protests were against the government that was in power for 34 years. At some point, people tried to occupy the national stadium but were removed after clashes with the police.

²² Morocco has 33 million inhabitants and an area of 710,850 km². There were continuous demonstrations, riots and online activism and resulted in constitutional reforms and governmental changes.

uprising started on 27th February 2011 and ended in December 2011. In Saudi Arabia, protests commenced on 11th March and lasted nearly two years, with a series of demonstrations, online activism and sit-in in the mosque of al-Rajhi. The occupation reached some political and economic changes and women's suffrage. A month after, on 15th April in the Iranian region of Khuzestan, protests lasted 3 days. The 15th May in the undetermined borders of Israel, there were major protests on the Arab side that ended on 5th June.²³ In March 2011, around 300 women and men put an official petition calling for democracy system in the United Arab Emirates, who were rapidly controlled and suppressed by local authorities according to Amnesty International.²⁴

The results from the Arab Spring were the overthrow of four governments, one civil disorder leading to governmental changes, five protests leading to governmental changes, five major protests and five minor protests, two governments overthrown in the aftermath, and three civil wars in the aftermath (Syria, Iraq, Libya) (img. 16).

In the case of the Occupy Movement, outcomes were different from the Arab Spring for several reasons. The movement was formed months after the peak point of the Arab Spring and the Spanish *acampadas*. The Occupy Movement started in New York on 17th September 2011 as Occupy Wall Street [henceforth OWS] and lasted 59 days, until 15th November. It was rapidly propagated to more than one thousand cities around the world (img. 17).²⁵

From all the 2011 occupations, Tahrir Square was the biggest and most influential. It faced an authoritarian political system that ruled the country for thirty years. Meanwhile, OWS was produced under softer circumstances because of the political state in the United States, a democracy, which allowed the movement to remain longer. Although there were social protests around the world during the following two years, it was until protests in Istanbul took place that a dissident atmosphere came back to scene. Protestors occupied Gezi Park and Taksim Square, located in the centre of the city for 19 days, from 28th May 2013 to 15th June same year.

These events are chosen for this research due to their dual political and spatial character. Politically, Tahrir Square was a social uprising against the authoritarian regime of Hosni Mubarak, who ruled Egypt for thirty years. In terms of space, the occupation was carried out in a roundabout for eighteen days. In the case of OWS, it was pushed as a result of the 2007-2008 financial crisis, and challenged the current state of the capitalist system. The occupation was placed in a park in lower Manhattan. Finally, Istanbul's occupation contained similarities with the previous two: Turkey had a democratically elected government but at the time of the social uprising it had been in

²³ France 24, "Syria says 23 dead as Israel opens fire on Golan." 6 June 2011.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110609033742/http://www.france24.com/en/20110606-syria-says-23-dead-israel-opens-fire-golan#>

²⁴ Amnesty International, "There is no Freedom Here. Silencing dissent in the United Arab Emirates." http://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/mde_250182014.pdf

²⁵ The Annex 1 specifies the official list of cities involved and dates in which protests took place.

power for twelve years. The occupation was placed in a park and a roundabout: Taksim Square/Gezi Park. These three events dissented different modes of political systems: authoritarian [Egypt], democratic [United States], democratic authoritarian [Turkey]; and were placed in three different spaces: roundabout [Tahrir Square], park [Zuccotti Park], roundabout park [Taksim Square/Gezi Park] (Img. 18). Therefore, these events and spaces are denominated as *archievents*, for presenting diverse mechanisms of intermittent activation and deactivation of spaces and political systems, including dissident, collective and temporal practices.

Img. 16 Arab Spring timeline

Img. 16 (a) Zoom in: Arab Spring timeline

Img. 17 World Map Occupy Movement Protests September 2011-September 2012

Img. 18 Geometry of Revolutionary Squares: Tahrir Square, Zuccotti Park, Taksim Square / Gezi Park

1.3.1 Tahrir Square – Cairo

Midan al-Tahrir [Tahrir Square] is one of the most iconic places of the 2011 revolutions. It was the scenario where thousands of people performed their citizens' role, occupying this public space and simultaneously using virtual platforms actively.

During the eighteen-day-occupation, Twitter, Facebook and YouTube were the most important digital platforms used, spreading real-time information of the occupation and becoming the

contemporary Tahrir Square. This was the main reason why on 26th January, the Egyptian government blocked first Twitter and Facebook, the day after local and international SMS services, and on 28th January, it shut down Egypt's four Internet service providers, closing off virtually all Internet access. Paradoxically, while the government was trying to control the mob and block people's gathering in the city, this Internet's blockade generated enrage and fury among the general population. Without access to Internet, people joined the street-protests and made them larger and more intense. It was the shifting point that transformed a general protest into the Egyptian Revolution.

At that moment, Egypt was being ruled under the Emergency Law No. 162 of 1958, which was re-enacted after the "1967 Six-Day War" (Arab – Israel War). It was suspended for 18 months during the early 1980s but after the assassination of President Anwar Sadat in 1981, Hosni Mubarak became President of Egypt, who re-established and extended it until 2012. This Emergency Law extended police powers, suspended constitutional rights, legalised censorship, and abolished the *habeas corpus*. Despite the qualification of "spontaneous occupation" that many gave to these protests, it was in fact the result of many years of oppression and social control from the government. Nasser Rabbat²⁶ argues that public life in Cairo's public spaces was retreated from open spaces to private ones, due to this Emergency Law (Rabat 2012). However, Tahrir Square has been historically a place for rallies and protests. It is placed between royal palaces along the eastern side of the Nile River and the French style neighbourhood *Isma'iliyya*, which was created by Isma'il Pasha, Khedive of Egypt (1830 - 1895) in the late 1860s. The construction of the square was a long and intermittent process, part of a series of decisions that ended with the country's bankruptcy. Pasha Isma'il visited the *Exposition Universelle* organized by Baron Haussmann in Paris in 1867 and when he returned to Cairo, he planned the "transformation and beautification of the city," calling it the "Paris of the Nile" (al-Sayed 2011) (Img. 19).

For that purpose, he addressed the local urban planner Ali Mubarak, to develop the master plan that included the Suez Canal and the Egyptian rail system. One of the main decisions of this master plan was the dissolution of the 'mushrooming city' in downtown, same strategy that Haussmann used for Paris (Saalman 1971). It was necessary to clear the arterial streets and passages and draw straight lines, which blocked the erection of barricades and revolts (Harvey 2006). A north-south axis with three-lined avenues radiated from central squares in Cairo (Img. 20), two streets were cut and transformed into boulevards: Sikka al-Gadida and Muhammad Ali, leading 23 streets towards the centre. This rational design conducted easier ways to control spaces and people, but the panopticon-like-scheme was never completed because the country went bankrupt in 1869, followed by the British occupation in 1882.

²⁶ Nasser Rabbat is a Professor and Director of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at MIT.

Under the British occupation, one of the first colonial acts was to requisite the main northwest royal barracks in al-Isma'iliyya district, Qasr al-Nil and transformed the zone into its headquarters. In 1919, a square was installed in a form of a roundabout, as *La Place de l'Etoile* in Paris. That same year, there were numerous demonstrations against the British occupation, which brought the revolution and independence to the country and consequently, people named the square as *Midan al-Tahrir* [Liberation Square]. After the deposition of the British troops, King Farouk issued a statue of his grandfather, Khedive Ismail, to be placed on the top of the central pedestal of Midan Square, nevertheless, he was overthrown in a coup in 1952.

Img. 19 Left: Place de l'Etoile, Paris. Right: Tahrir Square, Cairo

Img. 20 Plan of Cairo, 1904

In this occasion, people changed again the square's name to *Midan al-Hurriya* [Freedom Square], but in 1954 it was officially named as Tahrir Square. During the following years, the regime endorsed modern-style buildings around Tahrir, such as the *Mogamma* [collective] building, presented as a gift from the Soviet Union in the early 1950s, the National Democratic Party headquarters in 1959, alongside the former Hilton Hotel (currently the Ritz Carlton Hotel), and the Arab League which was completed in 1960. Besides these landmarks that played a role in the making of modern Cairo, Tahrir Square was part of a green-open field area of the Egyptian Museum. In 1981, Hosni Mubarak became first Prime Minister in 1981 and one year after, President of Egypt. It was at this moment when he indicated publicly his discontent with public demonstrations, a statement reflected when the government removed the central pedestal of Tahrir Square and fenced off the Egyptian Museum open entrance (Img. 21).

Img. 21 Tahrir Square. Left: 1962. Right: circa 1980s

1.3.1.1 Tale of a Revolution

By 2011, Egypt was a country plunged into corruption and economic crisis, constrained in an “Emergency Law” since 1981. There was a state of oppression and control, in which younger generations experienced as the only way of living. Inspired by the Tunisian Revolution, young people saw an opportunity to perform a type of activism that surprised the government and themselves.

Using social media, a group of activists created a Facebook event named “Day of Rage” and in few days, more than 90,000 people joined it. The general protest was planned for 25th January, which claiming the abolition of the “Emergency Law” and the establishment of presidential term limits. Many political groups and social movements participated in the organization, such as “Youth for Justice and Freedom,” ²⁷ the “Democratic Movement for Change,” the “April 6 Youth Movement,”

²⁷ “We are all Khaled Said” was a Facebook group created when a young man died in June that same year, as a result of police’s physical attacks in Alexandria. This group reached 350,000 followers and became a social movement.

among others. Asmaa Mahfouz, a 26-year-old woman, uploaded a video on a *vlog* (video+blog) where she urged Egyptians to join the 25th January protest in Tahrir Square (Img. 22). Later that same day, the video was uploaded on YouTube and had more than 80,000 views.

On “Friday of Anger,” there were general protests in Cairo and across the country. Although they were pacific, by the end of that day they were turned into clashes between protestors, security forces, and pro-Mubarak demonstrators. The day after, the military presence in Cairo increased and a curfew was imposed in the country. The 2nd February, the “Camel Incident” day, violence escalated quickly as some Mubarak supporters rode camels and horses into Tahrir Square injuring dozens of people.²⁸ The 6th February, hundreds of Christians and Muslims Egyptians joined together in Tahrir Square, an unprecedented situation in this country. On 10th February, Mubarak addressed the country amid speculation of a military coup, and instead of resigning, he indicated he would delegate some powers to the Vice president. On 11th February, large protests continued around Egypt and by 6:00pm local time, the Vice President Omar Suleiman announced Mubarak’s resignation and power was transferred to the Supreme Council of Egyptian Armed Forces.

Img. 22 Asmaa Mahfouz vlog video

Preston, Jennifer. “Movement began with outrage and a Facebook page that gave it an outlet.” *The New York Times*, 5 February 2011. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/06/world/middleeast/06face.html>

²⁸ Beaumont, P., Shenker, J., Sherwood, H., Tisdall, S., “Egypt’s revolution turns ugly as Mubarak fights back,” *The Guardian*, 2 February 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/02/egypt-revolution-turns-ugly>

1.3.1.2 Spatial cartography – Tahrir Square

Img. 23 Tahrir Square area

When thousands of people gathered in Tahrir Square on 25th January 2011, they generated a centrifugal force around the square for drawing away its centre as a body, causing at the same time inertia. Its centre was transformed from the space to see, to the space that sees, and reversed itself from convex to concave and consequently from centripetal to centrifugal force. This is, from a force that brings bodies to the centre, to a force that pushes bodies outside the centre (Img. 24). To follow this transformation, Tahrir Square occupation is tracked as a journal, in which the most important actions set up a platform for a spatial cartography.

Img. 24 Tahrir Square. Left: video footage vehicular traffic, centripetal force. Right: occupation, centrifugal force

[T:01] 25 January – Day of Revolt

Inspired by the Tunisian Revolution, thousands of people gather on Tahrir Square demanding the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak. Security forces try to avoid the crowd to reach the square, but there are 23 streets including a wide boulevard and bridge, intercepting the police's operations to control the crowd. After few hours of relative calm, police and protestors clash behind the Egyptian Museum [6th of October bridge that crosses the Nile]; the police fire tear gas, water cannons and rubber bullets. Protestors move in circles around Tahrir Square, Meret Basha Avenue, Kasr al-Nile Bridge, and Nile Corniche Street. Simultaneously protests are held in Ismailiya, Alexandria and Suez cities. The government blocks Twitter and Bambuser,²⁹ yet protestors use proxies to keep on sending tweets and videos.

[T:02.3] 26-27 January – Zoning the centre

Contrary to the first day of protests when the police somehow allowed protestors to gather in Tahrir Square, this day they revert to tactics of blockade, mass arresting and militarization of the city. Clashes continue and violence is higher. Thousands of protestors continue reaching the square while the police build barricades, cordon off demonstrators against walls, and block entrances. They create a perimeter zone around the NDP Headquarters with trucks, lines of policemen and metal fences around Nile Corniche, Meret Basha and Wasim Hasan streets. Around 5:20pm, the government shuts down the major ISP disrupting Internet traffic and telephone services. Protests remain across several cities and hundreds of protestors are arrested.

²⁹ "Bambuser" is a Swedish social network that provides interactive live video broadcasting, streaming live video from mobiles and webcams on the Internet. www.bambuser.com

[T:04] 28 January – NDP set on fire

More than 15,000 gather in Tahrir Square.³⁰ Prisons are opened and burned down, prisoners escape *en masse*, allegedly under orders from the Interior Minister Habib el-Adly, according to the attempt to terrorise protestors.³¹ The police are withdrawn from the streets and military is deployed, while Internet and mobile phone text message stop working. There are clashes with the police on Nile Bridge for nearly 8 hours and some other clashes in Wasim Hasan Street and Meret Basha, where barricades are erected and hundreds of people shout from their balconies. Riot police fire water cannons at protestors that cross Kasr al-Nile Bridge. While protestors occupy the 6th October Bridge, marchers on Kasr al-Nile Bridge succeed on pushing toward Tahrir Square. After the midday prays, up to one million people walk towards Tahrir Square through this bridge, resulting in a long day of violent fighting with the police. At evening, the police start losing control over Kasr-al Nile Bridge and leave Tahrir some hours later. The National Democratic Party [NDP] building is set on fire, emblem and symbol of the government (Img. 25). Some protestors break the metallic fences and barricades that surround what once was the open entrance to the Egyptian Museum. Some hours later, they take control of Kasr al-Nile bridge, while in the centre of Tahrir Square the first tents and shelters appear, symbolizing a sense of spatial resilience.

Img. 25 The NDP Building set on fire, next to the Egyptian Museum. Photograph by Darkroom productions

[T:05.6.7.8] 29 January-1 February – The March of Millions

The army is deployed as the police withdraw to other major cities. The military allows protestors to gather in public spaces but secures the Egyptian Museum, the NDP building area, and the state's television headquarters, while protestors occupy Tahrir Square and Mogamma building. There are new checkpoints in el-Tahrir Avenue and Meret Basha Avenue. At this point, Cairo downtown shifts

³⁰ Batty, D., Olorenshaw, A. "Egypt protests – as they happened," The Guardian, 29 January 2011.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/29/egypt-protests-government-live-blog>

³¹ Abouzeid, R., "Did prison breakout reveal a plan to show chaos in Egypt?," Time, 16th March 2011.

<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2059301,00.html>

into two main controlled areas by two sides: the north-west side facing the Nile river that is controlled by the military, and Tahrir Square and the narrow sinuous streets that are occupied by protestors. On 1st February, “The March of Millions” takes place as one of the largest public manifestations in Egypt with about 250,000 people gathering in Tahrir Square and thousands in other cities.³² In Kasr al-Nile Bridge, the military lines up tanks and forms checkpoints to control access to the square. The Internet is completely shut down in all the country.

[T:09] 2 February – Camel Incident

The army is deployed with tanks throughout different positions in and around Tahrir Square. Violent clashes rage around the square as pro-Mubarak supporters met anti-government protestors. Some supporters ride camels and horses into Tahrir wielding sticks, they pass through the 6th October bridge and arrive to Meret Basha Avenue, causing clashes in the zone. There are army troops around the museum without engaging in the conflict. At evening hours, protestors, who outnumber supporters, build barricades around Tahrir Square, while Google improves its speak2tweet tool, which permits to use the Internet until is partially restored.

[T:10] 3 February – Building urban walls

Bursts of heavy gunfire aimed at protestors in Tahrir Square. Protestors take control of most of Tahrir area, including Kasr al-Nile Bridge and Meret Basha Avenue. Mubarak supporters gather at 6th October Avenue but are outnumbered by protestors, causing clashes in that corner. Army troops and tanks create a buffer zone and build barricades to keep protestors out.

[T:11] 4 February – Day of Departure

Tent camps have sprung up around the square and walls are filled with graffiti. Protestors build barricades and sleep under tanks. The army keeps a buffer zone at 6th October Avenue, outside the Egyptian Museum and the NDP headquarters. Protestors set up barricades in the corner of Meret Basha Avenue and 6th October Avenue, while the military creates a checkpoint in the access to Kasr al-Nile Bridge. Protestors construct a field hospital and some smaller clinics on the east side of Tahrir Square.

[T:12] 5 February – Urban checkpoints

The army urges protestors to remove barricades from 6th October Avenue and Meret Basha and move it closer to the Square, but barricades remain in its place. Instead, protestors build a checkpoint on Meret Basha Avenue next to the east side of the Egyptian Museum and in al-Tahrir Avenue. Some supporters roam around Nile Corniche, Champollion Road, Kasr al-Nile Street and al-Bustan Street, they station men around the square to sound the alarm by banging metal plaques if supporters decide to attack.

[T:13] 6 February – 100,000 protestors

The police return to Cairo in an attempt to remove occupiers from Tahrir Square. In 6th October Bridge and Avenue, vehicular traffic flows again although protestors continue the occupation with

³² Shenker, J. *et al*, “Hosni Mubarak vows to stand down at next election – but not now,” The Guardian, 2nd February 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/01/hosni-mubarak-egypt-president>

tents in the square. In the afternoon hours, there are around 100,000 protestors in Tahrir Square, new barricades in Meret Basha and al-Tahrir Avenues, and the museum's open area becomes a gathering point for security forces.

[T:14] 7 February – Human chain

Tahrir Square's occupation continues. Banks reopen but schools and stock exchange remain close. Protestors form a human chain around Mogamma building and more tents are placed in the roundabout and open areas, becoming "permanent spaces" while the remained voids are used for mobilization and visibility.

[T:15.16.17] 8-10 February – Permanent occupation

Protestors expand the occupation zone to the Parliament. Security forces keep the area around the Egyptian Museum and the 6th October Avenue, while the largest crowd pours in the square. On 10th February, Mubarak indicates he will not resign as president, which brings more occupiers to Tahrir.

[T:18] 11 February – Day of Departure

Occupiers set up tents in Tahrir's narrow streets and around the state's television building. There is an atmosphere of carnival and celebration, marching, mingling, and dancing around the square. Security forces remain outside the Egyptian Museum and 6th October Avenue, but are pushed back by protestors for being outnumbered. Thousands of protestors gather around the state television building. 19 hours after Hosni Mubarak indicated that he would not resign, the Vice-President Omar Suleiman announces that the president has stepped down. During the whole night, there are celebrations around the country but mainly in Tahrir Square. Soon, military forces ask protestors to leave the square. It takes two days to remove all the tents and shelters in Tahrir Square and traffic starts to flow slowly for the first time since 25th January.

Tahrir Square occupation reintroduced the notion of spatial publicness not only in Cairo but in contemporary cities. During the 18-day-occupation, Tahrir Square was transformed from a controlled one-only-function space to a praxis-commoning spatiality. The square hosted different and new forms of social organization and habitat; it served as a creative and generative space that managed to produce new socio-spatial relationships, allowing spatial flows, and hub communications between local and global movements. There were multiple dimensions in Tahrir Square, but it was remarkable the adaptation and divergence into contemporary social dynamics in public spaces by using spatial practices. Mohamed el-Shahed, PhD architect from the New York University at Middle East and Islamic Studies Department, relates the 1981 Emergency Law with public policy and urban planning, which "like most governmental matters, were filtered through the harsh lens of state security" and that "the state deployed the physical design of urban space as one of its chief means of discouraging democracy" (ElShahed 2011). Thus, by understanding that the organization of public space under Mubarak's regime reflected the model for *governmental rationality*, then the occupation of Tahrir Square became an act of insurgent urban design.

[T.14.A.01]

[T.14.A.02]

[T.14.A.03]

[T.14.A.04]

[T.14.A.05]

Tahrir Square	Movement of protesters	Core of protesters	Visual Acuity	Affective zone	Policing polygon
Government polygon	Public polygon	Private polygon	Action Station	Government building	Public building
Private building	Water cannon	Police truck	Police officers line	Police plastic fence	Police metal fence

[T.02.3.A.01]

[T.02.3.A.02]

[T.02.3.A.03]

[T.02.3.A.04]

[T.02.3.A.05]

[illegible]

[T.04.A.01]

[T.04.A.02]

[T.04.A.03]

[T.04.A.04]

[T.04.A.05]

[T:05.6.7.8] 29 January-1 February – The March of Millions

Tahrir Square

Movement of protestors

Core of protestors

Affective zone

Action Station

Water cannon

Police truck

Police officers line

 Police checkpoint

Police metal fence

[T.05.6.7.8.A.01]

[T.05.6.7.8.A.02]

[T.05.6.7.8.A.03]

[T.05.6.7.8.A.04]

[T.05.6.7.8.A.05]

[T.05.6.7.8.A.06]

[T.09.A.01]

[T.09.A.02]

[T.09.A.03]

[T.09.A.04]

[T.09.A.05]

[T:10] 3 February – Building urban walls

[T.10.A.01]

[T.10.A.02]

[T.10.A.03]

[T.10.A.04]

[T.10.A.05]

[T.10.A.06]

[T.11] 4 February - Day of Departure

Tahrir Square

Movement of protesters

Core of protesters

Affective zone

Transmutation space

Barricades

Action Station

Water cannon

Police truck

Police checkpoint

Police officers line

Police metal fence line

Interior-exterior connection

Occupying zone

[T.11.A.01]

[T.11.A.02]

[T.11.A.03]

[T.11.A.04]

[T.11.A.05]

[T.11.A.06]

0 100m

- Tahrir Square
- Movement of protesters
- Core of protesters
- Affective zone
- Transmutation space
- Barricades spaces
- Interior-exterior connection
- Occupying zone
- Action Station
- Protestors checkpoint
- Police truck
- Police checkpoint
- Pro-governments zone

[T.12.A.01]

[T.12.A.02]

[T.12.A.03]

[T.12.A.04]

[T.12.A.05]

[T:13] 6 February – 100,000 protestors

- Tahrir Square
- Movement of protestors
- Core of protestors
- Affective zone
- Transmutation space
- Barricades
- Occupying zone
- Action Station
- Protestors checkpoint
- Police truck
- Police checkpoint
- Pro-governments zone

[T.13.A.01]

[T.13.A.02]

[T.13.A.03]

[T.13.A.04]

[T.13.A.05]

[T.14] 7 February – Human chain

[T.14.A.01]

[T.14.A.02]

[T.14.A.03]

[T.14.A.04]

[T.14.A.05]

[T.15.16.17.A.01]

[T.15.16.17.A.02]

[T.15.16.17.A.03]

[T.15.16.17.A.04]

[T.15.16.17.A.05]

[T.18.A.01]

[T.18.A.02]

[T.18.A.03]

[T.18.A.04]

[T.18.A.05]

1.3.2 Zuccotti Park – New York

Img. 26 Zuccotti Park location

Zuccotti Park is located in Wall Street, New York, it has an area of 3,100m² and is part of the Privately Owned Public Space (POPS)¹ net [see further details in Chapter 5]. After the demolition of the “Singer Building” in 1968, Pittsburgh United States Steel Company built in its place “Liberty Plaza Park,” next to “One Liberty Plaza” building. This space was one of the few open spaces in the financial district at the time, highlighting the need of public spaces in the city. After the 9/11 attacks, the park was heavily damaged for weeks because it served to task people recovering and as deposit debris. In 2005, the City Council approved an application form from its new owners, Brookfield Properties, to modify the aspect of the park. With a budget of USD 8 million, the architecture office “Cooper, Robertson & Partners” designed the new park, and its owners renamed it after the company chairman John Zuccotti.

The new design included 54 honey locust trees, pink granite sidewalks, 16 fixed tables and chairs, 307 linear meters of fixed seats, 500 ground lights placed over a diagonal grid that cross the long axis of the park, and two sculptures: “*Joie de Vivre*” by Mark di Suvero and “Double Check” by John Seward Johnson. *Joie de Vivre* is a 21-meter high sculpture that consists of bright-red beams and was moved from its previous installation in the Storm King Art Center, while Double Check is a bronze businessman sitting on a bench. There is a slight downhill slope of 30 meters in its longitudinal section, whose retaining walls create an enclosing space inside the park moderating the slope, and allocates outlets in tree-wells and two spigots deliver power and water. Benches and tables form clusters in the northeast and southwest corners forming semi-circular steps that reach the sidewalks. The central walkway is reinforced by three planting beds, two circular and one oval, which channelizes pedestrians away from the seating zones (Img. 27).

Img. 27 Zuccotti Park area

¹ Privately Owned Public Space (POPS) is an urban regulation created in New York in 1969 in which private developers receive bonus-floor area in exchange of providing to the city, public spaces, although they remained in private property. In the case of Zuccotti Park, it is owned and controlled by Brookfield Properties, a real estate company.

1.3.2.1 Urban insurgent narrative

Months before OWS, the Canadian Magazine *Abdusters*² recalled the Arab Spring and Spanish *acampadas* in Wall Street, to protest against the economic inequality worldwide. “New Yorkers Against Budget Cuts” (NYABC) group joined this initiative, and organized meetings and rallies. There were other groups from across the country but also from Spain and Egypt, who helped with the coordination and preparation of the occupation. Thus, OWS was not spontaneous; it was influenced, organized and coordinated by many fronts and different platforms, which were open to all and shared on social media. Hence, authorities had also access, provoking a series of consequences in the evolution of the occupation. These situations are presented as a marking-point journal of the occupation, which leads to the configuration of the spatial cartography.

[Z:01] 9 June – Call for protest

The Canadian Magazine *Abdusters* register the web domain “OccupyWallStreet.org.”

[Z:02] 13 July – A shift in revolutionary tactics

Abdusters cites in a blog post that the revolution strategies in Egypt and Spain could be followed and adapted to local contexts. It proposes a protest in Wall Street:

“On September 17, we want to see 20,000 people flood into Lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street for a few months. Once there, we shall incessantly repeat one simple demand in a plurality of voices, [demanding] democracy not corporatocracy.”³

The protest is planned as horizontal, leaderless, and its sole demand is not determined until gathering protesters and agree together on what should be done next. This post receives a great repercussion and the hashtag #occupywallstreet is created on Twitter.

[Z:03] 26 July – Virtual OWS

A Facebook group and a Twitter profile are created. *Abdusters* encourage different cities to join the movement, especially in Germany, Japan and Britain.

[Z:04] 2 August – General Assembly

The group NYABC incorporates a “General Assembly” with another group holding strategic sessions. In the aftermath, these two groups march toward Bowling Green Park in Lower Manhattan.

[Z:05] 6 September – Call for occupation

OWS supporters start posting their photos and stories in the Tumblr page “wearethe99percent.tumblr.com.” *Abdusters* calls for a “Tahrir *acampada*” in Wall Street (Img. 28).

² “Abdusters Media Foundation” is a not-for-profit magazine that opposes to capitalism and has launched different international actions such as Occupy Wall Street, Buy Nothing Day, or TVTurn off Week.

³ Abdusters, “Occupy Wall Street.” <http://www.adbusters.org/blogs/adbusters-blog/occupywallstreet.html>

Img. 28 Adbusters tweet calling for a "Tahrir acampada"

[Z:06] 17 September - OWS

An estimated of 1,000 protestors flow in Lower Manhattan to "Chase Manhattan Plaza," however they find the park cordoned off by police officers. In order to avoid the protest's dispersion, organizers try to reach Bowling Green Park instead, but some activist send tweets indicating that the police have also fenced it off. They decide to go to Zuccotti Park, a space where the police could not enter without a legal permit because it is a private property. There are reports of clashes with the police, which are recorded and posted on YouTube. About 150 people stay overnight in Zuccotti Park.

[Z:07] 20 September – Civil disobedience

The police arrest mask-wearing protestors under the "New York Penal Law 240.35 Loitering:"⁴

A person is guilty of loitering when he:

4. Being masked or in any madder disguised by unusual or unnatural attire or facial alteration, loiters, remains or congregates in a public place with other persons so masked or disguised, or knowingly permits or aids persons so masked or disguised to congregate in a public place; except that such conduct is not unlawful when it occurs in connection with a masquerade party or like entertainment if, when such entertainment is held in a city which has promulgated regulations in connection with such affairs, permission is first obtained from the police or other appropriate authorities.

[Z:08] 24 September – Pepper spray OWS

More than 80 people are arrested on a march to Union Square.⁵ The conflict brings charges over the police for overly zealous in using force and pepper spray. In a video, a police officer sprays gas on 6 women's faces, turning viral and enlarging the movement. OWS gets its first major mass media coverage and similar occupations take place in cities like Chicago and Tampa.

[Z:09] 28 September – Legality of POPS

The police Commissioner indicate that the NYPD cannot ban protestors from Zuccotti Park. Since it is a POPS, it is required to stay open 24 hours a day.

⁴ New York State Law, Penal Law, Consolidated Laws of New York's Penal Code. "Article 240 –NY Penal Law. 240.35 Loitering." <http://ypdcrime.com/penal.law/article240.htm>

⁵ "NYPD: Arrests In 'Occupy Wall Street' Protest Justified," *CBS*, New York, 24 September 2011. <http://newyork.cbslocal.com/2011/09/24/police-make-arrests-in-wall-street-protest/>

[Z:10] 29 September – Morning march

In day 13, there is a morning march around the time the opening bell rings at the stock exchange market. “The 99 percent” becomes the leading phrase used by demonstrators.

[Z:11] 1 October – Mass arrest

More than seven hundred people are arrested on a march across Brooklyn Bridge. The police indicate those arrested were blocking vehicular traffic. Meanwhile some protestors indicate the police purposefully lure and trap them on the multi-tiered bridge’s road level.⁶ This situation is covered by mass media and reaches front-page newspapers and TV shows openings. More cities join the Occupy Movement like Los Angeles and Washington.

[Z:12] 3 October – Corporate zombies

Some protestors reach Zuccotti Park dressed as “corporate zombies” in clutching fake cash, parade down Wall Street. There are occupations in cities like Boston, Memphis, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Hawaii, and Portland.

[Z:13] 5 October – National OWS

At least 39 organizations join OWS for a march in the financial district. An estimated of 10,000 protestors rally from Foley Square to Zuccotti Park in Lower Manhattan. The march is mostly peaceful until nightfall, when 28 demonstrators are arrested for building barricades, according to the police. There are occupations in about 50 cities in the United States.

[Z:14] 6 October – International OWS

About 4,000 protestors march in Portland, there are demonstrations unfold in cities like Houston, Austin and San Francisco, and also Zheng-zhou, Frankfurt and Barcelona. Videos and photographs are circulating intensively in social media, thus censors have selectively blocked discussions about OWS on digital platforms. Meanwhile, the functional zoning in Zuccotti Park starts to change in order to accommodate shelters and structures that are more stable, permanent, and resistant to winter.

[Z:15] 10 October – Nation undecided

A Reuters poll of 1,113 adults⁷ finds that 82% of citizens have heard of the movement, 33% are favourably, 40% are undecided, and 27% hold an unfavourable view. Mayor Michael Bloomberg states that so long as protesters operate under the law, they will not be arrested. Occupiers identify this statement as a permit to remain in Zuccotti Park.

[Z:16] 13 October – Cleaning conflict

Brookfield Properties announces that protestors must vacate the park at 7 a.m. the day after due to sanitation cleaning. This communiqué indicates that after the four-hour power washing, protestors could return to the park but will not be able to remain, as there are new rules that prohibit tents, tarps, and sleeping in the park. Mayor Bloomberg and the police support this communiqué, which is

⁶ Wells, M., “Occupy Wall Street – the story of the Brooklyn Bridge ‘trap,’” The Guardian, 3 October 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2011/oct/03/occupy-wall-street-brooklyn-bridge-arrests>

⁷ The Guardian, “Occupy Wall Street protests – Wednesday 6 October 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2011/oct/05/occupy-wall-street-protests-live>

seen by occupiers as a blockade to the occupation. Thus, they proceed to clean the park by themselves and vow to defend the occupation from the police.

[Z:17] 14 October – Cleaning solution

Brookfield Properties announces that they will not force occupiers to leave Zuccotti Park. It postpones the cleaning at the last minute avoiding a standoff between occupiers and police.

[Z:18] 15 October – Global day of action

Protestors around the world march in a “global day of action,” in different cities in Europe, America and Asia. While demonstrations are generally peaceful, violence erupts in Rome when rioters hijack the protest. In New York, thousands of people march to the U.S. Armed Forces recruiting station in Times Square. Loosely coordinated demonstrations take place in 951 cities in some 82 countries according to organizers.

[Z:19] 15 November – Evicting OWS

A surprise police raid at 1 a.m. clears Zuccotti Park’s encampment zone, seizing tents, kitchen gear, generators, and personal belongings. City Councilman Ydanis Rodriguez is reported to have been arrested when he and a group of protestors tried to push their way through a line of police officers, who in turn were trying to prevent additional protestors to enter the park. Mayor Bloomberg states that there is not a violation of freedom of speech and assembly rights, citing the health and safety conditions in the park as reasons for the eviction:

“This action was taken at this time of day to reduce the risk of confrontation in the park, and to minimize disruption to the surrounding neighbourhood. [Mayor Bloomberg has] become increasingly concerned – as had the park’s owner, Brookfield Properties – that the occupation was coming to pose a health and fire safety hazard to the protestors and the surrounding community.”

OWS statement is released in response to the eviction, exercising their right to assemble and the need to create a ‘civic space’ as essential to changing public discourse. The Mayor’s office release a response:

No right is absolute and with every right comes responsibilities. The First Amendment gives every New Yorker the right to speak out – but it does not give the right to sleep in a park or otherwise take it over to the exclusion of others – nor does it permit anyone in our society to live outside the law. There is no ambiguity in the law here – the First Amendment protects speech – it does not protect the use of tents and sleeping bags to take over a public space.

New York City Council

[Z:20] 17 November – Two-month anniversary

In honour to the movement’s two-month anniversary and in response to the eviction, occupiers walk from Zuccotti Park toward Stock Exchange building. More than 30,000 people demonstrate in and around Zuccotti Park, Union Square, Foley Square, and Brooklyn Bridge.

As stewards of public spaces, OWS challenged the use of public spaces in physical and legal form, propagating to more than a thousand cities. The OWS eviction represents a “deficit in the provision and management of public space” (Marcuse 2011), and it does not act on a fixed spatial matrix, instead it transforms the material form and the affective nature of public spaces in the contemporary city.

1.3.2.2 Spatial cartography – Zuccotti Park

For two months, Zuccotti Park became not only a space for occupying and protesting, but also a contested space for practicing politics. Nevertheless, its transformation from being a corporate plaza to a radical common space, demanded changes on spatial relationships.

During the occupation, protesters used blankets and sleeping bags, tarps, and bins, zoning the park as a constantly adapting process. In the northeast corner, a retaining wall and stepped bench held book bins as the People’s Library, while tables and folding chairs created a space for reading. The retaining wall and three tables were designated as the zone for Legal, Media and Outreach. Umbrellas and tarps intermittently stretched over this space in order to shelter occupiers and electronic devices. At the end of the retaining wall, there was the sanitation zone and next to it, a freestanding installation for recycling, composting and grey-water processing. Next to People’s Library and Media Outreach at the south end stairs, it was placed the zone for the General Assembly. People’s Kitchen was partially closed by stacking boxes, crates, tables and bins around three benches in the centre of the park. The kitchen ‘walls’ were taller at the northwest end, while the other three sides formed low counters and basins. The northeast benched served as buffet while people made a line towards Trinity Place, and the southwest bench accommodated the scullery. In the central northeast side, there was the comfort workstation with bins and rolling racks holding clothing. The Medical area was placed in Cedar Street’s retaining wall. On that side, from Trinity Place towards Broadway Street, there was the sleeping zone, filled with sleeping bags and camping tents. Two tables formed a makeshift Internet cafe around the Freedom Tower, it was a tent that held antennas and a router that provided Wi-Fi. In the northwest corner of Trinity Place and Cedar Street, two fixed tables, seats, and a long bench held the Social Area, while another segment of the stairs hosted a collection of drums that turned the sidewalk into a dance floor and performance zone. The Double Check sculpture zone was turned into a “Sacred Space” for meditation and prays. In both retaining walls, there were spots dedicated to “art” and in their opposite corners, there were two desks for information.

By mid-October, the area served new functions for the upcoming winter. In the east retaining wall at Liberty St., there was a “room” of operations; a line of tables worked as the administration zone

and media outreach, and tables and chairs drape tarps, fill in partial enclosed areas and formed small groups. In Cedar and Liberty St., there were police vans, media vans, food trucks while on Broadway St., the police installed metal fences next to the Red Cube sculpture. This Zuccotti Park was divided in four states: walking, sitting, laying, and standing. Occupiers petitioned the City Council for permission to install portable toilets, but it was denied, so they relied on nearby restaurants and sympathetic business. By late October, there was a cold snap with snowfall. The Fire Department seized biofuel stores and five generators that were supplying power to the occupation zone, however since Brookfield Properties turned off the park's electrical supply, they got colder, darker and many people left especially at nights. The Movement partnered with a radical cycling group to build bicycle generators for power accessories and charging batteries. They also prepared camping zones and equipment for winter, which reached discussions about whether the occupation should continue or not. Individual camping tents filled the park, covering densely most of the area and placing tents closer to others in order to contain heat. Zuccotti Park's sidewalks, which are public property, were lined up with metal fences, leaving the block's corners opened and peened in visitors. The perimeter of the park became a permeable interface between occupiers and visitors.

The nine-week occupation and self-regulated division of the camp was mainly a process of spatial stratification addressed by many factors, such as its spatial form, legal framework, and virtual/physical activity.